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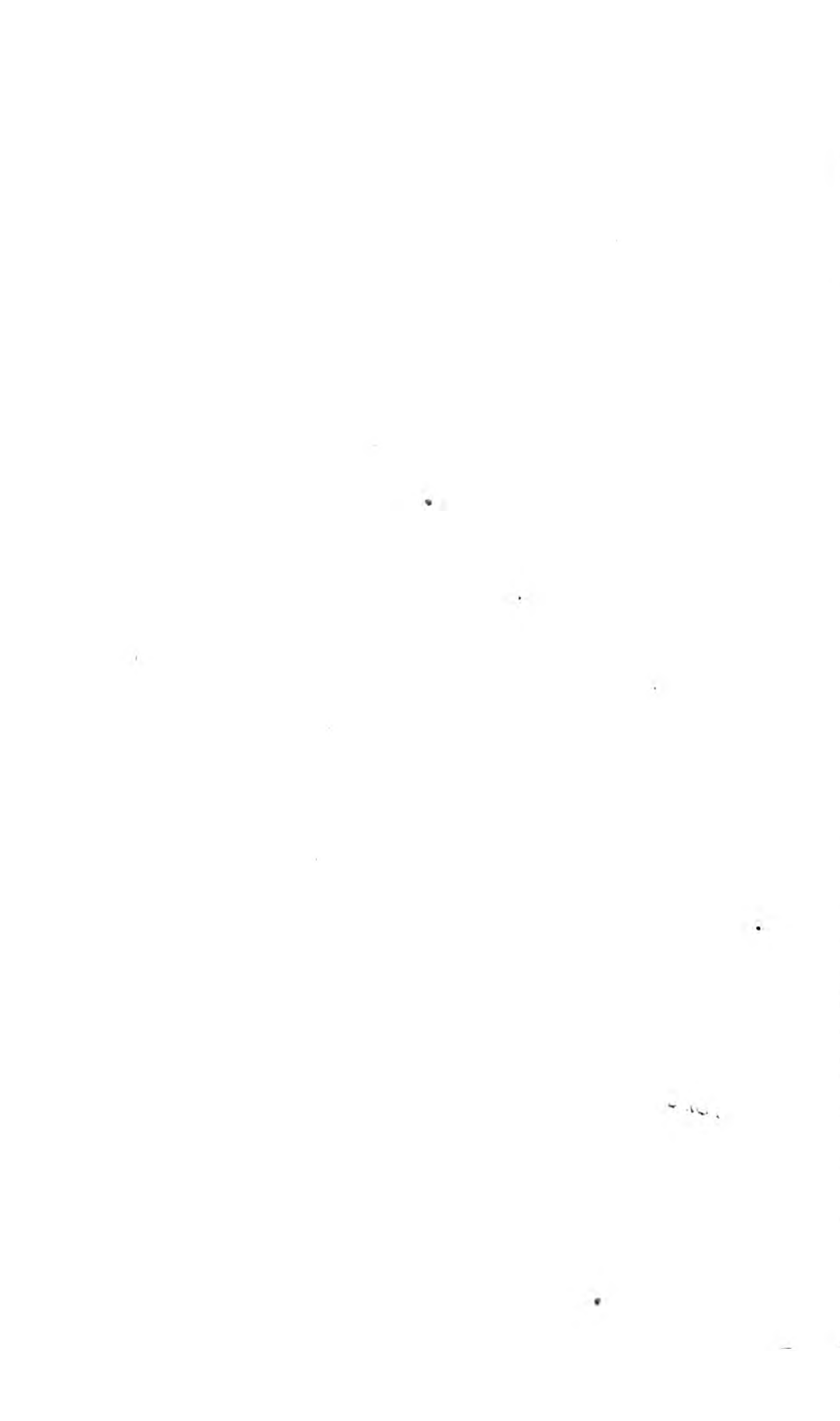
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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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SOCIALISM AND TEMPERANCE REFORM.

It appears to be pretty generally accepted that "Temperance Reform" is to constitute the *pièce de résistance* of the Ministerial *ménu* in the forthcoming Session. Having established prosperity at home and peace abroad; having abolished poverty and pauperism, settled the education difficulty, and set the unemployed all to work; having pacified India and relentlessly refused to render any assistance to the Russian autocracy; having secured adequate protection for the native races as well as for Asiatic British subjects in South Africa and sent the last Chinese coolie home, this Government of all the virtues and all the talents finds itself free to devote its splendid energies to grappling with and throttling the dragon of drink.

In that commendable enterprise Ministers are, naturally, to have the ardent support of all the anti-Socialist individualist "social reformers." Peers, prelates and plutocrats, whose fortunes have been made by the merciless exploitation and murder of proletarian men, women and children, with the co-operation of their kept men of the Press—who, like unclean beasts, find a fat living by grubbing amid social garbage and wreckage, and vehemently oppose all proposals to right the economic wrong which causes the ruin in which they revel—are eagerly rallying for this new crusade.

They have formulated a legislative programme for preserving the workingman from the temptation of his own low vices ; a programme which, if adopted by the Government, will make English working-class life even gloomier than it is to-day ; when "cakes and ale" are almost things of the past and one wonders how the term "Merrie England" ever came to be applied to this puritanical country, except in derision.

This programme not only includes Local Veto, together with the steady reduction of existing licences and the refusal to grant new ones, but also the reduction of the hours of opening of public-houses on week-days ; their total closing on Sundays, and the exclusion of all children under fourteen, from public-house bars, in any circumstances whatever.

It would appear to be scarcely necessary to point out how mischievous, even from the stand point of temperance, would be the enforcement of such measures. Experience has proved that any form of prohibition has but stimulated that worst form of the drunkard's vice, secret drinking ; and that earlier closing on week-days, as well as total closing on Sundays, has not diminished, but has increased, drunkenness, in any part of the United Kingdom in which it has been tried. "Experientia docet" we are told, but some people never seem to learn from experience, and the teetotal zealots, mistakenly called "temperance reformers," would appear to be among their number.

Unfortunately some Socialists, inspired by a quite natural detestation of drunkenness, and the other evils of the drink traffic ; eager to sweep away the squalor and misery of slumdom, in which drink appears to play so large a part, and anxious to promote sobriety and temperance in the proletariat as means to its emancipation, are lending their aid to a crusade which aims at nothing so much as side-tracking the Socialist movement.

What our friends appear to lose sight of in this connection is that this whole crusade is anti-social and

anti-Socialist. Its guiding principle is the theory that the social evils of poverty and want, from which the masses of the people suffer, are due, not to unjust social institutions, to economic environment, and to class robbery, but to the innate depravity of the individual. It is based on the assumption that poverty is at once a crime and its own punishment, that "the poor in the loomp are bad," and that the British workman is an enemy of humanity—himself included; a sort of wild beast against whom everyone, not excepting himself, needs to be protected; who should be "cribbed, cabined and confined," with no other function in life than to work and to thank the good God that he is allowed that privilege. Doubtless, if these good "social reformers" had their way, the workman would be carefully escorted to his work in the morning and escorted home at night when his work is done, to be awakened and escorted to his work the next morning, and so on, to the end of the chapter.

One wonders why this elaborate prohibitive programme does not include the re-institution of curfew and the sumptuary laws—but that the latter are quite unnecessary for our poverty-stricken proletariat. What would be still better, however, from the point of view of these Gradgrind puritans, would be to provide housing accommodation inside the factories. Hammocks, into which the "operatives" could tumble at night, when exhausted with their work, might be slung over the machines, and there they would be, ready to resume their daily task at the earliest possible moment. This would have very considerable advantages. Not only would the workpeople be kept from the temptation of the public-house, but they would lose no time; punctuality at work would be ensured, and their cost of living would be enormously reduced. They would need but little clothing, no furniture, and would have no rent to pay. They could save the greater part of their wages, and having few wants would be able to work much more cheaply than they

do now—all for the benefit of the good, kind, philanthropic “temperance” capitalists. Colliers, of course, could be caught young and kept down the pit all their lives, as the ponies are. I offer these suggestions to the “temperance reformers,” whose one idea of “temperance” is rigid restriction of individual liberty, and, great as is the concern of our opponents as to how the inventor and the genius are to be rewarded under Socialism, I make them a present of these splendid suggestions for accelerating profit-making—free, gratis and for nothing.

It is peculiarly interesting to a Social-Democrat that the people who are so eagerly demanding this restrictive legislation, who wish to coerce and chain and “prohibit” the working man, are among those who raise the loudest and shrillest outcry against “coddling” the workman, and interfering with his liberty and “freedom of contract,” when it is a question of the legal limitation of the hours of labour; of more stringent factory legislation; of keeping children out of the factories; of providing decent working-class dwellings; feeding starving children or organising the labour of the unemployed. In all these matters legislation is an intolerable interference with individual liberty; in these, laissez-faire, should reign supreme. One of these worthy “temperance” capitalists, a large factory owner and Liberal member for a Yorkshire constituency, denounced in the most violent terms the last Factory Act; the provision in which for the closing of the mills at twelve instead of one o’clock on Saturday he described as an “act of spoliation and robbery.” It was a scandalous confiscation of the capitalist’s property in his wage-slaves to deprive him of even one hour of their labour-time in a week! Why shouldn’t they be “free” to work as long as they liked, or as he, by the coercive power of their poverty, could compel them? Why, indeed! It is only when it comes to a question of how he shall spend his limited leisure, the only relation in which he is free,

that legal interference with the workman, restrictions, limitations and prohibitions are necessary and justifiable. And yet to the rational mind it would seem that it is just here that these are neither necessary nor justifiable. Surely if a workman is to have any freedom at all, it should be freedom to spend and enjoy in his own way the leisure and wages he has earned by his own labour. If his way and his tastes do not commend themselves to his "betters," let them show him a "more excellent way," and provide him with opportunities for the cultivation of higher tastes and for more rational pleasures. The latter, however, do not for a moment enter into the consideration of the "temperance reformer." Rational pleasures, indeed! What have they to do with the workingman? He has his work—that should be enough for him. And then he is—as his poverty shows—endowed with a double dose of original sin and must be protected from his vices. The whole movement is based on the assumption that the workingman is a vile, incorrigible, drunken beast, incapable of self-control. For, it should be observed, the whole agitation is directed solely against the poor pleasures of the working class; the most sober, the most thrifty and self-respecting and only useful class in the country. It is the common public-house which comes in for condemnation and for suppression. The grand hotels, in which our masters drink at a sitting more in value than would find a working class family in food for a year, are not to be touched, and no one would dream of interfering with them, or in any way restricting the pleasures of the rich. Oh dear no! It is right that they should enjoy themselves. Have they not earned that privilege by the unpaid labour of the working-class? It is only the latter who should be restricted in their leisure and pleasure, because then they will be able to work more cheaply, and to give still more unpaid labour for the pleasure of their masters.

Of course, the temperance reformers plead that

they are working in the interest of the working class, who "cannot afford" to buy drink. It is true that the workers cannot afford to buy drink—and tens of thousands of them are total abstainers, although poor—but for the matter of that, they cannot afford to live. And the more cheaply they learn to live the more cheaply they will have to live. Then, again, we are told that the publican is the enemy of the working-class; we are reminded of the enormous profits made by the drink trade, and so on. All that leaves us unmoved. I hold no brief for the publican. On the contrary, I would like to see him abolished. I stand by the only real democratic temperance policy—that of establishing popular restaurants under municipal ownership and control, in the place of the present public-house. There is this, however, to be said in defence of the publican. If he robs the working-man he only robs him as consumer. The working man is not compelled to patronise the publican. At any rate he can live without doing so. In that matter he is a free agent. But the chief robbery of labour goes on in the factory and workshop, and there the workman has no choice. He is not compelled to go to the public-house, but he must go to work or starve. Yet those who cry most persistently for repression and suppression in entirely self-regarding matters, denounce in the strongest terms any interference with the liberty of the workman, and his wife and children, to be exploited in the factory.

It may be, and sometimes is, claimed for this so-called "temperance" legislation that if it does no good it can, at any rate, do no harm. That is not so. In so far as it is inspired by any reforming zeal it has the effect of directing attention from the real causes of social evils to some of its minor effects. Just now teetotalism is respectable, and it is regarded as the reverse of "good form" to oppose even the wildest schemes of the "temperance" reformers. But Social-Democrats should not be deterred from opposing what

they know to be mischievous from fear of being dubbed the friends of "publicans and sinners." It is an imperative duty for us to condemn quack remedies for poverty, in whatever guise they may offer themselves; and the more "respectable" and specious they may be the more dangerous are they. Because we recognise the existing evils of the drink traffic that is no reason why we should not oppose the pernicious proposals of the "reformers," any more than the fact that we recognise—more clearly perhaps than most others—the evils of unemployment, is a reason for our not opposing the mischievous schemes of emigrationists and other philanthropists.

The repressive policy of these reformers will not reduce but increase drunkenness, by stimulating secret drinking. By the exclusion of children from the public-house, the latter will not be improved, and the children will not benefit. The mothers, of whom we have heard so much of late, who take their young children to public-houses and there soak them with spirits, are but a very small minority, and the only effect of excluding the children in their case will be that, either the children will be left to take care of themselves in their squalid hovels—where they will be worse off than in a public-house bar—or the women themselves will get the drink into their wretched "homes" and there indulge in orgies which would not be tolerated in the lowest public-house. That, probably, does not concern our puritanical prohibitionists. The misery, squalor, wretchedness and vice, bred by poverty, is of no moment so long as it is carefully kept out of sight.

We Social-Democrats, on the other hand, want to root out the cause of the evil. We aim at destroying slumdom and poverty. We aim at promoting real temperance by giving the people decent homes and decent places of recreation and social intercourse, by creating a material environment which will discourage vice of all kinds and make decent human life possible

for all. For that reason we should strenuously oppose a policy which, in the name of "temperance," ignores the fundamental cause of the evils against which it is supposed to be directed, and is calculated to intensify the disease it professes to cure.

H. QUELCH.



Those gilded flies
That, basking in the sunshine of a court,
Fatten on its corruption!—what are they?
—The drones of the community; they feed
On the mechanic's labour: the starved hind
For them compels the stubborn glebe to yield
Its unshared harvests; and yon squalid form,
Leaner than fleshless misery, that wastes
A sunless life in the unwholesome mine,
Drags out in labour a protracted death,
To glut their grandeur; many faint with toil,
That few may know the cares and woes of sloth.

Whence, think'st thou, kings and parasites arose?
Whence that unnatural line of drones, who heap
Toil and unvanquishable penury
On those who build their palaces, and bring
Their daily bread?—From vice, black loathsome vice;
From rapine, madness, treachery, and wrong;
From all that genders misery, and makes
Of earth this thorny wilderness; from lust,
Revenge, and murder. . . . And when reason's voice,
Loud as the voice of nature, shall have waked
The nations; and mankind perceive that vice
Is discord, war, and misery; that virtue
Is peace, and happiness and harmony;
When man's maturer nature shall disdain
The playthings of its childhood;—kingly glare
Will lose its power to dazzle; its authority
Will silently pass by; the gorgeous throne
Shall stand unnoticed in the regal hall,
Fast falling to decay; while falsehood's trade
Shall be so hateful and unprofitable
As that of truth is now.

—From Shelley's "Queen Mab."

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

INTRODUCTION.

Historic materialism claims to be a sociological theory, and, by implication, a method of research, dealing with the dynamics, with the motor forces and causes of change, of human society. Its purpose is to do for history what Galileo, Bacon, and Darwin have done for natural science. It starts from the proposition that the mind is neither the centre of innate, supersensuous, and eternal ideas, nor a mirror that passively reflects the external world, but an active physiological organ capable of producing thought out of the materials received, through the senses, from the external world. It does not inquire into the origin of mind and of the laws of thinking. It accepts the data of psychology and logic. Its inquiries begin with the question, How does the mind produce and fill itself with definite conceptions of religion, ethics, art, laws, politics, and economics? And why does the mind, at certain periods of social development, reject old-established truths, well-grounded ideas and accepted theories, and begin to work up new conceptions which in their translation into rules of conduct and institutions change in a radical, revolutionary manner our social system?

To that question two replies only can be given.

One reply is: Through the enlightenment of the mind, acting through great men. The enlightenment may be effected through inspiration or through ratiocination. With inspiration we can have nothing to do; the theological stage is a thing of the past. There remains only ratiocination, which means that the mind by its capacity of analysing, combining, and syllogising can discover the unsoundness of established conceptions and build up new ones that are more satisfactory to human reason. Historic materialism accepts the first half of that reply, but rejects the other half. It unreservedly admits the capacity of the mind to ratiocinate and to carry certain conceptions, produced from given external material, to their logical conclusions, even if those conclusions are beyond the reach of empirical observation. But it denies the mind the capacity of arriving, by logical reasoning, at new conceptions without having received new sensations from the external world. Since the time of Galileo, Bacon and Darwin it has become a commonplace in natural science that observation precedes ratiocination, and practice precedes theory. Why should it be different in historical science? Why should we subject the mind to the law of causation in natural science and elevate it to the rôle of a creator in historical science? On what ground are we justified in ascribing to the mind two contradictory qualities, viz., of being only the interpreter of nature, but the sovereign master of history? Looking closely at the reply we are dealing with, it amounts to a deification of the human mind as manifested in the religious founder, lawgiver, empire-builder, and financier. It is, indeed, nothing but a remnant of the theological stage, which has not yet been overcome in the domain of history.

The other reply is: Were the external world fixed, stable, and unchanging, no new conception would arise; we should have a system of eternal truths. The world is, however, anything but fixed and unchanging. It is in a constant flux, undergoing an

infinite process of evolution. This applies both to nature and social history. The bases of history are geographic and economic conditions—the land on which man dwells and the modes of production by which he lives. In the more primitive stages of social evolution, geographic conditions control his settlement, his food, his raw materials, his technology, his communications with the outer world, and his defence. Their effect on the dynamics of society is, however, not so far-reaching and direct; they have more to do with the statics of social organisation and with the fixing of racial types, geographic conditions being more stable and more liable to control by man, especially in his scientific stage. For the comprehension of the dynamics of society the economic conditions are of greater importance. The lines of economic development and technique are more complicated, their movements more rapid, their changes more striking, and therefore their effect on man more direct and embracing. Still, both sets of conditions are so closely interlaced with each other that we may call them geo-economic conditions, always, however, bearing in mind that the economic elements are the more active and fluid. The phases of geo-economic evolution furnish the mind with new sensations and stimuli. A geo-economic system in its formation and growth produces in the minds of the members of the community conceptions of religion, morality, laws, and politics which correspond to the needs and aspirations of that community. A system of thought has been formed that appears to be true and right and beautiful. As, soon, however, as the geo-economic system has undergone a considerable number of imperceptible changes—viz., by accumulation of the means of life, by inventions and discoveries, by communication with other communities, by wars of expansion, by a consequent shifting of social relations, the necessity for a re-organisation of society and the need for a new system of thought begin to make themselves felt, generally in

the form of social and class struggles. Then new leaders, new philosophers, new prophets arise and work up the new sensations into new conceptions and ideals and formulate a new order of things. Society enters on a period of revolution. It is evident from our reply that the mind reacts on the material bases of society. There is, indeed, an interaction between matter and mind. In this interaction the geo-economic conditions are the legislative, the mind is the executive; the material factors precede, the mind follows, interprets, transforms external facts into logical truths and ethical maxims, and thus into motives of the actions of man.

This reply to our question deals with history, and is based on material factors—viz., geo-economic conditions. We call it, therefore, Historic Materialism.

In the following articles, which are based partly on independent research, partly on the work of others, especially on Marx and modern geographers and historians, an attempt is made to illustrate Historic Materialism by the working out of certain historical and political problems.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM.

The Old Testament presents itself as a collection of legends, traditions, customs, laws, and literary productions of the ancient Hebrews, covering a period of more than a thousand years—from about the fifteenth to the second century B.C. For ages past they were transmitted orally from generation to generation, undergoing in the process of transmission important changes, each generation unconsciously weaving into their texture some new thread, colouring them with the tints of its own age, until a number of scribes arose who engraved them on clay tablets and stones, and recorded them on papyri and parchment. The first editor, who brought a certain order into the chaos of Hebrew lore,

was Ezra, the priest and scribe. In the year 444 B.C. he finished the composition of the Pentateuch—the story of creation, the division of mankind, the lives of the Patriarchs and of Moses, and the laws, and handed it over to the people as the Book of Moses. In Jewish tradition Ezra stands second only to Moses the law-giver. The composition of the Scriptures once begun, was continued in the following two centuries, when the Old Testament was finally shaped and canonised into that document which has been known to Jew and Christian unto this day.

The editors of the Old Testament had, unfortunately, neither the historical sense nor the critical faculty, neither method nor system. Orientals, as a rule, do not possess them. The long ages of stagnant social organisation, the slow, uniform rhythm of their economic life, the essential sameness of their experience, resulted in a veneration of the past that stifled research and impeded renovation. The ideals to be striven for, the models to be acted upon, were supposed to have been realised at the beginning of things; the primeval age was perfection and the farther we were removed from it the more hopeless was our deterioration. The great bulk of Eastern humanity has not yet got beyond that conception which forms the essence of the medieval mind. Questioning the wisdom of the hoary past, testing and weighing tradition, independent and critical research, historical sequence and progressive development are the fruits of economic and political revolutions which by their violent convulsions remove the taint of sin from freedom of thought and give rise to the modern mind. The Greeks reached that stage after the Persian wars, Western Europe during the age of discoveries, Japan during the Western industrial expansion of the second half of the nineteenth century, and the great bulk of Asiatic humanity is now being cast adrift from its medieval moorings by the surging waves of Western imperialism. That stage we may call the Periclean age, or we may know it as the

Renaissance, or as the age of Meji—in essence it is the deliverance of man from medieval conceptions and the opening up of a period of scientific research and progressive development. It marks a change of front of humanity from the past towards the present and future. Only in that sense we may say the East stands for faith, the West for science. The difference is neither racial nor geographic, but economic, political, and mental. Instead of East and West we may put Medievalism and Modernism, and as long as the difference lasts the respective mental attitudes vary greatly. Even the spiritual rebellion of an Oriental does not go beyond sombre questioning, while with the Occidental questioning is the beginning, then follow research, methodical arrangement of materials, and the building up of a system. The Oriental, in stopping short at questioning, never arrives at the necessity of research and method. The boldest Hebrew, Job, exhausts himself in woebegone questionings and succumbs abruptly to a vision, while the Greek rebel, Prometheus, wrests the light from Heaven and teaches man to reason and to act.

Lacking, then, critical insight and methods of research, the editors of the Old Testament were manifestly unequal to their task. Records that originated in the remotest past were amalgamated with records of later ages, conceptions that arose from nomadic, tribal migrations were interwoven with conceptions produced under settled, agricultural, and individualistic life. Hence anachronisms remained unheeded, and the sequence of progressive unfolding of religious and legal thought was broken or wholly lost sight of. The Old Testament may be likened to a land the geological strata of which have been convulsed and jumbled up by a volcanic upheaval; débris of Silurian strata came to lie near Jurassic, Pliocene near Cambrian, so that the record of its growth has been mutilated. The Old Testament, in its traditional shape, can thus not be used as a history of the development of the ancient

Hebrews. It must be reconstructed to its natural order. This reconstruction has been undertaken by the "Higher Criticism." It is evident that such a reconstruction can only be undertaken by sociologists who have not only observed or studied the working and transformation of primitive communities, ancient societies, medieval organisations, and modern movements, but who have studied the dynamic factors, the motor forces which cause those transformations and movements to take place. Now, the Higher Critics have rarely cared much for sociology. Their aids have been chiefly Semitic philology and analogies between ancient Hebrew and Arabic life, but they either neglected or under-estimated economic and geographical factors and social struggles: the methods of historic materialism, as used by Marxists, are still unknown to them. So it came about that, while the Higher Critics have accomplished a great deal of pioneering work, much remains yet to be done. We are still at a loss to understand the exceptional position of the ancient Hebrews, the rise of prophecy, one of the most remarkable phenomena in human history, the real cause of the struggle between Yahve and Baal, the birth of ethical Monotheism and social justice, in short, the essential result of Hebrew history which went to the making of Christianity.

M. BEER.

(To be continued.)

MUSIC AND SOCIOLOGY.

In an interesting article, which appears in last month's "Nouvelle Revue," M. Georges Touchard points out that if some individuals completely lack the sense of music—he instances Victor Hugo, who defined it as "the least disagreeable of noises," and Macaulay, who could not tell one tune from another, such anomalies do not occur among peoples. There is not a single nation, not one little people, ignorant of song and tune, so that in history music appears a fact as natural and universal as language; it has existed in all times, and its origin is lost in that of humanity. A Chaldean bas-relief, dating 30 centuries before the Christian era, represents a player on the harp, and there is not an African village, nor savage tribe, which offers an exception to the rule. Travellers in remote barbarian countries tell us with what astonishment they have heard the natives laugh and sing in a way that brought back to memory the dwellers in the land of their own birth. Music is pre-eminently the art of thinking without words, without concepts, simply in sounds; its universality thus explains itself, it must be perforce the natural language of the collective conscience, for that reason it has always been connected with manifestations of social life and it has been very correctly described as "the manifestation of a general

and profound instinct, more or less obscure, but everywhere recognisable in humanity."

Regarded from this point of view the study of music is something more than æsthetical, it becomes a necessary and direct contribution to sociology, it may even interest those people who can only think in words and who cannot distinguish between two neighbouring notes in the scale.

From the most remote ages music figures as a sociological factor essentially representative of public life, of which it constitutes both an act and a function. It is thus in the valley of the Nile as on the banks of the Tigris or of the Euphrates. The trumpet convenes the multitude to religious ceremonies, it announces holidays, the opening and the close of war, the advent of the king, and it is the instrument which proclaims the year of jubilee and forewarns men of the wrath of God. Among the Greeks one finds the same use of music in sacrifices made to the divinities and in the training of youth. In his "Clouds" Aristophanes distinguishes between scholars of different ages by the choruses they learn at school, and there is a virile and national song to fashion the energy of the true citizen, as there is a popular song for all labour carried on collectively. Among this race of artists they sing as they gather the harvest, thresh the corn, tread the vintage, weave the wool, and a little of the soul of Greece intermingles with these common tasks.

The simple chant characterises the middle ages. A powerful bond of union, remarks Saint Ambrose, is the choir that consists of all members of the congregation, and song, the sign of belief, traverses this simple age as "the concert of angels celebrating the glory of God in Heaven." Then follows a later period when under similar influences music, like thought, transforms itself. Ceasing to be popular, it makes itself aristocratic, and to play this new part, it adorns itself with new graces, with what the French call "embroideries," the Germans term "mannerisms." All these

it abandoned during the revolutionary period. The time had gone by for instrumental gentilities, and with fine audacity it adopted popular enthusiasms.

Musical thought, like verbal thought, however personal it may be in its depth and origin, always remains, so M. Touchard concludes, the daughter of its own times, of the times in which it has grown up and developed. If the collectivity does not create it, it furnishes, at any rate, all the material necessary to its formation and verifies once more the theory of the influence of environment. The art of music, studied from this point of view, projects singular light on social life and even upon morals. "We cannot question that we dwell, guests of the Cosmos, in a sublime harmony, and it is not possible there is no accord between what lies within and what lies outside us. The most beautiful function of music, in broadening the Me and disburdening it of all superficial diversion, is to re-establish us in this harmony, of which we never gain complete consciousness, but of which no one is quite insensible, because it is ourselves, and without it we should not be. Once more taking his place in the great Whole, subordinating himself to eternal laws, man by another pathway attains the same certitude, reaches the same goal, and in the contemplation of his individual feebleness does it not appear that he both elevates and perfects himself?"

J. H. W.

THE MONTH.

This month the "Social-Democrat" makes its appearance in a new form and one which we hope will commend itself to all old friends and bring us hosts of new ones. Our ambition is to make of our magazine a periodical which will be indispensable to every active and earnest Social-Democrat. We wish by a systematic "review of reviews" to place in the hands of our readers a comprehensive summary of the best writings on Socialism, from any standpoint, appearing in current literature; to which they would be scarcely likely to have access otherwise. We also wish the "Social-Democrat" to constitute a platform for the full and free discussion of questions of theory and action upon which differences may arise between Socialists. Above all we desire that the "Social-Democrat" should serve as a source of information—social, industrial and political—for every Socialist propagandist. How far we are able to realise these ambitions will largely depend on the support and co-operation of our friends and comrades.

The Anti-Socialist campaign has been carried on, but with a considerable slackening of fire and vigour, during the past month. The two events in the campaign were the starting of the eighteen "Black Marias" on their crusade, and the debate at Carlisle between our candidate there—A. C. Bannington—and the Hon. Claude Lowther.

In the debate Lowther, of course, was completely outclassed, and so conscious was he of this fact that, knowing the advantage of giving a lie a start, he got his fuglemen of the Press to publish

paragraphs and letters about his "crushing defeat of the Socialist." Our Carlisle comrades appear to have enjoyed the defeat and are out looking for another crushing.

December seems scarcely the month in which to start vans on the road for open-air propaganda. We Social-Democrats know something about open-air agitation, and we generally begin our campaign in the spring and wind it up at the end of autumn. Winter we generally regard as the season for indoor meetings; and this simply because the weather is usually too inclement for audiences to gather in the open-air.

But our opponents know better. They are going to show us a thing or two. They set out on their open-air propaganda season at the beginning of winter. Presumably they think it will be safest. As long as they deliver their message against Socialism they evidently think it doesn't matter if nobody hears it, or rather, maybe, they think that the fewer their message reaches the less opposition they will meet with and the fewer people will they convert to Socialism.

The Moderate Party on the London County Council, with that regard for the policy of their predecessors with which we have always credited them, are following the lead of the Progressives in refusing to make use of the powers they possess to save little children from starvation. An agitation has been set on foot to compel the adoption of the Provision of Meals Act, from which ere long we hope to see some practical results.

In Russia the autocracy still rules with its familiar weapons of torture, imprisonment, banishment and death. The institution of the Duma has proved to be even a greater and more tragical farce than was supposed. The Social-Democratic members of the second Duma, have been severely punished for having taken the new Constitution seriously, while even the more moderate members of the first Duma have not escaped scot free. It has been well said that those who make half revolutions dig their own graves. Our friends in Russia are paying the penalty of failure. But the

end is not yet. Autocracy will not have the final word, even although it has secured the moral and material support of Great Britain.

The Scottish Miners' Congress was as frankly Socialist as most conferences and congresses of trade unions are rapidly becoming. The Congress fully endorsed the unqualified Socialist declaration of its chairman, Smillie, in the various resolutions adopted.

The signs of industrial depression which were already manifest in previous months became more evident in December. In the 272 trade unions making returns 5.0 per cent.—an aggregate of 32,010—were reported as unemployed at the end of November, as compared with 4.7 per cent. at the end of the preceding month, and 4.5 per cent. at the end of November, 1906. With a few exceptions the various industries show a considerable falling off as compared with a year earlier and the numbers of unemployed are increasing in every industrial centre.

THE BRITISH IN EGYPT.

(Translated from the German in the "Neue Zeit.")

"It is the unanimous opinion of all authorities, whether non-Socialists or Socialists, that Austria, England, and France have performed a real work of civilisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Egypt, and in Tunis respectively, which has been of great advantage to the well-being of the populations of those countries. Especially as regards Egypt, the fellah who was formerly so much oppressed has now been freed from *corvée* labour, his land-tax has been reduced, and an orderly administration, free from Oriental arbitrariness and corruption, has, without exhausting the finances of the country, endowed it with such beneficial works as the Assuan Dam, which transformed pest and fever-ridden swamps into fruitful soil. Can anyone imagine that the rule of the Pashas would have achieved this?"

Thus writes comrade Bernstein, in the "Vorwaerts" of October 4, by way of justification of his theory of the right of the civilised nations to act as guardians to the uncivilised. I am not acquainted with the work of the Austrians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor with that of the French in Tunis. Accidentally, however, I have had occasion to study the work of the British in Egypt, and am, therefore, in a position to adduce, as against the assertions of Bernstein, some facts which are, perhaps, not quite in agreement with the "opinion of all authorities" on which Bernstein relies. As at the same time the work of the British in Egypt is regarded not only by Bernstein, who is evidently only repeating the words of others, but in the bourgeois world and in England, in particular, as a model of what a civilised nation could perform in the domain of pacific colonial policy, my arguments will also serve the purpose of destroying the myth about the blessings of such a policy.

And first of all we must clearly define the limits of what the British have really achieved. This is the more necessary as the

most exaggerated opinions exist on that head, as can be seen from Bernstein's assertions. Thus, for instance, Bernstein speaks of the emancipation of the fellaheen from *corvée* labour. The reader will undoubtedly be surprised to hear that this is a perfect fiction. Year in, year out, as can be seen from Lord Cromer's reports, thousands upon thousands of fellaheen are forced to give their *corvée* labour on the Nile—11,244 in 1903, 16,439 in 1900, 7,388 in 1899, 19,405 in 1898, etc.—always reckoned per 100 days. No doubt, under the Pashas the quantity of forced labour, given by the fellaheen, was much greater. The responsibility for that, however, lay more with the economic conditions of the time than with the Pashas, since Egypt at that time was still, to a considerable extent, living amidst conditions of "natural" economy which carried with them taxation and services in kind. It is worthy of note, however, that already at that period numerous Pashas were doing their best to mitigate the evil,* while the civilised Europeans defended, nay, made use of it. One need only read the report of the British Consuls of that time to see how readily the necessity of *corvée* labour was recognised.† On the other hand, it is sufficient to recall the fact that immediately after his accession to the throne the much-calumniated Ismail Pasha denounced the clause in the agreement with the Suez Company, in virtue of which the Egyptian Government had to supply 20,000 *corvée* labourers per month for the construction of the canal, for which act Ismail Pasha had, in virtue of the most Christian reward given by that most Christian Emperor Napoleon III., to pay the company more than £1,500,000 in damages. This sum is very considerable even in comparison with the £400,000 per annum which Lord Cromer assures us he had to sacrifice in order to reduce the amount of the *corvée* rendered by the fellaheen. So far, therefore, from having abolished the system of *corvée*, the British, to an extent, were anticipated in this respect by the Pashas, to which must be added that the great development since then of capitalism and all that it implies, together with the completion of most of the chief public works, have offered the British the opportunity to abolish *corvée* labour altogether, which opportunity, however, they have failed to make use of.

Almost the same can be said of the reduction of the land-tax mentioned by Bernstein. It is quite true that between 1883 and 1902 the amount of taxation has been reduced by more than one million pounds yearly; nevertheless it would be a mistake to assume that this money has been saved by the fellaheen. The greater portion of this sum was not paid by the fellaheen even

* See, for instance, MacCoan, "Egypt As It Is." 1877, p. 177.

† Thus the British Consul at Alexandria in 1871: "When it is considered that the maintenance of canals at their proper level is the great desideratum here, without which the country would become a desert, there does not seem to me that there is injustice in making all contribute their share to what is so essentially the welfare of the country."

under the Pashas, and it merely figured on paper as "arrears."* The whole art of squeezing, in which the tax-gatherers of the Pashas excelled, never sufficed to get in the whole amount of taxation, and it was a none too expensive reform on the part of Lord Cromer to have reduced it by so much per cent. and to make the fellaheen a present of the whole of their enormous arrears. It was quite a handsome paper-reform, but somehow the pockets of the fellaheen never felt its effect.

Still more interesting is the case of those public works, like the Assuan Dam, about which Bernstein asks if "anyone could imagine that the rule of the Pashas would have achieved anything of the kind." We assure comrade Bernstein that in order to imagine anything of that sort one has no need of a strong imagination, but merely of a little knowledge of Egyptian history. Between 1813 and 1880 the cultivated area of Egypt increased from 2,904,970 to 4,769,006 acres† —does he suppose that this progress has been achieved without labour and public works? True, since then 2,000,000 more acres have been "transformed from pest and fever-stricken swamps into fruitful soil"; but only total ignorance of the circumstances can ascribe this relatively greater progress to the superiority of the British rule. The Pashas did the pioneer work, and the English have built on ready foundations. The whole now existing system of canals as well as the tracts planted with millions of trees go back to the times of Mehemet Ali and Said Pasha, and the great harbour works at Alexandria, the railway and telegraph systems, the Suez Canal, and the great Ibrahimieh Canal were constructed by Said and Ismail Pashas. Even the gigantic Barrage on the Nile was originally constructed by Said Pasha, only it did not work satisfactorily owing to the faulty technical knowledge of the then French engineers.‡ One may say that the Assuan Dam is the only new great work created by the British in this field—a great work, no doubt, but still not so great as to justify the question "whether the Pashas could have done anything similar." The Pashas had done several things greater, and without them Egypt would never have become what it is now.

One can see from this that not everything which Bernstein ascribes to the British has really been accomplished by them. Some things were done also by the Pashas, and many things have

* MacCoan, l.c., p. 25 and following.

† Artin Bey, "La propriété foncière en Egypte," p. 325.

‡ Compare about this, MacCoan, De Leon ("The Khedive's Egypt," 1887), Eyth, "Wanderbuch eines Ingenieurs," 1871, and other writers before 1882. See also "Report on the Condition of the Agricultural Population of Egypt," 1888. The above-mentioned British Consul at Alexandria says (1872-73): "There are now under cultivation in Egypt 5,450,000 feddans (acres) of land as compared with about four millions in 1867. . . . the increase having been produced by improved irrigation and by new canals." . . . Mehemet Ali alone planted over three million trees.

not been accomplished even by the British. With all that it would, of course, be absurd to deny that Egypt has made on the whole great material progress under the British rule. The population has nearly doubled, foreign trade has increased from 20.6 million pounds in 1884 to 36.2 million pounds in 1903, the general amount of taxation has dropped from 21s. in 1882 to 16s. per head in 1902, the revenue has within the same period increased from 9 to 11 million pounds, while ever since 1889 there have been surpluses, growing from year to year and amounting already in 1895 to over one million pounds, which have not only enabled a portion of the State debt to be paid off, but also considerable sums to be devoted to public purposes. In a word, Egypt is now a tolerably well-to-do country, which gives occasion for comrade Bernstein and the British Imperialists to praise British Colonial policy and extol it as a great factor of civilisation.

The favourable impression which one gets from the rule of the British in Egypt is still further enhanced by the fact that the state of Egypt at the time when the British took over its affairs was outwardly a very melancholy one. The Egyptian finances were utterly dilapidated, and the State was on the verge of bankruptcy. Egypt was at that time blessed by a ruler, the well-known Ismail Pasha, who had the misfortune of having been educated in Paris, and was seized there with the crazy ambition of "Europeanising" his country and his court (as that was understood under Napoleon III.). Millions upon millions were spent by him on public and private works, as much again on festivities, journeys abroad, erection of theatres, on women, and such like princely pleasures, and at last the object was achieved. Ismail Pasha was acknowledged by the entire world as one of the most brilliant rulers, and his genius, his court, his cook, his wines, his people, and his country were extolled in all languages. There was only one awkward thing about it. All this cost heaps of money, and since money does not drop like manna from the sky Ismail Pasha soon found himself in the clutches of financiers who had well understood how to assist him with loans at usurious interest. The long and the short of it was that the State debt, which at the time of Ismail's accession to the throne only amounted to some $3\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds, increased within the short period of eleven years from 1864 to 1875 to the enormous sum of nearly 70 millions, and the entire finances of the country became terribly involved. In vain were the fellaheen squeezed to the very marrow of their bones for taxes; in vain was a financial adviser summoned from England; even the interest could no longer be paid, and finally a commission of control had to be set up by the creditors.

It is this complete disintegration of State affairs under Ismail which enhances the brilliancy of the achievements of the English in Egypt. "It would be difficult," writes Lord Cromer

on one occasion,* "to exaggerate the ruin which would have overtaken not only the population of Egypt, but all those who are interested in Egyptian affairs, if the régime of the pre-reforming days had been allowed to continue in existence but a few years longer. . . . I have no hesitation in saying that but for these changes (i.e., 'the substitution of a civilised, in the place of an oppressive and semi-barbarous, administrative policy') the Egyptian Treasury would before now have been hopelessly insolvent, and that the condition of the people would have been in all respects deplorable." How can one, in the face of this, deny that the English rule in Egypt "has been of great advantage to the well-being of the population"?

Let us look, however, a little more closely. And first, is it really true that the condition of Egypt under Ismail was so hopeless as it is painted by Lord Cromer, and by Bernstein after him? We "have no hesitation in saying" that this is an absurd fairy tale. As against the figures quoted above we may point out that the population, which amounted in 1846 to four and a-half millions, increased to five and a-half millions in 1877 †; that the yield of the cereal crop, which amounted in 1834 to three and a-half million increased by 1875 to 26½ million ardebs (one ardeb equals 5½ bushels) ‡; that the foreign trade increased from 3.6 million pounds in 1849-50 to 18.3 million pounds in 1875; that specially the export of cotton had within the same period increased from 300,000 to 2½ million quintals; that the State revenue increased from 3.3 million pounds in 1830 to more than 9 million pounds in 1876, and so forth.§ One sees that Egypt was at the time in the midst of a rapid economic development, and was by no means that raw, barbarous country, like Morocco or Corea, which one usually represents it to have been. No doubt, the maladministration by Ismail Pasha introduced a disturbing factor into that development. But already the British financial authority mentioned above, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Stephen Cave, remarked in his report that there was nothing extraordinary in that. Egypt, he says, suffers from "the hasty and inconsiderate endeavours to adopt the civilisation of the West," which last "is the fault which Egypt shares with other new countries." And he quotes the "serious embarrassments" of the United States and Canada, and adds, "probably nothing in Egypt has ever approached the profligate expenditure which characterised the commencement of the railway system in England."|| Which is to say, that the maladministration of Ismail Pasha was by no means an "Oriental," but a generally capitalist one, and that, properly speaking, everything depended on whether the country possessed sufficient power of resistance to outlast the temporary difficulties. As to this, however,

* In his report for 1898, p. 11.

† "Essai de Statistique," Cairo, 1879 (official).

‡ MacCoan, p. 194.

§ Cave's Report, 1876.

|| Cave's Report. p. 1.

Sir Stephen had no doubt whatsoever. In conclusion of his detailed report on the state of the finances in Egypt, he says: "It would appear from these calculations that the resources of Egypt are sufficient, if properly managed, to meet her liabilities. . . . The annual charges upon the people of Egypt is heavy, and has increased; but the power of meeting it, that is, the wealth of the country as indicated by its exports, has increased in a far greater degree. . . . Egypt is well able to bear the charge of the whole of her present indebtedness at a reasonable rate of interest; but she cannot go on renewing floating debts at 25 per cent. and raising loans at 12 or 13 per cent. interest."*

This was the state of affairs as represented by a high English financial authority at a time when it was not yet in the interest of England to pervert the truth. Only later, when it became necessary to justify the forcible suppression of Egypt's independence, was the fairly tale of her hopeless condition created and diligently propagated by the advocates of colonial policy.

It will, however, be said, that the removal of the difficulties was itself an act of civilisation of which the Egyptian nation itself was incapable. Lord Cromer justly remarked that had Ismail's régime continued for a few years longer Egypt would have been overtaken by an appalling catastrophe. But how could one expect from such a wretched administration as existed under Ismail that it should improve by its own efforts? This sounds plausible enough, but is nevertheless utterly contradicted by the facts. Not only did Egypt possess the material means to overcome the crisis, but she also was morally ripe to extirpate the evil by the root. Before even Ismail Pasha was removed by the Powers, there had arisen among the educated classes of Egypt a constitutional and reform movement which had for its object the deposition of Ismail and the introduction of a constitutional form of government, and which within a brief period became so strong that Ismail himself was obliged through fear to promise the convocation of an assembly of notables. And when shortly afterwards Ismail was deposed and his son put in his place, the constitutionalists continued their agitation with redoubled vigour till they succeeded, through the military action under Arabi, in wringing from the Khedive and his European wirepullers a constitution. "The three months which followed this notable event," writes an eye-witness,† "were the happiest time, politically, that Egypt has ever known. I am glad that I had the privilege of witnessing it with my own eyes, so that I know it not merely by hearsay, or I should doubt its reality, so little was it like any-

* Ibid., concluding paragraphs. Compare MacCoan, p. 90, 174; De Leon, Chapter XIX.

† Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, "Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt," 1907, p. 152. This remarkable book also gives full information on the constitutional movement.

thing that I had hitherto seen, or am likely, I fear, ever to see again. . . . Throughout Egypt a cry of jubilation arose such as for hundreds of years had not been heard upon the Nile, and it is literally true that in the streets of Cairo men stopped each other, though strangers, to embrace and rejoice together, at the astonishing new reign of liberty which had suddenly begun for them, like the dawn of the day after a long night of fear." This reads like a picture of the glorious October days in Russia—and yet people ask whether the Egyptian nation could have done without the English! It is an historical fact that the English, fearing lest the representatives of the nation should repudiate the debts imposed by usurers and thrown by an irresponsible ruler upon the shoulders of the people, suppressed the Constitution, and seized the first opportunity, largely engineered by themselves, in order to substitute for the national their own rule.* And this is called colonial work of civilisation!

It is, therefore, clear that the Egyptian people could have very well done without the "guardianship" of the British—the more so as Lord Cromer used for the restoration of the prosperity of the country no such magic means which could not have been used by any other Government in his place. As a matter of fact, he owes the success of his administration chiefly to the circumstance that the cotton industry, established by the former Khedives and encouraged by them in all possible ways—by irrigation works, by the introduction of machinery, by model farms, etc.—arrived at its full bloom in the second half of the 'eighties. It must altogether be noted that the decennium 1875-1885 was a period of economic depression which intensified the difficulties created by Ismail, and made them look still worse than they were in reality. The prices of cotton, wheat, sugar, that is, of all the main articles of Egyptian export, were declining from year to year in such a manner that even without Ismail Egypt would have found herself in sorry straits.† Accordingly, even Lord Cromer, when he came in 1883 to Egypt, was at first unable to do anything, and saw himself obliged to adduce this very crisis by way of explanation of the enormous deficits with which he closed the budgets of every year.‡ It was only in the latter half of the 'eighties that prosperity came back to Egypt, and from that time Lord Cromer was enabled to gather in, with a full hand, what others had sown. The well-being of the fellah grew every year (in so far as one can speak of well-being in connection with this wretched peasant class), he paid his debts to the village usurer and the taxes to the Government, his consumption of food and other articles increased—in a word, there arose such conditions which every other Government, besides that of Lord Cromer, who had to

* Blunt, *l.c.*, p. 309 and following; also Appendix II.

† Report on the Financial Condition of Egypt (1884). McCoan, p. 164.

‡ See his report for 1905, p. 3.

consider specially the interests of the creditors, would have also known how to make use of. The only thing which Lord Cromer did on his own initiative was that he fostered artificially the cotton industry to a still greater degree, so that he ultimately had to acknowledge himself that Egypt depended too much upon one article.* In the year 1880 the export of cotton amounted to but 2½ million cantars (one cantar=about 99½ lbs.), in 1905, however, to more than 6 million cantars. As against this the import of food-stuffs, especially of flour, increased from an average of five million kilogs. in the years 1881-1892 to 21.4 millions in 1894 and to 70 millions in 1896.† In 1905 the import of cereals and of flour aggregated nearly 200,000 tons—which denotes a state of things favourable, perhaps, to the finances for the time being, but by no means to the economic development of the country, which through a bad cotton crop or a slump in the cotton market may be hurled into a disaster.

It would take us too far were we to examine the alleged great achievements of the British in all possible directions. The above may suffice to show that they owe their success more to their luck than to their skill—namely, the good fortune of having taken over the management of the country on the eve of an economic advance which had been prepared by the former Khedives. Of course, the very ability to grasp the opportunities of the moment which the British exhibited betokens intelligence on their part, and so much may be granted, without reservation. But what is universally regarded as their title to fame is not that they, as representatives of the international bondholders, have rightly understood that the financial solvency of Egypt depended on her general prosperity, but that this prosperity has been created by them. We see, however, that this is not so. Their chief achievement is that they have put an end to the arbitrary régime of Ismail Pasha and substituted in its place a "well-ordered" administration, thereby removing the trammels of the economic development of the country. But the Egyptian nation was about to do the same thing itself, and had already made the first steps in that direction. Where are, then, the great colonial achievements of the English, which are so much praised? A word, a breath, and *praeterea nihil*.

Here we could well bring our remarks to a close had not comrade Bernstein recalled not only the material, but also the moral advantages of the British occupation. He speaks of "an orderly administration free from Oriental arbitrariness and corruption," which the English have given to the Egyptian people. Is comrade Bernstein sure of his statements? As regards arbitrariness, it is sufficient to recall the horrible drama of Denshawai, which was enacted the year before last. A party of English officers went one

* Lord Cromer's Report for 1905, p. 21.

† Lord Cromer's Report for 1896, p. 7.

fine morning to the village of Denshawai to amuse themselves. They saw a number of pigeons, and commenced shooting at them. The inhabitants protested, the village elder pointed out that their proceedings were illegal, and they were ordered to withdraw. But the officers laughed and continued their sport. A quarrel ensued, in the course of which the gun of one of the officers went off, striking a village woman. The peasants grew wild. They attacked the officers, the latter took to flight, and one of them, overcome by the heat, fell and soon died. The "rebels" were seized, dragged before a special tribunal, and though the facts were found to be such as we have just stated, four peasants were sentenced to death, six others to flogging, and a number to various terms of imprisonment. The executions took place in the middle of the day, and in the presence of hundreds of men and women who had been driven together specially for the purpose. One of the condemned was hanged, and while his body was still hanging, two others were flogged. Then another was hanged, and two others were flogged. "And the women," says the Reuter's telegram, "wailed dismally as the lash was applied and the prisoners were hanged."* What is this sort of "justice" to be called—Oriental arbitrariness, or what?

And corruption. True, it has been the wholesome practice of Lord Cromer not to allow any speculations by financiers lest the old creditors of the State might suffer. At the same time what is going on in the daily routine administration of the country is the subject of common talk throughout Egypt. Just a few weeks ago a great bribery scandal was discovered in the Ports and Lights Administration of Alexandria, which is at present the subject of a Government inquiry. Should the affair not be suppressed, we may live to see a small Panama. The fact is, King Baksheesh is still reigning in Egypt, as everywhere, where there is no responsible Government. One can get there everything for cash—water and fire, public posts and Government favours.† Under the same head comes the corruption of the press, carried on by the Government itself, which subsidises these daily papers in order that they may combat the national aspirations of the Egyptians, and advocate the interests of the Occupation. Reuter's Agency also gets a subsidy, which, of course, does not remain without due acknowledgment.

One thing, however, is true. It might have been much worse. In spite of all, Egypt still enjoys a free press, the right of meeting, etc. But it is not to British liberality that Egypt owes these advantages. Egypt is not a British colony, but a part of the Turkish Empire, which had only "temporarily" been occupied by

* See the "Times," June 29, 1906.

† The "Daily Telegraph" of October 19, 1907, quotes from the semi-official "Egyptian Gazette." "Lawlessness, we are told, by many of our provincial readers, almost reigns supreme, and officialdom, it is alleged, is becoming a hotbed of corruption and bribery."

the English. This is not merely of a theoretical, but also of a practical importance, inasmuch as in the capacity of a part of the Turkish Empire, Egypt is governed on the basis of so-called capitulations which secure to the European Powers ex-territorial rights. Hence the British cannot rule the country in an autocratic manner as they would wish, and this is to the advantage of the Egyptian people. One may safely assert that but for these capitulations the Egyptians would have fared as badly as the Indians. Even with the capitulations the British contrive to carry on a policy of anglicisation, which is hardly compatible with the privileges of other Powers. The Arabic language in the schools is being driven out more and more by the English, the teaching staffs are to an ever larger extent being filled up by Englishmen of a specifically Imperialist type, and the Government posts are given only to those who are complete masters of the English language. On their part, neither Lord Cromer nor the majority of the other "Advisers" have ever taken the trouble to learn a word of Arabic.

Such, then, are the great achievements of the English in Egypt. They may be characterised in one word—a fraudulent legend—and comrade Bernstein cites them as a good example of what is called by him the "guardianship" of civilised over non-civilised peoples! What a partiality for bourgeois shibboleths there lurks in this theory. Its value can be judged in the light of the above.

TH. ROTHSTEIN.

THE REVIEWS.

REVOLUTION.

Our gifted young American comrade, Jack London, has the following in this month's "Contemporary Review":—

"The present is enough for common souls,
Who, never looking forward, are indeed
Mere clay, wherein the footprints of the age
Are petrified for ever."

I received a letter the other day. It was from a man in Arizona. It began, "Dear Comrade." It ended, "Yours for the Revolution." I replied to the letter, and my letter began, "Dear Comrade." It ended, "Yours for the Revolution." In the United States there are over 400,000 men, of men and women nearly 1,000,000, who begin their letters "Dear Comrade," and end them "Yours for the Revolution." In Germany there are 3,000,000 men who begin their letters "Dear Comrade," and end them, "Yours for the Revolution"; in France, 1,000,000 men; in Austria, 800,000 men; in Russia, 400,000 men; in Belgium, 300,000 men; in Italy, 250,000 men; in England, 100,000 men; in Switzerland, 100,000 men; in Denmark, 35,000; in Sweden, 50,000; in Holland, 40,000 men; in Spain, 300,000 men, comrades all, and revolutionists.

These are numbers which dwarf the grand armies of Napoleon and Xerxes. But they are numbers, not of conquest and maintenance of the established order, but of conquest and revolution. They compose, when the roll is called, an army of 7,000,000 men, who, in accordance with the conditions of to-day, are fighting with all their might for the conquest of the wealth of the world and for the complete overthrow of existing society.

There has never been anything like this revolution in the history of the world. There is nothing analogous between it and

the American Revolution or the French Revolution. It is unique, colossal. Other revolutions compare with it as asteroids compare with the sun. It is alone of its kind, the first world-revolution in a world whose history is replete with revolutions. And not only this, for it is the first organised movement of men to become a world-movement, limited only by the limits of the planet.

This revolution is unlike all other revolutions in many respects. It is not sporadic. It is not a flame of popular discontent, arising in a day and dying down in a day. It is older than the present generation. It has a history and traditions, and a martyr-roll only less extensive possibly than the martyr-roll of Christianity. It has also a literature a myriad times more imposing, scientific and scholarly than the literature of any previous revolution.

They call themselves "comrades," these men, comrades in the Socialist Revolution. Nor is the word empty and meaningless, coined by mere lip service. It knits men together as brothers, as men should be knit together who stand shoulder-to-shoulder under the red banner of revolt. This red banner, by the way, symbolises the brotherhood of man, and does not symbolise the incendiaryism that instantly connects itself with the red banner in the affrighted bourgeois mind. The comradeship of the revolutionists is alive and warm. It passes over geographical lines, transcends race prejudice, and has even proved itself mightier than the Fourth-of-July spread-eagle Americanism of our forefathers. The French Socialist working men and the German Socialist working men forget Alsace and Lorraine, and, when war threatens, pass resolutions declaring that as working men and comrades they have no quarrel with each other. Only the other day, when Russia and Japan sprang at each other's throats, the revolutionists of Japan addressed the following message to the revolutionists of Russia: "Dear Comrades,—Your Government and ours have recently plunged into war to carry out their imperialistic tendencies, but for us Socialists there are no boundaries, race, country, or nationality. We are comrades, brothers and sisters, and have no reason to fight. Your enemies are not the Japanese people, but our militarism and so-called patriotism. Patriotism and militarism are our mutual enemies."

* * * *

Here are 7,000,000 comrades in the organised, international world-wide revolutionary movement. Here is a tremendous human force. It must be reckoned with. Here is power. And here is romance—romance so colossal as to be quite beyond the ken of ordinary mortals. These revolutionists are swayed by great passion: They have a keen sense of personal right, much of reverence for humanity, but little reverence, if any at all, for the rule of the dead. They refuse to be ruled by the dead. To the

bourgeois mind, their unbelief in the dominant conventions of the established order is startling. They laugh to scorn the sweet ideals and dear moralities of bourgeois society. They intend to destroy bourgeois society with most of its sweet ideals and dear moralities, and chiefest among these are those that group themselves under such heads as private ownership of capital, survival of the fittest, and patriotism—even patriotism.

Such an army of revolution, 7,000,000 strong, is a thing to make rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. The cry of this army is "No quarter! We want all that you possess. We will be content with nothing less than all that you possess. We want in our hands the reins of power and the destiny of mankind. Here are our hands. They are strong hands. We are going to take your Governments, your palaces, and all your purpled ease away from you, and in that day you shall work for your bread even as the peasant in the field or the starved and rusty clerk in your metropolises. Here are our hands. They are strong hands."

Well may rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. This is revolution. And further, these 7,000,000 men are not an army on paper. Their fighting strength in the field is 7,000,000. To-day they cast 7,000,000 votes in the civilised countries of the world. Yesterday they were not so strong. To-morrow they will be stronger. And they are fighters. They love peace. They are unafraid of war. They intend nothing less than to destroy existing society and to take possession of the whole world. If the law of the land permits, they fight for this end peaceably, at the ballot-box. If the law does not permit their peaceable destruction of society, and if they have force meted out to them, then they use force themselves. They meet violence with violence. They are strong, and they are unafraid. In Russia, for instance, there is no suffrage. The Government executes the revolutionists. The revolutionists kill the officers of Government. The revolutionists meet legal murder with assassination.

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One thing must be clearly understood. This is no spontaneous and vague uprising of a large mass of discontented and miserable people—a blind and instinctive recoil from hurt. On the contrary, the propaganda is intellectual; the movement is based upon economic necessity, and is in line with social evolution; while the miserable people have not yet revolted. The revolutionist is no starved and diseased slave in the shambles at the bottom of the social pit, but is, in the main, a hearty, well-fed working-man who sees the shambles waiting for him and his children, and declines to descend. The very miserable people are too helpless to help themselves. But they are being helped, and the day is not far distant when their numbers will go to swell the ranks of the revolutionists.

Another thing must be clearly understood. In spite of the fact that middle-class men and professional men are interested in the movement, it is nevertheless a distinctly working-class revolt. The world over, it is a working-class revolt. The workers of the world, as a class, are fighting the capitalists of the world, as a class. The so-called great middle-class is a growing anomaly in the social struggle. It is a perishing class (wily statisticians to the contrary), and its historic mission of buffer between the capitalist and the working classes has just about been fulfilled. Little remains for it but to wail as it passes into oblivion. . . .

Naturally the question arises: Why is this so? No mere whim of the spirit can give rise to a world-revolution. Whim does not conduce to unanimity. . . . There are many counts of the indictment which the revolutionists bring against the capitalist class, but for present need only one may be stated, and it is a count to which capital has never replied and can never reply.

The capitalist class has managed society, and its management has failed. And not only has it failed in its management, but it has failed deplorably, ignobly, horribly. The capitalist class had an opportunity such as was vouchsafed no previous ruling class in the history of the world. It broke away from the rule of the old feudal aristocracy and made modern society. It mastered matter, organised the machinery of life, and made possible a wonderful era for mankind, wherein no creature should cry aloud because it had not enough to eat, and wherein for every child there would be opportunity for education, for intellectual and spiritual uplift. Matter being mastered, and the machinery of life organised, all this was possible. Here was the chance, God-given, and the capitalist class failed. It was blind and greedy. It prattled sweet ideals and dear moralities, rubbed its eyes not once, nor ceased one whit in its greediness, and smashed down in a failure as tremendous only as was the opportunity it had ignored.

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But the opportunity is still here. The capitalist class has been tried and found wanting. Remains the working class to see what it can do with the opportunity. "But the working class is incapable," says the capitalist class. "What do you know about it?" the working class replies. "Because you have failed is no reason that we shall fail. Furthermore, we are going to have a try at it, anyway. Seven millions of us say so. And what have you to say to that?"

* * * * *

The time should be past for the mental attitude: "Revolution is atrocious. Sir, there is no revolution." Likewise should the time be past for the other familiar attitude: "Socialism is slavery, Sir, it will never be." It is no longer a question of dialectics,

theories, and dreams. There is no question about it. The revolution is a fact. It is here, now. Seven million revolutionists, organised, working day and night, are preaching the revolution—that passionate gospel, the brotherhood of man. Not only is it a cold-blooded economic propaganda, but it is in essence a religious propaganda, with a fervour in it of Paul and Christ. The capitalist class has been indicted. It has failed in its management, and its management is to be taken away from it. Seven million men of the working class say that they are going to get the rest of the working class to join with them and take the management away. The revolution is here, now. Stop it who can.



A CHALLENGE TO SOCIALISM.

Dr. J. Beattie Crozier has the following in the January "Fortnightly":—

The editor of this "Review," having courteously opened its pages to a discussion of Socialism between Mr. Robert Blatchford, of the "Clarion," and myself, I propose, in this article, as the space allowed us is severely limited, to touch only on those underlying doctrines of the system on which all the street-corner orators of the party are practically agreed, as it is on the opinions of these men, owing to the mass of votes they control, that Socialism as a working scheme for the organic reconstruction of society, if it ever comes at all, will have to be built. As for the "intellectuals" of the party in Parliament and in the Fabian Society, on the other hand—men like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Wells, and Mr. Bernard Shaw—I have myself so much in common with them (as, indeed, with Mr. Blatchford for that matter), that my criticism of them will be confined to a much narrower belt of doctrine, though one even more important, namely, their scheme of reorganisation itself; but this, for want of space will have to be postponed to a future occasion.

In Mr. Robert Blatchford, however, who has been hailed by one writer as the "Rousseau of Socialism," and by another as "the most influential force in Socialistic literature," I am glad to recognise an opponent of the highest honour and sincerity, and one, too, whose views and expositions have commended themselves to the great masses of the party, more, perhaps, than those of any other single writer. If, then, in this friendly passage of arms I am obliged, in order to bring out my points more clearly, to represent my opponent's positions as moves in a somewhat slippery game, it is on the distinct understanding that no unworthy moral implication is anywhere involved; any more, indeed, than in all sincere party controversy, where rival leaders if they have managed to deceive:

their followers, have only done so after first having deceived themselves.

Without further preliminary, then, I shall, to economise space, plunge at once into the heart of my subject, and let my story tell itself as it goes along; the upshot of my demonstration being to prove that until the intellectual world has entirely lost its centre of gravity, Socialism, except by a physical-force revolution, cannot and will not come.

Now the proposals of the Socialists are so well known that they need only detain us for a moment. They may be formulated as follows:—

Firstly, the taking over by the State of the whole of the instruments of production, of distribution, and of exchange, to be worked in the interests of the great mass of the people; secondly, the contention that in the normal course of social evolution the time is now ripe for this to be inaugurated, and for the process of social reconstruction founded on it to begin; and, lastly, that this reorganisation is not only to be sanctioned, but to be initiated, directed, and controlled, by the working classes or by those of their leaders in whom they choose to repose confidence.

On these positions there is a practical unanimity of opinion among all classes of Socialists; but as to the amount of compensation to be paid to the owners for their expropriation by the State, this will differ according to the wing of the Socialist camp to which they happen to belong. The street-corner men, with their vast army of followers, would give the owners but a short shrift, with scant compensation or none; the Parliamentary cohort would be somewhat more liberal, perhaps even indulgent; while the intellectuals of the Fabians' right wing would make their terms with the dispossessed landlords and capitalists so easy, and their absorption by the State so gradual that in a cause at once so noble, patriotic, and honourable, noblesse oblige itself would almost suffice to secure their acquiescence, and make them doff their hats to it all, in token of their courtesy and goodwill! But, however much the different wings of the party may differ on this matter of compensation, whether on the ground of principle, of expediency, or of common social decency, all are agreed on the three points I have mentioned above. But these are so complete a turning upside down of all the recognised processes of human evolution up to the present hour (except as episodes in times of revolution), are so clearly a case of the tail wagging a dog instead of the dog its tail, that what I have to do here is to show where these curious conceptions have form, what the intellectual illusions are which have given colour to them and made them seem plausible, and what the reasons are which have made it appear that the time is ripe for their inauguration and advent.

For all practical purposes, then, we may say that these fundamental conceptions of Socialism arose and gained currency through

the peculiar Political Economy of Karl Marx. He had observed that modern machine production, unlike the hand production of the preceding centuries, yielded a large *surplus* over and above what was necessary for a decent subsistence, and that this surplus, ever mounting up higher and higher, was being drained off and diverted into the pockets of a small body of men—the capitalists—who had had the good fortune, while playing the game of wealth according to the constitution and laws of the country, to get hold of these machines. And as the question with Marx was one, not so much of ordinary *legal* justice as of strict *economic* justice in the division of the surplus—whereby each man should get the fruits of his labour, neither more nor less—it became necessary as a preliminary for him to inquire as to precisely what men or body of men it was to whom this surplus was due, and without whose special exertions it could not have come into being at all. Now Marx himself quite recognised that the working men without machines or rude implements of some kind must, metaphorically speaking, “eat their heads off” from day to day, with as little hope or chance of accumulating any surplus for themselves as the swarming millions of Hindoo peasants. He saw, in fact, that it was to the machines, and to them alone, that the surplus was due, or, in other words, to those powers of Nature which were embodied in the machines, and to which, when yoked to human labour, added, after all deductions for their upkeep, a hundredfold power at every moment of time to that labour. And he further saw that these machines, without which the powers of nature could not be enchained, were the result of the toils of a small class of men whose united brains had produced them, namely, the scientists of various orders engaged in discovering the laws of nature which regulated the operations of the steam power, the electricity, the chemical, or other processes involved in the machines; the inventors who devised the mechanical constructions necessary to bring them into concerted action and use; the men of organising capacity who brought the machines together into factories and workshops, in combinations involving the greatest output with a minimum of waste; and the men of financial or business ability whose schemes brought the product to market in the cheapest and most effective way. If, therefore, he was to insist on strict ideal economic justice, instead of the ordinary maimed and imperfect justice of the existing laws of the State, it was to these men that the surplus really belonged, as being directly the result of their labour, and not to the ordinary working men at all. As for the division of this surplus, again, among the various orders of this small body of men of brains, we have it on the published authority of Mr. Carnegie that in his judgment (and it was right honest of him to admit as much) the lion’s share ought to go, on lines of strict economic justice, to the scientists, inventors, and discoverers of the first rank engaged; and only a much lesser amount to the great

organisers and capitalists like himself, or to the great financiers; inasmuch as without the scientist, the inventor, the discoverer of new processes, the labours of organisers, capitalists, and financiers would be as barren of surplus as those of the whole united body of ordinary working men. But Marx saw as well that by the existing laws of the State, on which the game of wealth was being played, the money capitalist (Mr. Carnegie's lower grade men), who had managed to get hold of the machines, held the whip-hand not only over the working-men, but over scientists, inventors, and the non-capitalist section of the organisers as well, and that, from their coign of vantage, they could, under the ægis of certain injustices in the existing laws, squeeze, and in the end (as we see in America on the large scale) skin them all alike; even Edison admitting that had he not started capitalist on his own account, his inventions would have left him as poor as before. Now it was this yawning gap between the ordinary code of social justice as embodied in the existing laws, and the strict ideal economic code which Marx professed—whereby each man was to be fully compensated for his labour, neither more nor less—that gave this astute economist his opening; and like a skilled attorney, he seized on it at once as just what he wanted in order to play his cards in the interests of his clients, the great body of working men. And the series of intellectual manœuvres and illusions by which he sought to accomplish his end were, it must be confessed, as bold and ingenious as they were successful. Observing, on the one hand, that by the existing laws of property the small company of really great men, who in their various ways were the originators, and, in the true sense, masters of the surplus, had been despoiled of their birthright; and, on the other, that this fraud and injustice, having come down to them from long past ages, had become so consecrated by tradition and custom as a thing of course, that it was scarcely even felt by its victims to be an injustice at all; and, further, being alert enough to see that it was neither to the interest of the capitalist masters, nor of the miscellaneous millions of their workers, to raise the point, but rather to keep it dark, finding, I say, that this conspiracy of silence, like a guilty secret, was covered by a seal which neither the capitalists nor the workmen dare break on pain of cutting off their own claim to the inheritance, and knowing, besides, that he could prove that the surplus, to whosoever it was due, was not due to the mere capitalists, as such, who had managed to get hold of it as their private property, seeing all this, Marx boldly stepped forward and with every appearance of sincerity announced that it was to the workers alone that the whole of this surplus was due. The *whole* of the surplus—and to the *workers* alone! Well, here was, indeed, curious doctrine for the world to hear for the first time, but nothing daunted, he proceeded to make it good by playing off on his followers a series of intellectual illusions.

COMPUSORY INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.

Mr. T. Good writes on the above in this month's "World's Work." He says:—

In an article on "The Real Unemployed," in the October number of this magazine (extracts from which appeared in the "Social-Democrat" of the same month), I suggested compulsory insurance as a remedy for the evils due to unemployment. This has attracted such favourable comment that the Editor has asked me to outline a scheme for the realisation of my ideas.

The first point to be considered is that of the necessary pounds, shillings and pence. How much should each bona fide unemployed worker receive? How much would the scheme cost? And how is the money to be raised?

I suggest that the payments be made daily—every working day; that each unemployed female worker (wage-earning worker) should be entitled to 8d. per day—4s. per week; that each male worker without dependents be entitled to 1s. per day when unemployed; that each man with dependents be granted 10d. per day for himself, 6d. per day for his wife or housekeeper, and 1d. per day for each child—that would be 9s. a week for a married man with two children.

NEARLY TWO MILLIONS IDLE.

How much money would be required to carry out this scheme? I estimate that, on the average, for every hundred men working there will be 15 unemployed—if 10,000,000 wage-earners are at work in the United Kingdom just now, there will be 1,500,000 idle. I am not exaggerating, as many will imagine, but am basing my estimate on practical experience, personal observation, and indisputable facts. Of this million and a-half I calculate that 1,000,000 will be men with, on the average, three dependents—a wife and two children; that 400,000 will be youths, or single men; and that 100,000 will be females. I arrive therefore at the following figures:—

	Per year.
1,000,000 unemployed at an average of 9s. per week ...	£ 23,400,000
400,000 unemployed at an average of 6s. per week...	6,240,000
100,000 unemployed at an average of 4s. per week...	1,040,000
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Cost of claims	£ 30,680,000
Add 10 per cent. for administration	3,068,000
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Total	£ 33,748,000

HOW TO RAISE THE FUNDS.

How is this sum to be raised? I propose that each of the (say) 11,500,000 workers, employed and unemployed, be compelled to contribute 1d. per day, or 6d. per week, to the fund; that those who pay the wages of the 10,000,000 working men—that is, the employers—contribute 1d. per day, or 6d. per week, for every worker they employ; and that the balance, or deficit, be granted by the State. This would mean:—

	Per year.
Contributions from 11,500,000 persons insured at premiums of 1d. per day	£14,950,000
Premiums from employers at rate of 1d. per day for each of the 10,000,000 workers employed	13,000,000
State contribution	5,798,000
Total	£33,748,000

While adhering strictly to the premium in respect of each worker being 1s. per week (6d. to be contributed by the employer), I would suggest a modification in case of domestic servants and all female workers whose wages are less than 2s. per day. These workers should contribute only a halfpenny per day, while their employers should contribute $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day—or 9d. per week for each worker. And I would make an exception in the case of certain trade unionists. The members of any voluntary society granting out-of-work benefit equal to, or exceeding, the amount to be granted under the compulsory scheme to non-unionists should be exempt from contributing. But I would not exempt the employer from contributing his share of the premium to the fund. The exemption in the case of the trade unionist, however, should be optional. And for this reason. Some employers will not engage a union man if they know it, therefore I would leave the trade unionist free either to contribute, so as to avoid any possibility of boycotting through making his employer aware of the fact that he was a union man, or not to contribute, at his own discretion. If he contributed to the fund, when working for certain employers, as well as to his voluntary society, all such contributions, upon satisfactory evidence being given to the authorities administering the fund, should be placed to that individual's credit for an old age endowment—it being understood that a man could not receive unemployment alimnt from the compulsory as well as from some voluntary scheme.

POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS.

TAXING INDUSTRY TO SUPPORT IDLENESS.

Before outlining the scheme further, I may be pardoned for anticipating one or two objections that may be raised thoughtlessly.

It may occur to some that it is not fair to tax the efficient worker in regular employment for the maintenance of the less efficient, who is frequently out of work; that it is not fair to add any such burden as £13,000,000 a year on capital in addition to recent burdens, such as workmen's compensation, increased rates and taxes, etc.; and that by granting the benefits of the scheme we should be encouraging idleness in certain workers not particularly industrious.

Now, as to the first of these possible objections. The efficient and industrious are already taxed in many ways for the maintenance of the idle. Besides, under modern conditions it is not always the good man who is in regular employment, nor is it always the bad man that is out of work. It sometimes happens that the workman who has constant employment is not the efficient man, but the one who attends the same public-house as his foreman, or the same political club or church as his manager, while the man who is frequently suspended is the one who refuses to bribe his foreman. Constant employment in a large workshop where men are frequently being dismissed, or suspended, is no guarantee of either efficiency or faithful service. I have known the best of workmen often unemployed, and frequently on short time; and I have known loafers, tittle-tattlers, and bribers who have never lost a day's wages in twenty years!

HOW TO ADMINISTER THE FUND.

How should the fund be administered? I would suggest that the scheme be managed through, or in connection with, the Post Office. The postmaster in each district, or an official under the postmaster, should appoint special collectors to visit every employer and draw the premiums, the worker's share of the premium to be deducted from his wages, and duly credited along with the employer's share in a contribution book. The workman, when unemployed, should be required to enter his name in a register at the nearest post-office daily or supply other satisfactory evidence of unemployment, and the benefit payments should be made at his home by an official who could satisfy himself as to the number of the man's dependents, and other matters. The payments (less contributions deducted) should be made to every idle person except prisoners and indoor paupers, not only to the unemployed workman, but also to the aged, the sick, and the infirm.



GERMANY'S HUGE NAVAL PLANS.

The following is from the "Literary Digest (New York) :—

Some of the optimists who have been expecting great things from the Hague Conference and the Kaiser's peace pilgrimage to

Windsor Castle are reading with painful feelings the new naval programme of Germany. This programme not only defeats England's purpose to become a "double-fleet power" (by having a fleet equal to any other two), but Colonel Gaedke, the German naval expert, declares in the "Berliner Tageblatt" that it will in ten years give Germany the most powerful fleet in the world. Germany's action is thought likely to stimulate the naval authorities of the other Powers to adopt larger plans, so that some predictions are heard that the next decade will be a time of unprecedented naval construction the world over. Our own Secretary of the Navy asks in his annual report for four battleships where his predecessor asked for two. The main points of the German scheme are given by Colonel Gaedke in these words:—

"During 1908-11 Germany will build annually four cruisers of 18,000 tons. But this will not be all. If we take the law of 1907 as the basis of our calculations, Germany in 1914 will possess 13 armoured vessels of 19,000 tons, superior to the Dreadnought; ten armoured vessels of 11,800 tons, four of the same character of 10,000 tons, five armoured cruisers of 18,000 tons, one armoured cruiser of 15,000 tons, two such ships of 11,000 tons, five armoured cruisers of 9,500 tons, and one armoured cruiser of 10,700 tons, or a total of thirty-seven armoured battleships and fourteen armoured cruisers. The total displacement of the battleships and cruisers in 1907 equals about 350,000 tons. In 1914 it will amount to 717,000 tons. In other words, the German Navy will be more than doubled."

The German press in general view the plan with patriotic pride, the French press view it with more or less envy, and the British press warn their Government to look to their laurels. The Socialists rail against the taxation of the proletariat involved in the high estimates of the Budget, and financial organs are in doubt as to whether Germany can stand the expense.

BOULE DE SUIF.

A German army corps occupied Rouen on December 5, 1870, the few French regular troops having retired, and the National Guard having been disbanded. Some days afterwards several persons obtained permission from the German authorities to go by coach to Dieppe, and it was decided that they should start from the Hotel de Normandie at half-past four in the morning. The night was dark, and it was snowing heavily, and the coach did not start for several hours. Six horses were harnessed and the heavy coach started. It was quite full. Facing each other at the far end were M. and Mme. Loiseau, the wholesale wine merchant. He sold very bad wine, and was known to all his friends as a clever rogue, but he was fond of jokes, and was very lively. He was very fat, his face was very red, and he had iron-grey whiskers. His wife was stout, tall, determined, and she used to keep his books.

Next to them was M. Carré-Lamadon—a rich man, owner of three cotton mills, a member of the Legion of Honour and a member of the county council. During the whole of the Empire he had been the head of the opposition, but he always was a Moderate. His wife sat next to him, she was much younger than her husband. She was very charming, very pretty, and was shivering in her furs. Her neighbours—the Count and the Countess Hubert de Bréville—belonged to one of the oldest and noblest families of Normandy, and the Count prided himself on being somewhat like to King Henry the Fourth, from whom it was said he was descended, on the wrong side of the blanket. He had always been a partisan of the Orleans family, and no one could quite understand why he had married the daughter of a small shipowner of Nantes. But everybody agreed that his wife had distinguished manners and that she knew how to entertain. It was said that they had an income of £10,000 a year.

Near the Countess were two Sisters of the Poor, who were telling their beads with great zeal. One was old, and was badly

marked by the small-pox ; the other had a pretty face, but seemed to be in consumption.

Facing the two sisters were a man and a woman whom everybody looked at. The man was known as Cornudet, and he was the terror of all respectable men. For the last twenty years he had been drinking beer in all the advanced cafés. He had spent all his money and was expecting a berth under Government. He was a good sort of fellow, and had worked hard to organise the national defence. He had had holes dug, he had had trees cut down, and when the enemy had approached he had hastily retired into the town. He now thought he might be more useful at Havre, where new fortifications would be necessary.

The woman, who was one of those who are known as "gay women," was very fat, and that was why she had been called "Boule de Suif" (a ball of lard). Though she was so stout, she had a pleasant expression, a ruddy face with two beautiful black eyes and a charming mouth with shiny and small teeth.

When the respectable women recognised her they scowled, and the words, "a public scandal," were heard, but she looked at them with such a brazen expression that everybody lowered their eyes except Loiseau, who gazed at her with an animated expression.

The women and men, with the exception of Loiseau, went on talking to each other while the coach made very slow progress, though they had expected to lunch at noon at Totes, and they soon began to fear that they would not get there before night.

They all became very hungry, but Boule de Suif had brought a basket. She took out of it a china plate, then a chicken pie, and there were other things in it such as small pies, fruits, and four bottles. She took a wing of chicken and began to eat very comfortably.

Everyone looked at her with envy, and Loiseau said, "Madame has been careful to bring some provisions with her. There are people who always think of everything." She looked at him and said, "If you would like some, you can have a bite." He bowed. "Well, I will not refuse, I am famished"; and looking round, he added, "In times of distress it is very pleasant to find people who will help you." He put a newspaper on his knees so as not to dirty his trousers, and taking his pocket-knife he began to eat a leg of chicken with great gusto.

Meanwhile, Boule de Suif, in a humble and gentle voice, invited the nuns to have some of her provisions. They accepted at once and began to eat very quickly. Cornudet too, did not refuse, and they, with their newspapers, made a kind of table.

Loiseau urged his wife to have some, and after some hesitation she agreed. Then Loiseau, addressing their charming fellow-traveller, asked her if she would allow Mme. Loiseau to have a little piece of chicken. She said, "Certainly, sir," and with a friendly smile, she offered the pie.

When the first bottle was uncorked there was some embarrassment, as there was only one glass. It was passed, after being wiped, and Cornudet alone, out of politeness, put his lips to the place which was still wet with the lips of his neighbour.

The Count and Countess of Bréville as well as M. and Mme. Carré-Lamadon, were suffering very much when they saw all these people eating, and suddenly the young wife of the mill-owner fainted. The company lost their heads, but the older of the two nuns made her drink a few drops of wine; she soon recovered.

The Boule de Suif blushed, and asked the others if they would not take something, and the Count bowed to her and in his most Grandisonian manner said, "We thank you very much, Madame."

So the basket was soon emptied, and then they all began to talk, and naturally about the war. Boule de Suif said how she hated the Prussians, and had left Rouen because she was afraid that she might get into trouble, having tried to strangle one of the soldiers who was billeted on her. She was much congratulated for her patriotism, and Cornudet delivered a patriotic speech in which he denounced Napoleon, calling him that rascal Badinguet.* But Boule de Suif became very angry, because she was a Bonapartist. Matters were likely to get serious, but the Count smoothed matters by saying that all opinions were respectable if they were sincere.

At last they arrived at Totes, and drove into the court-yard of the Hotel du Commerce. A Prussian officer—very young, very tall, and very fair—was standing by the door of the hotel, and looked at the passengers. They all went into the kitchen of the hotel, and the officer, after examining the papers of the coachman, went away.

Supper was ordered, and as they were going to sit down the hotel proprietor came in and asked for Mlle. Elisabeth Rousset.

Boule de Suif started, and said, "It is I."

"Mademoiselle, the Prussian officer wishes to speak to you at once."

"To me?"

"Yes, if you are Mademoiselle Elisabeth Rousset."

She seemed perplexed, thought the matter over, and replied, "It may be, but I shall not go."

They were all distressed at this, and the Count came near to her and said:

"You are wrong, Madame, as your refusal may have serious consequences, not only for you, but even for your fellow-travellers. You should never try and resist people who are the strongest. There can be no danger in this interview. It is probably because some formality has not been fulfilled."

* Napoleon, when a prisoner at Ham, escaped, disguised as a workman named Badinguet, and was always so called by Republicans under the Empire.—J. B.

Everyone agreed with him and argued with her, so at last she said:

"Well, I will do it for you."

The Countess took her hand.

"And we thank you."

She went out, they waited for her and were sorry they had not been sent for. But in about ten minutes she came back very red and very angry, muttering—"The blackguard! the blackguard!"

All wanted to know what had happened, but she refused to say anything. Then they all sat down to supper and enjoyed it. Some drank wine, others cider, but Cornudet would have beer. As soon as supper was done, as they were all tired, they went to bed.

They intended to start at eight o'clock, but when they got down they saw the coach in the court-yard. After some trouble they found the coachman drinking in one of the inns with the soldier-servant of the Prussian officer. The Count spoke to him.

"Had you not been told to start at eight o'clock?"

"Yes, but I had another order afterwards."

"What was that?"

"Not to start at all."

"Who told you to do that?"

"The Prussian officer."

"Why?"

"I do not know. Go and ask him. I am told not to start, so I do not start."

"Did he tell you himself?"

"No, sir, it was the innkeeper who told me from him."

"When?"

"Yesterday evening when I was going to bed."

They wanted to see the officer, but they could not do so before lunch. When the Count saw him the officer said that he would not let them go because he could not, and he told them that they might leave the room.

They did not know what to do, but they had a game of cards to pass the time. As they were sitting down to dinner the innkeeper came in and said: "The Prussian officer wishes to know if Mlle. Elisabeth Rousset has changed her mind." Boule de Suif stood up, quite pale, then becoming crimson at last, shouted out, "You can tell that blackguard, that dirty wretch, that stinking Prussian, that I never will, do you hear—never, never, never."

The innkeeper went out. Then they all asked Boule de Suif what was the matter. She would not say at first, but at last she broke out, "What he wants! What he wants! He wants to sleep with me!" They were not shocked because they were so indignant. Then they all sympathised with her, except the nuns, who said nothing.

Yet they dined, but they said little, as they were thinking. The ladies soon retired, and the men sat down to a game at cards

at which they invited the innkeeper to take a hand. They hoped he would say something about the officer, but he only paid attention to his cards.

The next day they hoped they might get away, but it was no use. At lunch they were sad, and began to think that Boule de Suif was very particular. Why had she not agreed to the officer's proposal? After all, it was her trade, and she would have rendered them a great service. Besides, no one need have known anything about it. But they did not like to say anything.

In the afternoon they went for a walk, but they said little, and nearly quarrelled over dinner.

The following day things were worse and they agreed that something must be done; the Count was deputed to undertake the negotiations. At dinner the innkeeper came in and repeated his question, and Boule de Suif answered, "No, Sir." But during the dinner great stress was laid on the virtue of sacrifice, and the nun agreed with the Countess that, though an action might be bad in itself, yet it became meritorious if the motive were good. The company dispersed at an early hour.

The next day, after lunch, they went out for a walk, and the Count, taking the arm of Boule de Suif, had a long and earnest conversation with her. At dinner she did not appear, and the innkeeper came in and said that Mlle. Rousset would not dine, as she was not very well. They were all very lively except Cornudet, who went away in a huff.

The next morning it was a bright cold day, and the coach was ready. The travellers got in, taking care to lay in a stock of provisions. At last Boule de Suif came, but no one spoke to her, or seemed to know her; even the nuns began to pray. After going on for about three hours they started to eat, but nobody offered anything to poor Boule de Suif.

Cornudet, to annoy his neighbours, began to sing the "Marseillaise," and poor Boule de Suif began to cry. She was still weeping when at night the coach entered Dieppe, and rumbled down the steep streets.

GUY DE MAUPASSANT.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

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SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENTARISM.

For many years it has been the fashion in the Socialist movement to put Parliamentarism and Revolution in opposition to each other, and to describe them as, or at least to imply that they were, mutually exclusive the one of the other.

Parliamentary methods were conceived as those of slow and peaceful reform—whereas the revolutionary hoped to achieve everything by violence and in the course of a comparatively short period of time. The Parliamentary Socialist flattered his soul indeed that he was the essence of the practical politician, who was ready to accept the half loaf, while the revolutionary visionary was dreaming dreams and would accept nothing but the whole.

As a matter of fact experience has shown abundantly that there are no such visionaries in the political world as those who fancy themselves to be the most practical. Thus, for example, the whole history of the Fabian Society has been one long series of disillusionments, sometimes, at least, followed by an attempt to deny that they had ever entertained the illusion in question. For instance, when it became obviously absurd to maintain the talk about permeating the

Liberal Party, Shaw denied that the idea had ever been maintained.

Of course, it is always possible to split hairs over the meaning of words, but it is probable that nine out of every ten of the Fabians themselves understood the policy of their leaders in that way; and this belief was further strengthened by the fact that the Fabian leaders themselves played a prominent part in the London organisations of the Liberal Party, and the then so-called younger leaders of Liberalism—Sir Edward Grey, Haldane, and Asquith—were all held up by them as “permeated” with the spirit of Socialism. In fact, the great Mr. Edward Pease, who had recently the good taste to hold the S.D.P. up for the ridicule of a Harmsworth-reading public, had, to judge by an article he wrote in the Berlin weekly, the “*Neue Gesellschaft*,” at the time when the present Ministry was formed, maintained that view of Haldane up till the most recent times. What views these worthies may still entertain about their erstwhile idols I am unable to say, but from a recent article in the Revisionist “*Sozialistischen Monatshefte*” Mr. Pease would now seem to be pinning great hopes on the speedy conversion of the high Anglican Priesthood to Socialism. Now none of us has the slightest objection to accept help from any quarter from which it may be offered, but it is a different matter when we are asked to build hopes on the same, or even, perhaps, to modify our policy on the expectation of such help.

When, for example, we are warned against asking for the disestablishment of the Church because, forsooth, that may offend some of our would-be supporters, and not only that, but we are warned against allying ourselves too openly with the propaganda of Atheism—though I have yet to learn that, for instance, Mr. Stewart Headlam or Mr. Percy Dearmer are expected to submit to a similar self-denying ordinance in their propaganda of Church doctrine in the ranks of the party—it is time to protest. Personally I have

no wish to restrain either one or the other, and distinctly object to any attempt to banish the discussion of any subject from our ranks because it may not prove popular or because certain people think fit to confine Socialism to the municipalisation of gas and water and such subjects. To my mind, so far from being indifferent on the question of religion the Church is found to be an eminently Socialist institution. Of that more later.

Socialism is itself, in a certain sense, a religion, the religion of humanity. The Socialist theory shows us, namely, that the gods of the religious past were merely the ideological reflex of the social and economical conditions of the society in which they arose; no man was made in the image of God, but men made their gods a reflection of their own image. Just as Bax and others have shown that the introspective religions arose with private property and the decay of the old social bonds, so they will melt away before a society which understands the meaning once more of these terms. These views, however, are my private ones, and I am quite willing not to impose them on anybody else. I do, however, protest when an attempt is being made to turn the Socialist movement into an appendage of the Anglican or Non-conformist Churches, and to re-establish by a side wind a thoroughly discredited theology. But, apart from that, the facts I have mentioned are quite sufficient to prove my thesis that there are no such sentimental Utopians as, for instance, the Fabians, who have always moved in a world of facts which had no existence outside of their imaginations.

But how can we expect really practical politics to be carried on by men whose whole conception obliges them to ignore the one factor which controls the situation, namely, the class antagonism of the propertied classes and the proletariat?

Of course, there is no need to deny that in the form in which this fact is affirmed it does not corre-

spond to reality. The class war theory does not tell us how any individual will act at any individual moment, but it does tell us how the average individual will act in the long run. Individuals may act either on impulse or from some more permanent reason in opposition to the interests of the class to which they belong, but the class as a whole will never act against its own conception of its own interests, and the more these interests are threatened the narrower will be its conception of them and the more bitterly will it fight for them.

A very curious instance of the misapplication of a term comes to my mind in this connection—viz., the expression “class-conscious Social-Democrat.” Of course, it is nonsense to call class-conscious what is not a class. The proletariat can be class-conscious, and undoubtedly the class-conscious proletarian will be a Social-Democrat, and Social-Democracy finds the vast bulk of its supporters among the proletariat; but even were the two absolutely identical—which they are certainly not—so that proletarian meant Social-Democrat and Social-Democrat meant proletarian, it would be as proletarian and not as Social-Democrat that anybody could be described as class-conscious. But, as a matter of fact, the term becomes singularly inappropriate when applied to comrades who are only Social-Democrats by reason of their lack of bourgeois class-consciousness.

It must be admitted, moreover, that where, for some reason or other, the proletarian class-consciousness has been in great part extinguished for the time being, that the Social-Democratic Party may consist largely of non-proletarian elements, when it becomes doubly ridiculous to talk of them as class-conscious.

No! the importance of the class war as a theoretical fact is purely in the guidance which it affords us in laying down the main lines of our policy. Our chief aim must be to get the working classes and especially the trade unionists to accept Socialism, and, through

these, to make of the trade unions weapons of the Social Revolution. In all this there should be no talk of capturing the trade union organisations. What is done by these bodies should be done with full knowledge by their members and because they feel that as trade unionists they are also Socialists. That is how the Austrian trade unionists act, to say nothing of other countries. I hope now that the English Labour Party has definitely accepted a Socialist resolution, that all obstacles to a harmonious working of all Socialists in this body are removed, so that I have no need to repeat what I have said previously against the policy of the S.D.P. in respect of the Labour Party. The situation has now become different and consequently my criticisms lose a great part of their force. We Socialists have indeed much for which we ought to be grateful to the opponents of Socialism, but for none more than that they have taught trade unionists that their aims and those of the Socialists are identical.

But with the acceptance of Socialism by the Labour Party and the possible formation of an actual Social-Democratic group in the House of Commons there arises the question which I set out to answer in this article, which is this: Is there any necessity for an outside revolutionary activity supplementary to the Parliamentary action of the group?

The whole history of the English Socialist movement has been such as to induce English Socialists to devote their whole activity to forming a Parliamentary Socialist Party. The work which has fallen to the leaders of the Socialist movement in other countries—the organising of the workers in trade unions and as consumers in co-operative societies—this work had already been done by others, and the work of English Socialists has consequently been to show the insufficiency of these means taken by themselves and to dwell on the need of the workers organising themselves as an independent political party. Naturally this very factor made them exaggerate the importance

of this side; in fact, to almost all of them Socialism was summed up practically in political action. Certainly the organising of such things as strikes would not have seemed to appertain to Socialism as such, and yet it is all part of the struggle towards the emancipation of labour.

Added to that there has been the undoubtedly baneful influence which the Fabians have exercised on the English Socialist movement. Fabian Socialism, if it can be called such, is the Socialism of the enlightened bureaucrats. To the Fabian, Socialism sums itself up in the increase of Government functions and Government offices, in fact, a vision of an indefinite extension of pleasant berths for the bourgeois intellectuals. He has naturally an aversion to too great an extension of the democratic principle, which, however, in a modified form may be taken as a necessary evil, but which is to be altogether rejected when it demands public election of officials or the introduction of the referendum. Naturally such people grasped at Imperialism. They felt that the superior people had a divine mission from some god or other to rule those d—d niggers. Their Socialism, in other words, sums itself up as an indefinite extension of the powers of the State, and for many English Socialists their conception of Socialism unfortunately is summed up in that.

On the other hand, for the Marxian, Socialism is summed up as the emancipation of the proletariat, and all other implications of the word are subordinate to that one end.

Nowhere does the distinction between these two methods of thought show itself so clearly as in their respective attitudes towards strikes. For the Fabian, strikes are an intolerable evil, which he seeks to avoid by substituting for them compulsory arbitration by judges armed with the full powers of the State to compel submission to their decision, and whose impartiality and accessibility to the demands of reason is assumed to be guaranteed by their indepen-

dent position and the fact that the whole proceedings would be public. To the Marxian, on the other hand, the only guarantee for the workers lies in the independence of their organisations of the bourgeois State, and the fact that the right to strike remains to them as their last resort. In the class State there are no classes who are independent of the class antagonism, and the so-called independent classes are really governed in all their thinking by the narrowest class ideas, however unconscious they may be of the fact.

Here in this connection it may be well to call attention to a very striking illustration of the relative effectiveness of the Fabian legal methods and that of direct action—which is offered by the experience of the English railway workers and the Austrian. The former have undoubtedly a much more powerful union than the latter, they are much richer and they are much less hindered by all sorts of reactionary legislation from taking any action. If they were hindered at all it was by the fear of their leaders being accused of disturbing the social peace. Their leaders are very respectable men who fear God and Mrs. Grundy, and could not think of such an awful thing as a strike. The railway directors were less squeamish and more class-conscious. They had to gather in the best dividends for their shareholders, and did not care a jot for that flabby thing known as public opinion. Now, despite all their legality, all their kow-towing to public opinion, what have the men won? They have given the Fabians a chance to invent a new phrase and to show their undoubted talent in this respect, but otherwise the railway-men's union is in a worse position than ever to defend them, and the men have got nothing! On the other hand, the Austrian railway workers took the matter into their own hands—they applied the policy of passive resistance and in half as many weeks as the English workers had taken months to talk about the matter, they had won all their demands.

It would, however, be a mistake to lay too much stress on the merely material side of the matter. The advantages of the strike lie even more in its moral effect on the men—in the demands made on their power of self-discipline, sacrifice, the appeal to their solidarity, and so on. The men are forced to look beyond their merely individual interests, and to think of themselves as members of a corporate body fighting for an end which is that of humanity as a whole. Whereas, when an organisation submits, without a word, to defeat, their members must feel discouraged. To submit to a defeat is bad enough when we have fought and done our best, but to submit when we feel that our leaders have not done their best, but that on the contrary they have betrayed the cause which they were called on to represent—whether that betrayal came from ignorance, weakness, or conscious treachery—such a feeling must have a demoralising effect on the men, and throw each man back on himself, disillusioned, and without hope.

Moreover, for the Marxian, as a revolutionary Social-Democrat, the right to strike carries with it the right, not only to strike for small economical gains for better conditions of labour, but on a mass scale to strike for some great political or other end as an element in the social revolution. It is idle in this regard to make too fine distinctions. The experience of the Russian revolution has shown that in revolutionary times strikes begun for one purpose tend to develop into the other, and vice versa. Political and economical demands support each other, and take each other's place alternately; the great thing is the testimony which they afford to the awakening class-consciousness of the mass of the proletariat, and the determination of the latter, as far as possible, to take their destiny into their own hands, and not to allow themselves to be wholly catered for by any officials or representatives.

I may here say, in answer to those who think that

the general strike can never be a practical question in England, that they never know what the necessities of the day may bring forth. If they expect that the English governing classes will sit down quietly while their position is being undermined by Parliamentary means, I think they are likely to meet with a rude awakening. Directly Parliament threatens to come into the hands of the Socialists, I venture to prophesy that an attempt will be made to raise the suffrage or substitute a class suffrage.

Besides this, nowhere should the proletariat be more careful not to trust too much to the elected person or the official than in the modern democratic States—and for this very reason, that just in these very States the best weapon of the bourgeoisie has hitherto lain in their power to corrupt the leaders and thus paralyse the action of the mass who were dependent on these leaders.

Even where they do not corrupt with money they have generally been able to achieve the same end by the very fact that neither the leaders nor the masses have hitherto been clear, in England at least, as to what they wanted.

Be that, however, as it may, corruption or ignorance, the best way to avoid either is in the enlightenment of the masses as to what they want and how it is to be got, and in the maintenance of a class feeling between the leaders and the masses, so as to leave the initiative as much as possible in the hands of the masses themselves.

Not only, however, for these reasons, but for the fact that the moral and material awakening of the people must go hand-in-hand, and can only come about by the people learning to take their destiny into their own hands, learning the meaning of co-operation in the fullest significance of the word—for all this there is nothing that is so efficacious as the fight for our ideals; nothing that is so calculated to bring out in the proletariat the best qualities of their class.

No reform is worth a cent to the workers which they do not feel that they have won for themselves, or that it is a tribute to their strength from the powers that be. In other words, which does not contribute to increase their class-consciousness.

The workers will only achieve their emancipation so long as they make themselves in every way as independent as possible of the bourgeoisie. Let them learn to organise their own power as consumers even more than they have hitherto done, and to use the co-operative societies, not only as a means of obtaining little petty profits for the individual member—and because when rightly conceived they have, in these societies, one of the most powerful means of educating the class-consciousness of the workers by showing what the organised workers are capable of—but also of powerfully influencing the quality and price of the necessities of life, and last, but not least, to support the trade unions in their struggle against capitalism, and, may-be, even to cut off from capitalism the supply, say, of bread.

The Liberals have always advised the workers to help themselves. Let the workers now do so with all the weapons which are at their command, as the bourgeoisie have done, whether their weapons be political or economic. It must be allowed that the task of arousing the dormant class-consciousness of the English proletariat is no light task, and one that may well cause us to despair. But one thing is clear. The emancipation which the workers are too lazy to conquer for themselves will never be granted to them as a favour by any other class—nor would it be to them other than Dead Sea fruit were it to be so obtained. Moreover, the Socialist Party will find that not only its own power but that of the co-operative societies and the trade unions will grow in proportion as all three are regarded as the various aspects of one Labour movement, all of which are helping each other towards the common end—the emancipation of the proletariat.

Again, the question how far the classes of the brain workers, the engineers, chemists and other categories of salaried workers, are to be reckoned among the proletariat, had best be answered by these classes themselves. So far as they are ready to drop their dignity and to help the workers in their fight, the proletariat is not likely to reject their help. But when they or anybody else make it a condition of their help that we shall water down our programme, then their help will be best dispensed with.

How long will the workers' struggle for emancipation go on? Of that it is quite impossible to say anything definite. One thing is clear—the workers must count on possible defeats, and the more they are determined to learn from their defeats the more will these contribute to the strengthening of their movement. But it seems to me that it is no less dangerous to over-estimate the time which it will take to realise Socialism—in fact, almost more so—than it is to underestimate it. Those who postpone Socialism to the generations to come, and who base their policy on the assumption of a peaceful process of evolution lasting over many years, are practically leaving the movement disarmed should the development take another turn and a revolutionary period arise. Then they are unprepared, and consequently make mistakes. Whereas the true policy must be one that is prepared to deal with all eventualities, and sees that under all circumstances we must keep our weapons polished. Not only so, but in view of the absolutely unknown possibilities of the future it is absurd to discourage our friends, or to over-estimate the difficulties which lie in their way. In order to win a victory the optimism which overlooks difficulties may be dangerous, but the philosophic pessimism which only sees dangers and difficulties is absolutely fatal.

To sum up, what I have endeavoured to point out in this article is that the ideal of the achievement of Socialism by purely peaceful means, so far from being

practical, is based on most dangerous illusions. Naturally, no one can say what the development will be, but it is safe to say that those are Utopians who build their policy on the supposition that the governing classes will sit patiently and allow them to cut away the ground from under their feet. What the governing classes will do I am not clear, but I think it is best to assume that there will be some trump card which they will be able to play against Parliament, or to alter the Parliamentary franchise; and then, I may add, that it is these same practical Fabians who, with their ideas of compulsory arbitration, would wish to cut off from the proletariat their best means of defence against such plans—viz., by means of the general strike.

Apart, however, from this danger, to make the movement purely political is to make it lop-sided, and to deprive it to a large extent of its contact with the masses, and consequently of its sympathy with the masses, and also to a large extent of its educational influence in drawing on the masses to bring about their own emancipation through their own direct act. On the other hand, the more the movement is made dependent on the elected person the greater does the danger of corruption become from the side of the governing classes. That danger can only be averted the more the masses act for themselves.

And, finally, the fact of relying exclusively on Parliamentary methods with their lobbying, wire-pulling and other methods, is sure in process of time to call forth a reaction in the ranks of the workers against Parliamentarism as such. Why, these ask, should we waste our time, in order merely to help certain favoured people into pleasant positions as Ministers, members of Parliament, and so on? That has been asked in France, and the consequences have been a most disastrous split in the French movement, which largely comes from the mistrust which the French workers entertain for all kinds of politicians. It is probably only in the Department du Nord, where the movement has

always insisted on the revolutionary ideal of the class war, and maintained the necessity of the unity of the party and the trade unions, as well as the necessity for both, that this state of affairs does not prevail. And it will come in England directly the workers feel that their interests are being sacrificed because the Parliamentary leaders have eyes only for the exigencies of the situation in Parliament.

J. B. ASKEW.



DANGEROUS SWEETS.

From time to time instances occur of children being poisoned by eating common varieties of sweet stuffs. Only recently an important prosecution was levied against a cheap form of chocolate that was sold in the streets of London, which under the searching examination of analysis revealed a remarkable concoction, the most important feature of which was paraffin-wax manipulated so as to resemble the creamy contents of chocolate, the latter itself being an extraordinary and highly injurious noisome compound, flavoured and coloured. More recently the Durham inspector, under the sale of Food and Drugs Acts, drew attention to the grave injury accompanying the consumption, by children, of sweets containing chloroform. The worst offenders in this instance, it appears, are those known as "chlorodyne gums" and "chlorodyne lozenges," usually sold at a penny per ounce. When the composition of these gums and lozenges was investigated it was found that they contained 0.5 and 0.05 minimum of chloroform respectively per lozenge. Other sweets of the chocolate variety were found to be equally as dangerous, since they contained alcohol in varying quantities. Considering the pernicious habits arising from the eating of such confectionery, the authorities should exert a searching vigilance in regard to their manufacture, and render the utilisation of such harmful drugs impossible.—"Chamber's Journal."

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

I regret that the L.R.C. ever altered its name to that of the Labour Party; its former title exactly conveyed the meaning of its functions, the reason for its existence, i.e., it was a committee formed to bring about the representation of labour. The essence of organised labour, lying chiefly in trade unionism and Socialism, aiming at complete emancipation, it was quite logical that both trade unions and Socialist organisations should be represented on that committee.

The formation of such a committee brought into existence the missing link between organised labour and politics, and whatever may be said against its working, and the attitude of certain of its members, I contend that it has done a great deal to advance the Socialist movement in this country.

Very much is due to the S.D.P. and its unwavering leaders—who are the pioneers of the Socialist movement in this country—for the magnificent work they have been carrying on during the past 27 years. If there are other Socialist parties and a Labour Party in existence to-day, it is due to the work of the S.D.P. in the past.

But experience has shown that isolation does not *always* do. Working-class organisations and political parties, like individuals, are creatures of circumstances, and they have got to act according to them.

When the S.D.P. withdrew from the L.R.C. in 1902, it gave as its reason for so doing that the L.R.C. was no Socialist Party, that it had no programme, and would not define its object.

It is not for me to pass any criticism upon the doings of the S.D.P. at that time, but looking at things as they are now, my contention is that it is its duty to join the Labour Party.

My reasons for this are manifold, but I will content myself here with dealing with the three arguments above mentioned in order to induce discussion before the Manchester Conference ; and in order to better convey my idea I will, in these few lines, call the Labour Party by its old name.

The very fact that the L.R.C. is not a Socialist Party, is my first reason for desiring to join it ; I should be enabled to remain a Socialist after my own fashion, or at any rate after the fashion of the party of which I am a member, and which I have chosen to belong to because its views and methods are most in accordance with mine. If the L.R.C. had a Socialist constitution, the fact of my party joining it would be to destroy its own constitution, whereas at present any one body joining the L.R.C. is left free to have its own charter, and if for one reason or other the L.R.C. became disrupted, my party would remain the same as it was before, with its own constitution, its own members, its own leaders, its own speakers.

The L.R.C. has no programme ? Good ! It enables my party to have one of its own ; besides, how on earth could any party with a constitution, a programme, and an object affiliate itself to another party with a similar basis unless the two were identical.

But the L.R.C. is not a party, it is a *committee* formed to promote Labour and Socialist representation, and the only thing those elected under its auspices have to do is to try to agree to a programme of palliatives which can only be determined by circumstances. This is what the Labour Party is doing by passing

resolutions at its annual conferences just before Parliament opens.

A Socialist organisation can lay down rules and a series of palliatives called a programme, but it cannot say in advance the order in which that programme is going to be tackled.

The first item in the programme of the S.D.P. is "Abolition of the Monarchy," but I have never heard an S.D.P. speaker talk about it. Why? Because it is not necessary in this country at the present moment.

But if the King of England had been anything like the late Czar of Portugal, surely the Labour Party at Hull would have passed a resolution in favour of the abolition of monarchy, a resolution dictated by circumstances.

I cannot see any good in a committee, representing organised bodies only, drafting a programme to be imposed upon these bodies provided they have already got their own, in the making of which each of their members has had his say; moreover, every one of those bodies has its say in the making of the L.R.C.'s *annual circumstantial programme* embodied in the resolutions passed at the Labour Party's annual conference.

If things were not as they are, all the bodies affiliated to the L.R.C. might as well amalgamate, and save a lot of expenses; but that would be the greatest of all mistakes, as the example of France has shown us.

Why will trade unionists of that country have nothing more to do with politicians, not even with the Socialist Party? Precisely because the latter, composed of lawyers, doctors, professors, and so-called "intellectuals," have been imposing programmes, and tactics, and what not, upon them to such an extent, and without attaining any material success whatever, that the former, handicapped in their own evolution, got entirely disgusted with them and dismissed them altogether. That has led to disruption, the formation

of a new sort of trade unions, the unification of the several Socialist parties, and there they are, doing a lot of talk, with any amount of garlanded phrases, but with very little practical work, and with practically no result.

May the movement be preserved from such a setback in this country. It is a common saying here that we are at least 50 years behind our Continental comrades. Well, I am not quite sure of that. I rather think they are 60 years behind us, for they are only doing now what the Chartists did here 60 years ago, and as Hyndman said the other day at the Holborn Town Hall, I am not at all sure that we are not on the eve of a tremendous upheaval of proletarian forces in this country, the greatest, the best organised, and consequently the most powerful the world has ever witnessed.

The argument of the L.R.C. refusing to define its object has disappeared since the now famous Hull resolution, and I need not dwell upon it.

If there is some truth in what I have said above, I cannot see what stands in the way of our joining the Labour Party now.

Why not be logical?

When you meet a man or woman from a kindred party which is somewhat or altogether Social-Democratically inclined, do you ever say to him or her: "Leave them alone, come to us!" No, you invariably tell them to stop where they are, on the ground that they can do more good work inside their party than outside it, evidently meaning by this that anyone holding more advanced views than those of the party of which he is a member can convert his comrades much easier by being in constant touch with them than by parting company. Why, then, not be logical and join the Labour Party in order to put yourself in closer touch with those you are so eager to convert to your own ideas?

The other day, at the Holborn Town Hall, Quelch was asked the following question : " Why not declare war upon the Labour Party ? " To which he said : " Well, why should we ? We are not going to fight any working-class organisation ! What we have got to do is, not to fight them, but to convert them." Perfectly so ; but, relying upon the old saying that " He who is not with us is against us," I say you are fighting them, indirectly of course, but none the less fighting them.

By being a member of a trade union, where you do your very best to propagate your doctrine, you work from underneath ; if you join the Labour Party, that will enable you to work from above. Why not work from both sides and increase the prospect of success ?

While advising the S.D.P. to join the Labour Party, I certainly have not in view the facilitating of the passing into Parliament of our Parliamentary candidates, if there be such a thought. If I saw Hyndman and two or three others, including Jack Williams, in Parliament, that would quite satisfy me, for they are men, sure and unwavering, who are so by temperament, and upon whom we could rely for the attitude they would take, and that we want them to take. Our object in being represented in Parliament is not, in my opinion, to have a few votes cast for any one palliative Bill, but it is the moulding of public opinion, and Parliament being the finest, the farthest-reaching, and most effective platform in the world, I want to see the first-named comrade speak from it, while Williams held himself ready to insult the traitors of the working-class when need be.

I do not know whether I am not going to be accused of being a milk-and-water Socialist and a compromiser for suggesting we should join the Labour Party. To those who think so, I say, No. On the contrary, I am an out-and-out revolutionist, believing even in violent action when the moment comes, an anti-patriot and an anti-militarist of Hervé's type.

But to me, the end is everything, the means to it do not matter, whatever they may be, and in joining the Labour Party I see a means to the end; and if my friends can see it as I do, it would be criminal not to avail ourselves of the opportunity.

The question will be put at the forthcoming Manchester Conference, and I urge upon the branches to discuss it beforehand, so that a definite vote can be taken and not have this very important question of policy side-tracked by the farce of appointing a committee to sit on it; it might sit too heavily on it, and destroy it.

GUY BOWMAN.



THE PROPRIETORS OF BRITISH RAILWAYS.

I see that a new paper has been published which purports to inform the British public upon railways. It is called "Railways," indeed. I am sorry to see in its second issue that it produces some very misleading figures in respect of the statement that the railway shareholders constitute "an army—some 600,000 strong." Nothing could be more inaccurate than this representation. It is based upon the number of *parcels of shares* in the books of the railway companies, but those parcels do not, of course, stand for one person per parcel. A big advertising agent whom I know does a big business in circulating company prospectuses. For this purpose he keeps a list of shareholders' names. In the case of railways he has collated the names of holders of parcels of stock in all the British railway companies, in order to arrive at actual individual holders. What is the result? The 600,000 become only 180,000. Let me add some further evidence. He has, in addition to this list of railway shareholders, a list of all the shareholders in *all* the joint stock companies, in every sort of business, in the United Kingdom, all the duplicate names being checked and removed. The number of names is only 500,000, or 100,000 less than the number of persons alleged by "Railways" to own the railways alone.—L. G. CHIOZZA MONEY, M.P., in the "Morning Leader," January 23.

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STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

CHAPTER I.—*continued.*

THE RISE OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM.

The Hebrews are a branch of the Semitic race, whose home is Arabia. The physical and economic geography of the Arabian Peninsula controlled in a decisive manner the primitive social stages of its inhabitants and produced the Semitic type.

Arabia exhibits a great and contrasting variety of physical conditions, partly favouring a rapid increase of population, partly compelling migration and emigration. The south-western, southern, and central highlands possess a healthy climate, and in many parts a rarefied and bracing air, a fertile soil, yielding to a moderate amount of labour rich harvests of sub-tropical products. The Yemen and the Hadramaut, the ancient Arabia Felix, were renowned in antiquity for their frankincense and myrrh groves, terraced coffee-gardens, orchards, and corn-lands; Nejd and Hasa for their husbandry, fruits and vegetables. Strabo, the greatest geographer of the ancients, regarded the southern regions of the Peninsula, which he described as being under the sway of the Sabæans, as some of the richest of the world. And protected as they were by innavigable seas and impassable deserts against

foreign invasions they afforded easy and secure settlements to their teeming populations. Even the Romans, in the heyday of their power, failed to subdue them. Those areas were, however, limited in extent ; beyond their narrow confines arid plains and torrid deserts prohibited the normal expansion of a rapidly growing population, and their technique was too primitive to allow an intensive cultivation. Migrations to the numerous small oases with which the desert regions are sprinkled, nomadic shepherd life, became a necessity, and finally emigration to foreign lands.

Up to the second century A.D., the Arabian Peninsula occupied commercially an exceedingly favourable position. Forming as it does a longitudinal land-wedge between Asia and Africa it served as a bridge and an important centre of exchange between the two old continents. And it was in the south-western and southern regions of the Peninsula where those features were most prominent. Indian spices, precious stones, and animals, Arabian frankincense, coffee, and camels, Egyptian corn, African slaves and ivory, changed hands at the ports of the Yemen, whence they were distributed by overland routes to the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile Delta, and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Navigation was still in its primitive stage, and especially that of the Red Sea was in those times regarded as unsafe and dangerous to such a degree that its entrance has become known as Bab-el-Mandeb, the gate of sighs. Commerce preferred continental communication ; the land regions which exhibited an intermediary and isthmian character became, therefore, centres of exchange. The chief Arabian trade route radiated from Aden and ran northward to Mecca, which formed a junction of roads, being half-way to the head of the Persian Gulf and to the eastern Mediterranean and possessing a spring of sweet water, the famous Zemzem. For the same reasons Mecca became the chief centre of Arabian worship, long

before Mahomet appeared on the scene.* From Mecca trade routes were running east and north-east, through Nejd, to the estuary of the Tigris, to Mesopotamia, as well as northwards, through the Hejaz and Midian, to the Sinai Peninsula, the Nile Delta, to Gaza in Philistaea on the south-eastern shore of the Mediterranean.†

In the process of adaptation to the varying phases of their physiographic and economic environments the Semites developed their specific type. The Yemen, the Hadramaut, and Nejd, the nurseries of the race, with their agricultural and commercial conditions, afforded them the well-being, the repose, and the moderate activity necessary to the formation of healthy and shapely bodies. Their migrations and caravan leading through desert tracts, their Bedouin life, turned them into hardy athletes, resourceful leaders of men, and determined warriors; their commercial relations with two continents stimulated their intellect, broadened their outlook, developed their capacity of reasoning and arguing, but it imbued them also with a tendency to cunning, sophistry, and legal fictions.

The pressure of overpopulation could, under the conditions prevailing in Arabia, be relieved only by emigration, and having acquired, in the struggle with their environments and in the adaptation to their varying conditions, the qualities of a strong, self-conscious race, many of the Semitic tribes, probably the most vigorous and adventurous, left their native haunts in order to conquer foreign lands and settle down in

* In the last centuries the process has been reversed; Mecca owes its economic prosperity to religious causes, to the pilgrimage of the Islam world to the Kaaba. This is an illustration of the effect of an idea on economics.

† Evidence of the commercial activity of the Arabs is also to be found in Genesis, chapter 37, verses 25 and 28: "A company of Ishmaelites [Midianite merchantmen] came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt."

the manner of their forbears at home. The waves of emigration followed the trade routes. Some moved towards the north-east and pitched their tents on the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, founding there the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and civilisations which grew in the same measure as the exchanges between the northern regions of India, the Middle East, Cathai, and the Mediterranean countries increased. Other Semitic tribes followed the northern trade route to the Sinai Peninsula, the Nile Delta, and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, founding the Kingdoms of Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine, which either by commercial, industrial, and colonising activity or by religious and ethical thought were destined deeply to influence European history.

As in all ancient societies the social organisation of the Semitic tribes was tribal and communal. There are in the Old Testament indelible traces of that form of organisation ; and also Strabo recorded some striking evidence of the communal mode of life of Arabia Felix. Under agricultural conditions the land was the property of the tribe ; and nomadic life is by sheer necessity communistic. Consanguinity was the bond that held the tribe together. This organisation, strengthened by a community of interests, was in the nature of things more enduring under nomadic than under settled conditions. The tribe migrated together, under the leadership of its most resourceful men, from oasis to oasis, from pasture to pasture, feeding its herds on nobody's lands, satisfying its modest needs from the milk and flesh of the common flocks, and, lacking the opportunity of accumulating wealth and of competing economically with one another, no sense of individual property, individual responsibility, and private worship could arise. A natural feeling of equality and fraternity permeated the tribal organisation.

Such were the physical, mental, moral, and social characteristics of the Hebrew tribes when they finally

emerged from the Arabian deserts* and entered the populous and cultivated Mediterranean regions in order to look for settlements. There exists, it is true, a dim tradition that they first migrated to Mesopotamia; judging, however, from the more explicit traditions of the life of Moses, we may assume, with a greater probability of truth, that the Hebrew tribes chose the northern trade-route through Midian and the Sinai Peninsula. There is nothing inherently improbable in the Biblical record of the sojourn of Hebrew tribes in the eastern regions of the Nile Delta and of their conspiracy against the onerous duties imposed upon them by the centralised, despotic Government of Egypt. Semitic Bedouins from Arabia might have settled for a time near the Delta, and were sure to rebel against forced labour. Even to this day the greatest part of Arabia has remained independent, successfully resisting Turkish encroachments. But for the history of Jewish development, the whole Egyptian episode is irrelevant. The Jewish mind owes nothing to Egypt, and there is in Jewish Monotheism no trace of any Nilotic influence. The real history of the Hebrews begins with their conquest of Canaan.

M. BEER.

(To be continued.)

* The only indisputable fact in the pre-Palestinean life of the Hebrew tribes, the Beni Israel, is their migration in the deserts of northern and north-western Arabia.

THE MONTH.

The Annual Conference of the Labour Party was chiefly distinguished by the importance given outside to its adoption of the Socialist resolution proposed by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Apart from this the Conference was but a replica of its predecessors. The proposal to incorporate the Socialist object in its constitution was defeated by even a larger majority than before, as was also a proposal to permit the candidates of the Party to label themselves Socialist if they so desired. Having thus definitely adopted a "safe" and "sane" and "moderate" position for the Party, the delegates thought they might let themselves go and indulge in the luxury of declaring that they, personally, were in favour of Socialism.

That, no doubt was all they intended, but, as a matter of fact, they went much further. In the first place the Standing Orders Committee emphatically laid it down that the resolution adopted was on all fours with that which had been rejected. Secondly, Mr. Shackleton emphasised that point and insisted upon it that if the resolution were carried the conference would be conceding all that we of the S.D.P. had been contending for during the whole existence of the Party. Thirdly, the vote was taken by card, those present voting *as the delegates* of those who sent them, which, manifestly, they had no right to do if they were only expressing their personal opinions.

The delegates, therefore, whatever their intentions may have been, have definitely committed the Party to Socialism. That is a fact which has been made the most of outside, a fact which can-

not be gainsaid or argued away, and one the significance of which we have no reason nor desire to minimise.

To all intents and purposes, therefore, the Labour Party in the House of Commons is now a Socialist-Labour Group, as distinct from the "pure and simple" Labourists or the Lib.-Labs.

The Social-Democratic agitation for the public provision of meals for school children has been carried on with unabated vigour. In London especially the work which our comrades—among whom Fairchild, Greenwood and Lee may be specially mentioned without invidious distinction—have done has been beyond all praise. The case for the children and against the L.C.C. has been carefully prepared and formulated; thousands of signatures have been collected on behalf of the children's cause; the County Council has been bombarded with petitions and protests, and the magnificent demonstration at Queen's Hall on January 15 was a striking testimony to the work which had been done, and the popular sympathy with the movement which had been aroused.

The Board of Trade has issued a report of its inquiry "into working-class rents, housing and retail prices, together with the standard rate of wages prevailing in certain occupations in the principal industrial towns of the United Kingdom." The volume contains a mass of useful information, which, however, requires to be corrected by other data not provided in it.

It is stated, for instance, that the present volume "does not attempt to deal with earnings generally, but only with the standard rates of wages prevailing in a few selected occupations, chosen on the ground that they are carried on in almost all the towns investigated, and therefore afford a convenient basis of comparison."

The consequence is that all the lowest paid labour is excluded from the comparison. Even then the average *family* wage works out at only 36s. a week, and is highest in Lancashire—London coming next—and lowest in Scotland.

Rents are shown to be much higher—in some cases 100 per cent.—in London than in any other town in the Kingdom. In provincial

towns there is not much difference; but, curiously enough they are higher in certain Southern towns where wages are lower than they are in the North.

The wages, which are those of some of the best paid trades, certainly do not bear out the optimistic statements of anti-Socialist politicians, nor the Free Trade "Daily News" declaration that wages in England are 42s. a week as compared with 24s. in Germany.

Our Berlin comrades are to be congratulated on their agitation for the extension of the suffrage for the Prussian Landtag. Their example is one that we might well emulate. With a Liberal Government in power pledged to political reform we Social-Democrats should, in the next few months, stir up such an agitation for Universal Adult Suffrage as will make it impossible for those pledges to be ignored.

One of the most lamentable features of the Unemployed Debate in the House of Commons on January 30 was that no one put the Socialist solution of the unemployed question, namely, the organisation of industry on a collective, democratic, and non-profit-making basis. Instead, the speakers all concerned themselves with "foreshore reclamation," "afforestation," etc.—all very good in their way, but useless as a remedy for unemployment. Although more than one gave expression to the fact that all the efforts up till now were useless, because the unemployed were engaged on work that nobody wanted done, yet one and all seemed to have a holy horror of entering into any industry at present in private hands. But until they do this, all their efforts are futile. An amusing sidelight is thrown on this aspect of the question by the letter of Archdeacon Sinclair in the "Times" on February 4. He is writing on behalf of the women's work-rooms, which, as is well-known, were started to provide work for unemployed women. The women have been engaged in making clothing and underclothing, which has been bought as outfits for emigrants by the Emigration Department. This demand is now practically supplied, yet the good Archdeacon wishes the rooms kept going, as they have been a "great boon" to large numbers of women out of employment, with which we entirely agree. Now this Venerable gentleman states in his letter that "the rule that a public body should not compete with private enterprise, is a necessary restriction," so he

finds himself in a quandary. He wants the goods made and sold, but he does not wish to interfere with private enterprise. Happy thought! An appeal is made "to those engaged in parish and other benevolent work. The clergy often need such clothing for the deserving poor, and there could not be the smallest objection if they should obtain some of it from this source. Then there are continual sales of work in different parishes, at which such articles are always seen; it would be easy to order some of these from the workrooms. . . . At any rate, if those who are engaged in charitable operations would turn their attention to this matter, I am quite sure that the output might easily be absorbed without injury to any." Simple Sinclair! How can he use productive labour in making useful goods, under present conditions, without interfering with private enterprise? Does he not see that even the articles made in the workrooms for the emigrants would have been purchased from "private enterprise" if the workrooms had not made them? And will it not be the same with these articles he wishes the "benevolent" to purchase to give away as "charity"?

In respect of dealing with the unemployed, the case of the Alexandra Palace must not go unnoticed. A number of men have been set to work renovating this pleasure resort. The Unemployed Workmen Act allows the rates to be used for expenses of organisation only, not for wages. The money furnished by the beneficent Mr. Burns via the Central Unemployed Body, is for wages only. So Sir Ralph Littler (who, we believe, is chairman of the Middlesex County Council) is appealing for funds for materials with which to do the work, and unless this appeal is responded to, and the £3,000 furnished, *the grant from the Unemployed Fund cannot be used.* This is a beautiful illustration of the wonderful ability and administrative skill for which we pay large salaries. Three separate funds to perform one piece of work! Another point is brought out by Mr. Fawley, one of the governing body of the Alexandra Palace, in an interesting letter to the press. He says that "as yet the Central Body have not been able to employ skilled men excepting as labourers." And yet Mr. Burns says if we all learnt a trade there would be no unemployed!

Two interesting items of news come from the United States. On February 3 the Supreme Court gave a unanimous decision

establishing the right of an employer to recover damages from labour unions for an amount equivalent to three times the loss sustained by reason of the black-listing or boycotting of the manufacturers' goods. This is a disastrous decision for the labour organisations. In this case it was a hatter's goods that were boycotted, and judgment for £50,000 was given. The case is similar to the Taff Vale decision in this country. We wonder whether it will have as stimulating an effect on the American workers to enter more heartily into the work of their own emancipation. The other matter referred to bears out completely the Socialist contention that wealth is the real power behind all Governments. Mr. H. K. Smith, the Federal Commissioner of Corporations, in his annual report on the efforts of the Government to control the trusts in the United States, states that "the attempt to check the corporate consolidation of business concerns is vain, for such amalgamations are frequently necessary on economic grounds, and for the most part the amalgamations have already taken place." How the trust magnates must smile! Our position that the trusts are the natural economic development of the competitive form of industry is thus proved up to the hilt. Of course Governments in the power of the trusts will never be able to take them over for the nation. It requires a Socialist Administration to do this, and we hope the workers of America, and of England too, will now see this more clearly.

An article sent by "Mousa," of Geneva, in reply to the one by "Mara" in the December number of the "Social-Democrat," under the title of "Socialism by the Sword," arrived too late for insertion in this issue, and will appear in our next.

THE REVIEWS.

REPLY TO DR. CROZIER'S CHALLENGE.

Robert Blatchford answers, in this month's "Fortnightly Review" the challenge made by Dr. Crozier in the January number. He writes:—

Dr. Crozier has made a great discovery: he has discovered that William Shakespeare, George Stephenson, and Charles Darwin are worth more to England than Brown, Jones, and Robinson: he has discovered that genius is worth more than mediocrity: he has discovered that "surplus value" is due to the inventor, and not to the labourer nor to the capitalist. He is proud of his discovery, and after suggesting that this great economic truth was cleverly concealed by Marx, and is evaded by English Socialists to-day, he naively commends it to the attention of Mr. Blatchford.

But I knew all about it twenty years ago, and have dealt frankly and fully with it in several of my books. Dr. Crozier does not seem aware of this, which is odd, because when he was preparing to challenge Socialism on the economic side he wrote to me to that effect and asked for copies of my books, which were duly sent to him. Now, If Dr. Crozier will turn to chapter IV. of "Britain for the British," he will find the claim of which he makes his case quite plainly stated and fully granted. From that chapter I quote the following:—

"A man invents a machine which does the work of ten handloom weavers. He is, therefore, worth more, as a weaver, than the ordinary weaver who invents nothing. How much more?

"If his machine does the work of ten men, you might think he was worth ten men. But he is worth very much more.

"Suppose there are 10,000 weavers, and all of them use his machine. They will produce not 10,000 men's work, but 100,000 men's work. Here, then, one inventor is equal to 90,000 weavers.

That is to say, that his thought, his idea, his labour *produces* as much wealth as could be produced by 100,000 weavers without it.

"On no theory of value, and on no grounds of reason that I know, can we claim that this inventor is of no more value, as a producer, than an ordinary average hand-loom weaver."

Dr. Crozier is mistaken if he thinks I took my Socialism from Marx, or that it depends upon the Marxian theory of value. I have never read a page of Marx. I got the idea of collective ownership from H. M. Hyndman; the rest of my Socialism I thought out for myself. English Socialism is not German; it is English. English Socialism is not Marxian; it is humanitarian. It does not depend upon any theory of "economic justice," but upon humanity and common sense. In my first book "*Merrie England*," I stated the problem in the following words:—

"Given a country and a people; find how the people may make the best of the country and themselves."

I do not advocate Socialism because it is "economically just," but because it would give peace and plenty to all, and do injury to none.

Dr. Crozier condemns our present social system as evil and unjust. I thank him; and in return I make him a present of "economic justice," and all the other musty, academic formulæ over which pedants have so "toiled, troubled, and turmoiled themselves."

Dr. Crozier says, as I have said a hundred times, that under the unjust system now in operation the inventor is exploited by the capitalist (he ignores the landlord), and he adds that under Socialism the inventor would be exploited by the labourer. He denounces this as a "scarlet injustice," and claims that all the "surplus value" which genius enables labour to create should be paid to genius. His challenge to Socialism is a challenge to dispute this claim. I accept the challenge cheerfully. I admit that the handing over of "surplus value" to genius would be "economically just"; I have always said so. But as a human being I am not concerned for "economic justice," I want happiness; and as a human being I do not care whether my fellow-creatures get "economic justice" or not so long as they are happy.

Strict "economic justice" is impossible, because any attempt to express the value of human services in terms of money is foredoomed to failure. I confess without a blush that I have no theory of value; that I regard all theories of value as vanity and a striving after the wind. It is as possible to weigh human goodness in a pair of scales as to value human genius in pounds, shillings and pence.

James Watt invented the steam-engine. Who invented James Watt? If James Watt created the steam-engine his parents created him. And who created his parents. And so we get back to nature, or to God. And we find that all forms of

human genius, like land and water and the fruits of the earth, are the gifts of God; and why should not we, being all of us God's children, share the gifts of our father to the comfort and happiness of all?

Or shall we give all the millions produced by all the steam engines ever made to James Watt, his heirs and assigns? And, if so, do we pay because Watt invented the steam engine; or because he was the *first* to invent it? And if, as it seems to me, the claim rests upon priority, are we to hand over the whole of the land values of the American Continent to Christopher Columbus? There would be a pretty dish of litigation for the heirs and assigns of the Marquis of Worcester, and of Thorfin Karlsefue, and Eric the Red. And who is to do justice to the descendants of Aristotle, and Newton, and Prometheus, and Old King Cole? And what is the value in foot pounds, or in Spanish dollars, or in skins of lard of Spencer's "Synthetic Philosophy," or the Platonic "Dialogues," or "Sartor Resartus," or Shakespeare's plays?

We will give our genius all he needs, and honour and love to boot. If he asks more we shall exercise our undoubted right to do without him. But genius would not ask more. Give the genius the essentials of a happy and healthy human life, and ensure the same to his children, and he will serve you to the top of his bent. The man is happy who, as Goethe expresses it, "makes good the faculties of himself," the man is happy who feels that he is blessing mankind by his labour. Socialism would make men and women happy by enabling them to develop their powers and use those powers for the general good. "Economic justice" would debase the genius by fostering in him the seeds of pride and greed. It is a privilege to be a genius, it is a privilege to serve our fellow creatures. Let us treat our geniuses as we treat our mothers, our wives, and our dearest friends.



THE IMPOTENCE OF SOCIALISM.

Mr. H. W. Hoare writes the following, under the above heading, in the current "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The large majority of those who sit on the Government side of the House of Commons are believed to be in substantial agreement with the party which sits facing them in desiring to preserve for us our present political State, and to preserve it in a form not essentially different from the form in which they have inherited it.

The Socialist group, on the other hand, make no secret of their desire gradually to destroy that State, and to replace it by some-

thing strange and new to us, which they call a co-operative commonwealth. Now, these two aims are not merely divergent. They are so obviously incompatible that the adoption of the one involves the rejection of the other. But, if we may judge from speeches reported in the public press, Liberalism includes among its leaders some who look at the socialistic propaganda from a less positive point of view. It may be that it is tactically inconvenient to speak out. It may be that any such uncompromising attitude is thought to be premature. To declare themselves whole-hearted opponents of Socialism would be, so these politicians may feel, to admit that it had become a force among us, which must now be openly reckoned with, and of this they appear to be in doubt. At any rate their advice is that for the moment we should approach the matter from the side of mythology. Socialism, they suggest, belongs to the spectre-haunted realm of Bogeyphobia—if by a bogey one may understand something very terrible to look at but in reality nothing but a make-believe.

Ten years ago the Socialist Party in this country had not a single representative in Parliament. If, for the purposes of a division in the House, we may include the Independent Labour Party, they have now over 30 supporters, and they are polling a heavier vote for their candidates at one election after another. Looked at as an international movement, Socialism, within the same period, is estimated to have more than doubled its collective vote. In London the two principal centres of the movement are the Fabian Society and the Social-Democratic Federation. The former, which is at once literary and political, derived its name from the famous Roman general whose tactics of patient wariness and caution all but outwitted Hannibal. The Social-Democratic Federation, which is probably the more aggressively militant of the two, was founded rather more than 20 years ago, and has already more than 40 metropolitan branches. It owns, moreover, a prolific printing press exclusively devoted to the furtherance of the aims and objects of the Federation. Its members, like the Fabians, and like the members of the Independent Labour League, are strenuous men of action. If they are idealists they are also men with convictions, men with hope, men with a determinate purpose, men with a widespread and growing organisation framed to give political effect to their aspirations. Through magazine articles, through the cheap press by pamphlets, leaflets, and picture-postcards, which are circulating by thousands among the wage-earning classes, by lectures, and, last but not least, by energetic personal canvass, and by combining to supply candidates for every Parliamentary vacancy, they are daily doing all that they can to spread and popularise their views. "Every week that passes," wrote Mr. MacDonald in the "Independent Review," for March, 1906, "the Labour Party alone holds four or five score of meetings." "Nothing like this season's propaganda,"

cried the "Labour Leader," of August 16, 1907, "has ever been attempted by any political organisation in the country." Similar evidence might be multiplied indefinitely, so that without attaching exaggerated importance to the preaching of Socialistic doctrine at our street corners, it is impossible to remain blind to the fact that at the present time, as for many years past, the Socialist leaders are energetically and continuously engaged all over the country in making converts to their cause, while the Independent Labour Party have already established over 700 local branches, and are adding fresh ones every day.

It is true that since the Jarrow and Colne Valley successes, Socialism has had a set-back. High rates and public examples of wasteful and incompetent management, have apparently given to municipal electors a severe and wholesome fright. But if anyone is simple enough to imagine that any temporary reverse is likely permanently to disorganise the Socialist ranks, he is greatly mistaken. It may serve perhaps to remind those in command of their eponymous hero, Fabius, who fared all the better for not going ahead too fast. Wares, it may be of a quieter and soberer hue will be advanced for the time to the front of the shop-window. But the goods, momentarily withdrawn, will remain somewhere safely stocked against the return of more favourable and brisker markets.

In these circumstances, plain folk, who watch with a citizen's personal interest the currents of contemporary life, and who appreciate the economic gravity of the fact that the very poor make up one-third or so of our total population, find it impossible to rest satisfied with the "bogey" theory of Socialism.

If they are under an illusion, if Socialism be indeed the mere bogey which our Liberal statesmen, or some of them, depict it to be, then it is certainly the most remarkable imitation of vigorous locomotive life that has ever yet been placed upon the stage.

But there is another attitude which is not unfrequently taken up towards Socialism as to which a few words may not be out of place. Socialism, we often hear it said, is a term so hopelessly vague and indefinite that to get to close quarters with it is out of the question. It is a sort of Proteus of economics, which is always evading us by changing its shape. It is, in fact, not so much a political system as a particular sort of temperament and disposition.

Now, in this contention there is doubtless a certain element of truth. For in one sense Socialism is an ideal, the dream-vision of a land very far off. No one can point to it as a settled polity and say, "Lo! here," or "Lo! there." It does not yet exist for us in time and space. It is "Utopian," a thing of nowhere. The stuff of which it is to be made may, for all that we can tell, be already on the loom of time, but the perfected pattern lies hidden away from sight in the dim recesses of the future. The nearest approach to

it, though of course on an insignificant scale, has perhaps been realised in the administration of the union workhouse.

In common, therefore, with other ideals, Socialism eludes the limitations of any hard-and-fast definition; viewed as an aspiration only it is for its votaries as the lifting up of their eyes to the hills, and as the soaring of the spirit above all the inequalities, the injustices, and the anomalies of life.

Now the lot of the present generation has been cast in a period of general unsettlement. Look where we will, there is a pervading unrest, a sense of perplexity, a seething of external and internal disquietude. And out of all this disquietude it is but natural that the dreams of Socialism should come floating up.

So far, then, as it remains merely an ideal Socialism cannot be fairly pressed to come down from the clouds, and to prove itself a practical possibility for our workaday world. It is otherwise, however, when the ideal materialises into living and engergetic Socialists of human flesh and blood, with a published and well-advertised political propaganda. Yet, even here, it appears that much has at present to be left vague. And this for two reasons.

In the first place it is always a much easier undertaking to pull down than to build, and up to the present, Socialism has shown among its promoters but scanty indications of any considerable constructive genius, "To dogmatise," writes Keir Hardie in "From Serfdom to Socialism," "about the form which the Socialist State shall take is to play the fool. That is a matter with which we have nothing to do. . . . The most we can hope to do is to make the coming of Socialism possible in the full assurance that it will shape itself when it does come." O sancta simplicitas!

If, then, Socialism can finally be accused of vagueness it is only to the extent that it chooses to be vague. The writings of Marx, of Lassalle, and of Deville, are not vague, nor are the publications of their disciples in France and England. It may safely be asserted that complaints of vagueness can only come from people who do not care to be at the pains of consulting the literature of the subject.

But whatever may be the popular verdict as to vagueness, we seem now to have arrived at the very heart of the whole matter. For, however the academic Socialist of the ideal may remain engrossed in the contemplation of his final goal, his near kinsman, the political Socialist, has his eyes steadily fixed on the roads by which it may be best approached, and of these the most important road is that which runs through our Parliamentary constituencies.

It is scarcely likely that the artisans and working classes of this country will be concerned with the question whether as an abstract

theory Socialism can or cannot be successfully defended. Neither will they necessarily conclude that because in many respects it prefers to remain vague it is therefore summarily to be set aside. . . . Hitherto their possession of political power has been conspicuously marked by self-control, by patience, by reasonableness, and by intellectual sobriety. . . . But once let them be persuaded by Socialist orators that what is known as "capitalism" is only a system of organised robbery in disguise, and that so long as it is allowed to last, they are doomed to live their lives deprived of their fair share of the wealth which, as they are every day being taught, has been created by their manual labour alone, and who can say that their new convictions will not presently find a very practical expression in their votes?

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How then are the pioneers of Socialism to be met? It is quite certain that they and their followers will never be scared away by shouting at them. And as for passion and prejudice, these are weapons that will only break in the hands of those who trust in them. Of heat there is always enough and to spare. It is not more heat that is needed, but more light, and, what is more important still, a wider diffusion of light. Those of our practical politicians and working organisers, who are firmly persuaded that the advent of Socialism would herald the ruin of all classes in the community alike, would appear to have got a great deal of heavy spade-work before them among the electorate. The enemy has now taken the field in grim and deadly earnest, and it is in the open field that he must be fought. Activity, energy, and resourcefulness on one side must be met by at least equal activity, energy, and resourcefulness on the other. Organisation must be confronted by organisation, argument by argument, policy by policy, programme by programme, insidious flattery and cajolery by discriminating sympathy, fiction by facts. Thus, and in no other way, can the attention and confidence of the disquieted masses be caught and be kept. Truth, no doubt, is mighty, and will in the end prevail. But the end is not yet, and among men of little knowledge and of urgent needs, men whose circumstances make them naturally open to any plausibly-presented offer, truth will not prevail of its own unassisted weight and efficacy. It needs devoted service, it needs men of public spirit, of warm sympathies, and of solid knowledge, men like the late Arnold Toynbee, to prepare its way, and it requires of them that perseverance in prosaic, ubiquitous, and persistent spade-work without which rank weeds are certain to grow apace. . . . It has been our endeavour to make it evident that Socialism is neither a phantom bogey of our heated imagination, nor a vague unrest too intangible to be dealt with practically; but a well-organised political movement, seeking far and wide to win the support of the electorate with the

view of using Parliamentary power to establish the principles on which the movement is based. And it has further been contended that, in these circumstances, Socialism cannot successfully be met except by a counter-campaign at least equally well-equipped, equally in earnest, and organised with equal efficiency.



A PORTUGUESE INDICTMENT OF THE DICTATOR.

In view of the killing of the King and Crown Prince of Portugal the following from the February "Literary Digest," is of interest:—

Mr. Joao Chagas, leader of the revolutionary wing of the Portuguese Radicals, who has just been arrested in Lisbon for conspiracy against the Government, has published his opinion of the "Dictator" Franco. As the Lisbon press is successfully muzzled by Dom Carlos, it is not surprising that his article appears in the pages of such a Liberal newspaper as the "Neue Freie Presse" (Vienna), which has always been hospitable to foreign Radical writers. We have already given an English writer's favourable view of Franco's work and character (see "The Literary Digest," December 14, 1907). Mr. Chagas, who writes with blood in his eye, begins with a sketch of Franco's career as a member of the Reform party, Minister of the Interior and of the Treasury, until he finally became a reactionary, and stood forth in defence of the monarchy, against democratic ideas. But "he had too much ambition to be contented with the position of a mere helper." He left the Reformers, yet failed to rally round him even a fraction of his former colleagues. "The name Joao Franco roused no sympathy."

He became a Party to himself and is at present, we are told, the tool of Dom Carlos. He is a dictator without a friend. In this connection Mr. Chagas declares:

"The psychology of Joao Franco is by no means complex. He is a sly rogue, of a headlong and masterful nature. But he is a tiger who assumes the playfulness of the cat. His idiosyncrasy has nothing in it that is in harmony either with our era or our race. He is a type essentially reproducing the old South-American dictators who were half-statesman, half-brigand, like Lopez of Paraguay. He is not without a certain intelligence, and a certain frankness that lends to his words the appearance of a high sense of honour and loyalty. This quality of specious candour has opened to him a path to power, and has enabled him to keep his hold upon it. These gifts have led everyone who co-operates with him to acknowledge the overwhelming power of his personality."

The writer proceeds to declare that in the case of Joao Franco "a man may smile and smile and be a villain." Franco, we are

told, is a monster of dissimulation and is only working for his own hand. Thus we read :

"The whole of his administration is saturated with deceit and falsehood. His Liberal programme—a lie ; his administrative programme—a lie. He has set a yoke upon the neck of Portugal which the country can never shake off except by revolution. But has he introduced a reign of economy in contrast with the wastefulness of predecessors ? According to the calculations of one of our foremost publicists the cost of his administration during the brief period of eighteen months has amounted to 20,000 contos of reis [or about \$20,000,000]. This man cries out against corruption. Portugal has never had a Minister so utterly corrupt. He has begun, moreover, to corrupt the King, and has completely corrupted the upper classes, whose help he felt he needed. For this purpose he has raised the civil list of the King and increased the pay of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The civil service with us forms a whole army. The support of this army was indispensable to him. He accordingly has reduced the dues and taxes to which they were subject. In a word, he has followed, point by point, the policy of the old parties which we Republicans have striven to supplant. He wishes to raise up a clientèle of friends. He distributes peerages, State offices, positions in the State Bank, and other well-endowed places."

In short, we are assured, Franco is a reckless adventurer whose sole aim is to remain in power and exercise authority, as is shown by an anecdote of his youth. In the words of Mr. Chagas :—

"What is the political aim of this Liberal who is a traitor to freedom, this ruler who declares that he is strong in his rectitude, but is still as thoroughly corrupt as the others ? He has no aim. He is an adventurer, who seeks adventures, at any cost, tragic or bloody, or what not. A certain friend recently told a story of his boyhood. 'If I should ever reach the summit of power in the kingdom,' he is reported as saying, 'I will never give up my position until I am thrown out of the window.' Perhaps, indeed, this will some day be his fate."

"UNCONSIDERED TRIFLES."

COMPARE MR. BALFOUR'S STATEMENTS—

"Two years ago the Labour Party had made no declaration of policy. They were occasionally in electoral collision and occasionally in electoral collusion with the Government, but had made no clear announcement as to the view of social reconstruction which they went into Parliament to further. If he rightly understood what had happened in the last thirty-six hours, that obscurity was now fully dissipated. The Labour Party, or a large majority of it, had now definitely hoisted the red flag. They had announced themselves advocates of a scheme of social reconstruction which had found advocates in many countries but had been carried out in none, which would carry with it not merely the ruin of the great commercial centre in which he was speaking, which would not only bring to an end great enterprises and destroy our commercial, financial, and manufacturing position among the nations of the world, but which would in his opinion be the greatest calamity that had ever happened in the world, not to the rich, but to the poor. (Cheers.)"—Mr. Balfour in the City of London, January 23.

WITH THE "DAILY MAIL'S."

It [Socialism] has been tried on many occasions in many different States. It was a stage of development through which some sections of civilised society may have passed 5,000 years ago, but which the progressive races deliberately discarded. It was reintroduced in China so far back as 1080. A Chinese Emperor, on the advice of a Chinese Socialist named Wanganchi, decided—like the British Labour Party—that the State should take into its own hands the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture, "with the object of succouring the poor and preventing them from being ground into dust by the rich." The issue of the experiment was absolutely disastrous. Cultivation ceased; the

people were decimated by famine, and their misery was such that they besought their rulers to abandon a system which had proved suicidal. Socialism was discarded, and the prosperity of the State at once returned.—“Daily Mail,” January 24.

Mr. Philip Snowden, in the course of his article in the “Daily Mail” of January 24, says:—“Socialists, at present, make no claim to a complete and perfect knowledge of how every detail of working life will be arranged in the future Socialist State; no more than Edison, with all his knowledge of electricity, can tell us how electrical power will be utilised a hundred years hence. But because the scientist cannot tell us everything about a science we are not so foolish as to refuse to use and apply the certain but incomplete knowledge we have acquired about it. Just as scientific knowledge has come from experience and investigation, so Socialism is the outcome of inquiry into industrial and social laws. With the increase of knowledge, and as the result of experience, certain minor theories held by Socialists will probably have to be modified, just as present-day Socialists reject many of the crude conclusions formed by the early Socialists. *The foundation truths of religion remain unshaken from age to age, though every succeeding generation makes its own theology.* So it is with the principles of Socialism.” The italics are ours.

THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS BIBLE TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

The Prime Minister and Mr. McKenna on January 23, received an influential deputation of Liberal Churchmen who desired to express their agreement with the principle of simple Bible teaching in elementary schools.

The Prime Minister, in his reply to the deputation, said that the views they had so well expressed were the views of the Government, and were really the views on which they had endeavoured to act. The views of the deputation represented the commonsense of the country. He did not hesitate to say that if we were within the next five or six years to have a purely secular system it would be the work of those persons within the Church or without who insisted upon having their own particular doctrines taught in the common schools of the land. He believed himself that if any reasonable proposition was put before Parliament this Session, and was treated as the previous proposal was treated, and if the sort of doctrine and theory to which he had already referred obtained in any degree the mastery—they would not succeed in obtaining the mastery under any conceivable circumstances that he could imagine—but still, if they were put forward in the same uncompromising way in which they had seen them put forward, a great many of their countrymen

would say, "a plague on both their Houses. Let us get on with education, and if you cannot settle these sectarian difficulties, then let us, however much we regret it, exclude the question of the religious teaching of the children of the people."

OLD AGE PENSIONS—WHEN?

Mr. Winston Churchill at Birmingham, January 23:—"He saw it stated by politicians on the extremes of both great parties, and by that new third party who had permanently taken their place in our political life, that any scheme of old-age pensions must be immediate and universal in its application. He did not think there was a chance of that."

WHAT IS SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE IS *not* SAUCE FOR THE GANDER.

Lord Cromer, speaking at the British Constitution Association at Guildford, on January 31, said:—

"I may say that I have passed the greater part of my life in countries where the State is expected to do everything, and where the people do very little for themselves. I have had good opportunities of judging of the apathy, the helplessness, and, to use Lord Lansdowne's expressive phrase, the 'demoralisation' produced by this system.

"Excessive reliance on the State tended to sap all independence and virility of character. It was just at present very necessary to bring this aspect of the case home to the public. We are threatened with what is really a gigantic and very costly scheme of Out-door Relief under a universal Old Age Pension plan, established on a 'non-contributory' basis. A large section of the community would rely for their subsistence on the eleemosynary assistance of the State.

"Although in some cases State interference might be necessary, there was always a presumption against permitting it."

The noble lord, as Consul-General of Egypt, was in receipt of a salary of £6,500 a year. When he retired after 25 years' service, he came into a pension of about £2,000 a year, and Parliament voted him a nice little *douceur* of £50,000. All this came from the State. Has Lord Cromer been demoralised by the receipt of State funds? He would stoutly contest such an insinuation. It is only when the State funds are to be devoted to the workers that they demoralise the recipients, apparently.

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SURPLUS ATOMS.

(AN EVERYDAY TRAGEDY.)

BY ALFRED HICKS.

Dramatis personæ:—

Jack Alden (a Cabinet Maker).
Mrs. Alden (wife of Jack Alden).
Polly Alden (daughter).
Mrs. Jenkins (a neighbour).
Baby } (children of Jack Alden).
Johnny }
Carman (of Elm's cabinet factory).
Simon Lapham (of Lapham, Walters & Co.,
 clothing contractors).
Stenographer (to Lapham, Walters & Co.).
Porter (to Lapham, Walters & Co.).
Chairman } (of Socialist meeting).
Speaker }

(Voices in Crowd, Crowd, Policeman, Tramps, &c.)

ACT I.—Scene is laid in living-room of flat in workmen's dwellings in St. Pancras, London.

ACT II.—Scene: a one-room tenement in Spitalfields. Nearly two years have elapsed since first Act.

Act. III.—Scene: Office of Lapham, Walters & Co. Four months later than ACT II.

EPILOGUE.—Scene : Victoria Park. One month later than Act III.

Time of Play—

Any time within the past five years.

ACT I.

[The scene of action is the living-room of a three-room flat, contained in one of the brick and iron pigeon-coops, known as "workmen's dwellings." As the custom is, the room is kitchen,

dining-room, workroom, and playroom all combined: a fact evidenced by the furnishing. Taking up most of the right side is a kitchen-dresser, with its rows of plates and cups and saucers on shelves above, with the pots and pans below. Just beside the dresser, and toward the front, is a window with a row of potted plants on the window-ledge. Flanking the dresser, toward the back of the room is a small hanging book-rack. At the back is a door leading to an inner room, and a hat-rack on which some coats and hats are hanging. On the left side is another door, which leads out on to the corridor. Between this door and the front is the neatly-kept kitchen-range, showing the pride and care of a good housekeeper. In the centre is a good-sized deal table, beside it a large wooden armchair, four or five other wooden chairs are ranged round the walls.

In the room are Mrs. Alden, a comfortable woman of about 40, whose grammar may not be always perfect, but as wife, mother, and housekeeper she is altogether beyond reproach; Polly Alden, a girl of 15, not long out of school and her mother's right hand; Johnny Alden, a wide-eyed boy of 7 or 8; and a young baby.

Mrs. Alden is preparing dinner in front of the fireplace, Polly is pacifying the baby, who is cross and fretful.]

Mrs. ALDEN: Hurry up, Polly, and get the table set; dinner 'll be all ready to put out as soon as your father comes in. Oh, baby! shut up your crying! You've had your dinner, this is for your daddy. Johnny! you take baby out in the yard for a little, when your father comes in he'll want a little peace and quiet. Here, baby, let me fasten your pinnie! [*She ties up the child's pinafore and puts on its hood, while Johnny gets his own cap.*] Now you, Johnny, be careful how you go downstairs, and mind you don't run out in the street! [*The children go out.*] Thank goodness, they're gone! This close weather makes 'em so cross and fretful indoors, it fair drives me distracted.

POLLY: And father looked so tired and worried last night.

Mrs. ALDEN: Seems to me that all this new-fangled machinery they've got down at Elms's only makes the men work the harder.—Well, if I do say it, your father's as good a man as any of 'em! When you get old enough to have a beau, you choose a feller like him! Stiddy as a top, never touched a drop of liquor since the day we was married. He don't go a-spendin' all his money on 'imself neither. I sometimes wish he would spend a little more. Only last week I sez, "Jack, you must get you a new coat and vest!" But, no, he wouldn't. "Can't you do this one up for me a little? Jes' sew some braid on the sleeves. I wants to put three shillings in this week, 'stid of drawin'

any of it out ; it'll bring it up to the even pound." Oh, he's a great one to save up, he is ; wants to buy a little house sometime.

POLLY : That would be nice, wouldn't it—perhaps we could have a little garden then !

Mrs. ALDEN : If it hadn't bin for poor little Jimmy bein' ill so long, and then all the funeral expenses, I s'pose we should have gone out to one of them new houses at Walthamstow this very summer.

POLLY : I wish that we could have done it. [*Looks at clock on mantel, over the fireplace.*] I wonder why father don't come ; here it is two o'clock !

Mrs. ALDEN : He must have had a extry job to do. Well, I'll keep his dinner warm for him. [*Covers up the liver and bacon she has been cooking, with another plate, and puts it into the oven, leaving the door open.*] You'd better run down and look arter the kids, that Johnny 'll be getting into mischief.

POLLY : All right, ma, I'll go down now ! [*Exit.*]

Mrs. ALDEN : I'll jes' have a look at that old coat, an' see if I can do anything with it. [*Takes down coat from rack, and sits in chair by the window.*] Jack, you're a good old soul, but I do wish you'd get you some decent clothes. 'Taint as I grudge the workin' on 'em, but when I sees that Tom Jenkins allus so dressed-up and smart—and 'e comes 'ome drunk every week or so—and then to see my man, what's allus so steady and sober, goin' round in shabby clothes !—Well' I don't care ! nothin' I can do will ever make this old coat anythin' but shabby. [*Holds it up to have a look at it.*] Jack, you've jes' got to 'ave a new coat ! [*A knock is heard at door.*] Come in ! Oh, it's you, Mrs. Jenkins ! Step in, and take a chair.

Mrs. JENKINS : Thank ye, Mrs. Alden, but I can't stop. I only want the borry of a little tea ; my old man is 'avin' his dinner, and sez as 'ow he'd like some tea, an' I aint got none. [*Mrs. Alden goes to dresser-shelf to get tea-caddy.*] Oh, an' what do you think ? We are all going in the country for a holiday next week. Tom 'as got some rich cousins down in Kent, an' nothink will do but we must all go down there to visit them.

Mrs. ALDEN : Lor', you don't say ! That will be nice, won't it ? 'Ow many spoonfuls would you like ?

Mrs. JENKINS : Oh, jes' two or three ; or if you'd jes' as lieves, better make it six or eight, an' then I can make a cup for

me too, before we go out. I'll pay you all back w'en we comes 'ome agen. Yes, an' I'm goin' out this very afternoon to get a noo hat, an' Tom 'e's goin' to get him a noo suit. We got to be sort of toffs from London, you see. [*Mrs. Alden hands her the tea done up in a piece of paper.*] Thank you now, you're a good sort, Mrs. Alden. I've allus said Mrs. Alden's the kindest, nicest neighbour in the block, an' I won't take it back for nobody.

Mrs. ALDEN [*evidently pleased*]: Oh, well now! it's only right and nice to be neighbourly. Is there anything more I can do for you?

Mrs. JENKINS [*in doorway, talking loudly*]: Oh, no! don't think of it, Mrs. Alden, I never likes to impose on good nature. [*Comes back close to Mrs. Alden, and in much lower tone.*] But now you are so kind as to offer it, there is one thing I wish you'd do—when the furniture man comes round next Tuesday, if 'e goes to cut up nasty, I wish you'd tell 'im as 'ow we 'ave been invited away by some rich relations as 'ave Tom in their wills for a lot of money.

Mrs. ALDEN: You don't say? And has they really got so much money?

Mrs. JENKINS: You will tell 'im, won't you now? O' course we don't really know; but it'll sorter keep him quiet. If 'e starts a rowin', the agent will be arter us too for the back month's rent—a body can't allus keep up with the payments. I know you'll be sure to tell 'im, won't you now? [*Goes to door, and talks loudly again.*] Same to you some day, Mrs. Alden. Yes, we'll be 'avin' a lovely time. [*Exit.*]

Mrs. ALDEN [*picks up the old coat and sits down in chair*]: Borry and borry—nice way to live. Don't pay his bills neither, 'asn't paid for the table 'e eats his dinner on; 'e'd owe for the railway tickets if they'd let 'im. Lor'! it fair makes me tired, it do! 'Ere's my Jack, as works an' saves all the time, won't even buy a new coat, while that Tom Jenkins is allus buyin' new clothes. An' as for 'olidays, my Jack aint bin away, 'ceptin' Bank 'Oliday an' a Sunday League excursion or two, for more'n ten year. [*Rising and throwing the coat down in the corner.*] It aint right, an' I aint goin' to stand it. My Jack's got to 'ave a new coat, an' he's got to 'ave a 'oliday too, so there now! I wonder if he can't go away next week? He sez only this very week as things was a little bit slack while they were a puttin' in them new machines—should think he could get off for a week, an' it would do 'im all the good in the world. [*Looks at clock.*] I wonder

what can be a-keepin' him! Half-past two! [*Crosses to window, and looks out.*] Elms's furniture van! There ain't nobody gettin' furniture from Elms's in this block? That was one o' their vans a-drivin' into the court! Maybe, Jack has got some firewood from the factory.—I wonder 'ow much he's got in the bank now? 'E won't mind my lookin', I'm sure. [*Takes down a Post Office Savings Bank book from rack on wall.*] Let's see—there's the five-pound ten that was left after paying the funeral expenses last August. [*Counts up.*] Two shillin's, three shillin's, two shillin's, one shillin', one shillin', one shillin', three shillin's, one shillin', one shillin'—only fifteen shillin's in two months—it do take a lot of time to save a little money now. Ah! here it's better—four shillin's, three shillin's, four shillin's, two shillin's, one shillin', an' more shillinses. I notice 'e don't draw any of it out to speak of—let's see. [*Adds up the total.*] That leaves just twelve-pound seventeen an' sixpence in. Take out the month's rent, that's thirty-eight shillin's due next week, an' with what 'e puts in there'll be a little over eleven pound.—Well, 'e's jes' got to take three pounds, an' buy him a coat an' vest, an' go off for a week for a 'oliday. I see the Sunday League 'as some nice eight-day trips to Yarmouth, an' when 'e comes back, with his nice clothes and a nice colour in his face, I'll be as proud of my old Jack as when 'e was a-courtin' me.—I wish he'd come in; 'is dinner's all a-drying up. [*A loud bumping of a heavy box is heard outside, and men's voices.*] Here 'e is, at last. [*Drops bank-book on table, and turns to dish up the dinner. The door is opened by Jack Alden, an active, well-set-up man of about 45, hair somewhat grey, and face very pale.*]

JACK ALDEN: 'Ere we are, matey! A stiff old climb up five flights with that old box!

MRS. ALDEN [*still facing the stove*]: What's kep' you so late, Jack? Dinner's most dried up. [*As she carries plate to table, she notices how pale he is.*] Jack! Jack! what is the matter? What makes you so white? Are you hurt?

JACK ALDEN [*grimly*]: Worse than that, Mary. Got the sack—had to stop and pack my tools.

CARMAN [*who has been helping Alden to put his tool-chest in the corner*]: It's a bloomin' shime, missus; so it is! It's all them damned new machines they've got set up. Ten of the oldest 'ands has got turned off to-day. They don't 'ave to pay no wages to machines; an' boys can run 'em! I tells you, missus, there's not one of us down at the factory but is dead sorry to 'ave Jack Alden go.

JACK ALDEN [*with a grim little laugh*]: I was more sorry to go, mate. Now, 'ow much for this hard lift? Will a bob be all right? [*Offers him a shilling.*]

CARMAN: Not a penny, mate! No, not even a drink!

JACK ALDEN: But there's the 'orses, too.

CARMAN: Look a' 'ere, Jack Alden, you done me many a good turn, an' if I can't give a mate a lift I wants to know why. Horses? I tells you, Jack, if ole Elms can't let me use the 'orses to carry a mate's tools 'ome, 'e'd better give me the sack, too.—Well, good luck, mate! 'Ope you strike a better job.

JACK ALDEN: Thank you, mate, good luck to you! [*They shake hands.*]

CARMAN [*going out of door*]: Keep 'is 'eart up, missus. You've a good man, if ever was. [*Exit.*]

[*Jack Alden mechanically goes round to his place at the table, and sits down looking very weary and listless, but does not eat.*]

MRS. ALDEN: Come, Jack, eat your dinner; you'll feel better after. It's not so bad; you'll get another job soon. Eat your dinner afore it gets cold, as well as dry.

JACK ALDEN [*still not eating, and seems not to hear his wife. After a minute he sees the bank-book and picks it up. Speaks sharply.*]: What's this down 'ere for, Mary?

MRS. ALDEN: Why, Jack, I was only jes' a lookin' at it. I knew you wouldn't mind. I wanted to see if there wasn't enough so as you could buy you a new coat, an' then take a little 'oliday. You will do it, won't you, Jack? You're all worn out an' tired as can be; you jes' oughter 'ave a little rest.

JACK ALDEN: Oh, yes, I'll take a little 'oliday. No doubt about that! I tell you, mother, I feel all broke up over this. It's going to be an awful 'ard time with us! I was just gettin' to see our way ahead agin, an' now there's no tellin' how long it'll be afore I can get another job.

MRS. ALDEN: Jack, dear, you mustn't lose courage like that. 'Ere we are, all well an' strong; an' we don't owe nothin'. You ain't likely to be out long.

JACK ALDEN: You don't know, Mary. I've never see trade so bad as it is now. It isn't only Elms's—prices 'ave been cut an' men turned off at all the firms. They get boys and machines now, an', beside, they'll always take a young fellow 'stead of a grey-head.

MRS. ALDEN : Oh, Jack ! go on an' eat your dinner. Grey-head, indeed ! A week's rest'll make you a boy again.

JACK ALDEN : Mary, you're a——[*turns round to table, and begins to eat.*]

[*During the foregoing the children are heard laughing and romping up the stairs, and burst into the room in very happy mood, but, seeing the very pale, serious face of the father, suddenly become quiet, sensing that something is amiss. The baby begins to cry almost at once.*]

MRS. ALDEN : Poor little fellow, he's sleepy ! Polly, dear, won't you take 'im to 'is cot, an' see if 'e'll take 'is nap ?

POLLY : Yes, ma. Come along, babsy ! Come and see the sand-man !

[*As they go out to the inner room, little Johnny sits on a little stool in the corner, looking with big eyes first at his father and then at his mother, wondering what it all means. Mrs. Alden picks up the coat from the floor, and begins to cut some braid to mend it with. Tears of disappointment come to her eyes, and she turns her back on Jack, so that he shall not see them. Jack is eating his cold dinner in silence, evidently not thinking of his dinner at all. A rap is heard on the door, and Mrs. Jenkins is heard through the half-opened door.*]

MRS. JENKINS : Good-bye, Mrs. Alden. Tom an' me are off now. We're goin' to buy our things as we go to the station. Good-bye, an' mind you 'ave a good time while we're gone. Oh ! an' you won't forget to tell 'im what I told you, will yer ? There's a good soul. All right Tom, I'm a-comin' ! Good-bye ! [Shuts door.]

CURTAIN.

(To be continued.)

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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OUR POLICY.

A WORD TO THE COMING S.D.P. CONFERENCE
AT MANCHESTER

A little more, a little more,
O carriers of the Golden Fleece,
A little labour with the oar
Before we reach the land of Greece.
E'en now perchance, faint rumours reach
Men's ears of this our victory.
And draw them down unto the beach,
To gaze across the empty sea.
But since the longed for day is nigh,
And scarce a God could stay us now,
Why do ye hang your heads and sigh,
Hindering for nought our eager prow?

—From the "Life and Death of Jason" by
William Morris.

I commend the beautiful lines I have placed at the head of this article to the attention of those of my comrades who are anxious to induce the S.D.P. to join the Labour Party. I think I understand their point of view. It appears to me they are tired of and impatient at the apparent non-success of our party. They compare our progress with that of the I.L.P. and they ascribe our comparatively weaker position to our policy in reference to the Labour Party. I think they are mistaken. I hope to prove that from a Socialist standpoint our "non-success" is *apparent* but not real.

Now we may admit at once that we are weaker, both financially and numerically, than the I.L.P. We are completely unrepresented in Parliament (Will Thorne, excellent Socialist though he is, and in spite of his splendid Social-Democratic address, still he ran, was elected, and of necessity sits as a Labour member only), whereas the I.L.P. boasts of seven M.P.'s. But shall we be despondent on that account? From the point of view of Socialism, the size of the cash balance, of the membership on the books, of the number of representatives in Parliament, aye, even of the total votes polled, all these things are no measure of the success of a Socialist organisation unless it has openly and avowedly appeared before the country in its Socialist character. "What shall it profit us if we gain the whole world but lose our own soul?" Judged by this standard I claim that our policy of "splendid isolation" has been eminently successful. The I.L.P. has "succeeded," but at what price? By hauling down its Socialist flag; by forgetting its Socialism at the very moments when it was its duty to shout Socialism from the housetops, viz., during elections. For it is then that the proletariat can best be made class-conscious. It is then when there is the greatest need to hold high our banner, to proclaim before the whole world that we are out for Socialism, not merely for social reform. The I.L.P. has not done so, even before the formation of the L.R.C. (remember Snowden's election campaign at Wakefield); it has not done so since, and will in all probability continue in its policy as long as it pays. (To avoid misunderstandings I had better explain that I am using the word "pays" in a political sense.) Its victories have been victories for its party and by no means victories for Socialism. But if Socialism has grown by leaps and bounds in and outside the Labour Party, this has been mainly due to the activity of the S.D.F. It was the S.D.F. which was constantly urging forward the Labour Party; aye, and even the I.L.P. It was the electoral policy of the S.D.F. which was taken up by our comrade

Grayson and carried to victory at Colne Valley, a victory which was largely responsible for the anti-Socialist campaign with its splendid results for Socialism. And if the Labour Party is gradually feeling its way towards Socialism, this again is due to the fact that we did not stultify ourselves on the political arena, and remained free to urge it on. I think there can be no doubt that any other policy on our part would have had for its result a Labour Party in England on the pattern of that in Australia, which, whatever else it may be, is not a Socialist party, as our comrade Tom Mann has found out, and had in consequence to begin from the beginning.

But has there been a change in the position since the Hull Conference? I think not. True, the passing of the Socialist resolution is "significant of much." It is incomparably of greater importance than any Socialist resolution passed at other conferences of the Labour Party or Trade Union Congresses. The latter were openly passed as pious expressions of opinion, to which neither the delegates nor the world in general attach much importance. But the delegates in Hull knew that the eyes of England were upon them, for the anti-Socialist campaign was in full swing. And yet, overruling the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee and in spite of the powerful opposition of Mr. Shackleton, M.P., and the silence of the I.L.P. delegates, the Conference adopted by a large majority a resolution declaring that Socialism (and, what, is more, Socialism as expressed in the S.D.P. formula!) *ought* to be the object of the party! This proves the tremendous growth of our movement, but does not make the Labour Party Socialist. For only on the day previous to the passing of the Socialist resolution, the Conference refused to embody Socialism in its constitution, or even to permit candidates to run as Socialists if they so desired it; and it came to both decisions by overwhelming majorities. These contradictory decisions can have but one meaning. The Labour Party thinks it ought

to have Socialism for its object, but considers that the time is not yet ripe. If further proof were needed that the Labour Party is not as yet a Socialist Party the speeches of its chairman, Mr. Henderson, M.P., are fairly conclusive. We say nothing against Mr. Henderson, for whom we have the highest regard and greatest respect. But no one will deny, least of all himself, that the speeches he has delivered during the present Session are not those of a leader of a Socialist Party. Its action, also, on the unemployed question, failing as it did to point out that the problem is finally insoluble under capitalism, is another case in point. And what, perhaps, is more unpardonable still is its failure to protest against the infamous alliance between England and Russia; an alliance which has had for its result that the Government of the Czar was strengthened in its war against the Russian people; an alliance which has strengthened a despotism which is the prop and mainstay of reaction throughout the whole of Europe. There were two opportunities and the Labour Party missed them both. Not a single member uttered a word of protest!

No, I cannot see that Hull has changed the position in any way. If the arguments against our re-affiliation to the Labour Party were sound before the Hull decision, they still hold good to-day. Let us clearly understand the issues that are involved in our joining the Labour Party. First and foremost, if we become affiliated our candidates would have to appear before their constituents as Labour candidates and *not* as Social-Democrats. True they could put as much Socialism in their addresses as they wished, but if victorious it would be counted as a *labour* victory, and if beaten as a Socialist defeat. The mere name would not have greatly mattered if it were not for the fact that the Labour Party is looked upon as (and really is) a party of social reform, as distinguished from a party of the social revolution; a social reform party working independently of all bourgeois parties and solely in the interests of labour, but *not outside the limits*.

of the *present system of society—a system of capitalism and wage-slavery*. But this position can never be satisfactory to the Socialist who enters the political arena. The work of a *Socialist* party consists in the organisation of the proletariat with the object of the *abolition* of capitalism and wage-slavery altogether, and working for temporary palliatives as steps, *but only as steps*, in the right direction. That being so, we cannot tie our hands and foreswear our Socialism on the very scene of the battlefield: during an election or in Parliament.

And this brings me to the second reason why we cannot join the Labour Party. By its constitution, our candidates, if elected, would have to become members of the group in the House of Commons and abide by its decisions. They would be precluded from forming a Social-Democratic Party of their own. In other words *Socialism, as such, would remain unrepresented*, as, indeed, is now the case with our friends of the I.L.P., with the exception, of course, of Grayson. Comrade Bowman (in the last issue of the "Social-Democrat") thinks it is good that the Labour Party has no programme, as this will enable us to have one of our own. But this is exactly what it will not do as far as our work in Parliament is concerned. And while the Labour Party is tied down to no programme, our activity in Parliament would be controlled and directed by the majority of the Labour group. The group is not even tied down as comrade Bowman appears to think by the "annual circumstantial programme embodied in the resolutions passed at the Labour Party's annual conference." This is neither laid down in the constitution, nor is it followed in practice. Time after time, and by overwhelming majorities, the Labour Party, at its annual conferences, decided to oppose limited woman's suffrage. Yet members of the Labour group in Parliament have both voted and spoken in favour of such proposals. It might be said that this very liberty of action would be our opportunity. But we who believe in organised democracy, can we countenance such

acts of undisciplined anarchy sapping the unity of the proletariat? Besides, if we are constantly to act alone and perhaps in opposition to the group, of what use our joining it?

If we cannot join the Labour Party must we needs fight it? Comrade Bowman, relying upon the maxim, "He who is not with us is against us," says that we "are fighting them, indirectly of course, but none the less fighting them." The maxim is not always true, and certainly not in this instance. Social-Democracy is the full and complete expression of the proletarian class war. It, therefore, includes all that the Labour Party stands for, though the converse is not true, for "the less can never include the greater." Although we cannot be with the Labour Party there is no reason at all why we should declare war upon it. Why should we? Comrade Bowman rightly points out that the Labour Party has been largely the work of the S.D.F. Before the I.L.P. was ever dreamt of the S.D.F. preached in season and out of season the necessity for the independent political action of the trade unions. It appealed to and urged upon them to have done with the folly of fighting their employer in the factory and voting for him at the ballot box. At last its work in this direction bore fruition, and the Labour Party was formed. The formation of the Labour Party was, unconsciously to itself, a tremendous step in the direction of the political organisation of the proletariat, the class whose historical mission is the overthrow of wage-slavery, and the socialisation of society. For the success of this mission two things are necessary. In the first place the working class must be organised in a political party independent of all bourgeois parties. In the second place, such a party must be conscious of and work for its final goal—Socialism. The first condition has been fulfilled by the formation of the Labour Party, which has organised the proletariat in an independent political party. But the second thing remains yet to be accomplished. The Labour Party must still be educated, it must be made

conscious of its historical mission, it must, in a word, be converted to Socialism. And this we and we alone can do.

And here we come to the positive side of our policy. What then shall be our attitude towards the Labour Party? The answer is obvious. We cannot join the Labour Party, for we could only do so at the price of sinking our principles on the political field and if we do this what chance is there of our converting the Labour Party? But what we can and should do *is in the first place not merely to maintain toward the Labour Party an attitude of "benevolent neutrality," but actively support its candidates in all elections providing they are not anti-Socialists and maintain a strict line of independence, provided also there is nothing reactionary in their election cries; and in the second place, while reserving to ourselves full rights of criticism, we must do all we can to further and support, in and out of Parliament, all the legislative work of the Labour Party which are not in opposition to our programme.*

We must, I think, continue to remain independent of the Labour Party so long and until it frankly accepts Socialism. But as individual members of the trade unions we should actively propagate our principles among the rank and file, so as to hasten on the time when the Labour Party will be prepared to accept Socialism in reality, and embody it in its constitution, by a ballot of its members, and not merely by means of a vote at an Annual Conference. Outside the Labour Party we have, I think, to continue the work of building up a conscious Social-Democratic Party in Parliament—a party acting in cordial co-operation with the Labour Group, and showing them, by force of example, that even the work of reform is not hindered, but hastened, by taking up a revolutionary position—a lesson the Irish learnt long ago.

This, then, is the positive policy I venture to suggest to our approaching Conference at Manchester.

K. BORIS.

"SOCIALISM BY THE SWORD."

In the "Social-Democrat" for December last there appeared an article under the above title by "Mara," directed against the Armenian "Droschakist" Party which was represented at the International Congress at Stuttgart.

As a collaborator of "Droschak," the organ of the party, I wish to say a few words in reply to "Mara." I must apologise for delay in writing; but the arguments of "Mara" are so puerile that at first I was inclined to ignore them altogether as not worth the trouble of answering.

"Mara" sets out to show that our party is anti-Socialist, although represented at the International Socialist Congress in the ranks of the Russian Socialists. He states that our principal object is the emancipation of Turkish Armenia, and the establishment there of a free Government, after the manner of Greece and other Balkan States.

I will not dwell at any length on this assertion, which is merely the base insinuation of an adversary. It is sufficient to call attention to our report presented to the Stuttgart Congress, of which you gave a brief résumé in a previous number of the "Social-Democrat."

In that report it is stated that the Droschakist Party embraces at once both Turkish and Russian Armenia, and that from the inception of its activity—

seventeen years ago—it has inscribed on its programme the Socialist ideal, which it has propagated *theoretically* ever since—because for any *practical* work, for a "class struggle" in the modern sense of the word, the ground is entirely wanting in Turkey.

But, on the other hand, for many years the party has carried on a purely Socialist work, an economic struggle, in Transcaucasia, especially in Tiflis, Baku, Batoum, where the conditions are favourable, since there industry is developed, there are modern means of communication and some relative security for life and property.

"Mara" insinuates that our party has never attempted to awaken class-consciousness among the Armenian proletariat; that our party has never been Socialist, and has never carried on any Socialist propaganda.

If that were so, how is it that for seventeen years we have inscribed the Socialist ideal on our programme—an ideal the realisation of which we have declared to be inevitable? Why should we have published in the central organ of the party, the "Droschak," a long series of articles on Socialism? Why should we have published a large number of pamphlets on Socialism, chiefly translations from Kautsky, Jaurès, Vandervelde, Pernerstorfer, Prampolini, &c.? Engels' "Scientific Socialism" was first published in our language by the "Droschakist" Party in 1894.

If we have not been able to work actively for the awakening of class-consciousness among the proletariat of Turkish Armenia—under the continual fusillades of the Kurds; to make up for that, on the other side of the frontier, in Transcaucasia, in some five or six years we have created most powerful organisations of workers in town and country under the watchword "The socialisation of the land."

Our party has not occupied itself solely with the economic interests of the Armenian working class, it has undertaken at the same time the defence of its

national interests. On many occasions it has organised an armed resistance to the oppression of the Russian bureaucracy. As, for instance, during the confiscation of national goods which were necessary to the work of national culture. Also, during the sinister years 1905-06, when the Russian Government launched huge masses of brutal and ignorant Tartars against the little Armenian people, considered to be "the most revolutionary" in the Caucasus," and, therefore, the "most dangerous" for the bureaucracy. Our duty as Socialists imposed upon us the necessity of defending our national culture. Our opponents, who also call themselves Socialists, are completely indifferent to all the struggles for the defence of the imprescriptible rights of nationality. They have declared all that to be mere "Nationalism," and as having no relation to the work of Socialism. It is an historical and indisputable fact that in all the sanguinary and desperate struggles of the national defence the "Droschakist" Party has been alone.

It is mainly due to this circumstance that we have won the sympathy of the masses of Armenian workers. And it is precisely this sympathy which constantly irritates our opponents and drives them to all sorts of insinuations and calumnies.

"Mara" pretends, further, that for a long time we have been engaged in sowing hatred between Armenians and Mussulmans. This, also, is a base insinuation. Innumerable are the proclamations and appeals, in Turkish, Armenian, and French, which the Droschakist Party has during seventeen years addressed to the "Young Turks" and to the Mohammedan world (in Turkey and Russia)—appeals for solidarity in the common struggle against the common enemy. Innumerable are the articles in the same sense which have been published in our various journals. We have even frequently entered into negotiations with the representatives of the Young Turks, with a view to common action. Our attempts in this direction, after many checks, have just been

crowned with a grand success. The last congress of the parties organised for the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, which met last month in Paris, has, in an eloquent manifesto, announced to the world a common and combined campaign of all sections against the tyranny of Abdul-Hamid. Well, that congress, which was an event of capital importance in the history of Turkey, was convoked by the efforts of our Party; and thus we see in part realised our dream of yesterday. These facts have been widely published in Europe, especially in the Socialist press.

Our aim in Turkey is not to establish an "Armenian Government," as "Mara" insinuates, but a free federation of the people, with the greatest possible local autonomy. That is set out clearly in our programme.

Is it necessary to refute some other small "errors," which, however, are characteristic of the mentality of the calumniator?

"Mara" naively supposes that by our demonstrations and our combats (such as the attack on the Ottoman Bank, the campaign of Khanassor, etc.) we have thought to vanquish the Sultan.

We are, alas! only too conscious of the inferiority of our forces. We know, and have always known—as have, also, all the militant peoples: Bulgarians, Macedonians, Cretans—that with our modest forces we should never be able to vanquish a great modern army, armed with modern weapons, disciplined and led by the officers of Wilhelm II. It would be childish to think of it.

We have not counted on our own forces alone. We have reckoned on another factor. That other factor is European intervention. Europe, the Great Powers, signatories of the Berlin Treaty, have undertaken at the Berlin Congress, by article 61 of the Treaty, to introduce into Turkish Armenia certain reforms for the protection of the Armenian people against the outrages of the hordes of Bashi-Bazouks, Tcherkesses and Kurds. And the Armenian Revolutionary Party,

as well as the Macedonian Party, during the struggle of long years has often made representations to the Great Powers demanding (not supplicating) in the name of article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, that they should fulfil their solemn obligations on behalf of a people condemned to extermination.—With fraternal salutations,

MOUSA.

Geneva, February, 1908.



Earl Percy, M.P., speaking at the United Club dinner at the Trocadero Restaurant on February 20, said that "if Socialism was a real danger, and for his own part he believed it was, the danger was not that the nation as a whole would become a convert to its doctrines—that he believed to be extremely unlikely—but that the party elected on some totally different issue but having a precarious majority in the House of Commons might ally itself temporarily with the Socialists as the Liberal Party had done with the Nationalists, and, having weakened or destroyed the control of the House of Lords, would then proceed to pass measures of a Socialistic character in the teeth of the real wishes and opinions of the country. This was a constitutional danger, against which the Swiss had provided by the machinery of a Referendum and the United States by the institution of a Supreme Court which was the guardian of a written Constitution. Had not the time come, or was it not very rapidly approaching, when Conservative statesmen ought to ask themselves whether they could afford permanently to rest content for the defence of the primary institutions of this country with a Second Chamber which was incapable of exercising any control at all either over administration or over finance, and whose legislative act was the theme of constant, deliberate, and wilful misrepresentation?" In his anxiety to safeguard the Constitution, he went on at length to develop a plan whereby whenever a Bill was introduced or whenever a Bill had passed its second reading it should be at once referred to some such judicial body as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, who would examine it and report whether it involved a change in the Constitution, a breach of existing private contracts, or levying a new rate or tax for the special benefit of any denominational teaching.

MARX, ENGELS, AND THE S.D.F.

It is an old experience that the kindness of some persons is more pernicious than their enmity. Here, "by the kindness of those who possess them," a number of letters from Marx and Engels "have been placed at the disposal" of the Editor of the new "Socialist Review," and the said Editor, without further ado, prints them in a prominent place under the attractive title, "Some Unpublished Letters," &c. Alas for the poor Editor! He has been most atrociously imposed upon, as the letters have now been before the public for at least eighteen months as part of a large collection of over two hundred letters from various persons, including the two old masters, to F. A. Sorge, the last secretary of the International, who died in America in October, 1906.* Like all that has come from the pens of the founders of scientific Socialism, these letters have been read by all Socialists who know the German language, and were also read by us with great profit and enjoyment.

The reason why the Editor of the "Socialist Review" took so little care in arriving at the exact bibliographical value of the letters, lies, undoubtedly, in the circumstance that they contain a lot of disparaging remarks about the S.D.F. and Hyndman, while at the same time expressing some views on Socialist tactics which,

* "Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere," J. H. W. Dietz Nachfolger, Stuttgart.

on the face of them, appear to justify the policy of the I.L.P. with regard to the Labour Party. Our friends of the I.L.P. would have been more than human if they had successfully resisted the temptation to administer us of the S.D.F. a snub on the authority of our own teachers, for it is of them that Franz Mehring wrote in this very connection that "they who otherwise have much or everything to criticise in Marx and Engels are apt to consider every doubtful judgment passed by them on individuals as something like the knife of a guillotine which severs the head from the trunk for ever."*

Now, it is no secret to anybody that between the founders of scientific Socialism and the father of Socialism in these islands there was not much love lost. The former, as these very letters show, were always prepared to acknowledge that no one in England understood Socialism better than our friend Hyndman. On the other hand, Hyndman, since he wrote that first Socialist book of his, "England for All," never concealed either from himself or from the world at large what he owed to Marx. Yet the two parties were constantly at loggerheads. Hyndman was never weary of attacking Engels, as the "Grand Llama of Regent's Park Road," while the other two spoke of him as they do in their letters now published. Much, no doubt, was due to sheer temperament. Neither Marx and Engels nor Hyndman were of that metal which bends. Each belonged to different social milieus, were the products of different educations, and naturally soon came to clash against each other. That was all very human, and presents at present nothing but a biographical value. I am sure, when Hyndman read these angry outbursts of the two old Germans he felt considerably amused—so tremendously, in the light of posterior developments, have they missed fire. Indeed, one only has to read their letters to see that, with all their greatness in theoretical matters and their almost

* "Neue Zeit," xxv., N. 2.

unerring judgment on broad questions of tactics, they were real past-masters in going wrong in their opinions of men and concrete issues. What they say of Hyndman is a mere bagatelle in comparison with what they say of other men. We all know that Bakunin was to them nothing but a spy. Much the same was to them another great Russian refugee, Alexander Herzen. Lassalle himself was in their eyes now an adventurer, and now a sectarian, and even Bebel and Liebknecht came in for a great deal of most violent abuse. On the other hand, what they say of a man like Aveling remains a monument of their partiality as melancholy in one sense as their other judgments are entertaining in another sense.* But as the same Mehring, than whom nobody better knows these men and their work, says "it would be unjust to weigh every angry word of Marx and Engels on too fine a scale. . . . Their characters were not amiable in the current and superficial phrase of our time, but those who can imagine them passionately consuming themselves in the service of their great cause—the greatest the world ever knew—will irresistibly be carried away by the clang and bang of their daily workshop. For that workshop was not a spinning room where the peaceful wheels revolve with a monotonous purr. Rather was it a smithy, where sparks flew in all directions from under the blows of the heavy hammers with which they were forging the tremendous weapons of the proletarian class war."

And so, at present, we read the attacks on Hyndman and a multitude of others with interest, but never with resentment against their authors or malice against the victims. Those who will or cannot understand that Marx and Engels were full-blooded mortals who could never love or hate by halves, but must put their

* Their opinion of Burns deserves notice: "He is vain, . . . but with all that he is the only really honest fellow in the movement, and is, among the leaders, the one who possesses a thoroughly proletarian instinct, which will, I think, guide him at the decisive moment far better than the cunning and interested calculation will guide the others."—Engels to Sorge, Nov. 10, 1894.

whole temperament into their feelings, will never understand their greatness as champions of the proletariat.

Much more serious, however, is their criticism of the S.D.F. as a political body and the view they held of Socialist policy, which we meet in these instructive letters. Their opinions in this case possess an interest much beyond the limits of biography—they are of an almost inestimable political value. We must discuss them seriously.

Let us first eliminate the personal element. A movement which was led by a man who was so distasteful to them as Hyndman stood but little chance of finding favour with Marx and Engels. It is, indeed, curious to observe to what lengths they allowed themselves to be carried away by their blind hatred of the S.D.F. and its leaders. At one time it would be heralded forth that the S.D.F. had received a blow from somebody or something from which it would never recover. Then it would be announced that a new and far more vital organisation had been formed in the shape of the Socialist League which would soon supplant the S.D.F. and make a real start with Socialism under the masses. Again, after the Socialist League had gone the way of miserable Anarchism, Engels would suddenly detect in the New Trade Unionism a sign of the impending Socialist awakening of the British masses, which would reduce the S.D.F. and its leaders to their "proper level." Lastly, when Aveling started the agitation in the East End for a legal eight hours day, and the International Labour League came into existence, Engels could scarcely find adequate words to describe the world-wide importance of the movement, and felt sure that now the S.D.F. would surely disappear from the face of the earth. Even the formation of the I.L.P. was welcomed as an efficient rival to the S.D.F., though many of its leaders appeared to Engels as "comical persons."* It is easy to see how hopelessly wrong Engels was in his estimates of

* Engels to Sorge, March 18, 1893.

the vitality either of the S.D.F. or of its mushroom rivals. His errors must largely be explained by his antipathy to Hyndman, which prompted him to engage in prophecies which were only so many wishes. It recalls the somewhat similar attitude of Marx and Engels towards the Lassalleans, whom they constantly dubbed as sectarians and petty-bourgeois Socialists because they hated their leader. Their opposition to the fusion with them of the Eisenachers, which ultimately took place in 1875, at Gotha, was furious, and it did not abate even after Liebknecht had informed them that though their advice on theoretical questions would always be sought and accepted, on all questions of practical politics the party would judge and decide for itself.

When all is said and done, however, the charge preferred by Marx and Engels against the *policy* of the S.D.F., as distinguished from its leaders, remains. That charge was, that its members regarded their Socialism as a dogma to be forced down the throats of the working class, and not as a movement which the proletariat has to go through with the assistance of the more conscious Socialist elements. The latter must accept the working-class movement at its starting point, go hand in hand with the masses, give the movement time to spread and consolidate, be its theoretical confusion never so great, and confine their efforts to pointing out how every reverse and every mistake was the necessary consequence of the theoretical inadequacy of the programme. As the S.D.F. did not do so, but insisted on the acceptance of the dogma as the necessary condition of their co-operation, it remained a sect and "came from nothing, through nothing, to nothing."

Such was the charge. Was it justified? There can be no doubt that the Socialist policy as laid down by Marx and Engels in the above words was theoretically perfectly correct. It was in the Communist Manifesto that they had first proclaimed the principles of Socialist tactics by declaring that the Communists did not form a party separate from the general working-class movement, but represented in that movement its

own future. One cannot help thinking, however, that when urging the same ideas thirty and forty years later upon the English Socialists they did not take sufficiently into account the difference in the conditions as between Germany of 1848 (it was primarily for German Communists that the Manifesto was composed) and England of the eighties. In Germany the proletariat was at the time mentioned only just evolving. It was largely as yet a raw material, confused but plastic, whose chief disadvantage, from the Socialist standpoint, consisted in the multitude of petty bourgeois notions under which it was still labouring. It was clearly the duty of Socialists to bring light into those masses by moving together with them much as a good pedagogist moves in the midst of his children, guarding them, when possible, against mistakes, but never lecturing them, never placing himself above them, always keeping patience with them, invariably allowing them to learn through mistakes and failures. This is the soundest line of conduct in all young capitalist countries, such as Germany was half a century ago, or America was in the early eighties, or Russia is at the present moment. It was also the policy of the Chartists in the latter thirties and early forties, when the British proletariat had just discovered for the first time its fundamental distinction from the middle classes.

Very different was the position in England in the eighties, when the Socialist movement was started by Hyndman and the S.D.F. The English working-class was no longer a raw material which one might help to shape according to one's better light. It was well organised in trade unions, it had behind it a long and very pronounced historical experience, it had its traditions and acquired habits of mind—in short, it was a manufactured article, as it were. And what was still more important, those traditions and habits of mind were thoroughly bourgeois—not negatively-bourgeois as is the case with a working-class still unripe, but positively-bourgeois as comes from over-ripeness. In these circumstances what could and should have been the

policy of the Socialists? The principles laid down in the Communist Manifesto were correct as ever—only they were in the English conditions of the eighties utterly inapplicable. By no permanent and intimate co-operation with the masses, such as was urged by Marx and Engels, could the Socialists have hoped “to revolutionise them from within”; on the contrary, what would have been achieved was merely the adaptation of the Socialists to the mental level of the masses which spelt not confusion, not theoretical unripeness, but Liberalism. Those who doubt this need only turn to the fate of those numerous ex-Socialists who have left the S.D.F. and “gone over” to the masses, but are now to be found in the ranks of the two bourgeois parties. The English working-class was not to be revolutionised from within, as many attempts, started with the blessings of Engels himself, have proved by their dismal failure. Indeed, the International itself, in so far as Marx, in starting it, had the hope of “revolutionising” the British trade unions, was a ghastly failure—not only did the trade unions prove obstinate in their Liberalism and bourgeois Radicalism, but they ultimately withdrew, and the whole business collapsed.

No, however lamentable it may appear now, a certain intransigence, a certain modicum of impossibilism, was in those days not only inevitable but really necessary, if the Socialist movement was to subsist. It was all very well for Engels—and the idea is still entertained largely even now—to ascribe the impossibilist tendencies of the S.D.F. of that time to the baneful influence of Hyndman and other leaders; rather were Hyndman and his colleagues themselves semi-impossibilists only because the condition of their work demanded it. No other organisation, with totally different men at the top, would have conducted itself differently; if it had, it would have disappeared where the S.D.F. had survived.

And what is true of twenty-five years ago is but a shade less true now. The editor of the “Socialist

Review," no doubt, sees in the arguments of Engels, as used by him against the German Socialists in America and the S.D.F. in England, a justification of the policy of the I.L.P. in allying itself with the Labour Party. He only forgot that while urging the Socialists to go hand in hand with the masses Engels at the same time urged upon them "to represent the future of the movement in the present of the movement," which our friends of the I.L.P. are careful not to do. Nor is our Editor evidently aware of what Engels spoke in another connection about "selling the principle to the bourgeoisie in exchange for concessions in detail, especially for well-paid posts for the leaders." However, we do not blame him. No one would have been better under the circumstances, and it is just because of that that the S.D.F. has withdrawn from the Labour Party, and has still, in spite of the Hull resolution, some doubts as to whether it ought to rejoin it. For though much of the former bourgeois spirit has left the ranks of the organised workers of this country, plenty more still remain, and as the example of the I.L.P. has shown, permanent co-operation with them may still mean the abandonment of all Socialist principles without gaining the slightest chance of "revolutionising them from within." Of course, it may reasonably be expected that we, of the S.D.F., will behave rather differently than our friends of the I.L.P. Unfortunately it is not a question of will and intention, but of what one may be compelled to do under conditions of a bloc. And these conditions are still largely such that neither we nor anybody else could, with any hope of success, try "to represent the future of the movement in the present of the movement," actively, I mean, not passively. Under these circumstances the tactical principles of the Communist Manifesto remain still inapplicable in this country, though perfectly correct in theory.

TH. ROTHSTEIN.

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

CHAPTER I.—*continued.*

THE RISE OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM.

Religion is the first systematic attempt of man to put himself into relation with, and to find an interpretation of, the spiritual, physical and social forces of the universe, which appeared to man to be at once powerful and incomprehensible. Religion, being the result of the mental activity of primitive man, the emotional factors predominated in the formulation of its tenets. Religion may, indeed, be defined as a theory of the universe conceived by emotion and as a practice of life born of a very limited power of man over the material world. It is a primitive philosophy of life. It took its rise whenever and wherever man awakened to the necessity of influencing and comprehending his surroundings. His religion was therefore determined by his peculiar mental development and by his special environments. In primitive societies, in which man is not yet differentiated and individualised, his mental development and his environments are practically the same as those of his gens, clan, or tribe.

The chief spiritual, physical, or social force upon which the welfare of the primitive man appeared to depend was hypostatized and raised to the rank of a powerful being whose favour or advice could be gained or whose anger could be assuaged by worship or sacrifice.

That hypostatised force was his highest lord and god, who was withal a powerful tribal chief or a powerful king; taller, mightier, and wiser than any man he had known, but still of the genus homo, who could be measured by the yard, looked at, spoken to, and called upon. The idea of infinity and of an abstract spiritual force is a comparatively late creation of the human mind.

Besides the chief deity there were minor gods as personifications of minor forces.

The original religion of the Hebrew tribes bears the same characteristics. It was a religion of desert nomads, fashioned after the physical characteristics of the regions of their migrations and after the needs of their social organisation. It was physical, social, and polytheistic. The supreme deity was the personification of the physical cataclysms of the desert. Yahve was originally associated with storm and whirlwind and lightning, as well as with the virtues of a Bedouin leader, with prowess, intrepidity, and fierceness in war. His images, graven and molten, and clad in ephods, were found in the tents, or in the places of worship of the Beni Israel. Besides the Yahve worship was the serpent worship, traces of which are to be met with in the Old Testament; then there were the Teraphim or minor gods. A good insight into the polytheistic cults of the Hebrew tribes is given in JUDGES, chapters 17 and 18, relating the story of Micah's house of gods and of their capture by the Danites who had been in quest of gods. Taking the story itself, without the evident interpolations and apologies of the later chronicler, it proves beyond doubt that its hero, far from having any consciousness of sin, fully believed that he had done an act of piety by dedicating a certain amount of silver to the making of graven and molten images. "And the man Micah had an house of gods, and made an ephod and teraphim." Even the prophet Hosea adhered to the same religious conceptions, for, when reproving the Israelites for their sins, threatens them that they "shall abide many days without an image,

and without an ephod, and without teraphim " (chap. 3, v. 4). In conformity with those views the Israelites thought the gods of other tribes to be as genuine and powerful as Yahve. Chemosh gave victory to Moab, Ashur to Assyria, Malkam to the Ammonites, Dagon to the Philistines. Moreover, they believed that a Hebrew leaving his tribe or his settlement for another was bound to worship other gods. David, complaining of his relentless persecution by Saul, cried, "For they have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of Yahve, saying, Go, serve other gods." (I. SAMUEL, chap. 26, v. 19.) Similar views are to be found in RUTH.

This, then, was the essence of the religion of the Beni Israel on their entering Canaan and in the first centuries after the conquest of their new settlements.

M. BEER.

(To be continued.)



In the course of a review of three books on Socialism, the "Times" (of February 20) says "The more intelligent Socialists have long ago abandoned the Marx theory of value, which indeed is as good as given up in the posthumous volume of 'Das Kapital.' Facts have impressively refuted Marx's conclusion; wages have everywhere, speaking broadly, risen. The thorough-going Marxist is now rare; he will in a few years be extinct; at any moment we may hear that the last Marxist has been interred. . . . There is another class of so-called scientific Socialist who, seeing the weakness of the Marxian doctrine in theory and facts, throw it over, and rest their case on the tendency for wealth to accumulate in enormous masses, and to the creation of monopolies not the less powerful because without legal sanction. When we ask what would they substitute for the 'trust' or the 'pool' or the 'ring' or the combination, they generally answer that they would create a monopoly even more powerful than Mr. Rockefeller's: they would hand us all over for meat and drink, for raiment and housing, for the wants of the body and the mind, to the State—that is, in the long run, to an army of clerks."

THE MONTH.

The chief characteristic of the two measures which are to form the bulk of the Ministerial Menu for the present Session, is their cowardice. The insatiability and implacability of the sectarians of all creeds should have encouraged the Government to declare boldly for the secular solution as the only way out of the "religious" difficulty in relation to education. But that would have demanded a greater display of courage than the present Government are capable of. The result is that the game of shuttlecock still goes on. The Nonconformists, just now having the upper hand, are to have the educational machinery entirely at their disposal, their "religious" opponents being taken off the rates. With a change of Government the turn of the latter will come again—unless, in the meantime, the national protest against this playing with the education of the nation's children becomes too strong to be resisted.

The Licensing Bill is a complete surrender to the most extreme of the "Temperance" zealots. It includes the whole programme of the anti-Socialist "reformers" of the Sims-Thomasson school—Sunday closing; reduction of hours of opening on week-days; the abolition of barmaids, and the exclusion of children from public-houses; these are all incorporated in the Bill. Only—so true are the Government to their reputation for cowardice—that they have not dared to propose that these restrictions shall be definitely and absolutely enacted by statute; neither do they manifest that "trust in the people" upon which Liberals are so apt to pride themselves. No; whether public-houses are to be closed entirely on Sundays, and at an earlier hour than at present on weekdays; whether barmaids are to be employed or disbarred; whether

children are to be excluded or admitted—all these questions are not to be determined by Parliament, or by a popular plebiscite: they are to be left to the arbitrary ruling of irresponsible justices.

With regard to the proposed method for extinguishing licences, assuming the extinction to be necessary or advisable—we have nothing but approbation. We shall bear it in mind when it comes to a question of expropriating others more inimical to the national well-being than even the harmful, unnecessary publican, as he is regarded by the Pharisees.

The Suffragettes are certainly to be congratulated on their victory. We do not approve of their object nor favour their methods. The latter, which were neither dignified nor powerful, but merely ridiculous, were calculated, it might have been supposed, to convince all sane people of the utter unfitness of those who indulged in these antics to take any part in public life at all. They seem, however, to have convinced a majority of the House of Commons that the participants in the mountebank methods were, at least, entitled to the Parliamentary franchise, a fact which says little for the common-sense of that majority, and less for their respect for their constituents.

The debate in the House of Commons on Railway Nationalisation served only to show how far behind other countries we are here in this matter. The Government has promised an inquiry. That is the quite approved method of shelving a question.

We are glad to see that at last even some of the members of the Socialist-Labour group in the House of Commons are waking up to the mischievous character of Mr. Haldane's "Territorial" scheme. Of course, our comrade Thorne steadfastly opposed it all through, and has lost no opportunity of pointing out its drawbacks. But he has stood virtually alone. The majority of his colleagues have smiled in a superior fashion at the idea of any intervention from a "Labour" standpoint with service questions, and Thorne has been met with their indifference or opposition, open or covert.

But the menace to organised labour embodied in the conditions under which the new force is to be organised are now being recognised. Questions have been asked of the Secretary of State for War

as to the use of "Territorialists" in labour disputes, and a committee of inquiry into the whole question of the intervention of the military in such disputes is to be appointed.

It would be idle to hope for much from such a committee; but the promise of inquiry—always inquiry!—is a testimony to the awakened interest some of the Socialist-Labour members are taking in the vital question of the organisation and use of the national forces.

For all that, our "Labour" members are quite the right sort of "pacifists." There is nothing of the militant anti-patriotic pacificism of the Hervé type about them, and they run no risk of prosecution for condemning the acts of brigandage of the governing class, or for advising soldiers to act against their own officers rather than permit themselves to be used as the mere tools of the master class.

They do these things different in France; and we have to congratulate accused and jury alike over the acquittal of the twelve members of the General Confederation of Labour, who were prosecuted for anti-militarist propaganda.

The French adventure in Morocco is becoming a national and international scandal; and only the worst enemies of France can rejoice over the wretched sanguinary muddle into which the financiers have hustled her. But, after all, the Moroccan affair is no worse than our adventure in South Africa. And there is this difference, that whereas here it was only under great difficulty and at the risk of life and limb, that any public protest whatever could be made against our piratical enterprise against the Boers, our comrades in France are holding monster demonstrations of protest against the Moroccan adventure without let or hindrance. There the anti-jingoes are popular, and can only be suppressed by direct Governmental prosecution. Here our Government could rely upon their dirty work being done by an excited, ignorant, and misguided mob.

The criminality which has distinguished the whole Colonial policy of civilised Christian powers, still continues to characterise our dealings with the native races in South Africa, as elsewhere.

Anything more abominable than the gross injustice with which the proceedings against Dinizulu have been conducted, and the case worked up against him, could scarcely be imagined. It is quite clear that the Natal Government has decided that Dinizulu is to be sacrificed if that can be accomplished by any possible means.

In the meantime the labour question in the Transvaal mines still appears to be giving some concern to the exploiters and their Government. The Chinese have not yet been sent home. There are still some thirty thousand of them in the compounds of the Rand. And this, although we have had two years of a Liberal Government whose advent was to result in the immediate disappearance of this foul blot of slavery from the fair fame of England.

Efforts are now being made to get natives of Madagascar to take the places of the Chinese. If these are brought in, however, they will be treated in the same way as the Chinese, as Mr. Churchill has had to admit; and whether Malagasy or Kaffirs, or Chinese, the slaves of the Rand mineowners will still be slaves.

Once more have men of our class been blown to pieces while slaving in the mine for capitalist gain. The terrible explosion at the Glebe Pit, in the colliery village of Washington, on February 21, at which 13 men and a boy were killed, brings vividly before us the dangers attending those who toil in the bowels of the earth. Perhaps, with a little closer inspection of the mine, this accident might not have happened. According to the Blue Book recently published of the evidence given before the Royal Commission of Mines, the number of explosions during the period 1896 to 1905, of fire or coal dust, was 183, resulting in 729 deaths. During the same period the total number of deaths from all classes of accidents was 10,202. Of these 4,793 fatalities were due to the fall of roofs or slides, and 1,828 to haulage, all preventable accidents. Surely some more stringent precautions ought to be taken in order to stop this awful blood toll.

THE ARMED NATION.

It is very strange that the French Republic, the daughter of the great revolution, can ever have conceived and kept up a system of national defence different from that of arming the whole nation.

The call to arms is the nation armed. The nation in arms, not only because all citizens able to bear arms should find their place in the field of battle, but also because it is the nation itself in its social state; in its ethnic and geographical formation; in the life proper to each of its cells, as well as in its collective organisation, which becomes, naturally, the war machine.

It is not the point here of forming from a time of peace a special organism, called an army, living its own life outside the national life, and exiling from its normal existence a certain number of citizens, in order to keep up that organism. The problem is to prepare in time of peace the general arming of the people.

* * *

First of all we should train up children from their infancy in a national system of physical education. Education being compulsory, physical training ought also to be compulsory. Muscles as well as the brain need developing, and this is the first principle of the arming of the people.

Thus the young man when he is 20 will be physically fit. In that way defects due to heredity and to trades will be obviated, and we shall realise the physical education of the citizen soldier; that is to say, he will be able to walk and to endure fatigue as well as to fire at a target. If necessary, he will be able to ride a horse or a cycle.

At present this training is given—but inefficiently and even cruelly—in the first four or five months of military service, but the result is not apparent. It is useless for improvements to take place in gymnastic training, for as the pupils are 21 years the results, according to many officers, are not satisfactory.

From a social point of view the work of physical education of the child will bring about more friendly feeling when the master is also the officer. From a military point of view there will be found here a germ of the moral unity of the warlike family, and

the child would, at the same time, be conscious of his duties as a citizen and as a soldier.

* *

The second principle of the armed nation is the calling together of citizen soldiers in order to carry on a collective education in which both in studies and in manœuvres all considerations would be sacrificed to reality, and in every case the systems adopted would be those adopted in war and which never vary in the military existence of an individual. The periods of assembly are strictly limited to the time necessary for accomplishing what is desired.

The neglecting of this principle in the present army has disgusted whole generations of men, who had a warlike spirit, from the science of war; it has much complicated the methods of instruction, and has made national defence unpopular. It is the many and useless drills in time of peace which have been the cause of popular anti-militarism and especially of that form of it due to fatigue and scepticism.

* *

The third principle of the armed nation consists in respecting completely a national grouping in matters of war.

Viewing the immense concentration of the Republican armies, the supreme leader must, so to speak, see in it a reduced and condensed reproduction of the whole of France; villages must be grouped in sections, cantons in battalions, departments in divisions. In the smallest element of the struggle, as well as in the mass of the greatest manœuvre, one soul must vibrate; the soul, indeed, of the local group or of the vast region from which the corps came.

Then the flag will really bear the meaning which is so lightly imputed to it now; then it will represent the land of the ancestors, and the horizon where each one lives, and the dear ones who ask for protection and for whom one is ready to die.

Then, in presence of death, citizens, seeing around them the ordinary companions of their daily life, will have the deep feeling of a common duty, and if they fall the great consolation of being able to bid good-bye to their friends.

In the present instructions of mobilisation there is a monstrous and criminal order which forbids, at any cost, the soldiers belonging to the active and to the reserve, to serve in the same regiment if they come from the same place. Really, in reading this, one feels inclined to ask if the heads of our Army have any French blood in their veins.

Besides, is it not this isolation of the soldier in barracks which, even in time of peace, ruins so many energetic men, spreads a kind of dismal fog over regiments and makes men detest the Army.

* *

Finally, in the armed nation, those who lead must represent the nation, all those who in active, scientific or economic life are

competent or intelligent, must make a necessary effort in order to make use of this warlike action, this ability, and this authority.

Thus we see the double necessity already affirmed by the resolution of the need of election, and of skill in military leaders. The man who knows and is able, has not the right to refuse to lead. He is the natural chief of his comrades.

In our present army this principle is not recognised. Competition is ignored, energy revolts, ability is suspected and persecuted.

War tactics are created *ex abrupti* at the mobilisation of the army. The chiefs do not know their soldiers; the soldiers do not know each other, and are not connected by any bond with their officers. Moral unity, moral force—of which Generals Langlois and Bonnal are always talking, though they are not able to give a practical meaning and realisation to those words—does not exist. A miracle would be necessary to realise it.

The present organisation of the armies of the Republic is nothing more than the complete disorganisation of natural forces and of social groupings which, on the contrary, should be the basis of our military system.

H. ROSSEL (Major) in "L'Humanité."



The overcrowded state of the Lambeth Workhouse was startlingly revealed at the meeting of the Board of Guardians on February 19. The Workhouses Committee reported that in the Renfrew Road institution there were 141 beds above the certified accommodation. These beds were placed in the gangways, while in four of the dormitories the fire escape doors were blocked up with beds. In case of fire or panic the danger would be great and cause serious loss of life amongst such a large number of aged and decrepit inmates. The very small space now between the beds led to frequent quarrelling among the inmates and made the administration very difficult.

Mr. Goldspink (clerk) stated that he had communicated with various London boards of guardians, but none could accommodate any of the Lambeth inmates. The other boards seemed, in fact, to be in difficulties as well as Lambeth. He had issued an advertisement for offers to accept paupers, but had received no replies.

Rev. W. Hobbs stated that the beds in the workhouses were so close together that the paupers could not get in at the sides, but had to climb over the feet or heads of the bedsteads. There would be a terrible scandal if something happened.

A Guardian: And yet Dr. Macnamara recently visited the place and said the arrangements were "excellent."

At the meeting of the Poplar Guardians in the same week it was reported there were over the certified number in the House, and that the inmates were sleeping in the Board-room and in the wood-chopping shed.

THE REVIEWS.

THE RED FLAG OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

Our comrade H. M. Hyndman has a very interesting article on the above in the March number of the "National Review." He says:—

It scarcely surprises Social-Democrats to discover how little the well-to-do classes of this country and their newspapers have known for a long time past what has been going on around them. For very many years Socialist speakers were almost entirely boycotted by the press. A conspiracy of silence prevailed. The Queen's Hall might be packed with an enthusiastic and paying audience; similar audiences might gather in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, and other great halls in the provinces; but either no report at all appeared of the proceedings, or a few lines of garbled summary were thought enough for such uninteresting matter. The public were kept in ignorance. Yet from January 1881, when the modern Socialist movement began in Great Britain, and the Social-Democratic Federation was founded, a vigorous propaganda, constantly expanding in scope, has been carried on all over this island, at the street corner, in the factory and workshop, in the trade unions, and among the organised workers which could not fail to produce a great effect. Moreover, during these seven-and-twenty years of strenuous endeavour, a new generation of Socialists, born of Socialist parents, grew up to spread the light, no longer under the red flag of the S.D.F. alone, but also under the less distinctive banners of less thoroughgoing organisations. Not only so, but the Trades Union Congresses of the aristocrats of labour were passing pious Socialist resolutions, and the new trade unions arising from the dock and match strikes had a definite Socialist programme for their basis. In like manner with our literature. At the commencement of our propaganda there were no Socialist books in the English language. Now there is quite a large library of such works. For a few shillings, even for a few pence, the worker or the student can purchase all that he needs to be able to master the main theories of Social-Democracy. The sale of these writings is mounting up by leaps and

bounds every year, every month, every week. Four metropolitan weekly papers tell the Socialist story, while local Socialist sheets are springing up everywhere. In the capitalist press, in political speeches, in the sermons of every Christian sect, as well as in common everyday talk, thoughts and phrases first made use of by Social-Democrats are constantly found, without the speakers or writers having any idea whence they came. It was all of no importance.

Although our old opponents of the Liberty and Property Defence League tried hard to persuade the public that the S.D.F. and the rest meant mischief to class supremacy and private ownership, nobody heeded their warnings. Socialism would never attract the solid British workman. He was too sensible, too practical, too deferential to his betters, ever to accept the wild imaginings of Social-Democrats as holding out any promise of improvement for him. So they said. Even the success of the Labour Party at the last General Election did not open men's eyes. There was a momentary shock, it is true. But when it speedily appeared that the great majority of these 30 independent members were of much the same type as their working-class forerunners; that they were eager to catch the "tone of the House"; that they ventured upon no definite Socialist criticism of proposed measures; that they were always quite ready to compromise in a reasonable way; and that their leaders were prompt to flatter Cabinet Ministers, alike of the old Whig and New Traitor varieties—then the well-to-do world at large came to the conclusion that "to-morrow shall be as to-day, and much more abundant," and that these exceedingly easy-going gentlemen had not the slightest intention of disturbing in any serious way their nice, comfortable sense of secure possession.

The Labour Party, it appeared, only meant a moderate endeavour to obtain better conditions of existence for the workers under capitalism and the wages system. Well, there was nothing very alarming in that. So the temporary scare died down, and only slightly flickered up again when Mr. Victor Grayson was returned as an avowed Socialist for Colne Valley; though the efforts to make out that the feeble, middle-class Progressives on the London County Council were dangerous Socialists helped to return a Moderate majority to that body.

When, however, the Conference of the Labour Party at Hull, after declaring against the exclusion of non-Socialists by an overwhelming majority, carried the old collectivist formula of the S.D.F. as the object of the organisation on the following day, in spite of the protest of the Standing Orders Committee and the solemn warnings of Mr. Shackleton as to the result of passing such a resolution, there could no longer be any doubt about the serious progress which Socialism, in the shape of revolutionary Social-Democracy, was making among the trade unionists. For it was a vote of trade union delegates as trade union delegates, not a vote of

Socialists at all; and the resolution for the complete socialisation of private property in the great means of creating and distributing wealth was proposed by the delegate of the richest and best organised trade union in Great Britain. This, therefore, was not capture, but conversion. Henceforth, however anxious Labour "Statesmen" may be to reject the leadership of the rank and file, until that vote is rescinded the Labour Party in the country is a Socialist, not to say a Social-Democratic Party, and Socialists present might well sing "The Red Flag" and cheer for the Social Revolution.

In every country our propaganda and programme are the same, though we know quite well that they must be adapted to the different stages of economic development in each case. But with the power of man over nature, now so great that it is twenty or a hundredfold more true than it was in Robert Owen's day that "wealth may be as plentiful as water," and with industry and distribution arrived at the company-form in all the most advanced nations, the difficulty of realising Socialism in our own day manifestly arises no longer from our social surroundings, but solely from our own lack of comprehension of them. We have, in fact, worked round the full cycle until now we can return to social production and communal distribution on an infinitely higher plane than the brutal barbarians, without the intervention of money, save perhaps for international exchange during the transition period.

Thus, then, Socialism is to all Socialists a great national religion. The old supernatural creeds have long ceased even to pretend to guide; they have now almost ceased to influence the thought of our time. Nowhere else can the world provide unpaid and self-sacrificing zeal and enthusiasm to the extent that they are exhibited daily in the Socialist camp. Nowhere else can men and women be found who, regardless of any personal interest or any hope of direct reward, here or hereafter, work steadily on for the victory of the cause. Temporary defeat occasions us no depression; the most sweeping success of the moment never turns our heads. We know that the future is ours, and that though we may not live to see realised even a portion of that for which we are striving, those who come after will benefit continuously by the glorious campaign for human freedom we have waged under the Red Flag of International Socialism.



THE COMING SANATORIUM.

In an article on "How to Use the Doctor," in the current issue of "World's Work," Dr. Lutter H. Gulick says:—

A new type of sanatorium is surely coming. The old sanatorium or hospital—and, indeed, the present one—has for its main object

the cure of disease. This is good, and there must always be such hospitals and sanatoria. But the great thing is not to cure, but to teach people higher habits of living.

It is not so fine a thing as at first glance it appears to take a broken-down man or woman and restore the patient to health. He goes back under the same old conditions, and, as shown by cases on record, it is probable that he will break down again. The really great thing to do is to take these people and not merely restore them to conditions of health and efficiency, but so to reconstruct their daily lives and habits that hereafter they will live normally.

To accomplish such results, the patient must be under the direction of the physician far longer than is the custom at present. The supervision needed for health education would be carried out in this way.

Within an hour of the centre of London there should be built a thoroughly equipped, modern home, hospital, and sanatorium combined. There should be a large expanse of rolling country land around it. The house should be so arranged that every room would have sunlight. It should be beautiful, cheerful, and thoroughly comfortable. There should be reading-rooms and libraries, gymnasiums, bowling-alleys, music rooms, workshops, skating rinks, golf links, and swimming pools. There should exist opportunities for boating, canoeing, and sailing.

All this should be under expert counsel. The proportion of physicians to patients should be something like one to twelve. Every person should be put upon a course of work designed to restore him to health, and he should be put upon this work as soon as possible. The periods of work should be steadily lengthened day by day, until the time arrived when the man or woman was doing full work again, but living at the institution under daily observation of a physician. The patient should not return to his home-life until correct habits as to hours of work, exercise, sleep, bathing, recreation, and so on, have been worked out satisfactorily and have become thoroughly established.

Individuals differ; no two persons are alike. Individual equations in each one of these cases should be solved, and their habits thoroughly established. It is not a thing that can be done suddenly. It needs long observation on the part of a physician specially trained for such work. It involves a consideration of the mental states, the emotional states, the methods of work, the temperament of the individual, his education and experience, his age, and his financial resources.

This health education having once been thoroughly done, there should not arise the necessity for it to be done again. It should mean a large increase of power throughout all the subsequent life of the individual. If his stomach is weak, he should discover how to handle it most wisely. Has he a weak heart? He should learn to work so as to get the most out of himself with the least

danger. Has he a nervous system that is apt to play him false in times of great pressure? He must learn how to get the very best work out of this defective piece of machinery, unless indeed it be possible to remove the cause within the nervous system itself, so that the weakness no longer exists and he shall not, therefore, be obliged to look after it.

To know one's limitations is the first step to success. To know how far one can venture with safety is to be able to charge right up to the danger line with the confidence and audacity that win the day.



A CHALLENGE TO SOCIALISM.

Dr. Beattie Crozier takes up the cudgels again in this month's "Fortnightly Review," on "Social Justice and Evolution." He writes:—

In this, my second article, to which Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., has consented to reply, I shall endeavour to carry out the promise I made in my first article, and to show that the Socialists have flanked and buttressed both the *economic* and the *moral* basis of their scheme by a *theory of Human Evolution* which I will venture to assert is at the present time of day one of the most curious exhibitions of simplicity the intellectual world has yet seen. In general terms it consists in no less an absurdity than this, that the infinitely complex evolution of Human Society and Civilisation, involving, as it does, the subtle co-operation of the most various factors—War, Religion, Government, Law, Education, Political Institutions, and the whole domain of Science—can be narrowed down to a single thread of this complex web, namely its purely Economic or Industrial Evolution, and that this again can be so cut down as to coincide with the industrial evolution of the great mass of the manual labourers and artisans—the working population of the world. Now the merest outline sketch of the way in which human evolution really goes, and has always gone, when compared with this poor, naked, skin-dried residue which the Socialist would substitute for it, will expose its pretentious nullity better than volumes of merely abstract arguments. But before entering on my detailed proof of this, I shall assume to start with that both sides of the controversy will agree with me that if any *essential* factor of the problem, or any ineradicable element of human nature involved, is either ignored or suppressed by the Socialists, their whole doctrine, together with the scheme of reconstruction which is founded on it, must fall into bankruptcy. If this be granted, let us now see what these alternate essentials and ineradicable elements of human society and human nature are which are involved in the problem of human evolution. I shall emphasise by italics a few of the more important points as I go along.

They are, in brief, those of a creature called Man, who goes in families and herds known as tribes or nations, and, like other animals of a like kind, always *under the direction of leaders*; but a creature withal with this peculiar differentiating characteristic, that he has within him a spark of the Divine, or if anyone prefers it (to keep the facts free from religious implications) the merely human impulse towards *the Ideal*, which keeps ever impelling him onwards and upwards along the winding path of Progress and Civilisation.

Now this creature as it moves in its myriads across the centuries, in search, like the Israelites, of the Promised Land of the Ideal, *makes for itself* as it goes along, all the moral, social and intellectual baggage which it carries with it—its customs, habits, traditions, its stock of knowledge and culture, and its moral and social ideals—and all these in their interlacing complexity form for each nation as it moves down the ages, *a single continuous web without rent or seam; the Present everywhere being indissolubly united with the Past and with the Future.* So that what is called Human Evolution consists precisely in this, that these tribes and nations are obliged, under the direction of their leaders, continually to *mould and modify* the outward form and vesture of one and all of their modes of life and ideals *under pressure of the environment*:—whether these changes be caused by physical and material difficulties outside themselves, in the matter, say, of food and shelter; by the aggressions on, or the defences against, neighbouring tribes or nations; or lastly by changes in their own *internal* structure, necessitating a different arrangement of the social classes and functions of which they are composed. But to come to the point which will most engage our attention in this article we must go a step further, and lay down the doctrine that the social justice on which the Socialists lay so much stress, and which each time and nation makes for itself, as I have said, as it goes along, consists simply in the gradual adjusting of the relations between these classes and the functions they perform; and further, that the existing Constitution and laws of each State are for the time being its organised expression. If this, then, be Social Justice; and if to a being like Man, constituted as we have seen him to be, Social or Human Evolution can, especially in these civilised days and among civilised nations, consist only in the progressive improvement and amelioration of these laws, in the upward look and trend towards the ideal, it will behove us to examine as closely and scientifically as possible the texture and composition of this Social justice, and the way in which it gets itself embodied in the fibre of Human Evolution, before we can effectively contrast it with the mummified substitute and simulacrum of it which the Socialists seek to palm off on the world—a substitute which, violating as it does every one of the root principles of Human Nature which I have just emphasised, must end in mere utopian dreams.

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But to define it more closely, and sum it up before we leave it,

we may say that the social justice of Evolution is found always to be (when a section is made through it) a complex, not a simple homogeneous thing; and is made up of *Power, Authority, Custom, and Prestige* on the one hand, and of the *Ideal of Right* scattered thinly through its continuous web in golden seams, on the other. It consists not in Might alone, not yet in the abstract ideal of Right alone, but in the happy artistic commingling of both; and has, besides, this peculiarity, that *at any one time* it always contains *more* of the ideal than the strict balance of powers and functions in society would justify; and, further, that this surplus of the ideal to the good, as it were, continually *increases*, in proportion as mankind itself advances. It is slowly and steadily accumulating deposit, as I have said, by civilisation on the credit side of the ideal; and not an unlimited bank account on which humanity can draw, in current moral coin, at any or at all times. . . .



THE CONTROLLING CONDITIONS OF COMMERCE.

Professors H. E. Gregory and A. C. Keller write an interesting article in this month's "Harper's Magazine" on the above. They say:—

The distribution of land and water bodies, the size of continents, the nature of the shore-line, and the details of topography are controlled by geological forces beyond the reach—indeed, beyond the knowledge—of man. They are none the less factors which, in large part, have determined his external communications. A glance at a relief-map of the world shows a remarkable ridge extending almost continuously from Cape Horn through the Americas, eastern Eurasia, and Africa to Capetown. This highland borders the Pacific; the plains of the world slope toward the Atlantic, and lines of easy access are from that direction. The relation of lands drained to ocean area is in the case of the Atlantic one to two; for the Pacific the proportion is only one to eight. From the Pacific the continents are remote, their interiors inaccessible, the tributary country limited; while the Atlantic is a narrow ocean, with bordering lands wide in extent and easy of access. These facts have played no small parts in human history.

Owing to climatic and mountain barriers, Tibet has remained secluded, and Chile expands northward, not eastward. A water barrier has preserved Australia as a Mesozoic continent. The whole history of Africa, cultural as well as commercial, has been the result of its peculiar geographical and geological structure. Wide oceans and deserts face the directions of possible connection with the outer world; a relatively unbroken coast-line, rivers which fall in cataracts over the edge of the high interior plateau, and the most forbidding of jungles impede access. A deadly climate renders settlement of foreigners for the most part im-

possible, or temporary and scanty. Thus, cut off from that communication with the rest of the world which means comparison, exchange, and accumulation of civilisation, the continent has remained through ages "dark." Contrast it with America, whose opportunities for intercourse with the Old World came so much later; or compare the history of the narrow seam of approachable northern coast and the Nile Valley, with the recordless and negative life of the continent's heart. What favourable conditions for navigation have meant for trade is, perhaps, more evident in its early stages; take, for example, the Phœnicians of old. In their case nature seems indeed to have been in a complacent and encouraging mood. They were led to commercial expansion across an island-dotted sea, where, at first, distances were so small as to tempt their primitive craft even further westward. And when, with the growth of a more venturesome spirit, shipping and nautical skill had become better developed, the distances gradually widened, each successive advance schooling them for the next, until they had passed the Pillars of Hercules, founded Gades, and dared the perils of Biscay. Along this course harbours, suitable for their small craft, were plentiful, while the conditions of a Mediterranean were in the highest degree favourable for these pioneer-mariners and their successors. Profiting by a kindly environment, trade early developed in the Malay Archipelago and in Polynesia. The American Mediterranean offered similar opportunities, and the pre-discovery commerce of the Carribean Islands was a thing all but unique in the Americas. In each case natural conditions were ever suggesting the development of shipping and exchange and rewarding it. These conditions are in time outgrown and a further adjustment takes place; Mediterraneans no longer bound the world's commerce, and the ocean which, according to Homer, kept men apart, in our day forms the grand highway of commercialism. Now that ships have gotten a "longer wind," way stations and halts like St. Thomas, in the West Indies, are being superseded; the same fate seems likely ultimately to overtake Capetown, Honolulu, and other such stations. The harbours which nursed up the shipping of New England have given place to bodies of water that can scarcely be called enclosed. Ships no longer regularly clear for Europe from the harbours of Long Island Sound, and despite all efforts, including advantageous railroad schedules, Boston and Philadelphia have been unable to rival New York as outlets upon the high seas. Now, more than ever, favourable tides, currents, and shore-line are essential for the maintenance of great ports. The contention is, in the face of the instances which have been adduced, and which could easily be augmented, that trade is bound, is pre-ordained, to certain courses and stations; that it is not a haphazard, easily manipulated affair, but the working out of the forces of nature.

“ UNCONSIDERED TRIFLES.”

A correspondent writes to the “ Times ”: Interesting light is thrown upon the question of the nationalisation of railways by the experience of Rumania. The total length of railway lines in Rumania is 2,000 miles, or 24 miles of line per 1,000 square miles of area. The first line was constructed in 1867, after the accession of King Charles, by an English company. Owing to the restricted financial resources available in the early days, the Government had to depend for the construction of the lines upon foreign contractors, or more often to secure construction by a guarantee from the State of a minimum net dividend. In 1880 the State bought out one of the companies which had constructed railways under guarantee, floating a special loan of £9,500,000 at 6 per cent, and in 1888 the last private company was taken over. From 1890 the Rumanian State undertook the construction of necessary railroads itself, and in 15 years built 1,125 miles of lines. The superiority of State construction over the former methods has been amply demonstrated. Lines constructed by the State only cost on an average £9,600 per mile, against an average cost of £19,200 for foreign construction. The total capital spent on railways for purchase and construction amounts to the actual sum of £30,932,600. For the year 1905-6 the receipts amounted to £2,800,000 and the expenditure to £1,480,000, making a surplus of £1,320,000. This is all the more remarkable since the population of Rumania is almost entirely agricultural, travelling little, and not possessing the available funds for railway journeys; and as the petroleum and other industries develop the railways cannot fail to earn a still greater revenue for the Rumanian State. It is to the State control of the railways that Rumania largely owes her ability to resist all the attempts made by the Standard Oil Trust to monopolise the production of petroleum in the country. State ownership of the railways has not produced any tendency to increase the fares unduly; the first-class fare per mile per person is 1½d. up to 30 miles, the second-class fare is 1¼d. per mile up to 15 miles, and the third-class fare is ¾d. up to ten miles. Special reductions are

made for longer distances: thus for a distance of 400 miles the fares charged are as follows: First class, 1d.; second class, less than $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; and third class, less than $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Socialism and Socialist palliatives played a prominent part in the Presidential address delivered by Sir Edward Fry at the opening of the Poor Law Conference he'd at the Guildhall, London, on February 18. In the first portion he referred to the recent scandals disclosed in poor law administration, and said these were disquieting, not only because of the frauds, but because they showed the apathy of those who had not participated in the actual frauds. He suggested inspectors of a higher character. "It was obvious," he said, "that all systems of a Socialistic or Communistic nature made greater demands on the integrity and good faith of the community than individualism, and such disclosures as those in question might make us pause and inquire whether the community at large was capable of responding to such increased demands." We are not afraid of that, Sir Edward. There are probably enough honest people now, and as the principles of Socialism spread wider and wider, so we shall have the spirit of honesty grow with it. But is not Sir Edward's fear in itself a condemnation of present society?

Sir E. Fry then compared two tendencies of thought which were very noticeable, and flowed side by side: One dwelt on the social inequalities of men, and asserted an equality of rights in all men. The other was the line of thought of those who dwelt on the importance of the individual, on the nobility of those qualities which were evolved by the struggle and the contests of life, on the dignity of family life, and on the duties that arose from the relation of parent and child, on the duty of thrift and the value of that personal independence which came with thrift, and who told them that these things were precious and were imperilled by some of the schemes of Socialism and Communism." "The State by giving gratuitous instruction in schools had undertaken, in part, one of the highest duties of fatherhood—the education of the child. It was now proposed that it should undertake another of those duties, the feeding of the child, and, further, that all old men should be given, without contribution and without regard to merit or demerit, a certain provision for old age, and thus in part relieve men from another of the plain duties of life. . . . He felt a great anxiety that all alleviation in the lot of their poorer fellow-citizens might be effected in such manner as not to destroy the obligations of family life, nor the motives of thrift and independence, the sources, not of our national wealth only, but of our national virtues."

Finally, he compared the British Empire with the Roman Empire, and took the fall of the latter as a warning. But we do not agree that he stated the true causes of the fall of the Roman

Empire. He said: "There could be no doubt that the manhood of the Roman Empire had disappeared, and that its heart had gone rotten under two influences—the degradation of the lower populace by being fed by the State, and the destruction of the middle classes by taxation. The people were fed and also amused by the State." A big factor in the fall of Rome was the luxury and debauchery of its ruling classes on the wealth obtained by exploiting the Roman workers and plundering the peoples of other lands. But anyhow, Socialism does not propose to feed people unless they work. We do not foresee much "rotting at the heart" if the whole people are engaged in useful, productive work and consume what they produce. What causes the rottenness and the degradation, is the fact that amongst the working-class many are starved for want of the common necessities of life, and are denied the opportunity to work and obtain them. At the same time many are wealthy, lead lives of luxury and debauchery, and do nothing useful the whole of their lives. *This* is the canker at the heart of the the empire. And this exists under the system of "individualism," "thrift," "independence," "nobility," and "virtue," that Sir Edward Fry is so afraid may be "imperilled" by the schemes of Socialism and Communism.

In the Home Office statistical account of crime for 1906, Mr. W. J. Farrant makes the statement that good times and cheap food are apt to produce drunkenness and violence, while hard times produce offences against property. This may be true and is, indeed, easily explained. The working-class is crushed; it is forced to live in wretched hovels, amidst dull, sombre and uninteresting surroundings. The only relaxation presented the toil-worn worker is the public-house—and there he goes as soon as he has money. He goes to the public-house often as a means of getting away from the misery of the "home." It is only bearing out what Socialists contend: that poverty is the cause of the major portion of crime. Given pleasant places of recreation and a proper amount of leisure; given decent and comfortable homes; given healthy surroundings and sufficient nourishment, and crimes of violence and drunkenness and "against property" would disappear.

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SURPLUS ATOMS.
(AN EVERYDAY TRAGEDY.)

BY ALFRED HICKS.

— — —
ACT II.

Time - - Two years later.

Scene: *A room in Spitalfields. All the furnishing is very bare though clean and neat—a large bed in one corner, a smaller cot in another. The old deal table is in the middle of the room, and by the light of a lamp Mrs. Alden is "finishing" a pile of coats. Polly has evidently just risen from a place on the other side of the table, and has been working on the coats too. The baby is in the big bed—is crying fretfully—Polly, standing by the bed, is trying to comfort him.*

BABY [*moaning*]: Mamma, mam-ma! I wants my mamma!

MRS. ALDEN: Poor little laddie! Mamma would come if she could. Mamma's got to get work done, and can't stop a minute. Polly, dear, you must come and help me, for we must get these finished in time. To-morrow is Friday, you know, and unless we get them in before four, old Steinhertz won't pay for them till next week, and there's hardly a thing in the house.

POLLY [*leaving the bedside*]: All right, ma. We'll just rush 'em out now. Go to sleep, babsy dear.

[*Baby, still moaning, begins again.*]

BABY: Mamma! Mam-ma! I wants my mam-ma! I'se so cold. Mam-ma!

[*Mrs. Alden looks greatly troubled, and as though she would put down her work and go to the baby, but Polly picks up a couple of the finished coats and takes them to the bed.*]

POLLY: All right, ma, I'll make him warm. What's the use o good warm coats in the house if we can't keep a kiddy warm, I'd like to know. [*Covers baby up warm with coats*]

and returns to seat at table and begins to work some button-holes. They work in silence for a time.]

POLLY: Mother, dear, I know you don't like me to go in the factories, but I can't bear to have you work so long, day and night, over these things. I know the girls and fellows who work there ain't always nice, but I'm old enough to take care of myself.

MRS. ALDEN: What's the use of goin' all over this again, Polly? Oh, yes, you are old enough to do anything you want to and I s'pose I ought to see it that way. But if you, too, go off to be gone all day, I think I'll go crazy a-stitching, stitching 'ere all alone.

POLLY: I've thought of that, too, mother, but I can easily earn more in a factory than we two can get here."

MRS. ALDEN: How I wish your father could get a good job.

POLLY: Mother, I don't want to seem unkind, but I think that you and I have got to keep this family.

MRS. ALDEN: What do you mean?

POLLY: Don't you notice that father is not so tired now when he comes in as he used to be? I don't think he goes around to look for work as much as he used to.

MRS. ALDEN: Why, Polly, how can you say such a thing! You know he goes out regular every morning!

POLLY: Oh, yes, and I don't doubt he would take any job that came to him, but I don't think he's looking for it as he used to. I'll tell you what I mean, mother. You remember the day old Steinhertz made me wait two hours for another bundle of coats? To save waiting on the street, I went round to the Free Library in Whitechapel Road, and who should I see a-sitting comfortable and reading a magazine but daddy. When he saw me he jumped up and said he'd read all the advertisements, and if a man didn't rest now and then he'd get all used up. But he acted just as if he'd been caught a-doing something he didn't ought to. I think he spends most of his days in the Public Libraries and not looking for work at all—that's what I think.

MRS. ALDEN: Polly Alden! How can you say such a thing! Don't you remember how his boots was allers wearing out when we was living in St. Pancras. Jes' after he lost 'e's job at Elms's, you know. Miles an' miles an' miles I've known 'im to tramp, an' that for day after day, till 'e got the job down 'ere at Mile End.

POLLY: That's all true, mother, but that was fifteen months ago, and more. Does he ever tell you of tramping miles and miles and miles now?

MRS. ALDEN: What's got into you, Polly, to say such unkind things? If your father doesn't talk about it, isn't it bad enough to get nothin' for all 'is trying, without 'avin' to talk it all over again?

POLLY: I don't mean to be unkind, mother, but we've got to make up our minds to it. Do his boots wear out so much now? I've seen 'em hardly muddied on a rainy day.

[Mrs. A. is silenced, and goes on with her sewing, blinking her eyes so that the tears shall not come to stop her working.]

POLLY [with evident intent to cheer up her mother]: Cheer up, mother! I want to tell you of something good. I've got an offer of a good job. Sometimes when I have taken the work home, I've seen the young man that comes from the factory where Steinhertz gets his work. More than once he has asked me, "Wouldn't I like a regular job in the factory?" Of course, knowing how you felt over it, I didn't take any notice. But last time he came and told me that he had got an interest in the factory now, and that they wanted someone who could do just such work as we do. He offered me seven-and-sixpence a week to start, and when I got to know how to use the machines, they would give me more. And if after a time they found that I could take charge of work, I could become forewoman with perhaps 18s. a week, or even a pound. Think of that, mother; wouldn't that be fine?

MRS. ALDEN: It sounds all fine, and even the seven and sixpence would be better than we often do now—but, oh Polly, I don't want you to go. Think of all the horrid Jews you would be with! Stay with me!

POLLY [almost angry]: Mother, why don't you look at things as they are? It's true I don't like some of these people, but it isn't because they are Jews; Jesus and Peter and Paul were Jews.

MRS. ALDEN: But you're a girl, and — [Polly interrupts her mother, quite angry now.]

POLLY: Oh, don't talk to me of "girl"! Why should I, nearly a woman grown, starve at home, "to be protected," while poor little nine-year old Johnnie is out on the streets selling papers as soon as school is over?

MRS. ALDEN [interrupting]: But, Polly, you don't know — [Polly breaks in again.]

POLLY: Mother, don't talk to me of "don't know." I do know this, that here we are most starving on tea and bread and dripping. I know that Johnnie is out at all hours and in all weathers, and I know that I can earn enough for all if I get started right in a factory.

MRS. ALDEN [sobbing]: I can't help it, Po-Polly.

POLLY [taking the coat from her mother's hands so that the tears shall not spot the cloth, kneels down beside her mother]: Mother dear, I didn't mean to get angry. I know you can't help things being as they are, but you mustn't think of me as a little girl. I know I can help to make things better. [All this time Polly has been looking up to her mother's face, and stroking

and patting her hands. As Mrs. A. ceases crying, Polly jumps up again, picking up the work she had laid aside.]

POLLY : That's right, mother ; now let's give old Steinhertz a chance to pay us to-morrow noon. [*Puts her mother's work back into her lap, and begins stitching rapidly.*]

MRS. ALDEN [*smiling, but very tearfully, at Polly, and blinking her eyes to keep the tears back*] : All right, daughter. You're a good girl, Polly.

POLLY [*playfully*] : Of course I'm a good girl. What did you use to spank me for if it wasn't to make me good ?

[They both work fast and silently for a time.]

POLLY : Now, mother, I'll tell you what I'll do. When I take these coats back, I'll go on to the factory and see for myself what the job is like that he offered me, and if it's allright, I'll take it to start next week.

MRS. ALDEN : But Polly, what am I to do about getting work out and taking it back ?

POLLY : I've thought of that, too, mother. Little Johnnie at most can only make about eighteenpence a week with his papers. I think perhaps he could be of more use at home. He could pull out the bastings, and he could mind the baby while you took the work home. And then if I get on at the factory, I'll see that he gets a job with me when he gets big enough.

MRS. ALDEN : Poor little Johnnie, don't you notice what a little image of your father he is gettin' to be ?

[A church clock is heard striking.]

POLLY : Eight o'clock ! Johnnie ought to be coming in soon.

MRS. ALDEN : I wonder what's keepin' your father, too ?

POLLY : Oh, I s'pose he's gone to some meeting or other [*gets up and puts the kettle on the fire*]. Better get Johnnie his supper, and as we've got to work late, we'll have a cup of tea, too [*takes coats off from one end of table, putting them on the cot, and then sets three cups and saucers, loaf of bread, a plate with some dripping on it, and a broken cup with some salt. While she is so occupied, the door opens with a slam, and Johnnie comes in. In the two years Johnnie has altered a great deal from the wide-eyed innocent child. He is not as yet a full-fledged "tough" little street gamin, but from his furtive eyes it is easily seen that he is fast learning the convenient art of lying*].

JOHNNIE : Say, muvver ! dis afternoon Muggsy showed me 'is cave !

MRS. ALDEN : Did he ? Come up to the table, little son. You get some supper and then you can tell me who Muggsy is, and all about 'is cave. [*As he passes her she puts her arm round him and hugs him.*] Mother's big man ! [*As she is taking her arm away, she pats him, and in so doing shakes out a packet of cigarettes from his torn coat.*] Oh, Johnnie ! what is this ?

You know you said you wasn't going to smoke cigarettes again—only bad boys smoke.

JOHNNIE [*defiantly*]: I ain't a-smokin'. Dey wuz gev me, Muggsy gev 'em me. [*Then seeing that they may be confiscated.*] 'E gev 'em me ter mind fer 'im tell ter morrer, see!

MRS. ALDEN: I'm afraid Muggsy can't be a very nice boy. Come, sit down to your supper, son.

[*In the meantime Polly has made a pot of tea, and cut some bread, spreading the dripping on and sprinkling it with salt.*]

POLLY: Come along, ma. Better have your tea while it's hot [*passes her a cup of tea. The two women drink their tea in silence, while Johnnie ravenously eats his bread and dripping, wolfishly cramming his mouth full, and then washing it down with tea.*]

MRS. ALDEN: Don't eat so fast, son, you'll choke if you ain't careful. [*Johnnie pays no attention.*] [*To Polly*]: I'm afraid we ought never to 'ave let 'im go out on the streets. It's fair a-spoilin' of 'im.

POLLY: Oh, well, mother, we'll soon mend that.

[*During this talk Jack Alden comes in. His clothes look shabbier than before, and, as he takes off his coat, it is seen that he has patches on the seat of his trousers. His whole bearing is one of sullen discontent, and he has much less self-respect.*]

MRS. ALDEN [*pulling the same old wooden armchair of first act to table*]: 'Ere you are, Jack! Come and 'ave some supper. You're all tired out, I can see

[*Jack Alden takes seat without a word.*]

MRS. ALDEN: No luck again? I don't see what is coming to a country when a fine mechanic jes' can't get a job. 'Tain't as if you don't try. Should think as Elms's would 'a wanted you before now.

JACK ALDEN: 'Tain't no use goin' there, Mary. I've been to all of them, that I'm fair sick o' going any more. Beside, I couldn't take such a job now, all my good tools is up the spout.

[*The two women are busily stitching, but as J. A. says the last sentence Polly looks up at him, and then setting her lips begins working faster than before.*]

JACK ALDEN: I don't know but I shall stand a better chance in some town where I haven't a 'bin hangin' round their doors month arter month. Only to-day I met Tom Jenkins—you remember they used to live next flat to us in St. Pancras—an' 'e says as how he was going to go to—

MRS. ALDEN [*interrupting*]: Oh yes! I know the Jenkins's, an' a precious shifless lot they were—allus borryin' an' spongin'

on people, an' then goin' takin' 'olids. S'pose he's off for some other 'oliday now?

JACK ALDEN: Not much of a 'oliday this time. He's out too, an' when I saw him at Stepney Library he ses as how he was a-goin' to shank it to a town in Norfolk where 'e knows some people, an' where they's lots o' buildin' an' carpenter work goin'. *[During this conversation Johnnie has put on his cap and started to go out of the door, but has been stopped by Polly. The two are evidently having an argument, Johnnie wanting to go out and his sister trying to take his cap off and prevent his exit.]*

JOHNNIE *[whiningly]*: Le-go! Lemme-go! Lemme-go or I'll slosh yer, see ef I don't?

POLLY: You shan't go out again to-night, Johnnie! The idea! Mother, what do you think he wants to do? He says he's going off to this precious Muggsy's cave to spend the night there.

JOHNNIE: Muggsy's got two lamps an' candles in he's cave an' all de kids dey stays dere—see. An' 'e ses dat ef I comes ter night 'e'll put me up ter de good tings so I can make money like de res' o' de kids—see?

JACK ALDEN: Look you, my boy, you're not goin' out again to-night. An' if ever I hear of your goin' to this Muggsy's cave again, I'll give you the worst thrashing you ever had, so don't you forget it.

JOHNNIE *[relinquishing his cap, though very sullenly]*: 'Tain't fair no-ways, I erns my livin', I do.

JACK ALDEN: Even my boy slights me! Mary, I simply jes' can't go on this way. Here I am a-livin' on what you earn.

MRS. ALDEN: Why, Jack, we all do the best we can. You earn when you can.

JACK ALDEN: But I ain't had a job for months an' months. Mother, I'm jes' fair sick o' this town. There ain't no show for me here any more, I'll go and try some other place.

MRS. ALDEN: We ain't got the money to travel with.

JACK ALDEN: Oh, I don't mean for us all to go. I'll go off with Tom Jenkins, and at all events I'll not eat the bread from your mouth.

MRS. ALDEN: Jack! don't go away an' leave me. It's 'ard enuff now. I'll do anything you say, on'y don't go, Jack.

JACK ALDEN: It's jes' no use for me to stay 'ere. I've bin so often to all the places I know that I ain't got no courage left to try again. I must try somewhere where I ain't known.

MRS. ALDEN: How can you go an' leave me? It's all that mean Tom Jenkins—Oh, Jack! *[sob]*.

JACK ALDEN: What's the good o' cryin', Mary? Can't you see 'ow much better it'll be. If I can get a good job in some other place, I can send for you, an' then we can begin again an' live as we used to. An' I jes' can't do it 'ere.

MRS. ALDEN *[sobbing bitterly]*: It's cruel of you, that's what it is!

[during this time Polly has been stitching as fast as she could, with an occasional glance at her father. Johnnie has got his cap again, and while his mother is crying, takes advantage of not being noticed to sneak out of the room.]

JACK ALDEN *[whom Mary's crying has made very uncomfortable]* : Well, Mary, what can I do? I can't get work 'ere, and it ain't right to eat bread out o' your mouth.

[Polly has just finished the button-holes of the last of the coats in front of her, and begins to fold and count them. There are apparently some missing, and then she remembers the two on the bed. She takes two other unfinished coats to the bed, and looks at the little one, who is now sleeping.]

POLLY : Mother, I wonder what is the matter with baby, his face is all red.

MRS. ALDEN *[forgets all about crying and goes at once to the bed, and wakens the little one in her anxiety to see what is the matter]* : Oh, my precious lambie! What's a matter wiv my liddle boy?

POLLY *[aside to J. A.]* : Father, I think you are right. I do think you would get a better chance in some other town. And then as soon as you get a good job we'll all come to you.

JACK ALDEN : Polly, girl, I believe you are the strong man of this family. You understand it isn't because I don't care but because I do care.

POLLY : I understand, daddy, and you are right.

JACK ALDEN : You're a good girl, Polly, an' it'll give me courage to think of you. I'll start to-morrow.

POLLY : Have you got any money at all, father?

JACK ALDEN : I've got some tools—I'll take a few with me, and before I go I'll sell or pawn the rest and take a little of the money.

POLLY : Better take it all, daddy, no telling how much you may need.

JACK ALDEN : No, my girl, I'd sooner leave it with you to use as it may be needed.

POLLY : Well, I'll mend up your clothes, daddy. *[Goes to cupboard and takes down some socks and underwear.]*

MRS. ALDEN *[with baby in her arms]* : I wonder what can be the matter with baby? He seems as if he didn't know me, an' there's a little rash all over him. Johnnie, go and ask Mrs. Jones if she'll come an' see baby; *[then not seeing him]* where's Johnnie?

POLLY *[looks to place where she had put his cap—it is gone]* : I'm afraid the little rascal has slipped out when we didn't notice.

MRS. ALDEN *[all wrought up with anxiety and weakness]* : Gone? My Johnnie gone! They've all gone! I've lost 'em all! Gone! Gone!! Gone!!! *[goes off into hysterical crying and wailing.]*

CURTAIN.

(To be continued.)

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THE MARXIAN POSITION.

One of the most acute, and, at the same time, the fairest of the critics of Socialism admitted frankly that it had taken him years to familiarise himself with the Socialist idea. After reading his articles in the "Fortnightly Review," critical of Socialism—or rather, of certain aspects of Socialism—the Marxian Socialist can only come to the conclusion that Dr. J. Beattie Crozier, unlike the critic referred to, has very far from familiarised himself with the idea of Social-Democracy, either in its historical or its economic bearings. Did Socialism really rest upon so slender a basis, as a cursory perusal of Dr. Crozier's articles might lead one to suppose, it would, indeed, be not difficult for him to effectually and finally dispose of it as consisting of mere "intellectual manœuvres and illusions," entailing the use of "dodges, subterfuges and false trails." But, as I shall hope to show, Marxian Socialism, the Socialism of the Social-Democratic Party, is something much more closely reasoned.

Did Socialism, moreover, consist of nothing more than the vague sentimentalisms and pious aspirations of those who, knowing little and caring less about what they are pleased, in their ignorance, to regard as "musty, academic formulæ"; or were Socialism merely the emotional outcome, as some of its protagonists seem to imagine, of certain

forms of nonconformist Christianity, then, indeed, it might be dismissed as a sort of "political Salvation Army," a true Utopian dream; and it would fail to attract followers of any larger calibre than are usually associated with such superficial and ephemeral movements. The merely emotional Socialist, who ignores, or affects to despise, the work of those who seek to discover the hidden wheels—the mechanism, so to speak—of human society, is somewhat in the position of one who enjoys the fruits of scientific knowledge whilst totally unappreciative of the researches which have placed them at his disposal. For it is quite certain that, had it not been for the labours of Karl Marx in the domain of economic science, the modern Socialist movement would not now exist in its present form. The economic conditions of society would be exactly as they are to-day, and they would continue to work themselves out to their inevitable ends, but blindly and uncomprehended. The labours of Marx, and of the Marxian school, provide the knowledge which should enable us to intelligently "put ourselves in line," as it were, with social evolution, so as to avoid that suffering and inconvenience which inevitably accompany ignorance. It is by virtue of such knowledge that this evolution may be made a process uniting the greatest efficiency with absolute social harmony and individual well-being, instead of manifesting itself as a blind struggling, through disorder and violent revolution, to the newer social order which is, in any case, the inevitable successor of the present.

It is necessary at the outset, and before the criticisms of Dr. Crozier can be estimated at their true value, to make perfectly clear what is the Marxian attitude when considering the phenomena of history in the past and the economic problems of the present. To state it in a few words, the Marxist is essentially naturalist. He considers human society as a natural product of natural causes the sequence of which might be traced far back beyond the human stage to remote geological epochs, to their origin in the primordial

nebula. The Marxist is, therefore, necessarily an evolutionist, and he is a Marxist in economics precisely for the same reasons that he is a Darwinist in biology. In the words of Jacoby, "What Darwin's book on the 'Origin of Species' is on the subject of the genesis and evolution of organic life . . . the work of Marx is on the subject of the genesis and evolution of . . . States and the social forms of humanity." There is no deus in biology, but the theological bias still clings to history, as it does, to still greater degree, to psychology. But, when history is treated scientifically, the theological obsession which gave rise to the "great man" theory—still entertained, it would seem, by Dr. Crozier—is dissipated, and we are able to give a much more accurate and intelligible interpretation of it.

Now, the key which Marx supplied has been unfortunately, albeit correctly, styled "the materialist conception of history." I say unfortunately because of the prejudice which this phrase gives rise to in minds still affected by the bias theological. It has been better expressed as "economic determinism," and is stated by Marx in these words: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which it is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." In this view we are enabled to correctly estimate history as a connected series of comprehensible processes and events; it ceases to be a disorderly and confused welter of wars and conquests, a mere stage across which flit the shades of kings and statesmen, priests and populace, playing their parts in a long drawn-out tragedy, stage-managed by influences, apart from themselves, incomprehensible and uncontrollable. We do not stand helpless in the face of insoluble mysteries and supernatural agencies; but human society is understood to be controlled in its evolution by certain well-defined economic laws, of which, if we can observe all the factors affected, we are able to pretty accurately

gauge the present tendencies and probable future outcome.

How alien this position is to Dr. Crozier's habit of thought he makes clear when he describes as "one of the most curious exhibitions of simplicity the intellectual world has yet seen" the Socialist process of narrowing down "the infinitely complex evolution of human society and civilisation to a single thread namely, its purely economic or industrial evolution." It is as though an opponent of biological evolution should seek to discredit the narrowing down of the infinitely complex manifestations of organic life-forms to a single cell. The reduction of all human activities and movements in the social organism to the ultimate economic factor, as the starting-point of each and all, is the crowning glory of scientific Socialism. Consider, presently, the clear and coherent explanation which Marxian Socialism gives of the "great man" in history and of the inventor whose unfair treatment under capitalism Dr. Crozier fears will be perpetuated under Socialism.

We are now in a position to take Dr. Crozier's criticisms of Socialism in their order. One might almost be excused from proceeding further than the third paragraph of his opening article, when he tells us that the upshot of his demonstration is "to prove that until the intellectual world has entirely lost its centre of gravity, Socialism, except by a physical force revolution, cannot, and will not, come." It would, I conceive, be difficult for Dr. Crozier to show exactly where the centre of gravity of the intellectual world may be found at any one time. The Socialist would say, wherever it most faithfully reflects the main characteristics of the economic conditions which give rise to it; that is to say, the *orthodoxy*, political, religious, or ethical, of the period under contemplation. In many respects, however, Dr. Crozier's views are the reverse of orthodox, so he cannot altogether be said to take his stand there. It would be better phrased, I take it, had Dr. Crozier used the words "economic conditions,"

instead of "intellectual world." The Marxian Socialist would say: Until the economic conditions (of modern capitalism) have entirely lost their centre of gravity, Socialism cannot and will not come, even by a physical force revolution. Now, the reasons Socialists have for supposing that the centre of gravity of modern capitalism is by no means stable, and that it may be expected to shift at no very distant period, may be briefly indicated. It is a matter of ordinary knowledge that all capitalist communities produce wealth far beyond their consuming capacities. This is almost entirely due to the activities of the inventor and the scientist, who have produced machines and discovered new processes which, not having proved by any means an unmixed blessing under the peculiar economic conditions of industrial capitalism, might, in some aspects, be counted as an offence rather than as an incalculable favour, at any rate, so far as the vast mass of the proletariat is concerned. Senator Depew explained the "forward" foreign policies of Western nations as being "because the surplus of products is greater than civilised countries can consume." As the author of the "Industrial History of England" observes, "To-day, indeed, the industrial history of our country seems to have reached a point when production under a purely capitalist system is over-reaching itself. It must go on and on without ceasing, finding or fighting for an outlet for the wealth produced, lest the whole gigantic system of international commerce should break down by the mere weight of its own immensity." And, at the time of the greatest surplus is the greatest suffering and discomfort experienced by the community, caused by a glut of the very commodities which its labour has produced. It is at these times that the centre of gravity of capitalism begins to tremble. Only so long as it can tide over the "crisis," only so long as it can find an outlet for the surplus, is the centre able to recover its equilibrium. But, with each new market opened up is, sooner or later, introduced a new competitor to the game. Just

now the teeming millions of the Far East are being subjected to the pressure of Western commercial expansion. How long it will be before the yellow races respond to this stimulus cannot be reckoned with accuracy. But we have seen what has happened in the case of Japan. As a Japanese diplomat, with whom I had the opportunity of discussing this very question, said: "We saw that, unless we introduced economic conditions analagous to those of the West, we should fall sooner or later under the heel of Western domination. The same thing applies to China." He believed, and hoped, that China would "wake up." Certainly, it will not be Japan's fault if she does not. Having observed the Chinese at first hand, I have personally no hesitation in believing that they will not be so very many years behind the Japanese. One has only to note the facility with which the Europeanised Chinese, in Singapore, Hongkong, and elsewhere, respond to the educative influences of the West to understand what the results will be when their leaven, which is surely if slowly working upon the vast mass of their countrymen, makes itself felt. It is difficult for a European to win the confidence of a Chinaman sufficiently for him to state his real ideas and aspirations, but, in the few cases in which I have succeeded, there was a remarkable unanimity of opinion. It was that an end must be put, in some way or another, to the existing Mandarin bureaucracy, and a removal effected of the Manchu dynasty. How the Chinese will act when once they begin to move was indicated by the recent boycott of American goods, extending not only in China proper, but throughout the East to places where nothing but sympathetic sentiment could be ascribed as the motive. The incident, the other day, of the "Tatsu Maru," is instructive. To one who has witnessed a Chinese indignation meeting the information that the words of a boy of twelve calling for a Japanese boycott moved his audience to tears, is significant of much. It means that the "Yellow Peril" is a very real one to Western capitalism. But its

effect will not be that of a military movement, as is usually supposed, but of commercial and industrial competition. The awakening of China will sound the death-knell of capitalism in the West by rolling back the tide of commercial expansion, "damming up" the outlets, and confining our manufacturers and our merchants to their own home markets for the disposal of the surplus. Then, if not before, will Western capitalism definitely lose its economic "centre of gravity," and the introduction of another and, as we believe, a better system will become imperative. The Marxist understands very well the rationale of crises, but he does not need to imitate a certain eminent, and "orthodox," economist by dragging in such extraneous factors as sun spots. He explains it on the basis of the Marxian theory of value and of all surplus, which Dr. Crozier takes to be an illusion, calling in consultation an eminent specialist for the purpose of pronouncing it "dead." Adam Smith, Ricardo and Mill had undoubtedly got hold of the right idea, though it is true that they did not quite know what to make of it. The genius of a Marx was needed to elaborate it with a wealth of detailed evidence, exactly as it needed the genius of a Darwin to incontrovertibly establish the ideas of evolution which had been conceived by earlier naturalists. It is curious to note that, only after it was found what a powerful argument against the system of capitalist exploitation had been thus developed by Marx, did the "orthodox" economists, Bastiat to begin with, turn round and try to find some other theory of the source of value and surplus. How poorly they have succeeded every Marxist knows. The essay, critical of the "Jevonian school," issued first as a challenge, and afterwards delivered as a lecture by H. M. Hyndman, is a famous example of the impregnability of the Marxian doctrine down to this very day.

The Marxian theory is not quite so naive an affair as critics of Socialism would have the world believe. Indeed, its depth is such that many Socialists, even,

prefer to evade it, and to justify themselves on other grounds. For my part I must confess that, but for a fortunate twelve months of leisure, Marx's "Capital" would probably have remained a sealed book, and I should have rejected Socialism to this day as mere unjustifiable sentimentalism. That a host of misconceptions should be current concerning the Marxian doctrine is, thus, to me not surprising. Dr. Crozier voices one when he tells us that Marx "snatched at" the dictum that labour was the source of all value and all surplus, "and urged it on his followers as authority for his contention that to them, in strict economic justice, the whole surplus belonged—and to them alone." Though he thus states it somewhat obscurely, Dr. Crozier makes it clear as he goes along that he understands Marxian Socialism to teach that, since all values and all surplus are created by the *labouring classes*, to them, and to them alone, they should belong. This, however, is a mere travesty of the Marxian position. The same misconception shows up in Dr. Crozier's statement of the proposals of Socialists as follows: "Firstly, the taking over by the State"—which, to the Socialist, connotes the organised community—"of the whole of the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange, to be worked in the interests of *the great mass of the people*." Little exception might be taken to this point were it not that it is capable of erroneous interpretation in respect of the words I have italicised. We must be clear as to what we mean by "the great mass of the people," "the labouring classes," "the workers." The Socialist view of work, or labour, may be expressed in three words—applied human energy—whether of hand or brain goes without saying. We claim that the wealth of the community is the result of the labour of the community applied to the resources of nature, and, as such, the nation's wealth is rightly considered as a social product. As society is constituted to-day it is broadly divisible into two classes, a comparatively small minority which owns and controls the natural resources,

and a large majority which is expropriated therefrom, and is dependent merely upon its labour power for the maintenance of its existence. Thus we get the "capitalists" whose income is derived entirely from one of the forms that "surplus" assumes, rent, interest, or profits, and the proletariat whose income consists solely of wages, or salaries, paid by their employers, of the previous class, who are, in every sense of the word, their masters. That there is a considerable number of persons occupying an intermediate position does not alter the general proposition. By virtue of their economic position the minority, controlling the social wealth, succeed in bending all forces of law, administration, and, in large measure also, the religious and ethical sanctions, to their support. It is not necessary to indulge in an historical retrospect to show that the classes which control the revenues and the sources of wealth are always politically predominant. We deal here, with the phenomenon as it appears to-day, whether in monarchical countries or the so-called "democratic" republics. The effect of the divorce of the majority from the ownership of natural resources and the control of the instruments of production, is their reduction to the position of "wares" rather than of men, wares for sale; and, as wares, their price is determined by competition. Wages, their price, are thus found to fluctuate about subsistence point, according to the operation of supply and demand. This has been called "the iron law of wages," to which expression Dr. Crozier seems inclined to take exception. But, of its reality no one who has fallen under its operation has the slightest doubt. Nor does it apply merely to unskilled, manual labour; it effects equally the whole mass of the proletarians, artisans, clerks, journalists, and also professional men whose subsistence point is usually somewhat above that of the manual labourer. But the value of the productive power of any class of labour is always greater than the price paid for it, otherwise it would not be bought by the capitalist who employs it. Now Socialism

claims, in the words of a well-known writer, "that in this difference between wages paid and the proceeds of labour, in this fold lies hidden the germ of all profits, interest and rent; of all pauperism, and of nearly all modern crime."

To come to our inventor. Dr. Crozier is much troubled about "economic justice." This is a matter that does not concern the Marxist any more than does any other form of abstract justice concern the student of animal life in the jungle. I have, myself, when I have heard the cries of a helpless creature in the clutch of some stronger beast, wondered how far "justice," as such, entered into the scheme of nature. As a humane man, similarly, Dr. Crozier deplors the condition of so many able and willing working men in nearly every country in the world, and is of opinion that this "will justify almost any attempt, however chimerical and desperate, to alter it." In this attitude of mind, it is permissible to hope that Dr. Crozier may, as a result of his inquiries, come to see that there is a larger measure of economic and social justice in Socialism than has ever yet entered into any other human scheme, and so be led to adjust his mental view to the Socialist focus. Dr. Crozier tells us that, without the scientist, the inventor, and the discoverer of new processes, the labours of organisers would be barren of surplus. Much more would they be barren without the body of ordinary working men. Now the average inventor comes, under capitalism, into the same category as the mere manual worker. Were his invention, or discovery, not available for the creation of surplus value to the capitalist classes, it would never be allowed to fructify; his brain work, his genius if you will, would be as barren of result as the brawn work of the simple labourer, because it would not be employed. The same remark applies to the organiser; he would be unable to organise anything were the result not likely to prove to the advantage of the dominant classes. Were all the scientists, inventors, discoverers and organisers, as such, able to

band themselves together, and to say to society, "Unless you give us the whole of the resulting proceeds, or surplus, of our discoveries and inventions, we shall refuse to let you have them," society would simply reply, "Then keep them, or if it please you, take the ship, suggested by Dr. Crozier, and remove them to some remote island, where you can amuse yourselves with them in your own way."

The invention, without the opportunity to apply it, is non-effective, and it is society alone which provides this opportunity, and, for this by no means small service, society demands a return. The Socialist view is, however, entirely different from the capitalist view of the inventor; we are so fully in agreement with Dr. Crozier's criticism of the treatment of the inventor under capitalism, that we need not digress in order to condemn it in the terms it deserves. But Socialism does not regard the inventor, or discoverer, as a god descending from heaven with his gift in one hand and a possible ultimatum in the other. Indeed, were he, or Dr. Crozier on his behalf, to present an ultimatum, we should tell him to put his ultimatum back in his pocket and begone with his gift. The invention—and the inventor too, for that matter—is a social product. Without the accumulated labour and knowledge of past generations at his disposal, without the protection and support that society extends to him, without the social demand that presents him with his opportunity, the inventor and his invention would be alike, impossible. Without the assistance, moreover, of the despised manual worker, the invention would be futile and useless. Dr. Crozier has not yet got hold of the *social* idea that permeates the Socialist philosophy, the necessary interdependence of all units, of all classes, of brain and hand labour, throughout the social organism. This is where Socialism transcends all other schools of political thought, in its welding of diverse human interests and activities into one homogeneous and harmonious whole. We have no use for the inventor or for the "great man" except in so far

as he realises his own obligations to society. In any case, however, the inventor will invent, the discoverer will discover, the organiser will organise, and the scientist will investigate, given the opportunity, whether or not he obtains "economic justice." But Socialism will accord him that justice, whereas modern capitalism does not.

Dr. Crozier proceeds to tell us that the capitalists have expropriated not the surplus of the workers, but of the *machines* (the italics are his). Well, well. I wonder what my gardener, for example, would say if I told him that the difference between the price of the cabbages and potatoes from my garden, and of vegetables grown in a state of nature, was the result, not of his work, but of the spade and the hoe and the other implements (invented none knows by whom) which I place at his disposal. A very profound thought, this. I am glad, however, that Dr. Crozier realises that there is no mystery about "surplus production." The analysis of the inner workings of any economic system is recondite; but the net results are plain enough for the plain man to understand, once he can be got to look at them bereft of prejudice. Dr. Crozier maintains that, on the one hand, the capitalist *per se*, and, on the other, the worker *per se*, has no right to the surplus which a machine produces beyond the amount they twain together could produce without it. It follows, therefore, that the inventor of the machine is the only person who has any right to the surplus. Now, I submit that this line of reasoning savours of sophistry, designed to lead merely to confusion—the Socialist has to be stultified at all costs. If Dr. Crozier will take any machine, say my typewriter, and kindly tell us who the inventor was, estimate the exact debt that he owes to previous inventors of previous machines, the net results of whose labours is embodied in this his product; estimate further the share due to the manual labourers who have constructed it, and, beyond them, the shares due to those who devised the tools, instruments and machinery used in its construc-

tion; further, estimate the amount of time, which is money, that its use saves me as against a split reed or quill pen, and tell me the exact amount of my indebtedness, which should be subtracted from the value of the article I am writing, we might be able to get somewhat released from the confusion into which Dr. Crozier's thesis leads us. Dr. Crozier says that Marx misrepresented the plain facts in that he "substituted everywhere the work of the artisans and labourers attending on the machines for the work of the machines themselves." I protest that Dr. Crozier misrepresents (sincerely, no doubt) the whole tenor of the Marxian doctrine. The question is one of the exploitation of the industrial *community*, as against the, to quote Dr. Crozier, "mere do-nothings, money-capitalists and financiers (as distinct from the organising ones)," who are nothing more than "the barren inheritors of past exploitations and the transmitters of the same." Dr. Crozier contends that the position of these people, as also of the active capitalists, is one of economic *power* rather than of economic *law*. We need not quibble over the use of words which practically convey the same idea. We might say that it is the "power" of gravitation which causes the descent of a person who stumbles over a precipice. The practical result would be the same. Dr. Crozier refers repeatedly to the followers of Marx as the "orators of the street corner." I submit this is merely a use of the *argumentum ad invidiam*, which Dr. Crozier might very well have spared his readers.

In my next paper, I propose to state the reasons which the Marxian Socialist has for believing that collectivism is likely to succeed capitalism as the next step forward in social evolution, and also to deal, in passing, with the "natural history" of the "great man."

JOHN E. ELLAM.

THE S.D.P. AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

Year in and year out we have been trying to get the Conference of the Labour Party to declare for Socialism, and failed. We tried it again at Hull, and this time with some extraordinary effect. The Conference surpassed and outwitted itself. To the question of Socialism or no Socialism the answer was, No—Yes—Yes—No; clever, brilliant, and original, no mistake about it; a perfect forest of hands was sending Socialism to the bottom one day, the same hands exalting its horn the next.

Now, since this peculiar verdict of Hull, "Justice" does not call the Labour Party by any other name but the *Socialist-Labour* Party. Well, I cannot see the use of it. We might just as well count eggs for chickens, but would they be chickens for all that? May be, if we keep on calling the Labour Party the Socialist-Labour Party a time will come—to be sure, come it must—when the new cap will fit at last, but, at all events, not our naming it will make it so. Why then allow our wish to father our thoughts?

Again, comrade Hyndman, dwelling on the importance of the Socialist resolution at Hull in the course of a speech, remarked that the Labour Party could not now rub the red paint off its face. Now, it seems to me, red *paint* is the word for it. The Labour Party has slap-dabbed its face with paint. Well, what of that? Paint is cheap on the market. The Trades Union

Congress wasted pails-full of red paint, the bulky files of their resolutions including the socialisation of the means of production, etc. Now, is the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee a Socialist body for all that? Are not the trade union M.P.'s willing slaves washing the feet of the Liberal Party? I think it is time we knew the value of Socialist resolutions carried on the parade-ground of trade union and Labour conferences. You cannot turn the Labour Party Socialist by virtue of Socialist resolutions extorted from the annual conference. One time we denied that the Labour egg is going to bring us a Socialist chicken, let us not go then to the other extreme and maintain there is a Socialist chicken where there is but the old Labour egg still to be hatched.

Let us make up our mind as to what it is that we want. Is it red paint or natural Socialist colour; barren "Socialist" resolutions which alter nothing, change nothing, and commit nobody to anything—or Socialism in the full meaning of the word, Socialism full of heart, feeling and brains; Socialism dead or Socialism alive, which?

The Hull verdict was a Yes and No. But while the Yes was the reply of some of the *delegates*—a pious, politically worthless, resolution, the No was the authoritative reply of the *party*, emphatic, clear and crushing. It refused (1) to place Socialism on the constitution and (2) *would not suffer candidates of the Labour Party to run as Socialists*. As far as we are concerned the refusal to adopt Socialism as the platform of the party would not perhaps matter so much, but it is the second that should entirely preclude our rejoining the Labour Party. For while we could, should, and would join a not-yet Socialist but independent Labour Party, we could not for a single moment entertain the idea of running our candidates under the flag of Labour *only*. And, however tempting the hospitable roof of the Labour Party may be, with its promise of "success" on one hand, and the bright

vista of Socialist Unity it opens on the other, yet until this obstacle is removed, we had better keep outside the Labour Party with our hands free.

If we join the Labour Party now—as many of our comrades wish us to do—we draw a Labour blind over our Socialist window, we climb down from the Pisgah of Political Action, and relegate our Socialism to the sphere of “pure” propaganda unfertilised by political fight. Nationally we cease to be Socialist, we get stamped Labour. True, the Labour title would not muzzle our candidates and stop them from delivering Socialist orations, but it would be like lighting a candle and putting it under a bushel; these orations could do, perhaps, for the constituency concerned, but to the nation at large it would be a fight for the hand-to-mouth policy of Labour and not for the principles of Socialism. Now the great inestimable importance of an election fight lies in its national character. The problems raised and issues involved leap high over fence and wall of locality or constituency, and with a thousand tongues they speak to the country, catch its eye and ear, they agitate and educate, they quicken the pulse of the nation and reach the remotest corners of the country. The issue being Socialism, all these forces work for Socialism, but plastered Labour, they become ineffective, bad conductors of Socialism.

But while it is absolutely impossible for us to rejoin the Labour Party, it does not yet follow that we are to leave it alone. No, not at all. Though as an organisation we are not *of* the Labour Party, as members of Trade Unions we are *in* it. And as Social-Democrats, it is our prime duty to see that it turns Socialist the sooner. We have done our best in this direction before, only we were pushing at the wrong door. We tried to argue with Shackletons and Gills, Macdonalds and Glasiers; we wanted to paint red political sucklings of the Liberal Party and a hypocritical band of “Labour Leaders,” with whom “success” is the first and Socialism the last thing to

be thought of. As if it were any use getting these people to lip Socialism and pass Socialist resolutions. Shackletons cannot, and Macdonalds, for many reasons, would not subscribe to Socialism within the Labour Party? But whatever we think of them, we must give them credit for making out a strong case against the adoption of Socialism by the Labour Party. And we must blame ourselves for not destroying their case in good time. The great mass of the Labour Party are not Socialists, they argued; how on earth then could the Conference declare Socialism the object of the Party. And, in truth, it could not. It would look like Socialists trying not to *convince* but to *capture* the Labour Party by a snatch vote at the Conference. It would be something like Socialism *versus* Democracy, an absurd position for Social-Democrats to adopt.

We want to win the Labour *Party*, and not the Conference for Socialism. The Party won, willy nilly, the Conference will have to register it, and then Socialism becomes the object of the Party as a matter of fact and not of form. The question is, how to win the Party. And here our friends of the I.L.P. would have us copy their methods, and confine our energies solely to the task of permeating the Trade Unions, *leaving in peace the Annual Conference of the Party*. This suits admirably the Fabian policy of the I.L.P., but it does not serve the *best* interests of Socialism. Instead of drawing nearer the time when the Labour Party becomes ready for Socialism, it makes it more remote than ever. As a lever by which to raise the whole mass of the Labour Party to Socialism, the Annual Conference is by far the best, and if skilfully handled, it may do more for Socialism in one year than perhaps decades of ordinary propaganda in the trade unions. Only, instead of forcing Socialism *on the delegates*, we must force *the delegates to submit our case to the whole party*. The wire-pullers of the Labour Party were ill-advised when they chose to advance the argument of democracy against us. This would sug-

gest that the Labour Party is a democratic body ; but as a matter of fact, there is little democracy about the Labour Party. The one million and a-half or so members are only called upon to pay their pennies, but otherwise have practically no voice in the management and councils of the party. Of course, the members are paying their contributions willingly, because the great idea of the independence of Labour has taken deep root among the working classes of this country ; but instead of developing and deepening this growing consciousness of the worker by drawing him in the vortex of organised party life, they, the "Labour Party," in inverted commas, are keeping him swathed in a sort of embryonic instinctive semi-consciousness. There is no party life in the Labour Party. It is all bureaucracy and officialdom. The Annual Conference is by more than half a "packed" assembly, the delegates being *appointed* by the executives of the various trade unions. The agenda paper is never discussed by the members ; it is only sent round a few weeks before the Conference, so there is no chance for anybody to discuss it. The "delegates" are not responsible to the members, and the Labour M.P.'s are constantly defying the resolutions passed by the Conference. The "delegates" are simply trying to *guess* the opinions of the members but do not *represent* them. If the opinions of the "delegates" happen to coincide with those of the party, it is merely incidental. And these abuses threaten to become a danger and a deterrent to the further progress of the Labour movement. The official "Labour Party" are getting it in their heads that they are the chosen people who are called upon to do things for the working classes of this country. When you listen to their speeches, you can see clearly from the frequent, emphasised and pompous "I's," from the "what-I-have-done" and the "what-I-shall-do," that their heads are swelling. They think themselves the *benefactors* of the working classes. Now, what we want is democracy. We do not want political charity even from "Labour Leaders." We

want the "Labour Party" in commas to *execute the will of the Labour Party without commas*. We do not want the "Labour Leaders" to consult their own wish, however favourable it may prove to be in the interests of the working classes. When democracy asserts itself in the Labour Party our work there is much simplified.

Our line of action on the floor of the Annual Conference should therefore be:—

- (1) The democratisation of the Labour Party ;
- (2) A plebiscite on Socialism.

All the forces of the official-ridden "Labour Party" will be arrayed against us. The fight will be hot in the extreme.

But fight is delight,
And mettle of battle
Joy to us.

A plebiscite will not see the triumph of Socialism in the Labour Party yet, and we shall be beaten more than once. But we shall focus the thoughts of a million and a-half organised workers on Socialism, we shall make it a burning question of the day, and we shall set every branch of every trade union to debate Socialism; it will be an unprecedented debate on a gigantic scale. Our opponents will gain a victory in the first round, but it will be the one of Pyrrhus; one or two more victories and they are defeated.

ELIA LEVIN.

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM.

After the defeat of the petty chiefs of Canaan and the conquest of their territories, the Beni Israel surveyed the land and divided it among the tribes. The division of the lands is related with much detail in the Hebrew Domesday Book, which is to be found in the last chapters of NUMBERS and in chapters 12 to 22 in JOSHUA. The lands were taken in possession by the tribes and not by the individuals composing the new Hebrew society. They were tribal possessions and not individual properties. This is shown in NUMBERS, chapter 36, where a remarkable judgment is given by Moses with regard to the daughters of Zelophead. The chiefs of the tribe of Joseph appeared with a difficult case before Moses. Zelophead, the head of a family of their tribe, died and left no sons but daughters. The tribe was, therefore, apprehensive lest the girls marry into another tribe and transfer their inheritance to the tribe of their husbands. This was evidently against the feelings and notions of tribal communities. Moses was therefore asked to decide the matter. And he decided: "The tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well. This is the thing which the LORD doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophead, saying, Let them marry . . . only to the family of the tribe of their father. So shall not the

inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe." The mere fact that the tribal chiefs were compelled and authorised to interfere with contingent transfers of land appears to be sufficient evidence of the lack of the institution of private property. The interests of the tribe as a whole were regarded so much superior to those of the individual that Moses restricted in certain cases the choice of husbands. It may even be that he thereby established an exception to the ancient rule which prohibited marriages within the gens, in order to keep the tribal possessions intact.

In the first centuries after the conquest the Hebrews continued to live according to their primitive traditions and customs. They worshipped Yahve, made their pilgrimages to the holy places and celebrated images, or, as the Hebrew language expresses it, "to see the face of Yahve," sacrificed their modest offerings, and made war on the natives and the surrounding tribes. In the same measure, however, as peace was established and their settlements were secured and agricultural life became their predominant occupation the new conditions began to revolutionise the mental and moral ideas and habits of the Beni Israel. First came the influence of the superior civilisation of the subdued natives. Canaan had a comparatively flourishing agriculture and a more luxurious mode of living. The religion of the Canaanites was instinct with the various phases of land cultivation. The Baalim were symbols of fertility; it was they who gave corn, oil, wine, and multiplied the herds. The Baal worship was therefore sumptuous, the sacrifices of the best fruits of the land were abundant, and the festivals often riotous. These social and religious conditions could not but impress the famished and vivacious Arabic nomads, and they slowly yielded. Then came the influence of the new material conditions of the Hebrews themselves. And this influence was at once perplexing and profound. Yahve, as a god of desert nomads, representing, as he did, atmospheric cataclysms and warlike qualities,

lacked all those virtues on which the peaceful and laborious life of land cultivators depends. Yahve did not fit in with the new conditions. He could not be asked for corn, oil, or wine, and for all those blessings which peasants necessarily wish for. The people began dimly to realise the contradiction between their external conditions and their spiritual life. To save them from their perplexities two ways suggested themselves, either to adapt the conception of Yahve to the new conditions, or to worship Baal. As far as we may gather from JUDGES, the spiritual crisis was long in finding any solution. The Beni Israel drifted. Many of them abandoned Yahve and hankered after Baal, while others adhered unswervingly to the stern worship of Yahve, and fought the influences of the Canaanite religion. The struggle between Yahve and Baal appears thus to have been a conflict between old spiritual traditions and new material conditions; it was engendered by the transition from nomadic desert life to settled agricultural life. The mode of production changed, but the old mode of feeling, and thinking, and conduct claimed obedience, and there was yet no leader to formulate a new conception of Yahve. A later phase of this critical struggle is represented by Elijah and the Baal prophets, as recorded in I. KINGS, chapters 18 and 19. Baal, who was reputed as the divine agency of agricultural fertility, was challenged by Elijah, the prophet of Yahve, to give rain to the famished land. The challenge is characteristic, and affords an excellent insight into the spiritual crisis of the Israelites. Elijah said, "How long halt ye between two opinions? If Yahve be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him. And the people answered not a word." In the course of his demonstration he proved to them that it was Yahve who gave rain, for out of a "little cloud like a man's hand" came water in abundance. In the following chapter Elijah denies that Yahve was a god of desert cataclysms. "And behold Yahve passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and broke in pieces the rocks

before Yahve; but Yahve was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake; but Yahve was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but Yahve was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face." And that soft, mild voice was that of Yahve. This story, recorded in symbols and images, is very instructive. It tells of the first great attempt of a Hebrew leader to adapt the old conception of Yahve to the new conditions, and to put an end to the spiritual crisis of his people. Yahve was not a god of physical catastrophes and of war, but a god who gave rain and who favoured the peaceful occupation of his followers.

While that spiritual conflict went on a deep change was taking place in the basis of Hebrew life. The Hebrews settled as communists. Their society was homogeneous, knowing no antagonistic economic divisions. There were neither exploiters nor exploited, neither rich nor poor, neither money-lenders nor borrowers. In the course of time, however, Hebrew society began to disintegrate. The causes of the disintegration were geographic and economic. In the north of Canaan lay trading and manufacturing Phœnicia, and in the east of the Jordan ran the great trade route from Egypt to Syria and Mesopotamia. The Phœnicians were the intermediaries between the trade of the Middle East, the northern regions of India, and the Mediterranean countries. They did not limit themselves, however, to the distribution of goods, but created manufactures in their own country; they produced, as Strabo recorded, fine linens and woollens richly dyed, glass and metal goods. Occupied with trade and manufacture, and possessing only a narrow strip of land, they were compelled to import food-stuffs from the neighbouring agricultural countries. Such an agricultural country was Canaan, with whose inhabitants they entered into commercial relations, evidence of which is furnished in the story of King Solomon and Hiram. Similar relations must have

existed between the Hebrew lands lying on the flank of the Egypto-Syrian trade route. By their capacity of exporting agricultural products, the Hebrews were drawn into the vortex of international commerce. The effect of commerce and money transactions on communist settlements is necessarily a dissolving one. The families who enter into commercial relations are not long in developing a sense of private property, which can only be realised by alienating lands in possession of the tribe; and alienation of lands leads necessarily to inequality, to economic divisions in society. The process of disintegration of tribal organisations is accelerated or retarded according to the opportunities offered by the foreign exchanges. It must have been rapid enough in the Hebrew tribal organisations, exposed as they were in the north and in the east to the influences of commerce. To the religious crisis there was thus added a social crisis. Hebrew society divided into worshippers of Baal and worshippers of Yahve, and into rich and poor. The harshness of the social struggle is shown as early as in the time of Elisha. We read in II. KINGS, chapter 4, "Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, 'Thy servant, my husband, is dead; and thou knowest that thy servant did fear Yahve: and the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen.'"

M. BEER.

(To be continued.)

SOCIALISM AND THE FAMILY.*

According to the statement on the cover of this book the reader is given to understand that Mr. Wells refutes the charge that Socialism tends to Free Love, and gives a complete statement of the real attitude of modern Socialism to family life.

It is not easy to reconcile these assertions with the contents of the book itself. Of arguments that Socialism and Free Love are inconsistent there are none, but on the other hand by the following statements Mr. Wells shows that Socialism and Free Love are not so inconsistent as he supposes.

"The Socialist does not propose to destroy something that would conceivably last for ever, when he proposes a new set of institutions and a new system of conduct to replace the old proprietary family. He no more regards the institution of marriage as a permanent thing than he regards a state of competitive industrialism as a permanent thing.

"Anti-Socialists have a way of pretending that Socialists want to make Free Love possible, while in reality Free Love is open to any solvent person to-day. People who do not want to marry are as free as air to come together and part again as they choose, there is no law to prevent them; the State takes it out of their children with a certain mild malignancy—that is all."

If solvent people to-day choose Free Love in preference to current morality, it is to be inferred that the nation as a whole will do so when under Socialism all are solvent.

It is quite impossible to find any harmony in Mr. Wells's conflicting statements. For instance, he says:—

"The appearance of the feminine mind and soul in the world as something distinct and self-conscious, is the appearance of a distinct

* By H. G. Wells. (A. C. Fifield, London.)

new engine of criticism against the individualist family, against this dwindling property of the once-ascendant male—who no longer effectually rules, no longer, in many cases, either protects or sustains, who all too often is so shorn of his beams as to be but a vexatious power of jealous restriction and interference upon his wife and children. The educated girl resents the proposed loss of her freedom in marriage, the educated married woman realises as well as resents the losses of scope and interest marriage entails. If it were not for the economic disadvantages that make intelligent women dread a solitary old age in bitter poverty, vast numbers of women who are married to-day would have remained single independent women. This discontent of women is a huge available force for Socialism. The wife of the past was, to put it brutally, caught younger—so young that she had no time to think—she began forthwith to bear babies, rear babies, and (which she did in a quite proportionate profusion) bury babies—she never had a moment to think. Now, the wife with double the leisure, double the education and half the emotional scope of her worn prolific grandmother, sits at home and thinks things over. You find her letting herself loose in clubs, in literary enterprises, in schemes for joint households, to relieve herself and her husband from the continuation of a duologue that has exhausted its interest."

He then goes on to say :—

"It follows that motherhood, which we still in a muddle-headed way seem to regard as partly self-indulgence and partly a service paid to a man by a woman, is regarded by the Socialists as a benefit to society, a public duty done. It may be in many cases a duty full of pride and happiness—that is beside the mark. The State will pay for children born legitimately in the marriage it will sanction. A woman with healthy and successful offspring will draw a wage for each one of them so long as they go on well.

"This is the gist of the Socialist attitude towards marriage ; the repudiation of private ownership of women and children and the payment of mothers."

The State payment of mothers is, then, to be limited ? Only those born legitimately in the marriage sanctioned by the State will be paid for by the State. And of these the quality of the offspring will determine whether the mother shall be entitled to a wage for it. A delicate baby demanding twice the care and attention of a healthy one will be ignored by the State. But, even provided the infant has passed its examination and been pronounced healthy and successful, the mother can only be sure of

the wage so long as it goes on well. Mr. Wells does not say whether she might hope for a renewal of the wage which had been suspended while her offspring suffered from an attack of the measles. A little further information on this point would be welcomed by feminine readers.

Woman in those days will no longer be privately owned. Mr. Wells says the gist of the Socialist attitude towards marriage is the repudiation of private ownership of women and children. They are then to be publicly owned? Woman is to be exclusively the property of the State? She will exist solely as a medium for propagating the race? A clause from the Litany might not be inappropriate here:—

“That it may please thee to have mercy upon all men.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.”

Mr. Wells himself assumes the responsibility of an owner in his manner of disposing of women in what he believes to be the best interest of the State. There is one grave flaw, however, and that is his entire ignorance of the feminine mind. He admits that the most intelligent women are, in an increasingly large number, refusing to accept the limitations to their freedom marriage entails; and then asserts that under Socialism marriage laws will be far more stringent than those of Christendom are to-day. Are women then only to gain their freedom that they may use it to fasten on themselves chains heavier than any hitherto borne? Or are they to be merely the plastic material out of which man will mould the future generation after his pattern?

Women are working hard for two things—economic independence and education. When they have gained these two, perfect freedom of action will follow as a matter of course. No woman with any self-respect will be responsible to anyone but herself for her actions.

Mr. Wells can safely leave motherhood to mothers. The maternal instinct is one of the strongest in every normal woman. Let the State see to it that every girl has the finest training, both mental and physical, that

it can provide, let the highest intelligence be at her command, let motherhood in all cases be honoured, and the race will not suffer from either scanty or degenerate offspring.

The A B C of Free Love has not yet been mastered by Mr. Wells. His ideas on the subject are very hazy, and will be found very amusing to Free Lovers. Speaking of any connection there might be between Socialism and Free Love, he says:—

“I found myself asking how it came about, that anyone could bring together such discrepant things as the orderly proposals of Socialism as they shape themselves in the projects of Mr. Keir Hardie, let us say, and the doctrine of sexual go-as-you-please. And so inquiring, my mind drifted back to the days—it is a hazy period to me—when Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft were alive, when Shelley explained his views to Harriet. These people were in a sort of way Socialists; Palæo-Socialists. They professed also very distinctly that uncovenanted freedom of action in sexual matters which is, I suppose, free love. Indeed so near are we to those old confusions that there is still, I find, one Palæo-Socialist surviving—Mr. Belfort Bax.”

Make your bow, Mr. Belfort Bax!

The connection between Socialism and Free Love is apparent to all who have studied both questions. Socialism is an arrangement of industrial affairs by which all will be spared the present-day sordid, degrading struggle for a living. All will have opportunities to develop any talents they may possess; all will have leisure for culture, and enjoyment of the refinements of life which to-day are the special privileges of a few. Socialism is not a goal. It is the bridge by which the goal may be reached. The goal is the full development, physical and mental, of every individual. Socialism will bring education within the reach of all, and with education inevitably comes the demand for perfect freedom of action.

“Oh, I long for the strong man, and the woman of strength ·
The twin world-gods who will rise at length
And crush from the earth the earth's slave mind,
And people it anew with a race of their kind.”

FRANCES E. CHRISTIEN.

THE MONTH.

The result of the Peckham election was a plain intimation to the Government of the disgust of an increasing number of the electorate with its general conduct of public business and its legislative proposals—notably the Licensing Bill. It, of course, suits the Ministerialists, with the zealous co-operation of the Labour Party, to endeavour to make out that the election was won by the brewers and the constituency absolutely corrupted by beer.

Now Peckham is essentially “respectable” and petty bourgeois; and narrow, mean, reactionary and Tory as it unquestionably is, there is scarcely any other constituency in the metropolis in which “beer” could exercise less influence.

The Labour Party are to be congratulated on the quite respectable vote secured for their Unemployed Bill. It is to be regretted that the same cannot be said of the measure itself, nor of the fashion in which the debate was conducted on the side of its supporters.

The same in regard to the debate on the Eight Hours resolution. After the defeat of the “Right to Work” Bill, as it was called, mainly on the ground that such a right could not be maintained because there is “not work enough to go round,” there was a splendid opportunity for making out a good case for an all-round reduction in the hours of labour. The supporters of the resolution, however, either did not understand their own case or were too lukewarm about it to put it properly.

Considerable attention has been called to the re-affirmation of the working agreement between the two Labour Groups in the House of Commons, which was arrived at some two years ago. The chief, if not the only, significance attaching to this agreement at the present time lies in the prospective affiliation of the Miners to the Socialist-Labour Party. This will add considerably to the numerical strength of that Party in the country, and to its Group in the House of Commons, but it will also shift its centre of gravity in a Liberal direction.

The resignation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman places us in the enviable position of having the Assassin of Featherstone for Prime Minister. The presence of such a man in any Government post is an insult to the working class of this country; that he should be Prime Minister is a crowning humiliation. If it is true, as is said, that a people always gets the Government it deserves, the deserts of the people of this country must be unspeakable.

The promotion of Asquith makes other Cabinet changes necessary. Lloyd-George and Churchill are both, as was expected, to be promoted, while one "honest John"—Morley—is to be translated to the House of Lords as a refuge from the troublesome heckling of certain Irishmen in the House of Commons. What an end for a philosophical Radical! And what a satire on the Liberal fulminations against the House of Lords! What is to happen to the other "honest John" is not yet known. He has become a perfect "enfant terrible" for his colleagues, and there is little doubt that they would all feel more at ease if he could be sent to join the other "honest" one in the gilded chamber.

Speculation was rife as to whether anything was to be given to the Labour Party in the redistribution of offices. Several names had been mentioned for minor posts; but in the result they have all been left out in the cold. The need for an alliance has not yet manifested itself to the Asquithian Party.

Mr. Winston Churchill having been promoted to the Board of Trade, he will have to fight for his seat for North-West Manchester. This affords us an excellent opportunity for dealing a blow at this Government of cowardice and ca' canny, than whom it

has no more typical representative than this scion of the Churchills. His chief claims to recognition appear to be that he has ably exemplified the family characteristic for changing sides ; coined the phrase " terminological inexactitude " to gloze over his present party's aptitude for lying in regard to Chinese slavery, and has been one of the most adroit members of the present Ministry in defending its manifold failures.

All Socialists join in welcoming Keir Hardie on his return from his world tour. We hope that his health has benefited, and that the movement will reap the advantage of his renewed vigour.

The French piratical enterprise in Morocco still goes on. The accounts given by eye-witnesses published from time to time in " *La Guerre Sociale*," show that in " methods of barbarism " there is nothing to choose between any of the great capitalist Powers.

One of the most striking incidents in the international Socialist movement of late, was the funeral of Guershouni, the Russian Revolutionist, in Paris, on Sunday, April 5. Many thousands of Parisian workmen marched in the funeral procession, and impressive speeches were delivered at the grave-side by representatives of European Social-Democracy.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN AMERICA.

The working men of Europe are generally aware of the fact that the United States are in the throes of an industrial crisis, but, we believe, they largely under-estimate its extent and intensity.

The capitalist press of our country has from the very beginning adopted the policy of concealing all alarming symptoms of our present industrial disorders or to minimise their significance and effect as much as possible. The acute financial panic of recent months which presaged the collapse of the unstable industrial equilibrium in the United States, was pronounced by our dominant powers a groundless and short-lived flurry; the grave industrial depression which is now obviously setting in, is cheerfully characterised by them as a temporary business embarrassment, and their subservient press is already filled with reports of returning prosperity.

The ruling classes have an obvious interest in thus attempting to hide the evidence of their impotency as directors of our industries, and to prevent a possible outbreak of popular revolt against their mismanagement of the affairs of the nation. But the Socialist working men of the United States have no reason and no right to conceal the full extent of the misery into which this country has again been thrown by the selfish, planless and devastating methods of production of its much boasted "captains of industry." We consider it especially our duty to our fellow-workers abroad to present to them the existing industrial conditions of our country in their true light, and it is in the performance of this duty of solidarity, and by no means from a narrow-minded desire to frighten away foreign labour competition from the shores of our country, that we express our conviction that what the United States are facing to-day is not a slight business depression, but a regular and probably prolonged industrial crisis.

Acute industrial depressions are neither new nor rare in this country of plenty. Ever since the United States have entered upon the career of capitalistic production, the periods of general industrial paralysis have been recurring in this country with dreadful regularity in cycles about sixteen to twenty years apart.

Since the beginning of the last century this is our sixth crisis, the former ones having had their inceptions in the years 1818, 1837, 1857, 1873, and 1893, and the main causes of those crises, their salient symptoms and general histories have been substantially alike and substantially similar to those which have characterised the industrial crises of Europe during the same period. Whatever might have been the special features and immediate causes of the earlier crises, their ultimate cause was in each case the planlessness of wealth production and iniquity of wealth distribution under the present system, leading to over-production on the part of the capitalists and under-consumption on the part of the workers.

All these crises were preceded by periods of extraordinary industrial activity, invariably marked by expansion of the markets, opening of new industries, and immense extension of credit. They all culminated in enormous prices of commodities, high rents and reckless speculations, and they were all ushered in by financial panics, followed by business failures, closing of factories, unemployment and misery of the working class.

And the present industrial crisis does not differ from its predecessors in any way. The "era of prosperity" just closed has lasted a number of years, and has furnished the never-failing text for all capitalist political platforms, patriotic orations, and pompous editorials of recent years. In the last decade all branches of industry were carried on in a volume and on a scale hitherto unattained in the United States. Huge corporations, trusts, and combines became the order of the day, and with them came the inevitable watering of stock, and traffic in corporate securities. It is estimated that in 1907 the par value of such securities was no less than \$40,000,000,000, almost one-third of the entire wealth of the country. Nor did the currency, banking, and credit of the country lag behind the march of industrial expansion. Between 1898 and 1907, the United States produced \$3,200,000,000 of gold, about one-half as much as in the entire one hundred and fifty year period 1700 and 1850; in 1907 there were no less than 14,000 banks in the country with a total of about \$18,000,000,000 in deposits, and the greatest part of it was loaned out and seeking investment in the industrial field. The mines, mills, factories, and other works ran in full blast, working men of all trades were in large demand, and wages went up. When all the ordinary branches of industry were overstocked and overtaxed, our enterprising capitalists sought new fields, frequently embarking in mad and adventurous schemes and entraining flocks of trusting small investors with them. In all larger cities thousands of buildings were erected for purely speculative purposes, vacant land in the newer sections doubled and trebled in price, rents in the older sections were raised beyond all reason, and prices of commodities generally increased to an extent entirely unprecedented. In the ten-year period of 1896-1906, the cost of food

alone increased over 20 per cent. in average, and the cost of other necessities rose about 30 per cent.

Money was abundant in the country, great fortunes were made over night, speculation and gambling took the place of industry and commerce, and when the mad race had run its full course, the inevitable collapse came sudden and crashing. In the early part of 1907, it was found that the large stock manufactured in anticipation of future sales could not be moved: the retail dealers were over-supplied. The manufacturers, who had largely produced on credit, could not meet their obligations, an atmosphere of uncertainty and lack of confidence pervaded the market, credit was suddenly contracted, the house of cards called our "financial system" was blown asunder by the first gush of wind.

In the months of October and November sudden "runs" were made by crowds of frightened depositors on many large financial institutions of the metropolis, including the well-known Knickerbocker Trust Company, and several banks closed their doors, and thereby caused the suspension of numerous banking institutions in the country connected with them. The stock market, always responsive to the movements of the money market, experienced a violent drop in the values of all securities. The first symptoms of an approaching industrial crisis were thus clearly and unmistakably revealed, but our ruling classes, who had learned nothing from the experience of the past, persisted in treating the panic as a mere temporary disturbance of the currency system, to be removed by heroic measures. Our Morgans, Rockefellers, and other high financiers came to the rescue of their distressed brethren by advancing them many millions on good securities at usurious rates of interest, and our Government, always solicitous for the interests of the capitalist class, deposited \$60,000,000 in various banks, to help them tide over the difficulties. The "runs" on the banks were temporarily stopped, and the end of the panic was officially proclaimed.

But the general industrial depression announced by the financial panic, soon commenced to assert itself in grim defiance of all official proclamations and declarations. The end of the year 1907 showed 10,265 recorded business failures, with total liabilities of \$383,000,000, for that year, as against 9,385 failures with liabilities amounting only to \$127,000,000 for 1906. Most railroad extensions and improvements, begun or contemplated, were abandoned, and the industrial effects of the abandonment of that work may be readily realised if it is known that their estimated cost in New York and vicinity alone was about \$500,000,000. At the same time the freight and passenger traffic on all railroad lines was greatly diminished, and thousands of railroad employees in all parts of the country were discharged or temporarily "laid off." The United States Steel Corporation, which is the official name for the great American Steel Trust, cut down its work and employees to about one-half, the Tobacco Trust closed many of

its factories entirely, the Chicago Stock Yards, the Iron and Glass Works, and other principal industries of America, commenced to run part time or with diminished force, and in the building trades and building material factories, employment became the exception, idleness the rule.

Unfortunately, we have no definite data upon which to base a sound estimate of the entire extent of unemployment now prevailing in the United States. For December, 1907, the Department of Labour of the State of New York reported 34.2 per cent. of all working men in the State unemployed as against 12.8 per cent. for the corresponding month in 1906, and only 6.7 per cent. for 1905. From insufficient reports from other parts of the country, it is safe to assert that within the last few months the standing army of unemployed in the United States has been augmented by 1,000,000 or 1,500,000 working men. And there is no lack of symptoms of a general misery of the workers. Within the last few months, over a quarter of a million of foreign labourers, principally Italians, have precipitately returned to their homes. In January, 1908, our emigration has exceeded immigration four times. But the unusually large emigration of working men has served little, if at all, to relieve the remaining workers, foreign or native. Already the charity organisations of all larger cities are beset by thousands of unsuccessful applicants for food, clothing and shelter, and spontaneous unemployed demonstrations are springing up in all parts of the country.

And still we have not reached the acute stage of the crisis. We are only in its beginnings, and the end cannot be foreseen. The former crises in the United States lasted variously from two to five years, and there is no reason to expect the present depression to pass in a shorter time. Our trusts and great industrial combines under capitalist management have, on the whole, proved inefficient as a factor in regulating production and removing the causes of industrial crises. They have perhaps brought in a little more system in the work for domestic use, but their production for the foreign trade has remained as planless as ever; they have proved themselves quite powerless to cope with the evils arising from the insufficient purchasing ability of the working men, and they have intensified the element of stock speculation which has beyond a doubt materially contributed in bringing about the present depression.

And it is a significant fact that the steel and tobacco industries, in which the trusts have celebrated their greatest triumphs, also show the largest proportions of unemployed. The percentage of idle workers in the latter industry in the State of New York has been no less than 82.9 in December, 1907, as against 2.7 in the same month of the previous year.

The present situation in America, the classical country of trusts and combines, demonstrates conclusively that industrial crises are inseparable from the capitalist régime, no matter what

form the latter assumes, and that Socialism is the only cure for this periodic scourge of modern society.

In the meanwhile we shall in all likelihood have to pass through all the horrors of the past crises, through years of compulsory idleness and destitution, years of despair and starvation. And once more the working class of the country will pay the terrible penalty for the recklessness and greed of its masters. May the working men of America profit by the hard lesson, and finally array themselves against criminal capitalist misrule on the side of the International Socialist working-class movement.

MORRIS HILLQUIT,
International Secretary Socialist Party of America.

(The foregoing was sent on behalf of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America to the International Socialist Bureau.)



THE MODERN SWEATER.

MAKES UNHAPPY OUT-WORKER PAY FOR ENFORCED "IMPROVEMENTS."

"The already sweated out-worker is further sweated by his landlord and made to pay for the improved sanitary surroundings required by law out of his miserable earnings. Apparently in one way or another the lowest paid and most helpless section of the workers are still at the mercy of sweating employers or hard grinding landlords, and that in spite of all our talk and all our alleged improvement."

This newest phase of sweating is thus referred to in the annual report on the work of the Health Department of the Bethnal Green Borough Council for 1907, by Mr. J. Foot, the chief sanitary inspector, who speaks of the difficulty his department experiences in dealing with the case of the out-worker.

He shows that for upholsterers' trimmings (small silk balls or edgings) 3d. per gross is paid, and one gross takes from four to five hours to make. The payment is thus less than a penny per hour!

Tooth-brush drawing is paid for at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per 100 holes, and a good worker can earn $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour, by hard work. "This," adds Mr. Foot, "is the best work."

The maker of cardboard boxes is paid 1s. 2d. per gross, and it takes a day to make a gross. Out of the 1s. 2d., however, the maker has to pay 3d. for gum. Cap finishers are paid 3s. 3d. per gross, but it takes two long days to make one gross.

THE CRIMES OF THE CZAR IN 1907

During the year 1907 the number of victims in Russia was very numerous. According to the incomplete lists published in the newspapers of St. Petersburg and Moscow, it appears that there were no less than 11,066 victims, which gives an average of 922 a month or 30 a day.

1,692 persons were condemned to death, and of this number 748 were actually executed, 344 had their sentences commuted to penal servitude for life, the fate of the 600 others is not known to us.

The courts have sentenced in all 9,374 persons—2,422 to hard labour, 413 to be deported, 3,311 to 2,771 years imprisonment, 1,041 were sent to disciplinary troops, 981 were ordered to be detained in a fortress, etc.

The courts which have given these sentences are shown in the following table:—

	Total.	Death penalty.	Prison.	Deporta- tion.
Extraordinary Courts—				
Martial	247	212	32	2
Ordinary Courts-Martial ...	5,334	1,480	1,890	234
Senate	38	—	26	12
The Soudebnya Palati ...	2,240	—	293	148
The Assize Court	3,107	—	181	17

It appears from the above that the military tribunals passed sentence in 5,681 cases, and civil courts in 5,385.

The reasons given for sentence are shown in the following table:—

	Total.	Death Penalty	Prison	Depor- tation.	Other Sentences.
(1) Taking part in action on the masses ...	2,297	207	805	123	1,862
(2) Agrarian movement	2,846	2	39	—	2,805
(3) Belonging to Socialist organisations ...	2,333	55	628	258	1,392
(4) Terrorism and resist- ing the police ...	1,257	686	384	14	173
(5) Attacking persons ...	1,162	612	443	15	92
(6) Agrarian terrorism ...	188	75	87	2	24
(7) Press offences ...	175	—	—	1	174
(8) Other causes ...	108	55	36	—	17

It is also interesting to notice the way the sentences vary during the year :—

Month.	Total.	Death.	Prison.	Deporta- tion.	Other Penalties.
January ...	699	162	90	50	397
February ...	1,001	158	272	40	531
March ...	928	55	154	31	688
April ...	846	77	82	17	670
May ...	639	70	112	28	429
June ...	839	110	177	21	531
July ...	564	151	198	14	201
August ...	511	107	193	19	192
September ...	1,290	145	229	62	854
October ...	990	204	298	30	458
November ...	1,662	267	356	49	990
December ...	1,697	186	261	52	598

This table explains itself ; in the beginning of the year, before the meeting of the Second Duma, the bloody repression is very great ; when the Duma assembles the harsher penalties diminish, and the lighter ones increase. When the Duma is dissolved the severity increases, and goes on increasing, particularly in the two months which follow the meeting of the third Duma. It may, therefore, be said that the second Duma diminished the repression, whilst the meeting of the third has had a contrary effect.

The following table shows to what classes the victims belonged :—

Peasants	4,404
Soldiers	2,130
Working men	1,603
Lower middle class	599
Students	446
Members of the professions	373
Deputies in first and second Dumas	211
Writers in newspapers	176
Women	178
Civil servants	156
Prisoners	158
Nobles	22
Merchants	18
Priests	12
Foreigners	12
Occupations unknown	458

By this it will be seen that the proletariat had 8,907 victims, or 80 per cent. of the total number; the middle and upper classes 15.4 per cent. only. Of the 211 deputies, 17 were sentenced to 76 years' hard labour, 10 to be deported, 8 to be detained in a fortress; while 4 priests who were deputies were unfrocked.

In conclusion, we may say that in 1907 there were 1,654 more victims than in 1906.

—From "La Tribune Russe."
(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)



GREAT COAL YEAR.

INCREASED OUTPUT AND MORE WORKERS.

A White Paper recently issued shows that last year's output of coal from mines under the Coal Mines Regulation Act was 267,828,276 tons, an increase of 16,777,467 tons over that of the preceding year. The increases in the twelve inspection districts were as follows:

	Tons.		Tons.
East Scotland ...	1,660,482	Liverpool and N. Wales ...	1,151,229
West Scotland ...	439,697	Midland ...	3,947,465
Newcastle ...	764,906	Stafford ...	1,301,148
Durham ...	1,154,128	Cardiff ...	862,744
York and Lincoln ...	2,624,036	Swansea ...	1,101,687
Manchester and Ireland ...	502,803	Southern ...	1,267,142

The number of persons employed at mines under the Act was 940,618, an increase of 58,273. The increase in the output of coal is at the rate of 6.68 per cent., and the increase in the number of persons employed at mines under the Act is at the rate of 6.60 per cent.

THE REVIEWS.

THE IMPOTENCE OF SOCIALISM: A REJOINDER.

Mr. Hoare writes a reply to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the current "Nineteenth Century and After." He says:—

It is with interest that I have read the reply which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has made in these columns to an article on Socialism, which appeared in the February number of this "Review."

In now offering some rejoinder to what my critic has to say, it may save trouble if I begin by briefly summarising the main points with which in the article in question I was attempting to deal.

(1) Seeing, then, in the first place, that certain well-known Liberal statesmen had recently advanced the view that Socialism should be treated as a mere "bogey," I ventured to demur to this view and to bring forward evidence that Socialism, on the contrary, was a well-organised political movement, full of life and energy, and of steadily increasing importance.

(2) Secondly, it was my contention that those who saw in Socialism a real danger to the property of the State ought to unite in endeavouring to avert this danger, and that this Socialistic campaign in the constituencies could only be met successfully by a counter-campaign conducted with equal vigour and equal thoroughness. I advocated perseverance in useful elementary spade work, and I pleaded for the wide diffusion of such light on the many and complex questions at issue as might render possible an intelligent understanding of the ideals and aims of Socialism.

(3) In the third place an endeavour was made to give some general idea of what the Co-operative Commonwealth of the Socialist might be like when, "through gradual and progressive stages," it had at length attained maturity. It was assumed, too, that this gradual transformation must logically involve various important changes, both economic and political, and some of these changes were conjecturally enumerated by way of illustration.

(4) Assuming the New Republic to have arrived, and to have got itself into working order, there followed next a brief review of

what would probably turn out to be its weak points, and also of what appeared to be some of its more objectionable features.

(5) And, in conclusion, a glance was given at the alternative policy of gradual Social Reform, the policy of mending without ending the traditional historic State—the State, that is, which stands based on personal liberty, private property, and the family; the policy which aims at a judicious combination of the respective advantages both of collectivism and of that which, for want of a better name, is usually spoken of as Individualism, while disclaiming any exclusive devotion to either of these two opposite schools.

With the first of these propositions, which have thus been very shortly summarised, we need not here have anything to do. No one can suppose, whatever Liberal statesmen may have said, that Mr. MacDonald would desire to belittle or to disparage a movement to the success of which he is dedicating his time and his abilities.

Nor does the second of them require more than just a passing reference. My critic evidently cannot believe either that I wish to understand Socialism, as expounded in some of its published literature, or that I am capable of so doing, but only that I am capable of wilfully misrepresenting it. And questions so closely bordering on the personal are matters indifferent in themselves, and matters moreover in which the general public can never take the very smallest interest.

It is mainly, therefore, with the substance of the last three of my propositions that we shall be occupied, and I propose accordingly to confine myself to the remarks which Mr. MacDonald has just recently made in connection with their subject-matter.

Turning to his recent article I find myself in somewhat questionable company. It appears that in common with a set of "queer religious fanatics," I have been indulging in "dreams of beasts and monsters." To put it in language somewhat less ornate, I had in my article made bold to denounce a propaganda which, as I conceived, might be characterised as sweeping aside "the influences of religion, of patriotism, of the sense of historic continuity and of a common national heritage, of family affection and of home ties," and in doing this I seem to have caused Mr. MacDonald's good taste to "twinge at the bombast." The more important question, however, with which we are now concerned, is not whether what I wrote was bombastic, but whether it was substantially true.

The oldest of the Socialistic organisations at present domiciled in London is the Social-Democratic Federation. It was founded, I think, by Mr. H. M. Hyndman in or about 1881, and Mr. Hyndman is still on its Executive Committee. In company with Mr. MacDonald he went to represent the English Socialists at the *International Labour and Socialist Congress*, held in August last in Stuttgart. It cannot, therefore, be contended that, in quoting from the popular publications of this doyen of English Socialism, I am

either producing "a few extracts from the private opinions of one or two men who happen to be Socialists," or that I am garnering, as Mr. MacDonald elsewhere puts it, "from erratic and irresponsible utterances."

Now, the "Catechism of Socialism" is a work which officially professes to give a complete view of modern Socialist theory and practice, and last year it reached its fifth edition, addressed to "Socialist students and the public generally." It has been compiled by Messrs. Bax and Quelch, of whom the latter is, or was, on the Executive of the S.D.F. Of what is commonly meant by religion it speaks as follows. Dealing with man as centralised in States, and given to "the worship of a spiritual deity who was at once the source and the object of all moral aspirations" (p. 26), it characterises this kind of worship as involving "a supposed direct relation of the individual soul with its God, or the soul of the universe, *in contradistinction to a direct relation with the social body.*" And on page 33 we learn that "Socialism bases its views of the universe upon positive science and reasoned conclusions." It has "hitherto been materialistic as opposed to antiquated conceptions or theological dogma."

Mr. Hyndman puts the whole matter very simply for us—"Mind," he says, "*is itself a function of matter*" ("National Review," March, 1908, p. 77). I take this as being a concise expression of the Monism of Haeckel, and no one, I suppose, will be found to lay it down that the doctrine of materialistic Monism, and the belief in God as a Spirit, can live and work together in harmony and contentment.



SOCIALISM AND CAPITAL.

WHY SOCIETY MUST REST ON A BASIS OF CAPITAL PRIVATELY OWNED

Mr. A. S. Pringle has the following to say under the above heading in this month's "Chambers's Journal":—

Since it has become the fashion to discuss Socialism, and since the active propaganda of the Socialists has become so prominent, there has been a great deal of loose talk on both sides about what Socialism means, and what Socialists would do. On the one hand, the Socialist orator explains that under Socialism everyone would have work to do, but hours would be short and conditions would be pleasant. Everyone would have plenty of nice food, and nice clothes; everyone would have fine spacious, sanitary houses, and plenty of leisure and amusement. Some who wish to rouse the passions of the mob declaim against the rich, and give their hearers the impression that when Socialists come into power, they will divide all property up equally amongst the people.

On the other hand, people who wish to frighten every man who owns anything, from a kitchen table and chair to a country estate,

tell their hearers that the Socialists intend to confiscate everybody's property in order to hand it over to loafers and degenerates. Socialism is, however, a system of Society, and means "the public ownership of all the means of production and exchange, and all capital"—that is, all land, houses, machinery, factories, and every form in which people may accumulate their savings so as to use them in the production of something else. Everyone would be employed by Government Departments, rent his house from the State, buy his food and necessities and luxuries from the State. How all the existing property is to be transferred from its present owners to the State, and how they are to be given compensation, if any, is a question which Socialists usually avoid with care; but that question has nothing to do with the principle.

Now let us contemplate ourselves members of a Socialist State. Two men, A. and B., working at the same job, receive the same wage at the end of the week, A. has expended and consumed all his wages; B. has saved a shilling. On the disposal of that shilling depends whether this State can remain Socialistic or resort to Capitalism. If the man may keep his shilling he may buy any commodity he likes with it, and he commences the next week with one shilling's worth of accumulated industry in the form of a commodity; or if he has preserved the shilling or its Socialist equivalent, he has possession of the right to one shilling's worth of work from someone else. Capital is usually spoken of as money; but that is a mere symbol. It really represents things fixed (like houses) or movable (like furniture); in either case the accumulated product of industry. The Socialist will usually admit that the man may keep his shilling, not seeing what must follow. Next, may he give the shilling to someone else? And, finally, may he leave it by will to his son? Surely he must be allowed to do so; but if he is allowed, then we have one man drawing the result of another's labour even after his death, which is the essence of capitalism.

We then come to the next stage. A man has accumulated his shillings and bought a house. This now represents his accumulated savings as much as any balance in a savings bank to-day; or he may have bought a sewing-machine or a bicycle. His children grow up and go into the world; he moves into a smaller house. He may surely let his large house to another man who has not sufficient accumulated savings to buy a house or prefers to invest it in something else. A neighbour wishes to borrow the sewing machine or the bicycle: is the owner not to be allowed to make a bargain for a payment for the use of his accumulated savings by another man?

The author then follows the argument to a number of men putting their savings together and setting up a factory, and either letting it out or hiring other men to work in it—this argument bringing us back to the present capitalist position. He says these are the inevitable developments of his first example. Perhaps so, but it is not Socialism.

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SURPLUS ATOMS.
(AN EVERYDAY TRAGEDY.)

BY ALFRED HICKS.

ACT III.

Time - - Four months after Act II.

Scene: Office of Lapham, Walters and Co., Clothing factory. Door leading to workroom at back. Door leading to private office on right. Door leading to street, left front. Young lady stenographer at desk at right hand corner at back of room, a larger desk with easy-chair right front, a table and some office chairs. On wall, very conspicuous, a collection-box marked "For Foreign Missions," and above it a placard "God loveth a cheerful giver"; another placard, "Thou shalt not steal," is displayed on a wall opposite.

[Simon Lapham, a large, pompous man, rather vain of his "dignified appearance," is sitting in easy chair dictating letters.]

SIMON LAPHAM: "To the Editor of the 'Daily Thunder,'"—Ah—er—
—[*pause*].

STENO. [*a timid, dressed-up doll*]: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: Ah—er—"The most affecting appeal of His Grace the Duke of Twidlum, on behalf—er—of the afflicted and suffering heathens of Madagascar—er—must—er—rouse the heartfelt sympathy of all Christian England." Ah—er—Got that?

STENO.: Yes, Sir. "Christian England"—

SIMON LAPHAM: Ah—er—"Christian England. Er—er—Being greatly moved by the appeal of His Grace, and feeling assured—er—that the urgency must be great indeed—Ah—er—we

desire to add our mite—er—of twenty-five pounds to the relief fund proposed by His Grace.” Ah—er—

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: After the space for signature, set in “Clothing Contractors.”

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM [*gets up and walks to centre, his hands under his coat tails, and making one think of a turkey gobbler strutting round*]: Ah—er—a most sad case, Miss—Ah—er—a storm of wind blew down most of their houses—Ah—er—

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: Ah—er—er—and the poor creatures lost all their cattle by pestilence, if they ever had any, for—er—er—they have none at all now, don't you know.

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: And—er—and so, when His Grace the Duke of Twidlum was there in his yacht, the poor heathen creatures were just beginning to rebuild their town, and had to subsist on dates—er—and yams—er—(whatever they may be), and—er—cocoanuts, and such other wild fruits and fish and fowls as they could find. Simply shocking, terrible to think of—er—shocking!

STENO.: Yes, Sir, shocking!

[*By this time L. is over near desk again, and he now sits in easy chair turning to face centre of room. As he settles himself in chair, with his legs crossed and his hands palm to palm with fingers out-stretched, he gives an unconscious glance at text on wall.*]

SIMON LAPHAM: Ah—er—“The Lord loveth a cheerful giver”—but he also bids us to let our light shine—er—Take down another letter, Miss.

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: “Mr. Jawson,—Dear Sir,—Ah—er—In the event of it being your duty to set up the list of subscribers to the Madagascar Relief Fund, it would give me great pleasure to see our name follow immediately after the Duke's.” Ah—er—“We have some very fine new suits, and I shall be pleased to let you have one on very easy terms.” Ah—er—“Of course this is strictly confidential.” Ah—er—That's a good stroke, Miss.

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: Now see how true it is what the Bible says about “casting your bread upon the waters.” His Grace the Duke is chairman of the Board which awards the contracts. He will see our name and our letter, and when the bids for

the clothing contracts come up this week, as a Christian gentleman he will feel bound to award the contracts to us. Ah—er—a Christian charity is a good investment. Ah—
[*gets up and swells out his chest*]—good business.

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: Ah—er—there is a package of papers lying on my desk; go get them.

STENO.: Yes, Sir [*goes in private office*].

[*A rap on door leading from workroom. Polly enters dressed in black, with close-fitting apron.*]

POLLY: Can I see Mr. Walters, please, Sir?

SIMON LAPHAM [*very austere*]: Mr. Walters is not in. What is it you want?

POLLY: Mr. Walters said if I—[*hesitates*]—Mr. Walters said he would—[*hesitates again*]—if you please, Sir, there is a matter I want some advice upon, and Mr. Walters said he would see me just before leaving-off time to-night.

SIMON LAPHAM: Oh, you are the Alden girl, I suppose?

POLLY: Yes, Sir. My name is Mary Alden.

SIMON LAPHAM: Well, don't waste any more time now, Mr. Walters is not in. Come again after whistle. [*Polly goes out.*]

SIMON LAPHAM [*aside*]: Gad! Walters has a pretty good eye. Must see if I can't give some good advice. Gad! She's good to look at after this frilly frump. I'll have to steal a march on Walters. [*Aloud*]: Now, Miss, can't you find the papers?

STENO. [*coming back through door*]: Yes, Sir; here they are, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: H'm—er—[*opens papers and looks over them*]—ah—er—please take this down now, Miss— H'm—h'm—er—“To the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Clothing Operatives,—Sir,”—Ah—er—“In reply to what I must consider your very impertinent letter of recent date,”—er—“we are not in the habit of allowing any outside interference with our business, and therefore shall not discontinue the fines you refer to, as we deem them essential to the proper maintenance of discipline and order. As to your veiled threat of a strike, we have placed your letter in the hands of our solicitors, and they advise us that we can hold you personally and collectively responsible for damages in any such event. We decline, therefore, to discuss this matter further.” There! that'll fix him, I think.

STENO.: Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM [*looking at watch*]: Now, don't waste time talking, Miss; type these as quickly as you can. It's close on to whistle, and I don't want to keep you late. [*Walks into private office and Steno. types letters.*]

[In a minute Lapham stands in office door again with a letter in his hand. Door to workroom opens and a uniformed porter enters.]

PORTER: Yes, Sir. Did you ring for me, Sir?

SIMON LAPHAM: I want you to remain in the main entry till the night watch comes on. If Mr. Walters returns before you leave, give him this letter, tell him I say will he please attend to it at once.

PORTER: Very well, Sir. *[Takes letter, touches his cap and goes out. A steam whistle is heard, and there is the clatter of workpeople going home. A rap is heard, and Polly enters dressed to go home. Lapham looks up.]*

SIMON LAPHAM *[very severely]*: Oh—you—sit down and wait a little. *[Polly takes chair indicated. To Steno., who is just taking the last of the three letters from her machine]*: Haven't you typed those letters yet, Miss? It seems to me you are very slow.

STENO.: Yes, Sir. Here they are, Sir.

[He takes letters and glances over them.]

SIMON LAPHAM: H'm—h'm—er—very well; you may go now.

STENO.: Yes, Sir. *[Takes down jacket and hat and puts them on.]*

SIMON LAPHAM: Mind you are here prompt in the morning. Good night, Miss!

STENO.: Yes, Sir. Good-night, Sir. *[Goes out, looking daggers at Polly as she does so.]*

SIMON LAPHAM *[Goes to workroom door and speaks to someone inside]*: You may lock up and go home as soon as you are ready. I have to be here some time. *[Closes door and locks it from the inside. As he turns to face Polly his whole manner changes—from being stern and austere, he puts on his most ingratiating smile.]* Well, young woman, now we will attend to your business. What is it you want?

POLLY: If you please, Sir. Mr. Walters said he would see me at leaving-off time.

SIMON LAPHAM: Oh, yes! now I remember you said you wanted his advice. Well, he is not in, and I don't think he will be to-night; can't I help you? *[Smilingly pats her cheek.]*

POLLY *[somewhat embarrassed]*: I don't know, Sir. Mr. Walters—

SIMON LAPHAM *[interrupting]*: Oh, never mind Walters! You tell me all about it. If it's about the work, I'm the head of the firm, and if it's about yourself, a nice old gentleman like I am is much better able to give advice to a pretty girl than such a young spark as Walters!

POLLY: Oh, if you would, Sir! I won't take more of your time than I can help.

SIMON LAPHAM: Now, that's right. Sit down here and be comfortable [*pulls easy-chair out from desk, and when Polly sits down puts another for himself directly in front*]. Take all the time you want, little woman; we shall not be disturbed.

POLLY [*quite reassured by his fatherly manner*]: Oh, thank you, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: Now tell me about it. Is it about work or about yourself?

POLLY: It is both, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM: Tell me about yourself first, then. All the pleasure left to an old man like me is to help pretty girls.

[*As Polly blushes and feels uncomfortable, the devil begins to gleam in Lapham's eyes.*]

POLLY: If you please, Sir, we are in great trouble at home. A little more than two years ago my father lost his job that he had for many years at Elms's cabinet factory, and since then he has not been able to get regular work, though he has tried everywhere all over London.

SIMON LAPHAM: What was the matter—used to get drunk?

POLLY: Oh no, Sir, father was a teetotaler; he lost his job because they put in a lot of machines, and then they turned off a lot of the older men; and then, though father was a good workman, he had been so long in one place that he couldn't seem to get on anywhere else. He used to say it was all because he was getting old, but he was only 47. But anyway, Sir, after being out with no work at all for nearly a year, and as he had quite lost courage in trying for it in London, he went off with a man he knew to get work in some other town. That was four months ago, and he promised as soon as he got a job to send for us and we would all go and begin again in some other place.

SIMON LAPHAM: H'm—ah—er—and I suppose he wants you to send him money now?

POLLY: Oh no, Sir! that isn't it at all. Father has a job in Halifax, but it doesn't pay enough for him to send for us all. You see, Sir, when father left home, he left a little money, and I had just taken a job here, and so we hoped that we could save up a little, but baby was taken sick, and died, and then mother is ailing all the time, so that instead of having any left over we are now behind in our rent. And beside that, my brother, instead of bringing home any money from selling his papers, hardly comes home at all. And, oh Sir! what I want you to do is this. Mr. Walters told me that if I got on, I might be made forewoman at perhaps 17s. 6d. a week. I heard to-day that the forewoman on our floor was going to leave to be married. Can I have the job? I'll be so faithful and careful of your interests, you'll never be sorry for it, Mr. Lapham!

(*Act III. to be continued.*)

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL ACTION.

From time to time the value of political action to the Socialist movement is called in question, and doubt is expressed as to whether some more speedy means or more effective method might not be adopted with advantage.

This question and these doubts arise from two entirely different points of view from which political action is regarded. On the one side are those who expect nothing, and who never expected anything, from Parliamentary action, and on the other those who expected everything from it. The former have always maintained that participation in Parliamentary action was a waste of proletarian time and effort, and they exult over the disappointment manifested by the latter at the poor results Parliamentary action has so far achieved.

In either case, however, the cause is at bottom the same, and lies in attaching undue importance to purely political action, or in assuming that too much importance is attached thereto. And the effect is the same, in the attempt to substitute some other policy for that of political action. In recent years we have heard a great deal, in this connection, about "direct action," the "general strike," the "mass strike," "the struggle

on the economic field," and so on, as if the method of action denoted by these terms constituted something quite new and original, instead of being a harking back to means which had been tried, and frequently proved to be futile, long before any practical effort was made to organise the working-class into a separate and distinct political party. In reading some of the attacks upon Parliamentaryism of the advocates of direct action, one is frequently and forcibly reminded of the fulminations against "politics" of our old trade unionists of 30 years and more ago. It would seem that we are only just beginning to get the organised workers of this country to take a leaf out of their masters' book, and to resort to political action for their economic advantage and social emancipation, when some of our friends discover that political action is useless and that the only thing that will do is that "direct action," the ineffectiveness of which has been demonstrated by experience.

The truth, in this as in so many other instances, lies in the middle. Because one trusts in God that is no reason why he should not keep his powder dry; and because the workers organise politically, to conquer and use that political power their masters have found so effective, that is no reason why they should abandon the right to strike, or should not resort to "direct action" whenever circumstances justify such action. The master class do not refrain from locking out their hands, or cutting down their wages, because they wield political power pretty effectively; they do not find zeal in political action in any way incompatible with equally zealous and vigorous "direct action" whenever their class interests are to be served thereby.

The masters find "direct action" and political action complementary to each other—supplemented occasionally by organised force—and so may the workers. There is no antagonism between the two methods; the mistake is in attaching too much or too little importance to the one or the other.

Admitting the utility of both lines of action, it is essential to make both as efficient as possible. Thorough organisation, politically and in trade unions, with the most perfect possible democratisation of the political machinery, is the immediate task of the proletariat if both these means of action are to be made the best use of.

In this country we suffer, politically, under one of the penalties of the pioneer in having the most archaic electoral system of any country possessing parliamentary institutions. That makes our political machinery ineffective and cumbrous to use. In spite of the theory that there is no longer any property qualification, moreover, the cost of elections is so heavy as to constitute a very formidable obstacle and frequently a complete barrier to the election of any but wealthy men.

In these circumstances it is rather curious to find democrats and even Socialists, instead of working for such political reforms as will remove this gold bar, seeking simply to make it more tolerable by reducing the frequency of elections. An old democratic cry was "shorter Parliaments," and we Social-Democrats have adopted it and incorporated it in our programme. Yet nowadays it is not uncommon to hear complaints about the frequency of elections because of the expense involved.

In this connection some outcry has been raised recently against the constitutional "technicality," as it has come to be called, by which a member of Parliament vacates his seat on being appointed to an office of emolument under the Crown, and, as a Minister, has to seek re-election. So strong is the feeling which gave rise to this outcry, that some indignation was expressed, even by certain Socialists, that a man like Mr. Winston Churchill should have been opposed, and should not have been allowed a walk-over. It was not "good form," it was argued, to oppose a Minister who, through a mere technicality, had to seek re-election.

But this provision is something more than a mere technicality. Social-Democrats do not find much in

the British constitution to admire, probably, but this so-called "technicality" certainly should command their approbation. There may, possibly, be something to be said against this usage when a Minister has to appeal to his constituents immediately after a general election, but when, as in the present instance, the bye-elections take place when the party in power has held office for several years, they afford a Minister's constituents an excellent opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the work of the Government of which he has been promoted to be a member. But even when they take place under other circumstances they represent an important democratic principle. Every member of Parliament is supposed to be a free untrammelled representative of his constituents, and, whatever his party allegiance, he is supposed to be free to criticise the Government and to share in the duty of Parliament as custodian of the public purse. But as soon as he becomes a member of the Government he is obviously precluded from performing these services for his constituents. As far as these matters affect them, his constituents are disfranchised by his promotion to the Ministry, and surely it is for them to say whether they regard the honour of having a Minister for their member as adequate compensation for being in a measure disfranchised. In any case there appears no reason why the custom of submitting Ministerial appointments to the judgment of the constituencies should not be maintained, and I for one cannot share in the indignation which has been so widely expressed at recently-created Ministers having had to fight for their seats.

So far from desiring to secure less frequent elections we should aim at having elections as often as possible. From this a number of good results would flow. Elections would have to be cheaper. No one would care to spend thousands of pounds on a single election, the result of which might be reversed a few months later. The effect would be that there would be an almost universal demand, too, for the payment

of official expenses out of public funds. At present there is little demand for this outside our own ranks, because, heavy as they are, owing to the infrequency of elections, they form to-day but a microscopic part of the election expenses of a Liberal or Tory candidate. And even "Labour" candidates find themselves vieing with their capitalist competitors in lavish expenditure. When we find a Labour candidate's election expenses running up to four figures, and amounting to four, five, or six times the amount of the Returning Officer's charges, we are forced to the conclusion that greater cheapness and simplicity in elections is one of the first essentials of political reform, and the first step towards the effective exercise of political power by the proletariat.

H. QUELCH.

CHINESE SOCIALISM.

x In a recently-published work on "*Le Philosophe Meh-ti, et l'Idée de Solidarité*" (Luzac and Co., London, 2s.), the author, Alexandra David, confesses that when he first heard of Meh-ti and of his doctrine of "Universal Love" he marvelled much, for he could hardly believe that the admirable Buddhist sense of compassion had inspired this Chinese sage long before the epoch when the disciples of Cakya-Nuni felt impelled to carry the "Good Law" into the Empire! He asked himself whether he was going to rediscover, under the signature of a yellow St. Paul, the lofty hymn to divine charity sung so splendidly by the Christian apostle—"though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing"?

But Mr. David understood the spirit or genius of the Chinese race too well to be able to credit them with any such enthusiasms. Positivists, all of them, if one sums them up minutely, the men of letters of the Middle Empire appear to have been ever occupied in the pursuit of practical results, and solicitude for good social order inspired a philosophy which disdained transcendental metaphysical problems. How could one postulate an abstract sense of "charity" exercising itself towards one's

Satyajit

neighbours for love of God, as regards a race which, in spite of its symbols and its superstitions, is of such strong materialist and utilitarian tendencies as the Chinese? But a study of Meh-ti's treatise fully confirmed the opinion held originally by the author of the volume before us. It is not, in reality, the love of one's neighbour, of mankind—the love with all connoted by the term, as we understand it, of impetuous passion, of unreasoned and often unreasonable impulse, that the old philosopher preaches, but a sentiment of the earth, earthly, of essence purely social, seeking order in the State, security and public welfare. It is but a wise saw which promises to reward those who practise it, and not a celestial virtue or counsel of perfection.

The Christian precept: "Love your neighbour as yourself," is embodied, it is true, in the teaching of Meh-ti, but an absolutely utilitarian motive is urged, a motive addressed to the natural and legitimate egoism of the individual: "Love your neighbour as yourself," says Meh-ti, "for your mutual advantage."

This formula sums up the whole doctrine of the old Chinese philosopher. It can be adopted as that of our modern solidarity, and this relationship is one which will render it of interest to my fellow-Socialists. A modern Meh-ti would discern in the Red International—the International of the Workers—new proof of the correctness of the materialist interpretation of history:—

"Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

Sweet is one of the uses of capitalism, ugly and venomous though it be, since in face of a common foe the workers of all countries are learning to unite, and thereby learning to know and to respect one another.

Capitalism is the vile matrix in which that precious jewel, the solidarity of mankind, is discovered.

In Meh-ti's writings the need for mutual service is a theme upon which he enlarges continually. The master strives to demonstrate that in all domains solidarity produces order, harmony, moral and material well-being. In accordance with invariable Chinese customs, Meh-ti does not fail to represent his principle of Universal Love as inspired from Heaven, "whose generous gifts are impartially distributed, which has given existence to all creatures and nourishes them all." We generally attribute these benefactions to the earth, mother and nurse of the human race, but Chinese notions of the cosmogony differ from ours and Heaven is often considered by them as a sort of spouse without whom the Earth, unfecundated, would remain barren. Heaven, therefore, represents the active principle—energy; Earth the passive principle—matter. Meh-ti also invokes antiquity, the historic epoch of Chinese history in which lived the "Yao," the "Chun," and other emperor-saints who are the legendary types of all wisdom. By incidents extracted from ancient chronicles he shows them putting in practice the principles of Universal Love. But throughout these discourses, which are concessions, perhaps, to the customs and creeds of his contemporaries, Meh-ti never relinquishes his main argument, which is always the very utilitarian "Love one another for your mutual advantage," which recurs as the decisive reason why you should render allegiance to the principle of solidarity. Thus, in spite of the 25 centuries which divide our day from his, the old Chinese philosopher and our modern sociologists can meet on the common ground of this practical wisdom, doubly wise, which does not pretend to endow all human beings with virtues that are exceptional and abnormal, but taking man as he is, relies on his instinctive and legitimate egoism and strives to make clear to him that the self-interest of this egoism, properly understood, teaches

him to respect the egoism of others failing which neither order nor social well-being can exist.*

The Universal Love preached by Meh-ti borrows its motive and its arguments neither from sentimentalism nor metaphysics, there is nothing heroic in it. Not through it are we to taste the peculiar joys of self-renunciation, of sacrifice—those harsh and false delights which violate instinct and nature, the sadism (or puritanism) whose strange intoxication renders for certain individuals pain more delicious than pleasure, death more inviting than life.

The Chinese teacher expresses the thought that is in him with a simplicity, a candour, that will not commend itself to minds wedded to flaunting philosophies; they will regard, perhaps, such a frankly avowed materialist aim as base and trivial. But Mr. David finds in this simplicity a force greater than that of the most brilliant discourse. If ever harmony and concord is to reign among mankind it will be certainly through comprehension of Meh-ti's simple precept: "Love your neighbour as yourself for your mutual advantage."

In China, where filial piety is the virtue esteemed beyond all other, those who condemned Meh-ti's doctrine averred that its practice would be prejudicial to filial devotion, to which Meh-ti replied, "The son whose filial piety cannot be doubted heartily desires the happiness of his parents, and tries to discover how best it can be assured. Prompted by this consideration, should he desire that all men might love his parents and seek to secure their happiness? Evidently he must entertain that desire, and what must he do to gratify it? He must train himself to love other people's parents, and strive to assure their prosperity,

* The solidarity precognised by Meh-ti has its antithesis in the individualism preached by his contemporary Yang-T'chou. Thus under old forms, obscured by puzzling turns of foreign speech, we re-discover ideas of our own in the ideas of those who long preceded us, and find expressed in flowery language, in pretty arabesques, our own hopes and dreams . . . the eternal hopes and the eternal dreams of poor mortality. Socialists can chase from this reflection its note of sadness with the exultant lines from Lowell :—

" The dreams that nations dream come true
 " And shape the world anew."

so that they bear themselves towards his parents in like fashion." If he is indifferent to the well-being of other people's parents it is evident that he exposes his own to reprisals.*

This line of conduct, the philosopher adds, must not be considered merely as a good one in certain cases. It must be made a universal maxim. There is nothing in it which is not in perfect conformity with man's common-sense. He finishes with a quotation from the Chinese Book of Kings :—

Every utterance finds its response,
Every action its recompense.
They threw to me a peach,
To them I returned a plum.

During his life-time and after his death Meh-ti was violently assailed. He was reproached most bitterly because he introduced the notion of equality in his doctrine of mutual love. The Chinese characters, representing one hand grasping two blades of wheat, which Meh-ti employed to express universal love, comprise, according to Meng-tse and most Chinese authors, the conception of equality. Faint echoes of familiar reproaches reach our ears from those remote corridors of time—"The sect of Meh loves everyone without distinction, it does not recognise parents, not to recognise parents is to resemble brutes and wild beasts." With slight verbal alteration Meng-tse's epithets would make excellent copy for the "Daily Mail" in its crusade against Socialism.

* Christian sinologists, or students of Chinese, such as Legge (vide his "Chinese Classics," Vol. II., p. 117), reproach Meh-ti for commending the love of one another as a profitable practice, not as a duty. J. Edkins, too, rebels against this utilitarian presentment of a sentiment which he regards as a virtue, and one which he bases on mystic motives. "I am brought to the love of my fellow-man because Christ died for him as for me." In his opinion, obedience to the will of God can alone engender love of one's neighbour (vide notice of the "Writings of Meh-tsi," journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, May, 1859). We may well ask whether history has vindicated the belief that the influence of Christianity has been greater than that of enlightened selfishness in inspiring mankind with that "sense of identity and common cause with others" which Bernard Shaw calls the religion of Socialism?

Meh-ti, like Karl Marx, never wanders into the misty regions of metaphysic, like him he found firmer foothold on mother earth among those who there live, and move, and have their being. What influence he exercised in his own day and generation we know not, but we do know that the communal sense has never been so completely extinguished among the yellow races as it was obliterated in this and other European countries by Capitalism and Protestantism. The rapid growth of Socialism in Japan during the last decade proves upon what fertile ground its seed took root, and Japanese comrades assure us that the propaganda they have recently started in China has already gained so many recruits to our ranks that they are fully convinced China will soon supply a strong contingent to the army of the Red International. Meh-ti perchance only strawed where our comrades now harvest, but if his mortal remains mingle with the dust of 25 centuries the earth will have scarce settled over those of Marx before the social being of mankind will have fully determined our own consciousness of the truth, proclaimed as clearly by the old Chinese sage as by the modern German philosopher, that the strongest bulwark of individual happiness is communal well-being.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

A NOTE ON A RECENT FRENCH VICTORY.

Anyone living in a country under the reactionary conditions of Catholicism comes, rightly or wrongly, to regard any form of disestablishment as preferable to none.

As opposing education, science, hygienic progress, everything which conduces to efficiency, the Catholic Church opposes economic development itself.

While admitting the fact that in France disestablishment, as carried out by a bourgeois government, has been limited—a compromise, such as all measures under a system which, as such, is really against social movement, tend to become—does it in any way serve our purpose to exaggerate these defects, as was certainly the impression given by one of the “Notes from Abroad” in “Justice” of December 28, 1907, in quoting a criticism by M. Allard ?

The impression they left was that hardly anything had been gained by this measure, which is also exactly what the Catholic Church, in striving to conceal the great blow it has undergone, is endeavouring to maintain.

Is the relief to the national economy, represented by the withdrawal of the Church expenditure, not likely to present itself as a very practical object-lesson to the materialised French small proprietor, whose religion has long been represented by his wife ? And is not the enormous emigration of such a demoralising

factor as the priests represent, likely to be recognised as the benefit it certainly is? Our Press in the other Catholic countries speaks in a very different way of the social victory of France. Without incurring the accusation of wishing to defend bourgeois forms of government—whose progress, slow though it necessarily must be, our very principle of determinism compels the recognition of, as the result of events stronger than the system itself—is it not a little ingenuous to expect that, standing, as we proclaim they do, for the recognition of the rights of private property, they should, at the same time, admit fully the exact contrary of them, despoliation—confiscation against the owner's will without compensation?

That the economy made by the withdrawal of the Church budget may be almost imperceptible, is sure to be the case under this system, where the immense defence and offence expenses eat everything up. But this does not negate the fact that an economy it is, and in consequence the practice of a principle we uphold; and, in the second, that it provides an opportunity for criticism, for inquiry as to how this surplus shall be laid out.

That great social measures can be and are inevitably baulked in the application by bourgeois governments is a fact to be unceasingly pointed out, but this does not necessitate denying their necessity in a preliminary form.

In this case, if the communes, as the writer quotes from M. Allard, are permitted to repair the edifices in danger, will not this fact in itself bring the economic aspect of the question nearer to the people themselves than could be the case under the Government grant? Anything which reveals the practical or material basis of social questions must be a distinct gain.

For us, that is sociologically speaking, the religious question has all the importance which is claimed for it, but the criticism of it, to be effectual, must recognise its double character, which often enough seems to be ignored.

Rationally speaking, thought has always been supplanting the *form* of it from the commencement of thinking with the Greeks metaphysically, and more recently by general science or philosophy, as we understand the term. Its social position is, and always has been, entirely practical or economic, representing the defence of the systems, hitherto individualist, which went before. Hence the futility of rationalism as an attempt to demolish it; it has always returned to life, and for us it is simply a covering of old ground.

That is psychologically a question of the emotions and will become sociologically a question of economy—in this case, of a class. The question therefore for the workers, who are emotionally or psychologically indifferent to it, becomes that of recognising its practical side; will they continue, however indirectly, to pay for what they are indifferent to, or does the charity—the material benefits it confers—give them an adequate return for its cost?

From the sociological point of view, the question is made as clear as daylight by Marx in "The Jewish Question," which the English party has not troubled to publish yet. The distinction between the two points of view was not necessary to his argument then, but with the growth of scientific thought it is becoming an important one now. That a recent writer in the party, Mr. Orage, could speak of the "*science of mysticism*" shows the confusion which still prevails.

It is the omission to distinguish clearly between the psychological and sociological aspects and relations in questions which makes so many attempts at criticism miss their mark. For example, the recent one by Rothstein of the Christian Socialists (Maurice and others) was sociologically justifiable and therefore necessary to make. Yet it provoked indignation, even within the party ranks, which from a psychological point of view was also just.

If we made clear, particularly in so individualist a country as England, that from the historic and social standpoint individual intentions, as merely such, may

be and often are at a discount—put aside in the social result, and took opportunities like this to bring the determinism of history clearly out, much dissension would be avoided in our ranks and less opportunity afforded to our foes.

The whole question now is one of tactics, of applying principles and doctrines which have been more than a half-century before the public, and upon which the party and most thinkers are agreed.

F. DALLAS ASKEW.



OPEN-AIR SCHOOLS.

The April number of "Progress" contains an illustrated article on Open-Air Schools, by Frederick Rose, Ph.D., M.A. The major portion deals with the experiment at Charlottenberg, and tells of the remarkable improvement in the children resulting from the open-air school, with its regular meals, unique methods of instruction, play-time, and rest-time. Says the author:—

"The success of the experiment was evident from the first. After a few weeks, appetite, attention, general temperament, and appearance improved. At the conclusion of the experiment it was found that 23 per cent. of the cases had been cured and 45 greatly improved. The increase in weight was most remarkable—on an average about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per week per child. Some children showed increases of from 10 to 16 lbs. It was also observed that the bodies had been hardened to a very considerable extent by the continual stay in the open air. In spite of a very cold and rainy summer no children suffered from cold or similar indispositions. The first experiment was carried out for three months; the second for six months; the third and fourth for eight months, with 250 children from April right up to Christmas, when the ground was under snow. The percentage for cures and improvements in the latter experiments were much higher. About half the cases of anæmia were cured, and a large percentage of the scrofulous cases. Consumptive cases showed great improvement, and the heart action of the children was much better. It must be admitted that after returning to school about one-fifth of the children relapsed into their previous condition, but that was the fault of their home surroundings, not of the open-air school."

Similar experiments are being carried out at M. Gladbach, Dresden and Berlin, and those in England at Manchester and Bostall Woods (Woolwich) are also described, the author acknowledging the efforts of our comrade Mrs. Bridges Adams in getting the last-named one started.

THE MONTH.

The month just gone has been a strenuous one for the Socialist movement. First and foremost, there were the two conferences, that of the Social-Democratic Party at Manchester and that of the I.L.P. at Huddersfield. Both were exceptionally well attended, were of more than ordinary interest, and bore unmistakable testimony to the growth of the two organisations in the preceding twelve months.

The chief matters of interest in the Social-Democratic Conference were those of policy and internal organisation ; and foremost among these was the question of our relation to the Labour Party, and that of decentralisation.

With regard to the first there is little doubt that the defeat by so large a majority of the proposal to affiliate, came as a surprise to many of us who had formed the opinion that there was a growing tendency in the party in favour of affiliation. It was universally felt, however, that whichever way the vote went it was better that it should be a decisive one. Above all, it is important to bear in mind that the chief opposition was based upon no feeling of hostility to the Labour Party, but to a recognition of the restrictions and obligations which affiliation would impose. The desire for unity among all sections of the working-class is very generally felt by Social-Democrats, but it is better that it should be deferred rather than be a factitious union, to be dissolved at the first strain.

As to decentralisation, the theory of its promoters is that by making District Councils an integral part of the constitution of the Party, the detail and local work may be more effectively done and

the work of organisation carried on more efficiently. We trust that these hopes will be justified.

Our Conference was further enlivened by being held in the midst of the bye-election in North-West Manchester, in which our comrade Irving was put forward to champion the cause of Social-Democracy against the Tory-Liberal Minister, Winston Churchill, and the Tariff Reformer, Joynson Hicks. A splendid fight was made on our side, and, although the votes polled were disappointing, and far less than we had every reason to expect, there is no doubt that excellent propaganda work was done, to say nothing of the effect produced upon the election, the result of which was to force Mr. Churchill to make the most extravagant promises—for himself and his Government—while at the same time failing to retain the seat.

Of course, there are those who question the wisdom of entering upon a contest like that of North-West Manchester, where we had practically no organisation and where, in consequence of the short time in which the election was to be decided, everything had to be rushed. The wisdom of fighting such a "forlorn hope" is, it is contended, all the more doubtful when our resources are so slender and so much anxiety is displayed to limit the number of our candidatures for the General Election, and to decline the responsibility of undertaking a contest, even where, in the opinion of local comrades, a good fight could be made.

To all this it is only necessary to point out that a bye-election is a totally different affair from a General Election. In a bye-election it is possible to concentrate as much attention and do as much work for Social-Democratic propaganda as can be done in a score of contests when elections are taking place all over the country. Moreover, there should be no difficulty in raising the money by voluntary contributions for a single bye-election; but this cannot be done so easily for a number, all going on at the same time, and attracting no special attention.

As for not fighting a forlorn hope, that would mean that we should fight no elections at all; because, from the point of view of electoral success, all constituencies—with but few exceptions, are forlorn hopes for us Social-Democrats. From that point of

view, it is of no moment whether our candidate polls fifty votes or five thousand, if he does not win. In that sense, therefore, every place is a forlorn hope in which we are not assured at the outset of having a majority of votes. If we were to determine never to fight forlorn hopes, we must abandon the electoral field.

Everywhere is a forlorn hope for us until it has been fought, unless we have a perfect political organisation and can show a clear majority of voters on our side. Dewsbury in 1902 was a forlorn hope; our I.L.P. friends assured us our candidate could not poll more than two or three hundred votes. Colne Valley was a forlorn hope. The quidnuncs predicted—and hoped—that Victor Grayson would be hopelessly defeated; Merthyr Tydvil was a forlorn hope when Keir Hardie won it in 1900 after having contested Preston and been defeated. At least four other Labour men or Socialists had been invited to contest it, but thought it too hopeless. Hardie's victory was one of the surprises of the election. If we are to fight elections at all, it is sincerely to be hoped that, while exercising reasonable judgment, we shall never be smitten by a "craven fear" of fighting forlorn hopes.

In the recent bye-elections Dewsbury and Dundee were both disappointing, although nobody would have regarded either of them at the outset as a "forlorn hope" in the sense that North-West Manchester was so described. Yet in the result they were both proved to be not less so, from the point of view of electoral success. At Dewsbury, Mr. Ben Turner had nearly 200 less votes than he secured in the General Election, while Mr. Stuart's vote fell to nearly 3,000 less than that by which Mr. Wilkie was elected in 1906.

The death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, following on the resignation from office which led to the Ministerial changes, removes from the political sphere the one man who lent strength and dignity to the present Ministry. No one, we imagine, would speak of the late Premier as a great man; but for human sympathy, simple courage, honesty of intention, and steadfastness of purpose, he undoubtedly stood head and shoulders above his colleagues.

The First of May was celebrated as Labour's Festival in all the capitals and most of the principal cities of Europe, much to the

quite needless alarm of the propertied classes. In London the exceptionally fine weather enabled the demonstrators to make a brave show. The special feature of the demonstration, however, was the large number of children who took part. This is one of the most encouraging evidences of the growth of the Socialist movement.

The trouble in the shipbuilding trade on the Tyne has now spread to the Clyde, and is likely to involve other centres of the industry. The masters refuse to make the smallest concession on the demand they are making for a reduction, and to all appearance they are desirous of provoking a widely extended struggle.

Persistent repression in India, added to the impoverishment of the native races by our rule, has provoked its natural result in secret conspiracy and outrage. And now the bourgeois press is calling for more repression! The old proverb about those whom the Gods intend to destroy would seem to apply here.

We see no reason for supposing the Ameer of Afghanistan to be in any way responsible for the trouble on the North-West frontier of India, but that there should be any trouble there at all is a striking satire on the diplomacy which achieved the infamous alliance with Russia. Among the many blessings which were to flow from that shameful contract was the cessation of these frequent little wars on the borders of the buffer State, which were commonly supposed to be largely due to Russian intrigue. We do not seem to have got much by the bargain in that respect, anyhow.

THE ANARCHIST.

"Anarchy, or the rule of one's self, is the logical outcome of that form of political theory which for the last half century and more has been known under the name of Individualism."—THOMAS H. HUXLEY.

Give me words, give me words, O ye Gods! words that sear and
that shame, words with stings;
Words with fangs to bite deep to the heart, to the soul; words with
talons, with wings
That shall fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, that shall soar to
the sky,
There to wake the white lightning to passionate protest that brooks
no reply.
From the want-tortured lips of the starving give words that shall
shudder with pain,
That shall drip with the tears of a people in travail and blood of
the slain.
From the festering slum and the sweat-shop, from brothel and
breaker and mine,
Bring me words that shall reek to the Stars with the sin and the
crime of the swine
That have rooted for gold in the lives of the poor, words of wrath
and of scorn
For the gold-lust that rifles the weak and the helpless, the baby
unborn.
Coin me words, words that sob with the sorrow of childhood at
spindle and loom,
Words that ache with the poor little bodies and hearts in their
terrible doom.
Make me words that shall weep with the heart-break of women
work-weary and lost,
Words that curse as the strong man whose hope and whose life
pay the murderous cost

Of the Moloch called Trade, where Humanity's body to bondage
 is sold
 For accurst yellow dirt, for the dust-grains that make of men
 lepers-of-gold.
 O ye Gods! give me words that are white-hot from hell and its
 nethermost flame,
 For I write of an infamy bestial and shameless, unspeakable
 shame!

Nay, I write not of him, nor of her, who half-crazed by a people's
 despair,
 Slays a tyrant or tool, paying life for the deed, for the bargain
 is fair
 Where a ballotless people, unarmed, are oppressed and destroyed
 by "divine
 Right of Kings" who with sabre and knout spills the blood of his
 children like wine;
 That is war of the weak and defenceless, who, weaponless else,
 strike with knife,
 Pistol, bomb, strike for Liberty, Justice and Life; it is warfare,
 fair strife—
 Yea, by Freedom, 'tis more! It is Judith and David come back
 from the dead,
 Not with sword, not with sling, but with picrates and fulminate's
 flash in their stead.

Lo! I write of the Anarch who plunders and robs, and whose
 covetous claw
 Is outstretched from the shadow of Justice, and guided by Men-of-
 the-Law.
 Ay, I write of the "godly," "respectable" pillar of Church and the
 State,
 Of the slayer by wholesale for profit, unmaddened by tyranny's
 hate;
 Of the hypocrite-knave who, with Law's finger, steals from closed
 eyes of the dead
 The gold coinage of Labour, and Charity's copper puts back in its
 stead.

O, ye Herods, who slay little children by thousands, to coin from
 their lives
 Murder—gold that ye trade for vain honours—and gems for your
 lemans and wives!
 O, ye Judases, traitors, betraying your land for thrice-cursed lust
 of gain!
 O, ye Vampires, sucking the blood of your country, asleep in her
 pain!

O, ye Borgias, ye dealers in poison, ye sellers of death and
 disease,
 Who have bought with putrescence the world-hate, dishonour, foul
 fortune end ease !
 O, ye buyers of kindred's life-labour, ye owners of mines and the
 slaves
 Of the mines, buried deep in the mirk and the damp of the sad,
 living graves !
 Ah ! I track you by sweat, blood, and tears on the murderous
 pathway you trod ;
 You have plundered a Nation by greed ; you have made of the Ego
 your God ;
 You have struck at the laws of your land ; you have robbed and
 defrauded by stealth ;
 You have sought to debauch and destroy for the sake of your soul-
 rotting wealth.

I accuse you, gold-ghouls and gold-lepers ; I brand you with blood-
 mark of Cain,
 You assassins of brothers by millions to plunder the winrows of
 slain.
 I impeach you, O Anarchists, laden with spoil of the poor and the
 dead.
 I arraign you, Arch-Anarchs and Fratricides, eaters of murderers'
 bread.

Lo ! the Nation you wronged shall condemn you to shame far more
 bitter than death,
 And Humanity's curse shall pursue you so long as the people have
 breath.

W. E. P. FRENCH,
 Captain, U.S. Army.

Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York,
 United States of America,
 March 14, 1908.

(The 25th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx).

THE CRISIS IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.

As soon as a new industry arises, when a new method of manufacturing is discovered, which would seem to promise great profits, then, in accordance with a well-known law, capital is directed towards that industry and capitalists tumble over each other in the hope of making a great deal of money. All the finance swindlers also rush in. The market is flooded with shares and debentures, and there is a perfect frenzy in speculation. Then suddenly one fine morning there is a crisis, everybody is astonished and an irresistible panic ensues.

Such is the history of the automobile industry, which only the other day was flourishing and prosperous, and now is in a state of uncertainty, many failures occurring, and there being a great slackness of output. At the present time this is a certain and undeniable fact; the automobile industry is going through a crisis of over-production.

What are the causes of this? They are due, doubtless, to the whole of the capitalist system, to its method of production, to the insatiable lust for profit, to speculation. These are the true facts of the capitalist régime, and laws are and will be powerless to prevent this state of things. In order to be efficacious they would have to go to the very basis of the system, to the fact of private property, and the remedy to that disorder is in the disappearance of the system which produces them. That is why one must not expect to find in this brief essay any remedy or any conclusion than that of an advocacy of the grouping of the proletariat of the automobile industry.

I shall, therefore, confine myself—in this review of opinions and of acts—to explain the facts, quoting my authorities, and shall allow the reader to draw the necessary conclusions.

I.

Before examining the true crisis of the automobile industry, it seems to me to be useful to retrace shortly the evolution of the improved carriages which are now seen on the roads.

It was on October 10, 1644, historians say, that "Louis XIV. granted to Jean Theson, gentleman, letters patent allowing him to use a little four-wheeled carriage propelled without the use of any horses."

Then, according to the "Royal Almanack" of the year 1748, Louis XV. authorised Vaucanson to show him "a carriage working by clockwork."

Afterwards Cugnot, in 1769, with a grant given to him by Choiseul, built the first trolley propelled by steam. The following year he made a better one—which is still carefully preserved at the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers, in Paris—which he tried before the Minister and other competent authorities. A journalist of the time speaking about the trials says, "It was noticed that the machine worked well, and it would have gone from 1,800 to 2,000 yards an hour if it had not been hindered." The hindrance was a mistake by which it knocked a wall down. Our motors to-day knock men down oftener than they do walls—another sign of progress.

So, really, Cugnot may be looked upon as the inventor of motors. Several years afterwards Bonaparte looked into the matter and appointed a commission to investigate the question. Unfortunately for Cugnot, Bonaparte left for Egypt, and the scheme was forgotten.

From that time till 1862 there is only the attempt of Pecquer, who, in 1828, made a cart which went by steam.

In 1862 Lenoir built a motor working by gas acting by carburetted air. He made use of it to propel a carriage which went from Paris to Joinville-le-Pont in three hours. Unfortunately, however, the engine was very heavy, the piston did not work well, and the speed obtained was very low, and this experiment completely failed.

Finally, in 1873, M. Amédée Bollée of Le Mans built a steam carriage in which twelve persons could sit. He called it the "Obeissante"—an awkward name if one thinks of the many persons killed by motors. Making use of the idea of Ackermann, he employed two pivots, in order that the machine might be more easily worked and at the same time be more reliable.

This system revolutionised all the principles known at that time. This carriage had a field boiler and two pistons, it was 12 horse power, and could work up to a speed of 40 kilometres (24 miles) per hour on level ground, it could easily climb steep hills (of a gradient 1 in 12), its total weight was 4,800 kilogrammes.

This carriage was used in Paris, and the "Figaro" (of October 17, 1873) says in an article, "The public looked on with a curiosity bordering on enthusiasm, many people cheered."

Seven years afterwards—in 1880—a new and improved carriage was produced also by M. Bollée. It was called the "Nouvelle," and 15 years afterwards it went in 90 hours and 3 minutes from Paris to Bordeaux and back again, a distance of 1,200 kilometres (720 miles). Other carriages were made by M. Bollée, and among

them a mail coach, in 1885, for which it is said the Marquis de Broc paid 35,000 francs (£1,400).

It was then that Serpollet, the Marquis de Dion and his partner Bouton, began to build motors. In 1888 the two last produced a steam tricycle and in 1889 they exhibited a carriage at the exhibition of that year for which they received a silver medal. The same year Serpollet applied a new generator to a tricycle, then to a four-wheeled carriage which was in use for many years in Paris.

Up to 1890 steam had been used in motors, but now a new element is introduced: petroleum once more revolutionised all the theories on which till then motors had been built.

First it was used to propel motors, and now it has displaced steam. The discovery is due to a German—Daimler. Two Frenchmen, MM. Panhard and Levassor, who worked Daimler's patents in France, have popularised the use of petroleum in the motor industry.

Levassor first invented a homogeneous motor, and in 1891 he produced a carriage which went from Ivry to Point du Jour and back—about 10 kilometres—without any hitch.

Then builders had to try and find the best way of obtaining more and more speed while at the same time decreasing the weight of their vehicles. This they were able to do by using pneumatic tyres. The brothers Michelin in France made the first experiments. They began in 1892, and three carriages, the "Hirondelle," the "Araignée," and the "Eclair" were made.

Really MM. Michelin only revived a patent taken out in England on December 10, 1845, by M. Thomson. The inventor thus described pneumatic tyres: "The employment of hollow rims made of a waterproof substance and filled with air." It is thus seen that he had thought out what has been done now.

Everyone knows how useful pneumatic tyres have been to the motor industry. Till their discovery all builders had fought in vain against the destructive character of the road; however carefully the vehicles were built, their springs could not stand the jolting. The strongest springs gave way. Though carriages were strongly built in order to be more solid, yet they were shaken to pieces. Therefore the pneumatic tyre saved the industry, and motors could be made stronger and yet work.

In that way the carriage built by Levassor in 1895 for the Bordeaux-Paris ride weighed 1,000 kilogrammes for 4-horse power—i.e., 250 kilogrammes per horse power. In 1896 the weight per horse power in the Paris-Marseilles ride falls to 166 kilogrammes. In 1899 it is 65 kilogrammes, and only 40 in 1900. Since then, for certain carriages used in racing, the weight has fallen to 9, and even to 7 kilogrammes, per horse power.

Then there was quite a rage to go quickly. On July 22, 1894, there was a race from Paris to Rouen. Then, in 1895, the Automobile Club of France organised one from Paris to Bordeaux. Afterwards, in 1896, one from Paris to Marseilles and back, in

1898 Paris to Amsterdam, in 1901 Paris to Toulouse and back, in 1901 Paris to Berlin, in 1902 Paris to Vienna, in 1903 Paris to Madrid. Since then the Taunus 1904, Auvergne in 1905, the Sarthe 1906, the Seine Inférieure 1907, have been the chief races.

II.

These races and these displays were much patronised by the world of fashion, and led to much interest being taken in the sport, and this helped a great deal to develop the motor industry.

The factories could not execute their orders quick enough; small men established factories to make parts of the motors; some made the chassis, others the hoods, etc. Capital was required; many limited liability companies were formed, and issued shares. Thus we had the Charron Giordot and Voigt Company, Eugène Brillié, the Voitures Electriques Krieger, the Société Lorraine de Dietrich et Cie, La Société Védune, Compagnie Parisienne des Automobiles, Darracq, Meteor, Mors, Porthos, Brasier, Delahaye, Chenard-Walker, De Dion, etc. All these factories employed many men out side.

The motor industry developed with extraordinary rapidity, financiers lent capital, companies were formed to issue shares, but in many cases the factories and their staffs only had a paper existence. So much was this so that the "Usine," the organ of the employers, did not hesitate, at the beginning of the crisis, to say:

"It is certain that the shares have gone through a crisis which will probably lead to many people going bankrupt. But these people did not manufacture anything, and they have no real existence, their factories, their machines, their staff only exist on paper, and clever speculators were working in order to raise money on the Exchange.

"The downfall of these people will be a disaster to those who fell into the trap, but afterwards the motor industry will be in a healthier state, and will acquire new vigour."

As this paper is generally very well informed it is quite safe to say that shady speculators were very active. Their schemes received assistance because certain people looked on everything connected with motors as a sport, so that they had no difficulty in raising money.

But really few people realise what a great deal of money is invested in the motor industry. Some think that 300 million francs (£12,000,000) represents the amount expended in fitting up the factories engaged in this industry, but this appears to be more than the real amount.

What is certain is that on June 30, 1906, the amount of capital in limited liability companies was, in France, 180,520,620 f. (£7,220,825), invested in 140 different companies.

These figures appear to be nearer the truth, they have been corroborated by many financial papers. For it was said that in

1902 there was only 90,000,000 f. invested in 60 societies, and 181,000,000 in 140 societies in 1906.

Naturally the production increased. Thus in 1898 there were produced in France 1,631 motors, while in 1906 there were 55,000. The following table shows the production from 1898 to 1906:—

1898 ...	...	1,631	1903 ...	...	30,204
1899 ...	...	4,914	1904 ...	...	37,322
1900 ...	...	10,039	1905 ...	...	47,302
1901 ...	...	16,486	1906 ...	...	55,000
1902 ...	...	23,711			

These are the figures given by the producers. If we look at the figures returned by the authorities for the purpose of taxation, we find that 55,000 is correct for 1906 if we include the motors exported.

Thus in 1899 we find that there were only 1,672 motors working in France, but this number increased as is shown by the following table:—

In 1900...	...	2,997	In 1904...	...	17,107
„ 1901...	...	5,386	„ 1905...	...	21,524
„ 1902...	...	9,207	„ 1906...	...	28,312
„ 1903...	...	12,984	„ 1907...	...	35,923

The increase from year to year was as follows:—

For 1899-1900 ...	1,325	For 1903-1904 ...	4,123
„ 1900-1901 ...	2,389	„ 1904-1905 ...	4,417
„ 1901-1902 ...	3,821	„ 1905-1906 ...	6,788
„ 1902-1903 ...	3,771	„ 1906-1907 ...	7,611

These figures show that it was necessary to export machines, and the exports were very numerous.

The following table shows the value of machines exported—in francs—from 1897 to 1905.

	1897.	1899.	1901.	1903.	1904.	1905.
Russia ...	16,000	145,260	196,910	283,390	501,990	843,960
England ...	192,770	910,520	8,312,880	31,677,100	39,934,560	49,727,410
Germany ...	42,000	482,200	1,163,360	5,391,970	7,689,380	11,316,070
Holland ...	—	54,040	65,150	257,810	500,470	588,840
Belgium ...	60,000	484,660	1,161,600	3,678,630	6,708,740	10,228,830
Switzerland ...	93,580	181,130	320,260	786,250	916,180	1,299,680
Portugal ...	—	5,030	173,340	802,410	768,770	676,780
Spain ...	—	464,810	729,510	827,380	1,288,250	1,813,700
Austria-Hungary	—	15,700	50,150	55,820	222,960	603,410
Italy ...	50,630	157,550	1,459,430	2,363,370	2,733,350	4,805,490
Egypt ...	—	24,360	86,690	177,640	339,860	1,024,470
India ...	32,460	12,690	29,300	218,900	715,970	904,310
Australia ...	—	1,970	58,600	49,910	207,160	388,270
United States ...	13,440	57,600	86,000	877,930	2,621,350	6,647,450
Mexico ...	—	39,170	73,420	12,940	281,400	493,290
Brazil ...	19,000	1,300	65,770	148,310	161,300	352,770
Argentina ...	—	—	86,340	499,980	1,244,880	3,390,020
Other Countries	—	34,690	148,450	398,520	569,120	1,172,970

Total ... 519,990 3,072,770 14,276,860 48,393,530 67,405,590 96,387,920

Since 1905 there has been an increase of 10,668,000 francs in the first six months of 1907 as compared with the same period of 1906, as may be seen by looking at the figures given below :—

	1905.	1906.	1907.
Russia	374,000	827,000	783,000
United Kingdom	27,140,000	29,530,000	32,820,000
Germany	5,349,000	9,215,000	8,706,000
Belgium	4,135,000	6,941,000	8,323,000
Switzerland	632,000	1,308,000	2,088,000
Italy	2,309,000	3,753,000	2,202,000
Spain	764,000	1,798,000	2,098,000
Austria-Hungary	492,000	289,000	496,000
Turkey	35,000	85,000	54,000
United States	2,793,000	5,938,000	5,444,000
Brazil	104,000	442,500	2,028,000

Total, including all other countries	49,505,000	68,196,000	78,860,000
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It is seen by the above table that the greatest increase is with the United Kingdom, in which it is more than three million francs, Brazil with more than two million francs, Spain with 300,000 francs, Belgium with more than one million francs, Switzerland with 700,000 francs, Algeria with 400,000 francs. With Italy the trade has gone down, and also with Germany and the United States.

Now, if the sale has gone down with Italy this is only due to the fact that French capital has gone to that country to support Italian manufacturers, while, at the same time, French manufacturers have also established factories in that country.

For there have been many French manufacturers who have done this, because labour is cheaper in that country. There is, for instance, in Italy a company called "Société Italienne d'Automobiles Darracq," which is a limited liability company, with a capital of three million francs, which has all been subscribed.

The shareholders held their meeting on December 31, 1907, at Milan at the office, Collegio der Ragioneri, 4, Rue Dante, at 10 a.m., and if it be necessary a second meeting was to be held at the same place and at the same time on January 12, 1908, in order to adopt the accounts for the year ending September 30, 1907, to discuss certain new agreements with the Société A. Darracq and Co. (1905), and for other purposes, in accordance with the agenda published in the "Gazette Officielle du Royaume d'Italie" of December 14, 1907. Other companies, like the Compagnie Parisienne des Voitures Electriques (Krieger's system) sold their patents in Italy and in Germany, while retaining a certain royalty on carriages built in accordance with their patents. In order that our readers may have no doubt on this subject, and for the benefit of those who are ready to believe in the patriotism of French

manufacturers, it is well to let them see the documents which state these facts. On June 22, 1906, the general meeting of the shareholders of the Compagnie Parisienne des Voitures Electriques (Krieger's system), M. Bentz Andéoud, chairman of the directors, being in the chair, unanimously approved the Council's report, in which it was stated (see "Vie Financière," 6th year, No. 1,310):

"Sales and Patents.—We told you at the annual meeting last year that the Krieger rights for Italy had been sold. To-day we are pleased to tell you that the rights for Germany have been sold, and that a company has been formed, which has a capital of 2,250,000 marks, and that it includes very important persons in the industrial, commercial, and financial world.

"The new German company intends to build many carriages, which will be manufactured at Bremen in a specially-built factory on a plot of ground of 40,000 square mètres, which has been bought by the company.

"Your chairman and M. Krieger are on the Board of Directors, and have been requested to take an active part in the business. You will see in this a guarantee for the profit which our company may expect, and the contract is one for fifteen years, during which we may hope to realise large profits."

Englishmen are also directors in our motor companies. M. de Dion has admitted this in his reply to the "Auto" referring to the advisability of keeping in France the Salon and of having it every year; after stating that he is in favour of this, M. de Dion goes on to say:—

"When reading carefully the different interviews with my co-directors it seems that many of them have allowed themselves to go rather far away from the truth by following certain persons who may perhaps have some advantage in deceiving people. For as these persons do not wish to keep a national industry in France it does not matter to them if the articles are produced either in London, or Berlin, or New York or in Paris.

"Let me explain. First of all there are a certain number of firms whose boards of directors are foreigners and who would not therefore mind if our factories and our engineers were to cross the Channel."

In spite of the ambiguity of these few lines, we are right in thinking that M. de Dion was particularly alluding to the Darracq company, for that is a company which includes French and English capitalists. Now if the meeting of December 31, 1907, ratified—as was to be expected—the agreements laid before it, this company is really an international one—French, English and Italian.

I only quote these facts to show that when it is to their interest the French manufacturers and shareholders encourage and help foreign competition, and it ill becomes them to complain about it now.

—From the "Revue Socialiste."

(To be continued.)

ON THE ROAD TO LIQUIDATION.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

For two years now Russia has been passing through a difficult political crisis, which to the superficial observer promises to last for a long, long time to come, and even to become, with certain "constitutional" correctives, the "normal" state of the political life of the country. Among these superficial observers we find even a whole party—the Cadets—who fondly imagine that Russia, whether the Government wants it or not, has entered the unalterable path of a slow constitutional development, and they base their tactics upon this illusion of the gradual growth of free and legal institutions in the midst of the autocracy. It is, however, only just to remark, that also in certain Social-Democratic circles, there was a time when it was seriously thought that the revolution had come to an end—the revolution in the sense of the battle in the more or less near future with the autocratic police régime for a *real* constitution; it was thought that the crisis in the movement for emancipation would be ended by the granting of some considerable reforms by the Government of the Czar in favour of the ruling classes (the Agrarians or land-owners and the bourgeois financiers), the establishment of a constitution, so to speak, for the "upper ten thousand"; and to prove this theory the example of Prussia (after the defeat of the revolution of 1848) was cited. However, this pessimism, brought about by the depression in the revolutionary movement after the crushing suppression of the December rising in 1905, after also the determined change in the feelings of the bourgeoisie, which had turned its back on the revolution, soon gave place to a more courageous outlook based on a more serious study of the opposing social forces and their inter-relations.

For two years now the Government has directed a systematic attack upon the movement for emancipation and anything that has

the slightest connection with it. All the forces of the tremendous governmental mechanism are exclusively directed against the revolutionary movement—and this seems to be the sole occupation of the Russian Imperial Government. In this struggle the Government stops at no cruelty and knows no mercy, but it proceeds with the caution of a practised and agile tyrant. Step by step, and without undue haste, it destroys one thing after another of all that has been conquered during the revolutionary period, choosing with great success the time for its blows—moments of well-defined social antagonisms and moments of social disorganisation, depression, and apathy. Observe how the Russian Government is preparing the occupation of Finland. There cannot be a more favourable moment for the attack on the Finnish constitution; the revolution in Russia is suppressed, and free Finland is isolated, and appears as a tiny oasis in the midst of a tremendous wilderness, a wilderness full of the bones of the heroes who have fallen in the struggle for liberty. On the other hand, in this oasis, the class struggle is becoming sharper daily; the working classes are organising against the bourgeoisie, the agricultural labourers and the small peasant proprietors against the Agrarians—the land-owners; the influence of the Finnish Social-Democracy is growing beyond the limits of the proletariat of the town and country. The upper classes, the landlords and capitalists, are longing for the strong hand in the struggle against the red forces that have demonstrated such immense power during the last elections; they have little hope to find this “strong hand” in the Finnish Senate, and are surreptitiously throwing glances in the direction of the autocracy in St. Petersburg. The autocracy, keenly on the alert, observes those glances, and, having at its command a strong army, decides that the moment for action has come. And thus a whole series of preparatory measures are set in motion so as to feel the ground. Russian revolutionists are arrested in Finland, and Finnish citizens are similarly treated in St. Petersburg—a flagrantly illegal act. The highest administrative posts in Finland are filled by men who have become famous for their cruelty during punitive expeditions in various parts of Russia, men of the school of Plehve and Bobrikoff. Frequent military manoeuvres are organised near the Finnish frontier, Cossacks are sent to Helsingfors, the province of Viborg is filled with soldiers, and, finally, the constitution of Finland is directly attacked, as when the ukase of the Czar was promulgated demanding the immediate payment of 20 million markas by Finland for military purposes. In a word, there are clear and unmistakable signs that the autocracy is gradually preparing the complete restoration of the régime of Bobrikoff. The latest “feeler” may be seen in the rumour of an attempt to annex Viborg to Russia.

Such, then, is the policy of the Government of the Czar throughout the Empire of Russia, a policy which may be briefly

described thus: The gradual (carefully feeling its way at each step) liquidation of the October period, with the object of the complete restoration of the ancien régime.

The social forces on which the Government is relying for support in its policy of liquidation are principally the landowning nobility and the bourgeois financiers, and partly also the growing class of the agrarian bourgeoisie, the cultivation of which is one of the problems of the agrarian policy of the Government.

The landowners, frightened out of their wits by the agrarian disorders and the demand for the expropriation of their land for the benefit of the peasants, have become the greatest enemies of political liberty and even of the intellectual development of the country. They are gradually turning the Zemstvos (provincial assemblies) in which the landowners are in an overwhelming majority into ordinary departments of the police; they are closing the schools, libraries, hospitals, statistical bureaux; in a word, all the institutions for education and culture, and at the same time they are voting enormous sums of money for the strengthening of the police and watchmen, and even, as in the case of the Ekaterinoslav Zemstvo, they are organising troops of spies to watch the doings of the population.

The capitalist bourgeoisie has also become imbued with a spirit of hatred for the movement of emancipation. The circumstance, that the worker has attempted to make an extensive use of the days of freedom in order to improve his economic position, has had for its result that the bourgeoisie threw itself into the arms of the reaction, and now it is making a determined effort to exploit the powerful mechanism of the police government, with the object of regaining from the workers all that was conquered by them during the floodtide of the revolution. It not only answers all the demands of the workers for improved conditions of labour or all their resistance to a reduction in wages or an increase in the working hours by wholesale lock-outs, but the logic of things forces the bourgeoisie to go further and resist all political strikes; the same bourgeoisie which during the October days in 1905 did all it could to encourage such strikes. To take one instance: The Union of St. Petersburg Manufacturers has drawn up a whole scheme of repressive measures in the event of their workmen attempting to celebrate the anniversary of January 9 by refraining from work on that day. The same reactionary spirit has taken hold of the town councils, filled almost exclusively by bourgeois elements. These are more and more becoming the mainstay of the Black Hundreds. The following telegram from Elisawetgrad appeared in the St. Petersburg papers on January 18 last: "On receipt from the Zemstvo of 5,000 roubles, the Town Council at its last meeting decided to use this money for the purpose of increasing by two the number of agents of the secret police and the organisation of a troop of 18 mounted watchmen." And many are the town councils who have

entered on this path of the guardianship of the interests of the police.

The process of the dissolution of the peasantry, which is hastened on to a considerable extent by the agrarian policy of the autocracy, is becoming another weapon in the hands of the Government. In the village, the relations between the handful of well-to-do peasant money-lenders and the poverty-stricken masses of agricultural labourers and peasants is daily becoming one of greater and greater opposition and conflict. The rising class of agricultural bourgeoisie naturally looks to the "strong hand" of the autocracy in its struggle against the masses of the peasants.

Leaning on the above-mentioned classes as its support, the Government gradually destroys the free press, the trade unions, even the educational and intellectual undertakings which are held to be infected in the slightest degree with the spirit of liberty: it seeks, in a word, to destroy everything which in one way or another can help the masses of the people to develop from a state of human dust to one of an organised power. Not only are the revolutionary movements, the proletarian and peasant organisations, persecuted, but also the bourgeois opposition, however slight its sympathy with the revolution. It is but necessary to recall the house-searches at prominent "Cadets," and the cases of prosecution instituted against some of them for belonging to a non-legalised party. All this work of destruction has for its background the most vulgar politics of chauvinism and nationalism, which lately has reached an unheard of state of intensity. It has for its background the sowing of a race hatred unequalled even in the annals of the Russian autocracy. The Jews, of course, are the first victims against whom the senate is directing one attack after another with an inventiveness difficult to surpass, more and more limiting their rights, though one would imagine that this was well-nigh impossible. In a second degree only to the Jews, the Poles come in for the tender attentions of the autocracy. Positive war has been declared against their national culture, and the first act has been the dissolution of their educational society the "Maciurz," with all its branches.

While it is thus bleeding the movement for emancipation, the Government at the same time is strengthening its position as much as possible, and in this respect may be instanced the organisation of a special railway corps to enable it to withstand a possible railway strike in the future.

One thing alone has still remained of all the October victories, viz., the Imperial Duma. But the Duma, which is now so constituted that the overwhelming majority consists of the enemies of democracy, the landlords and capitalists, has degenerated into a miserable parody of a representative chamber of the people. It has degenerated into a mere Government Department, and is devoid of the slightest particle of that "complete power" which is wholly concentrated in the hands of the mighty bureaucracy.

In the "Grazhdanin," of January 10, 1908 (No. 2), the organ of the uncultured squires and noblemen, the upholders of the autocracy of the well-known school of Prince Mestchersky, we find a splendid characterisation of the present-day régime in Russia with its Third Duma. In an article, entitled "The Master in Uniform," the name which the author gives to the ruling bureaucracy, we read as follows:—"Russia has convinced itself that the Duma has become transformed in a new instance of the bureaucracy, an instance, moreover, where business will be transacted more slowly than in the others." "The doll (this is the name which the author gives to Octobrist 'Liberalism') has entered the Taurida Palace (the house of the Duma) and the master in uniform has returned to his department, and since then both of them are playing a game which is called Russian Parliamentarism, but which, in reality, is nothing but the government of Russia by the heads of departments, as of old." "Together with the Law of June 3 (the law limiting the franchise after the dissolution of the Second Duma) there has emerged from the chaos of the Russian disorders also the master in uniform, who now, as formerly, is agile, bold and all powerful. He again dominates Russian life from top to bottom and at every step, and pervades every nook and corner of it; you will find him in the Ministries, in the Imperial Council, in the Imperial Duma." "The new order has in reality turned out to be a new order . . . for the Russian bureaucracy." In another issue, No. 4 of the same publication, Prince Mestchersky himself sums up the situation to a nicety: "We have no constitution nor an atom of a Parliament."

And yet there can be no doubt whatsoever that the third Duma, obedient and loyal as it is, is still like an eyesore to the Government, because, though not dangerous itself, it carries with it the idea of a representative chamber, because there is in it the potentiality which may, in the future, under favourable circumstances, become a danger to the "historic might" of Russia. For this reason there can be no doubt that the Government is seriously considering whether the time has not already come when the third Duma is also to be strangled. There are unmistakable signs that the Government is already feeling its way in this direction. Rumours are being spread from semi-official circles that the third Duma would be dissolved in the event of her refusal to vote credits for the building of a new fleet. It is true that so recently as at the sitting of the Duma on January 15, the Finance Minister, Kokovtzeff, has professed, in the name of the Government, his friendly feelings for the Duma thus: "The representatives of the power of the Government, those, at least, who are directly carrying out the will of His Imperial Majesty, regard the representative institution of the people with that respect which is its due." But from experience we know full well what value can be assigned to such a solemn declaration of a Russian Minister of State. The declaration of Kokovtzeff reminds one of a similar

declaration of the Dictator Franco of Portugal, who, after the dissolution of the Cortes in May, 1907, the setting up of his dictatorship and the practical institution of absolutism, has, without the slightest shame, declared: "I respect the principle of the representation of the people!" We consider that the real feelings of the ruling clique towards the Duma is more correctly expressed in the following extract from an article in a recent issue of the "St. Petersburgskija Wiedomosti," a paper highly connected in bureaucratic spheres: "The necessity to get rid of the guardianship of the Duma over our national defence, and the abolition of the dependence of the latter on the former is so clear that it seems unnecessary to add another word on the subject."

In the above quotation one may also discover a hint as to the manner in which the liquidation of the remnants of the October days will be proceeded with. In all probability when the third Duma is dissolved the Government will not dare finally to destroy all signs of any representative institution, it will more probably content itself with a thorough surgical operation, it will alter the competence of the institution and will probably instead of the Duma convoke the Semsy Sobor with consultative rights only. How soon the Government will proceed to the further demolition of the people's representation (thoroughly crippled as it already is) it is difficult to foresee. The Government understands how to wait, and generally delivers its blow when the conjuncture of circumstances is most favourable to itself. But there can be little doubt that these favourable circumstances are not far off. It is but necessary to remember that all classes of the population are now devoid of almost any interest in the Duma.

At first sight it might appear that in this further work of the destruction of the representative institutions of the people, the Government might meet with the active opposition of the landlords and capitalists who are masters of the Imperial Duma as now constituted. But a little consideration will show that this conclusion is incorrect. The propertied classes have no desire for the restoration of the ancien régime, which even for them meant political slavery; they would wish that the Government should share with them the political power. All this is quite true. But at the same time their first consideration is always the defence of their economic interests, and they are convinced that these were jeopardised by the wave of strikes and agrarian disorders, and against their recurrence they are anxious to assure themselves at all costs. They look to the strong power of the Government of the Czar as to a sheet anchor to defend them against the waves of proletarian and agrarian outbreaks; and he that cannot dispense with the "strong arm," must also, with many a heart-search, be prepared to be reconciled to the objective logic of this force, which is alien to the idea of representative institutions in all their concrete forms. The propertied classes will be compelled to accept with the "strong arm" all its consequences. This, the

Government understands but too well, and this gives it the power and boldness to dare. And dare it will.

And thus the Government is steadfastly proceeding on the road to the complete liquidation of all the liberties that were conquered during 1905—on the complete destruction of all reforms. Here is also a reply to the question as to whether the Russian revolution has concluded or not.

And, yet, while it is liquidating the movement of emancipation, the Government is powerless to return to the autocratic times of Plehve. The régime of Plehve was, after all, based on a kind of system in which the action of the law had also its place. But, *now* to keep in check the revolution which bursts, so to say, through every crevice, the Government is compelled to suspend the application of the general laws throughout the length and breadth of the empire, to place the whole of Russia in an "exclusive" position (a state bordering almost on one of martial law), to place a considerable portion of the country under the thumb of the military, to decentralise the power, to divide the empire in a series of satrapies, and to give over the population into the hands of a number of autocrats: governor-generals, governors, and prefects, replacing the law by a system of its absolutist will in the form of a "compulsory decree." The Government has adopted as a system the anarchy of administration, and this has had the inevitable result of bringing with it anarchy in the life of Russia with the never-ending attempts on property and life. The anarchy in the public life of the country is but the other side of the medal upon which is inscribed in words of blood the anarchy of the Government forces.

Between the millstones of this double anarchy the economic life of Russia is being crushed. The productive forces of Russia are being undermined. The home market, which is almost the sole feeding nerve of Russian capital, is in a pitiful state owing to the unceasing fall in the purchasing powers of the principal portion of the population: the peasantry who are dying, for want of land, and of the famine resulting from this want. In reality, the industrial life of Russia never emerges from the state of an almost chronic depression and crisis, and only now and again greater life in some of the national industries are noticeable as a reflection of the greater activity on the world-market.

Such a state of things is bound, sooner or later—perhaps sooner than is to be expected—to drive the bourgeoisie into the camp of the opposition. Having obtained all it could from the strong power of the autocracy in the way of an increase in the surplus-value it was able to extract from the workers by the greater exploitation of their labour; and having, by the aid of the autocratic police power, been able to reach the highest possible limits of this exploitation, the bourgeoisie will then discover that the very ancien régime, which was till now its mainstay, has now become a great hindrance to the production of its profits, owing, as

we have already pointed out, to the fact that the autocratic régime is one under which the purchasing powers of the masses of the population, the peasantry, is constantly diminishing. Then the bourgeoisie will break its alliance with the decaying landowning nobility, and will commence to bring pressure to bear upon the Government with the object of forcing it to raise the state of siege in which the country has been placed. It is also very possible that the situation which will be created by the change in the frame of mind of the bourgeoisie, will further be complicated in favour of the revolution by another factor, viz., the economic upheaval of Russia, which will be brought about by the approaching commercial and industrial crisis all over the world. But a weakening of the police repression, with an oppositionary frame of mind of the bourgeoisie and an economic unrest, must inevitably lead in Russia to a fresh revolutionary expansion of the movement, the fresh entry of the proletariat on the scene which by that time will have had time to recover from all its defeats and recuperate its strength.

Rich with the experience gained after the October days, made wise by the painful lessons learned during the period of the counter-revolution, free from the many illusions of the splendid "days of freedom," the proletariat will again put itself at the head of the movement for emancipation, and in front of all others will march forward to storm the citadels of the autocracy. And in this new skirmish with the "historic might" the proletariat will reckon upon the sympathy of the bourgeoisie, and the active support of the widest circles of the population of the towns and the millions of poverty-stricken peasants, for whom the solution of the agrarian problem in the spirit of the compulsory expropriation of the land is impossible under the autocracy, and for whom this solution is a question of life and death.

We are again on the eve of a tremendous battle for liberty, not an atom of which we now enjoy in Russia. The revolution in Russia is, for a time, conquered, but not ended. And, perhaps, the time is now not far distant when the cry for a constituent assembly will again become the watchword of the masses of the people.

W. KOSSOWSKY.

(From "Die Neue Zeit.")

THE REVIEWS.

THE KNELL OF THE OUT-WORKER.

Mr. E. F. Denton Leech contributes the following to the May number of "World's Work":—

It is immensely interesting to study the varying changes in thought in regard to political and economic facts; and this change of thought is particularly pronounced in the case of the sweated out-worker, especially of a married woman working in her own home.

Regarding her as heroine and martyr—a victim to the juggernaut car of industry—the poet Hood placed her on a pedestal. From that pedestal she is to be ruthlessly torn, and for the future she will figure as a social menace to the moral and physical well-being of the race. The worst form of sweated labour is undoubtedly that of the married woman who, so to say, fills the economic place of the casual labourer. Her husband is out of work, or he is "on the spree," at any rate, no money is coming in. So the woman takes in work, quite conscious of the fact that she is handicapped and forced to accept whatever wages the employer chooses to give. What can she do? Should she refuse there are hundreds of other women who would thankfully take the work.

ONE PENNY PER HOUR.

Mr. Fyfe, as Superintending Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow, has given years to the study of the problem of the home worker, and has designed a number of statistical diagrams representing various home industries, expressing their rates of pay—maximum, minimum, and average. When such an authority tells us that 2.55 pence per hour is the lowest pay that provides sufficient livelihood for one person, what are we to think of a system that permits a wage of 1d. or 1½d. per hour? Numbers of married women, working ten and fourteen hours a day, earn only from 7s. to 8s. a week, and out of this sum thread and oil must be paid for,

perhaps also the hire of machine—the remainder probably having to feed three or four children.

The results, of course, are terribly detrimental to the physical and mental welfare of the children, contributing to the sum total of physical degeneracy and feeble-mindedness prevalent among children of school age. Wide experience testifies also to the very general ill-health of mothers after attaining the age of 35 years. Investigations are at present taking place throughout the country with a view to ascertaining what, if any, connection this working by married women has with the appallingly high death-rate among infants in all industrial centres of the United Kingdom. There also comes the very serious danger from the spread of infectious diseases in crowded areas.

At the same time it is consoling to hear from Mr. Fyfe that the home conditions have very much improved since Kingsley wrote "Alton Locke," and that the sensational descriptions found in hovels of the Victorian era are no longer faithful pictures, unless in a few of the sweating dens still to be found in the foreign quarter of the East of London. In Glasgow only 25 out of 580 out-workers live in "back-lands" (corresponding in a way, to the blind alleys and courts of London), the majority living in main streets; only 112 occupy one apartment, 318 occupy two apartments, and 125 occupy three or four apartments.

The consensus of opinion appears to be in favour of some form of legislation debarring married women from competing in the Labour market. But such restrictions must surely be accompanied by compulsory labour colonies for men, otherwise in England the Poor Law would have to bear the burden of the maintenance of families whose head was out of work; while under the Scottish Poor Law no help would be forthcoming until the man deserted his family. Hence the conditions resulting from such restrictive measures in the sphere of woman's work would be infinitely more inhuman than at present.

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.

Three main causes contribute to this terrible economic disgrace:—

- (a) The intensely keen competition existing in all commercial relations, leaving such a narrow margin of profit.
- (b) The introduction of machinery, which is so rapidly displacing the craftsman in all departments of life.
- (c) Lack of organisation among out-workers, by far the greater number of whom are women.

Professor George Adam Smith has recently pointed out two pathways leading to the permanent amelioration of the sweated industries—namely, combination and legislation. At the same time he admits that the former is well-nigh impossible among out-workers, since it is only possible to organise women when they are congregated in large numbers inside the factory; the

solitary home-worker will have none of it. The only hope of salvation lies, therefore, in legislation, and this is the rock on which the opinions of the parties split. Does the remedy lie in the establishment of Wages Boards as in Australia, or in Arbitration Boards as in New Zealand, or in Boards of Conciliation, or in a statutory minimum wage, such as that which obtains in Victoria?

THE REMEDY.

The answer as to the remedy varies; the trade unionist would so harass the employer as to cause all the work to be driven inside the factory, and consequently within the sphere of inspection; other Labour leaders would lay the burden on the worker and so render the work more unremunerative. On the whole, experts are unanimous that home-work of all kinds must be abolished, and that the speediest method to that end is to make it a most expensive form of labour. This would fall with extreme harshness on the individual, but nevertheless the result would make for the improvement of the national health and physique. Around this question of restrictive measures the battle rages; meanwhile the public mind awakens to the exceeding complexity of the subject and the serious responsibility for embarking on immature legislation. Those who deem it imperative to exterminate the sweated out-worker desire no policy that recognises the status of the home-worker as tending to perpetuate the system. Rather, the establishment of a rigid system of inspection similar to, but an improvement on, that now existing in America; the licence being issued to a home-worker in a certain tenement—a strictly personal licence that must be renewed every six months, and without which no employer or middleman dare give out-work. Concurrently there must be kept by every employer a very complete and effective list of out-workers, to be accessible at all times to both sanitary and factory inspectors.

Trade unionists give their adherence to the minimum wage as a remedy for sweating, especially in regard to the lower grade worker. Opponents urge that a statutory limitation would not secure the happy era its advocates believe. Clearly commercial undertakings cannot survive on a basis of charity, nor would a minimum wage solve the problem of irregular work; this is evident to-day in connection with dock labour, highly paid as it is. A labouring man may be earning 34s. a week or more as long as the job lasts, after which he may have many weeks of "idle set" before getting another job, but he has not yet learnt to spread the earnings over the lean weeks that necessarily ensue, so that a high wage is not so important as regularity of work. In Australia, it may be remarked, in passing, it was confidently expected that the fixed wage would automatically exclude the employment of Chinese, but reality proved that it was possible to evade or get round the law, so that sweated yellow labour remained on the market. The upholders of a legal minimum wage advocated it as benefiting the

employer equally with the worker in preventing that constant undercutting of prices that renders all commercial undertakings so precarious. As matters are at present, the conditions of a whole trade may be thrown into confusion by the action of one employer who, by sweating his workers, can afford to reduce his prices, thus making it imperative for all masters to do likewise if they wish to live. Statutory pay would make for greater stability for all industrial purposes and remove much of the unrest at present existing.



A NATIONAL THEATRE.

Bram Stoker writes on the above in the May "Nineteenth Century and After." He says:—

The idea of a national theatre is at first glance an attractive one. The arts which cluster round the drama are arts which all men love, and each of which has individually established claims for respect and consideration far beyond the mere faculty of giving pleasure. One and all they can be, and are, of great educational value, teaching the power and worth of organisation in very high forms. Music and the plastic arts generally—all arts and crafts which deal with form and colour, are willing to assist in the development of dramatic form. This has been the gift of several ages; that which high civilisation has won in one phase of strenuous effort at advance. If, then, all the arts can be united in some formal and continuous manner so as to create a versatile temple of arts dedicated to human profit and worthy delight, the possibility of an effort to effect this is surely well worthy of consideration.

. . . . Drama and theatre have each educational possibilities for good or ill; it is for us to discriminate and to help. This can best be done by countenancing publicly that which is worthy; the exercise of force majeure is but a poor device in the government of the free.

For more than three hundred years we have had in this country a worthy drama and a good many theatres controlled by worthy men—drama and theatres with high aims and lofty self-respecting ideas of their own values in the domains of art and thought. Beginning a century and half later, but running synchronously since then, has been another form of entertainment, without the lofty art-aims and devoted to personal rather than organised effort. The time is coming fast—if, indeed, it has not already come—when the guardians and supervisors of State discipline will have to make some sort of choice between these two classes of public amusement. Such must—and probably shall—be shown in approval of one rather than in disapproval of the other; an estimable acceptance

rather than a ban. As such approval must take some recognisable form, expressing itself either in material shape or honourable recognition, if not in both, it may be as well to consider in good time what some day must be thought over. For this purpose let us consider the question at present in the air through a strenuous setting forth of a few newspapers and many clamant personalities: that of a national theatre. The occasion of this setting forth is in connection with the World's Memorial to Shakespeare, to which end a powerful committee has been at work for some three years or more. Those who have been persistently calling out for a national theatre for quite a number of years past have, naturally enough to them, seized the occasion for making the claim on behalf of the memory of the great poet. . . .

The idea must be of an actual physical theatre, a place for producing and acting plays under the most favourable conditions; a theatre in the abstract means absolutely nothing whatever. A theatre is of its very nature one of the most concrete and practical workshops in the world; it is a place for *doing* certain things, and for the purpose must be as real as the life of which it is a part, civic or national, as may be. It is, in fact, a theatre built and aided or supported by some external power, and with some resources outside itself. Ordinarily speaking, a theatre is supported by its own efforts. Some capital—or credit which can take the place of capital—may be required at first, but in the long run it must stand or fall by its own work. The plea, therefore, for a supported theatre can only be put forward on the ground that it may be of some special service in the organisation of public life, that it can supply something impossible under ordinary commercial and individual conditions.

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SURPLUS ATOMS.
(AN EVERYDAY TRAGEDY.)
BY ALFRED HICKS.

ACT III.—(Continued.)

[Deceived by the benevolent words of Lapham, Polly has become, during her plea, very animated and earnest, looking her best, and, forgetting for the time the gulf between employer and employee, is speaking to him as to an equal. On the other hand, Lapham, while all the devil in him is being roused by the sight of Polly's animation, at the same time the instinct of the "employer" makes him resent being talked to as an equal by one of his "hands."]

SIMON LAPHAM *[with a return to the austere employer in his tone]*:
H'm—ah—er—as to such a matter as that, Miss Alden, we—er—must—er—consider it at a more fitting time. *[Then, as he sees Polly is retreating into herself again, and away from him, the devil prompts to try and ingratiate himself again.]* But—er—though we will not consider that now—er—isn't there something for yourself you said you wanted? *[Polly is still confused and silent.]* Oh, come now, Polly—that's your name, isn't it? Don't be afraid to ask me for something else! It will be a pleasure to give it to you, you look so pretty when you ask for it. *[Lays his hand on one of Polly's, which is on the arm of the chair.]*

[Polly is still doubtful, her instinct warning her against Lapham, but she sees in this offer a chance to help her family; so, forcing a smile, she puts her other hand on to his, as though confiding in him.]

POLLY: It's so good of you, Mr. Lapham, but I'm afraid you won't like what I would ask for. You'll say that, too, is business.

SIMON LAPHAM [*delighted at his success*]: Ah—er—oh, I don't think so, my dear. What is it? A pretty frock or a new hat? All pretty girls like new frocks.

POLLY [*playfully*]: No, Sir, it isn't just like that; I'll try and get my own frocks. [*Then very earnestly looking up in his face*]: But, please, Sir, don't say "No" to it, it means so much to me.

SIMON LAPHAM [*the devil overcoming all business instincts*]: Give me a kiss, dear, and I'll say "Yes" whatever it is.

POLLY [*distracted between fear of Lapham, and fear of not being able to get what she wants*]: Please, Sir, don't ask that.

SIMON LAPHAM: Oh—er—my dear, a bargain's a bargain. I'm going to give you what you want, and yet you grudge a nice old gentleman one little kiss.

[Polly has risen from her chair, and is standing blushing and confused a little away from Lapham.]

SIMON LAPHAM: By Gad, you women know how to make a man do what you want. You look so pretty I just must have a kiss. [*Goes towards her as though to seize her. Polly retreats.*]

POLLY [*her voice cold and hard*]: Not yet, Sir; but I will give you a kiss when you have given me what I want.

SIMON LAPHAM [*his ardour a little bit cooled by Polly's tone, but still persistent*]: Oh, come now, Polly, what is it you want?

POLLY: Won't you please sit down, Sir? I must tell you why, before I ask.

SIMON LAPHAM: Gad, I believe you women like to play with a man like a cat does with a mouse. Well, don't take too long, for I must have that kiss. Now, you come and sit down, too. [*Sits down and holds his arms out for Polly.*]

POLLY: No, Sir, the only way I can say what I have to say is standing up and from here.

SIMON LAPHAM: Oh, well, pretty preacher, don't keep me in torment any longer than you have to.

POLLY: I've told you, Sir, what trouble we are in. My mother will fret herself to death if she cannot get to father, and he and Johnnie will just go to the bad without her. I wanted the job as forewoman in the hope that Mr. Walters would then lend me enough money to pay the fare to Halifax for my mother and brother. I wanted to get Johnnie a suit of clothing, too, and to pay up the back rent. Four pounds will be enough.

SIMON LAPHAM: And so the pretty preacher wants me to give her four pounds for a kiss. They come high in your market, don't they?

POLLY: No, Sir, I don't want you to give me four pounds. Just lend it to me, and I'll wear my fingers to the bone to pay back the last farthing of it.

SIMON LAPHAM [*whom the devil now shows how he can become possessed of Polly body and soul*]: Oh, no, my dear, that isn't the way to use pretty fingers like yours. I know a better way for you to pay it back than that. But just think, Polly, if I lend you all this money, what security can you give for it?

POLLY: I have no security, Sir, except that I will work for you till it is all paid back, and you can keep back all my wages except just barely enough for food—I can live for five and sixpence a week, Sir—and if you will only let me be forewoman, I'll gladly do all the work for fifteen and sixpence, and that will mean paying back at ten shillings a week.

SIMON LAPHAM: Pish! you women are the devil with men, but you have no business sense. If I lend you this money, how can I prevent you from leaving your work here—or perhaps we might find it necessary to discharge you, and then what could we do? No, no, my dear, we have got to find some other way.

POLLY [*who is afraid she is losing her chance*]: Oh, Sir! if there is any other way I can give you security, I'll do anything you say—sign any paper you want me to.

SIMON LAPHAM [*with access of his old pomposity, for he now feels sure of conquest*]: Ah—er—my dear, that is sensible. Now, first of all, give me just a little kiss to show good faith, and then sit down here [*indicates chair in front of him*] while I tell you about it. [*Polly feels it is her only chance, so kisses him shyly on the cheek and sits down meekly.*]

SIMON LAPHAM: That was a little bird-peck! We must do better than that presently. Gad! this is a nice way I'm treating my lady friend; wait a minute, and we'll have a glass of wine and talk the matter over like friends. [*Goes to his own office and brings back a bottle of wine and two glasses.*] There, my dear [*fills the glasses*].

POLLY: Thank you, Sir, but I never take any wine.

SIMON LAPHAM: What! not take good wine? Oh, you'll learn better some day. [*Drinks a glassful off at a draught.*] Ah, that was good; it puts fire into a man.

[*Polly is very uncomfortable, but does not want to offend Lapham, so sits still. Lapham leans back in his chair, looking at Polly with half-shut eyes.*]

SIMON LAPHAM: Now, Polly, my dear, you say you want to borrow four pounds.

POLLY : Yes, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM : On considering the matter, ah—er—I think I can see a way in which you can get it, and even a little more, if you wish. You'd like to get your mother a dress, too, I don't doubt.

POLLY : I shall be so very grateful, Sir, if you can help me that way.

SIMON LAPHAM : It is not very hard work—no wearing those pretty fingers to the bone, my dear——

POLLY : I don't care how hard the work is, Sir, and I'll be so very faithful not to make any loss——

SIMON LAPHAM : Now, that's like a sensible little woman, but it isn't work in the factory, as you seem to think——

POLLY : I'll work anywhere, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM : Now, Polly, what I am thinking of is this. You see, I'm getting along in years, and I find that travelling back and forth to town every day is too much for me. Now, I have in mind a nice little flat in town, where I could be very comfortable and stay in town two or three nights in the week. I should, of course, need someone to keep house for me, and it seems to me that you could do it very nicely.

POLLY : Oh, Sir, if you think I could ! But if Mrs. Lapham will only tell me what to do I'd——

SIMON LAPHAM : Mrs. Lapham ! I tell you, girl, you had better not be born than let Mrs. Lapham even hear of you ! [*Then seeing Polly's look of surprise*] : Oh, come now, Polly, don't begin the pretty preacher again. You understand what I mean. I'll make a cosy little home for just you and me. You shall have all the money you want, and all the pretty frocks you can wear, and we'll have just the nicest sort of a time.

POLLY [*blushing and confused*] : You are making fun of me, Sir ; I thought you were going to tell me of something I could do to earn the money !

SIMON LAPHAM : Well, what am I doing ? And a mighty easy, pleasant way to earn it, too. Nine girls out of ten would jump at the chance.

POLLY : Then I must go home, sir. I should think that you would be ashamed to say such things to a respectable girl. I must try to see Mr. Walters and ask him.

SIMON LAPHAM [*getting between Polly and the door*] : Now look here, Polly Alden, you don't make a fool of me ! It's bad enough to make a fool of yourself

POLLY : I want to go home, please, Sir.

SIMON LAPHAM : So you shall in a minute, but I want you to understand some things first.

POLLY : Please let me go home.

SIMON LAPHAM : Don't be a fool. I've got my name to look after. I'm not going to have you talking to Walters. If you won't keep house for me, you certainly can't come to work here again.

POLLY : Oh, Sir! Please don't say that! I'll promise not to tell anybody of what you have said; only please, Sir, don't—don't take my job from me! I'm the only one earning anything now, and if I'm out, we must all go to the workhouse.

SIMON LAPHAM : You should think of that before you refuse such an offer. I'm not going to take chances on a woman's tongue.

POLLY : Oh, Sir, have you no pity! I'll never tell a soul.

SIMON LAPHAM [*who has recovered his composure*] : Now, my dear, sit down and listen, and I'll give you one more chance. [*Polly sits down.*] That's right. Now don't interrupt. You say you want to send your mother and brother to Halifax, but to get the money for them you must stay behind. Now that means that you will be all alone—and if you go on working and living on five shillings a week (how you poor devils do it, I don't know) you will probably be ill half the time, and no one to look after you. Now, see what I propose. I'll give you five pounds to-night—ten pounds [*lays a ten-pound note on the table*—and to-morrow you can see your mother and brother off, and buy yourself a pretty frock, and then you come to me here after office hours, and we will go to the little flat I spoke of. It will be a great pleasure to me to look after you. I like you, Polly, not only for your pretty face, but for your spirit and courage. I'll take care of you as a poor man never could do—you shall have money, and clothes, yes, and a carriage if you like. And all I ask is that you should keep the little home for me, and have a kiss and welcome when I can come to spend the night there. But, on the other hand, if you are still so silly as to refuse, you cannot expect to come to work in the factory any more. I don't want you to go to the workhouse, but I've got my name to look after, and can't take any chance. Whether you go to the workhouse or to Halifax, or where you go, is your look-out. [*Polly is crying to herself, with her head bowed on the table.*] Now, Polly, you mustn't waste time crying those pretty eyes out; I've got to hurry off to catch my train home or the old lady will give

me hell. Just think it over while I put on my coat and hat.
[*Simon Lapham goes into his private office. As he goes out, Polly sits up and dries her eyes.*]

POLLY: Mother! mother, dear! what shall I do? [*gets up and walks to and fro in great agitation, then stops at the table irresolute. Suddenly she puts her hands over her face as though hiding her eyes from a sight she could not bear; then as suddenly takes her hands down again, showing her face hard and resolute, but very pale. Noticing the full glass of wine, she picks it up and drinks it off, then pours out another and is drinking that when the door opens and Simon Lapham comes back in overcoat and top hat. As Polly finishes the glass she throws it down on the floor, smashing it.*]

POLLY: I'll take the ten pounds.

SIMON LAPHAM [*delighted*]: That's the way to talk, Polly! I knew you had good sense as well as good looks. Now give me a kiss to seal it!

POLLY [*shrinking from him*]: No! Not to-night! I'll kiss you to-morrow. Oh, don't be afraid, I'll be faithful.

CURTAIN.

(*To be concluded in our next.*)

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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BOOTS OR BEER?

And the Economic Necessity of Waste.

People would be saved innumerable disappointments and would avoid much of the heart-sickness born of the hope deferred caused by the failure of their most promising projects of reform, if they would only take the trouble to think out for themselves some of the simplest truths of political economy. Over and over again well-meaning people take up with some fad with the idea that if adopted it will solve the poverty problem, or at least go a very long way in that direction. Then, when, after years of striving, their pet panacea is adopted and works excellently well, and yet does not in any shape or way achieve the object they have in view, they are mightily surprised and disappointed. Yet if they had only taken the trouble to get even the most rudimentary knowledge of the subject with which they were attempting to deal—if they had only taken into account self-evident and even obtrusive facts, they would have saved themselves considerable trouble and lasting disappointment. If their personal disappointment were all, that would, perhaps, be a matter of no importance; but this, unfortunately, too often spoils them for other, more important and more effective work.

From time to time some of these good folks become obsessed by the idea that poverty is due to the extravagance, thriftlessness and drunkenness of the poor themselves—as if the mere fact that they are poor did not preclude them from being extravagant, or other than thrifty—and entirely oblivious of the fact that tens of thousands of the poorest of our population are not only as frugal and thrifty as their poverty compels them to be, but are teetotallers to boot! These facts are quietly ignored, and the idea, the effect of the obsession, is persistently propagated, that the poor are poor through their own fault, and that the remedy for poverty is to forcibly cure the poor of their vices, or remove the opportunity for gratifying them.

Thus we have, just now, the crusade against the public-house. This is carried on not merely with a view of promoting temperance and suppressing drunkenness, but also with the idea, in many minds, that it would improve the material position of the working class. The crusade, therefore, is supported by stirring appeals to the people to choose between “boots or beer,” and pathetic posters are displayed with hungry, ill-clad little ones declaring piteously, “It is boots we want, not beer.” The assumption, of course, being that they have to go bootless because of beer. Those who recognise that the workers are robbed, and are poor because they are robbed, are not misled by any ridiculous nonsense of this sort. But there are many good, well-meaning people who have not taken the trouble to understand the laws which govern the production and distribution of wealth under capitalism, who imagine that the workers are poor because they are so silly as to waste their substance in riotous living, and that if they could be only induced, or coerced, into a more thrifty expenditure, poverty would disappear and the abominable wilderness of slumdom would blossom as the rose.

Thus, in dealing with the displacement of labour and increased unemployment anticipated as a consequence of the passing of the Licensing Bill, one of

the "organs of public opinion" sapiently observes that "very soon any loss of employment caused by a reduction in the drink traffic would be turned into a gain by increased demand for other commodities." That is a very universally accepted fallacy, and one which is to be met, in one form or another, at every turn of the controversy on the drink question. But it is none the less a fallacy. Really such a statement is tantamount to saying that it is possible to reduce the total bulk of trade without causing a diminution, or that there are numbers of occupations clamouring in vain for labour, because so much labour is locked up in the drink industry. Instead of that there are, in every industry, workers clamouring for employment, and to shut down any given industry would be but to add to their numbers.

Under present industrial conditions a given amount of capital, more in one industry, less in another, is required to employ a given number of workers. Without the capital the workers cannot be employed. But capital as well as labour is begging for employment. It, as well as labour, is constantly experiencing increasing difficulties in finding fresh avenues for investment. That is why so many industrial undertakings, which are in themselves sound enough, and offer a safe investment, become over-capitalised and involve investors in ruin; and why capital is to be found for the wildest of wild-cat schemes—simply because there is almost as great a rush of capital for investment as there is of labour for employment at the first apparently favourable opportunity; a rush due, in the one case as in the other, to supply in excess of the demand. How this state of things is to be improved by reducing the demand—how by closing any given channel for the employment of both labour and capital, more employment for both is to be created—the geniuses who say that this is bound to result fail to show.

It is suggested here, of course, that employment in other directions will be created by the "increased

demand for other commodities " due to the diminution of the demand for this particular commodity consequent upon the reduction of the supply. But such a suggestion ignores alike the circulation of money and of commodities. Mere necessity, the mere need for certain things, is not in itself a demand, in the sense of stimulating supply. Such demand must be what economists call an " effective demand," it must be the demand of people able to pay for what they require. And from whom is this " increased [effective] demand for other commodities " to come ? Is it to come from those members of the capitalist class who find their incomes reduced by the closing of certain channels of investment, and the diminished value of others ? Or is it to come from those workpeople who are thrown out of employment ; who find their accustomed avenues of employment closed to them ; whose need is great enough, in all conscience, but whose means for formulating an " effective " demand are of the slenderest ?

But the people who have been accustomed to spend money on drink will now spend it on other things, it is said. Exactly ; but to suppose that this in itself will lead to an increased demand for, and, consequently, an increased production of other commodities, is, as I have said, to ignore entirely the circulation of commodities.

Say that a man—a working-man who can ill afford it—spends ten shillings on drink. That is bad for him and worse for his wife and family. Far better, everyone will admit, that he should spend that ten shillings in buying food and clothes. Well, and good. That may be fully admitted, and that the ten shillings thus spent on drink is absolutely wasted, or worse ; is, at least, as completely wasted—so far as the man himself is concerned—as if he had thrown his ten shillings into the river or had gambled it away in backing horses.

This fact, however, makes no difference to the general market ; to the aggregate of other commodities produced and consumed, or to the supply of and

demand for those other commodities. Admitting that if this man had not spent his ten shillings in drink he would have spent that sum on boots and stockings for his wife and children: Would not that, it may be asked, have increased the demand for boots and stockings and so tend to stimulate the boot and the hosiery trades? That question is best answered by another: What difference does it make to the stimulus given to the boot and hosiery trades by the expenditure of that ten shillings in boots and stockings, whether the boots and stockings are bought by one man or another? In other words, suppose the hypothetical man with the ten shillings, instead of buying drink with that sum, or instead of buying boots and stockings therewith, gave it to a comrade, poorer than himself, who thereupon invested that amount in boots and stockings. Obviously, in this case, as many boots and stockings would be sold as if the first man had spent the ten shillings in those useful articles of footwear, although his own wife and children would be as ill-provided with those articles as if he had spent the money on drink.

Further, as it would make no difference to the total sales of boots and stockings whether the first man spent his ten shillings in boots and stockings, or gave the money to a second party who invested it in that direction; so it would make no difference whether the second party was an unemployed workman or a prosperous publican—the ten shillings would perform precisely the same function at the behest of either. It may be, of course, that the publican would not spend the ten shillings on boots and stockings, but on beef—so also might the unemployed workman. In that case the butcher might be the happy purchaser of the boots and stockings. That only removes the transaction a stage. So long as the ten shillings continue in circulation, at some point or another they may be exchanged for boots and stockings. The fact that the original possessor of the ten shillings bought drink therewith instead of boots and stockings, and thereby

deprived his wife and children of those articles, does not necessarily mean that there were eventually fewer boots and stockings sold, or fewer produced.

On the other hand, it would make a difference if the worthy man withdrew his ten shillings from circulation and saved them in a stocking instead of buying beer or boots with them.

In the same way it makes very little difference to the shopkeepers in a given industrial community, *how* the workpeople there spend their wages. It would make a great difference to them, however, if they did not spend them at all.

If there were no drink bought there would be none sold, and if there were none sold there would be none made. That would mean that those who now buy beer would buy boots or other things; but it would also mean that those who now get a living by making and selling beer would be no longer able to buy boots and other things, and therefore there would be no actual increase in the general demand for the latter, and, therefore, no additional opportunities for employment.

Drink, either as regards its consumption or production, is not the only form of waste. In every department of life and in every industry there is enormous waste which in a rational, well-ordered society would be eliminated, but which is absolutely necessary under present circumstances, and the suppression of which, if it could be accomplished in our existing society, would mean overwhelming ruin and unspeakable misery for thousands.

There is, to begin with, the waste of the idle rich; those who neither toil nor spin, yet are clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day. Suppose these, smitten with remorse over their wasted lives, and seized with a fit of thrift and frugality, dismissed their troops of servants and lacqueys, their coachmen and footmen and grooms and chauffeurs and gamekeepers, and, dispensing with their smart frocks and superfine suits, dressed in shoddy,

factory-made clothing. What would be the result ? Simply that the thousands who to-day make their gorgeous raiment ; wait upon their every whim ; minister to their waste and luxury ; groom their horses, drive their motor-cars and preserve their game, would go to swell the ranks of the unemployed. At the same time many tradesmen would have to close their shops, and instead of this abstinence from waste on the part of the idle rich tending to stimulate more useful production, and thus opening up other employment for those displaced it would have the effect of reducing the demand for those useful things which the hangers-on of the rich previously purchased, and would thus increase unemployment among the more useful class of workers.

Then there is the waste, in every industry, represented by the production and distribution of things which are useless and worse ; adulterated and poisonous foods ; shoddy clothing ; jerry-buildings ; rubbishy products made only to sell and to fall to pieces as soon as sold ; millions of tons of printed rubbish, the destruction of which would make the world the richer, the sweeter and purer. Then there is all the waste due to commercial competition ; the advertisers, bill-posters, commercial travellers, and so on. Yet no one is so foolish as to suppose that if any of this waste were eliminated by combination and economy—as in some degree it is being eliminated by the formation of Trusts—that there would be a consequent stimulus given to the other industries which would provide employment for those thus displaced.

Then there is the waste involved by war and crime. If war were abolished we could close all our arsenals and naval dockyards, and disband the Army and Navy. If there were no crime there would be no need for judges, lawyers, or policemen. But how could employment be found for the huge mass of labour thus set free, seeing that, with this labour at present locked up for non-productive ends, and yet offering an effective demand for necessities, there is still a host of unemployed labour in all productive industries ?

It is quite clear that with production carried on for profit and not for use, with the means of production used, not for the purpose of satisfying human needs but for exploiting human labour in the extraction of surplus value, waste is absolutely essential. The capitalist system involves the persistent production of a mass of commodities which must be got rid of somehow if the wheels are to be kept going round. Thus, under capitalism, wilful waste is the essential corollary of woeful want—want which would be still more woeful were the waste eliminated.

H. QUELCH.



"Why would witness not go into the workhouse?" you ask. Well, the poor seem to have a prejudice against the workhouse which the rich have not; for of course every one who takes a pension from Government goes into the workhouse on a grand scale; only the workhouses for the rich do not involve the idea of work, and should be called play-houses. But the poor like to die independently, it appears; perhaps if we made the play-houses for them pretty and pleasant enough, or gave them their pensions at home, and allowed them a little introductory peculation with the public money, their minds might be reconciled to it. Meantime, here are the facts: we make our relief either so insulting to them, or so painful, that they rather die than take it at our hands; or, for third alternative, we leave them so untaught and foolish that they starve like brute creatures, wild and dumb, not knowing what to do, or what to ask. . . . To understand that the dispensers of the poor-rates are the almoners of the nation, and should distribute its alms with a gentleness and freedom of hand as much greater and franker than that possible to individual charity, as the collective national wisdom and power may be supposed greater than those of any single person, is the foundation of all law-respecting pauperism."—JOHN RUSKIN, in "Sesame and Lilies."

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

THE RISE OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM.

CHAPTER II.—(*Conclusion.*)

With the unfolding of the social struggle between the rich and poor, between the expropriators and expropriated, a new mission fell to the prophets of Yahve. They were not only, like their famous predecessors Elijah and Elisha, the standard-bearers of the old faith, but also the protagonists of social justice and righteousness. They became the leaders of the impoverished masses. And both currents of thought, the religious and the social, combined to create a revolutionary and far-reaching conception of Yahve and his laws. Henceforth the Yahve prophets were no more the miracle workers and soothsayers of old, but ethical preachers, social agitators and disturbers of the established order. They came either from the lower strata of society, like Amos the shepherd, or from the educated priestly caste, like Isaiah and Jeremiah. Their central ideas were everywhere the same, and their speeches, stimulated by the intense sufferings of the people, attained to a degree of power and beauty never reached by the older miracle-prophets.

The religious and social ideas of the new prophets were undoubtedly revolutionary. The old Yahve was a physical God whose worship was a conscious, ceremonial act. On the other hand, the ethics of the old society were unconscious ; nobody speculated about

them ; solidarity, mutual help, social justice were the natural outcome of tribal organisation ; the people had as yet no occasion to gain consciousness of them and to hypostatise them into attributes of Yahve. They became subjects of discussion only after the process of disintegration had begun, after the fraternal bonds that knitted society together had been severed. And this process coincided with the apostasy from Yahve and the attachment to Baal. It may be said that, as a rule, the landowners and rich peasants either turned to Baal or adhered to the old mode of worship of Yahve. They sacrificed either to Baal or to Yahve, and made their pilgrimages in the customary manner ; their religious conception was the conservative and legitimate one, which consisted in sacrifices and offerings. With the rich sided the majority of the priesthood, whose office it was to carry out those religious ceremonies. There is no need to ascribe selfish motives to their conservatism and their attachment to the rich of the land. For they legitimately regarded the cult as the essence of religion, and the rich did not fail to conform to it. On the other hand, the poor could not remain satisfied with the traditional conception of religion. In their ranks Yahve began to be looked at in another light. In their struggle against the rich they remembered the old times, when a spirit of fraternity and equality knitted society together ; and it was the time when Yahve's rule over Israel was undisputed. Bereft of their soil and of their voice in the management of society, the physical attributes of Yahve lost all meaning to the poor. All the more they turned their attention to the ethical aspects of social life, and began to see in Yahve chiefly a god of justice and lovingkindness. Such a god could not accept the offerings of the exploiting rich. In their eyes moral conduct was better than sacrifice of cattle and fruits. That the social struggle took the form of religious and ethical controversies was due to the fact that religion was the visible guide of life, while economic changes have always been very difficult to

perceive. The inchoate, but intense, feelings of the poor found eloquent expression in the harangues of the prophets. The latter formulated the new conception, which germinated in the depths of the people, and which produced a revolution in religious thought.

AMOS, the shepherd, reproved his people. "For they know not to do right, and store up violence and robbery in their palaces. . . . I hate, I despise, your feast days, and I will not smell on your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them. . . . Hate the evil, and love the good and establish judgment at the gate. . . . Let justice run down like water, and righteousness as a mighty stream. Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness 40 years?"

And MICAH warns them, "Woe to them that devise iniquity . . . and covet fields and take them by violence; and houses and take them away; so they oppress a man and his house . . . Hear this, ye heads of the house of Jacob, that abhor judgment and pervert all equity. They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. . . . Will Yahve be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? He has shewn thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to act justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?"

The cause of the poor, the feelings of the expropriated, the new ethical conception of Yahve, the whole mental revolution that had been going on in Palestine found an eloquent and educated interpreter in ISAIAH: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may live alone in the midst of the earth! . . . To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of goats. . . . Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for

the widow. . . . Zion shall be redeemed with justice, and her converts with righteousness."

The growth of private property, the means by which it was promoted, and the effects it produced on society are clearly indicated in those quotations, which could be easily multiplied. Likewise clear is the prophetic conception of Yahve as the giver of ethical laws and protector of the poor. The new conception had ripened enough to render superfluous all references to the new physical qualities of Yahve upon which Elijah insisted. With the prophets Yahve ceased altogether to be a physical and tribal deity and became an ethical and universal power. His limitations had disappeared, his tribal character was gone, and his blessings and punishments did not depend on his arbitrary relationship to Israel, but on the moral conduct of man. Yahve had chosen Israel because he found them to be good. "I remember thee," says JEREMIAH in the name of Yahve, "the kindness of thy youth, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in the land that was not sown. . . ." The relationship of Yahve to Israel was thus interpreted to be a purely ethical one. Yahve might just as well have become the protector of any other people if its conduct had been ethical. After Israel had gone astray its relationship to Yahve ceased, no matter how elaborate was its worship and how abundant were its sacrifices.

This thought is expressed by AMOS (chapters 1 and 2), who showed Yahve's judgment upon Syria and all the countries of the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean. And ISAIAH included in his prophecy Ethopia, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Arabia, i.e., the whole known world of his times. "Behold, Yahve maketh the earth empty and maketh it waste . . . because they (the inhabitants thereof) have transgressed the laws. . . . This is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations."

This conception was thoroughly revolutionary. It must have been looked upon as sheer blasphemy or atheism by the conservatives and rich as well as by

the priesthood. It was also anti-national, since it severed Yahve from Israel, it put Israel on the same level with other nations, and it made Yahve cosmopolitan and universal. Moreover, the insistence on social justice carried war into Hebrew society. No wonder the prophets struggled at first with might and main against the assumption of such a task. But their love of the people, their adherence to Yahve overbore their reluctance. Once they decided for the new mission the prophets equipped themselves with the knowledge their office demanded. They inquired into the internal position of the country, and their speeches bear ample evidence that their investigations were to some purpose. They inquired likewise into the foreign relations of Palestine and into world politics in general, since Yahve was in their eyes an international God. And in these investigations they were aided by the geographic position of Palestine. To the south of Palestine lay Egypt, to the east the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires. The rivalries between the Nile Valley and the Euphrates Valley were constant and bitter. Palestine formed the gate from Africa to Asia and from Asia to Africa. The Hebrews could, under those conditions, not remain isolated and live their own life, but had to take sides. Their land was, therefore, often invaded either by the Egyptians or by the Assyrians and Babylonians. This unenviable position had, however, a stimulating effect on the mentality of the Hebrews. It brought them in touch with world-wide problems that required diplomacy from their rulers. On the prophets the effect of those geographic environments was completely in harmony with their religious and ethical conceptions. Yahve was for them a universal god who once had a predilection for Israel and who was still prepared to love them if they kept his laws. Looking from this point of view upon world politics they interpreted the imperial rivalries of Egypt and Assyria as having some reference to Palestine. In their eyes the religious crisis in Israel was the central fact of history, and as

Yahve was the power that shaped the affairs of the universe, Egypt and Assyria were but the tools in his hand to punish or to help Israel. For though their conception was international they always turned to Israel as the nation which was destined to solve the religious and social crisis for the whole world.

"O Assyrian," cried ISAIAH, in the name of Yahve, "the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. . . . In that day (of judgment) shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria. Whom Yahve shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Yahve, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Yahve from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

In their longing for social justice and international harmony, in their broad outlook on the affairs of the world, in their gloomy predictions of crises and wars, in their dire expectation of a universal catastrophe, and, finally, in their glowing picture of the mental and material salvation of man, the prophets bear a striking resemblance to some present-day leaders of extreme Marxist views. To read one of the great chapters of Isaiah with its harrowing description of the misery of the poor and of the insatiable wealth-grabbing of the rich, of the greatness of the socio-ethical idea of Yahve and of its final and approaching realisation is to listen to one of the eloquent addresses of a modern Marxist orator. And they are both born of the

struggles and sufferings of their times. The social conflict in our Hebrew history must have been extremely intense, and the physical and spiritual condition of the Hebrew must have been thoroughly sound considering the loftiness of the religious ideal and the greatness of its protagonists which they produced. The product of this historical life is the second Isaiah, whose ideas and ideals form the preliminary stage of Christianity.

(To be continued.)

M. BEER.



"A MAN can stand being told that he must submit to a severe surgical operation, or that he has some disease which will shortly kill him, or that he will be a cripple or blind for the rest of his life; dreadful as such tidings must be, we do not find that they unnerve the greater number of mankind; most men, indeed, go coolly enough even to be hanged, but the strongest quail before financial ruin, and the better men they are, the more complete, as a general rule, is their prostration. Suicide is a common consequence of money losses; it is rarely sought as a means of escape from bodily suffering. If we feel that we have a competence at our backs, so that we can die warm and quietly in our beds, with no need to worry about expense, we live our lives out to the dregs, no matter how excruciating our torments. Job probably felt the loss of his flocks and herds more than that of his wife and family, for he could enjoy his flocks and herds without his family, but not his family—not for long—if he had lost all his money. Loss of money, indeed, is not only the worst pain in itself, but it is the parent of all others. Let a man have been brought up to a moderate competence, and have no speciality; then let his money be suddenly taken from him, and how long is his health likely to survive the change in all his little ways which loss of money will entail? How long again is the esteem and sympathy of friends likely to survive ruin? People may be very sorry for us, but their attitude towards us hitherto has been based upon the supposition that we were situated thus or thus in money matters; when this breaks down there must be a restatement of the social problem so far as we are concerned; we have been obtaining esteem under false pretences. Granted, then, that the three most serious losses which a man can suffer are those affecting money, health and reputation. Loss of money is far the worst, then comes ill-health, and then loss of reputation; loss of reputation is a bad third, for, if a man keeps health and money unimpaired, it will be generally found that his loss of reputation is due to breaches of parvenu conventions only, and not to violations of those older, better established canons whose authority is unquestionable.—SAMUEL BUTLER, in "The Way of All Flesh."

THE MONTH.

Ever since his accession to the throne King Edward's popularity has been growing, and with it the popularity of the monarchy as an institution. About the middle of the second half of the last century the monarchy had become exceedingly unpopular, the probability of its coming to an end with the death of Victoria was very generally admitted and Republicanism was openly advocated by prominent politicians who afterwards became Ministers of the Crown.

With the celebration of the late Queen's "Jubilee" in 1887, however, the monarchy had begun to rehabilitate itself, and it has gone on from strength to strength ever since, with the result that now there is no item of the Social-Democratic programme more bitterly assailed than the proposal to abolish the monarchy.

This consummation is undoubtedly largely due to the personal popularity which King Edward has attained. He has turned out so much better than most people expected that he has come to be regarded as a great, good, and wise king, a perfectly ideal monarch. And certainly he has shown a *savoir faire* in public policy which has proved very useful. He was credited with being largely responsible for the conclusion of peace in South Africa, and it is generally admitted that to his influence has been due the good understanding between Great Britain and France, which has replaced the bitterly hostile feeling between the two countries which existed eight or nine years ago. All this, however, has its bad as well as its good side—it shows how powerful the monarch may be for ill as well as for good, and just recently that has been forcibly demonstrated by the State visit to Reval.

That the King himself initiated this most unwise and unpopular act of courtesy to the torturing and murdering Czar, there can be little doubt. It is scarcely likely that the idea can have originated with the Liberal Ministers, Whiggish and reactionary as they are. On the contrary, it is much more reasonable to regard it as a part of the King's own policy, with the object of establishing a new triple alliance between England, France, and Russia.

However that may be, the people of this country very naturally resent being associated with the bloodstained autocracy of Russia; and the Socialist-Labour group in the House of Commons, and notably O'Grady and Thorne, are to be congratulated on the protests made there against these manifestations of friendship with the Czar.

Apart from this business, it cannot be claimed that the Socialist-Labour group has particularly distinguished itself recently; and now that the Miners' Federation have decided to join the Labour Party the Parliamentary Group may be expected to become still more moderate and "statesmanlike" than it has been hitherto.

The practical boycotting of Mr. Stuart at Dundee by the official heads of the Labour Party was only a manifestation of their reluctance to attack the Liberal Party; and that reluctance will certainly not be lessened by the advent of some thirteen Liberal-Labour men into the Socialist-Labour camp.

The ardour with which the Parliamentary Group of the Labour Party has supported the Licensing Bill of the Government, and the approbation bestowed by some of its members upon Asquith's puerile Old Age Pensions scheme, show how Liberal are the tendencies of the group, and when it has suffered another infusion of Liberalism the position of the Socialist members in the group will be a somewhat curious one.

As to the Old Age Pensions Bill, like the Unemployed Workmen Act of the last Government, it is chiefly useful as the expression of a principle. The practical value of a pension of 5s.—in some cases 3s. 9d.—at the advanced age of 70 is not of a very substantial kind.

The state of trade is still discouraging to all but Tariff Reformers, who find in the reduction of exports and imports, and the falling off in employment, arguments in favour of their useless nostrum. One of the effects of the decline of trade, however, has been to compel the men in the shipbuilding industry to accede to the demand for a reduction in their wages.

It is probably the failure of Mr. Haldane's Territorial Forces scheme which has encouraged Captain Kincaid-Smith to bring forward a Bill for universal military training on the lines of the

National Service League. The principle of this Bill is sound enough ; but unfortunately it merely proposes to supplant, not abrogate, Haldane's scheme, the worst features of which are incorporated in this proposed measure. We could not therefore bespeak for it the support of Socialists or Labourites ; but it is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of the present opportunity to formulate a scheme of military organisation which would be worthy the support of both.

We do not, as a rule, place much faith in Liberal promises, but there appears good reason for supposing that Asquith's promise of a large measure of political reform before the close of the present Parliament is likely to materialise. The present clumsy electoral system has told heavily against the Liberals in several of the bye-elections ; the absence of any system of proportional representation or second ballot has lost them seats they should have held ; while the expenses of elections, which for so long gave a monopoly of Parliamentary representation to plutocrats, and proved an effectual barrier against any Labour candidates who were not the paid hacks of the Liberals, serve that useful purpose no longer, now that the funds of trade unions are laid under contribution for Parliamentary purposes. There is no longer any reason, therefore, why the Liberals should not give practical effect to the old Radical demand for payment of members and of election expenses. On the other hand, it is quite likely that opposition to these proposals may now come from " Labour " members.

The results of the policy of repression in India, as manifested by bomb outrages, have evoked further repression. The Liberal Government is copying in India the measures which proved so useless and mischievous in Ireland five-and-twenty years ago. Our Liberals only differ from the Bourbons in that whereas the latter learnt nothing and forget nothing, our Liberals learn nothing and forget everything, even their own history.

The striking victories gained by our Belgian comrades in the recent elections, by which they gained an addition of five to their strength in the Chamber, has been followed by a no less notable triumph for our comrades in Berlin, who, for the first time, have gained a footing in the Prussian Parliament. In the recent election they have captured five seats, with the prospect of a sixth.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY COMRADE E. WURM AT THE NATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY.

In defining our position in regard to the alcohol question, it will not suffice to assert the one point upon which we all agree—that the excessive consumption of alcohol is a vice which must be eradicated—but it will also be necessary to consider the question of total abstinence. For total abstinence may be commendable if what Professor Bunge has asserted be true: that “we human beings cannot be moderate.”

Modern hygiene and the modern social sciences are devoting much attention to the alcohol question, as may be seen from the fact that an index of publications on the alcohol question, just issued by the Academy of Sciences, covers no less than 500 pages. Whether all consumption of alcohol is harmful or whether it becomes harmful only where consumed in large quantities, whether total abstinence is necessary or whether moderation, temperance, are sufficient, those are problems which can, of course, not be solved by a party convention. The investigation of such problems is not the task of laymen but the task of science. But unfortunately our decision is greatly hampered by the fact that some men of science proclaim total abstinence to be necessary, while others do not consider it necessary to refrain from alcoholic drinks entirely. In order to be able to appreciate the opinions of the physiologists, it will be necessary to acquaint ourselves with the properties of alcohol.

What is alcohol? Alcohol is produced from sugar through a process of fermentation. The sugar becomes dissolved in a liquid solution into alcohol and carbonic acid. What we buy is never pure alcohol but is always diluted with water. Even the strongest kind of whiskey must contain at least 40 per cent. of water; without water alcohol becomes undrinkable. But no matter to what extent the alcohol is diluted, its effect upon the human organism is always the same, an effect that is usually misunderstood by laymen. The effect is an enfeebling one, and what seems to us a stimulating influence is merely a deception of the senses. The alcohol, in circulating through the system, paralyses the nerves.

The blood-vessels become expanded; the skin becomes reddened. The flow of the blood is quickened and is brought into greater contact with the surface of the skin and with the lower external atmosphere. Therefore alcoholic beverages really make the body colder instead of warming it. In the first instant they give us a pleasant sensation of warmth, but soon we feel the cold more keenly than before, and it is a fact that death by freezing is hastened by them. It is also due to deceptive appearances if we believe ourselves to be strengthened by the consumption of alcohol. The sudden warmth simply creates a feeling of well-being, similar to what we feel after having appeased our hunger, and this feeling makes us believe that we have been satiated by the alcohol, though it really contributes almost nothing to our sustenance. The influence of alcohol on the mental faculties is also of a paralysing nature, although, in our consciousness, it takes the form of an animating influence. The drinker becomes careless, courageous; he no longer realises danger. It is not a matter of chance that the whiskey habit expanded in Germany during the terrible wars of the Middle Ages. Alcohol was employed to lash the battling hordes to greater venturesomeness, just as it is used in Russia to-day when man is driven against man. The sensation of weariness is not relieved by alcohol; we merely become oblivious of it. Alcohol does not produce strength, as many still unfortunately believe, it only acts like the lash, driving without strengthening. This is equally true of both physical and mental exertions. This effect is still heightened by heating the drinks or mixing them with carbonic acid, which acts upon the mucous membrane of the stomach in such a manner that the alcohol becomes more rapidly assimilated. But the most determining factor in regard to the effect of alcohol is the condition of the stomach itself. The effect is far less serious upon a full stomach than upon an empty one.

The dangerous results of excessive consumption of alcohol are well known to all of you. The effects are, firstly, of a personal, and, secondly, of a social nature. Various diseases are the immediate result of intemperance. Hoarseness and coughs are early symptoms; the inner organs fail to perform their functions normally; debility of the digestive organs is especially frequent. Drinkers, as a rule, do not enjoy their food, and in consequence thereof drink still more. Through improper action of the stomach the danger of poisoning by metals, for instance lead poisoning, is increased. The drinking of beer in large quantities is apt to bring about an expansion of the heart, and this again may lead to various other diseases. Kidney and liver troubles are frequent, and the nervous system invariably suffers. The consumption of alcohol lowers the vitality and labour power, and diminishes the labourer's chance to escape injury.

That the effects of alcohol are harmful cannot be doubted by any reasonable person. The question only remains whether these

effects only result in some cases, or whether every drop of alcohol that passes our lips is really equivalent to poison. Professors Hueppe and Binz emphatically declare that their thorough investigations and experiments convinced them that the consumption of alcohol becomes harmful only at a certain stage, but that this stage varies with different individuals. Just as with contagious diseases the danger of their extension depends on the one hand upon the presence of germs, while on the other hand it depends upon the disposition of the individual, so also the effect of alcohol depends both on the quantity consumed and on the physical and mental condition of the consumer. According to scientific investigations the limit for the consumption of alcohol in a normal adult must be drawn at $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ounce in 24 hours. Below this limit there will be no poisonous effects, but—let it be asserted again—this limit applies only to the healthy, well-nourished adult person, who is not suffering from either physical or mental over-exertion. But even such a person should not venture to risk the limit day by day. The above figures refer to pure alcohol only. We must therefore briefly consider the percentage of alcohol contained in various alcoholic beverages :

The oldest drink, as old as the history of man, is wine ; wine, which has often been enthusiastically praised as the dispeller of care and sorrow. Semitic tribes first introduced wine among other peoples, and gradually it has triumphantly invaded every land. Most kinds of wine contain 9 to 12 per cent. of alcohol, while the sweet Hungarian and Spanish wines contain 20 per cent. of alcohol and 6 per cent. of sugar.

Beer might be called the younger brother of wine. For two thousand years it has been prepared from grain that by germinating, malting, transformed its starch into sugar. Even the ancient Egyptians brewed a kind of beer called Pelusium. From Egypt beer was introduced into Europe. Early in the twelfth century the monasteries introduced it in every quarter of Germany, and in the sixteenth century we find Luther raging against the curse of beer. That seemed like a contradiction to his well-known saying : " Who loves not woman, wine and song, remains a fool his whole life long " ; and therefore some people assert that Luther just condemned beer because he preferred wine. But other historians have tried to prove that Luther only condemned intemperance. At one time beer was considered a nourishing article of food, but this assumption must be emphatically contradicted. Beer contains hardly any albumen. The only nourishing property it does contain is the sugar ; but we pay far too high a price for that. As an article of food beer is entirely too expensive, for one quart of beer only contains as much sugar as there is starch contained in two small rolls of bread, and it only contains as much albumen as one roll.

The third brother, the wicked brother among alcoholic drinks, is whiskey. Originally whiskey was the product of a distillation

of wine, that was prepared by alchemists during the early part of the Middle Ages. It was believed that whiskey could animate all the spirits of life, and therefore it had been called "aqua-vitæ," (water of life). This water of life, that has destroyed so many lives, has, since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also been produced in such countries as possessed no wine. It has been distilled from fermented grain, mainly rye, as we see from the term rye-whiskey. The production of rye-whiskey was originally carried on upon a small scale, but since the last century it has tremendously increased. But this increase was not entirely due to the capitalistic mode of production. It was the result of an increased demand, brought about by that awful devastation which the wars wrought in Germany. Poverty and misery have from the first accompanied the production of whiskey, and poverty and misery have accompanied it until the present day. The production of alcoholic drinks has not created a demand for them, but economic conditions created this demand and the increased production strove to meet it. After potatoes had been introduced as an article of food it was found that a fermenting beverage could be distilled from potatoes also, and so potato spirit was produced, which has played such a destructive part. It is not a mere matter of chance that the whiskey-curse greatly increased after the Napoleonic wars. Germany, and especially Prussia, enjoys the lamentable reputation of having poisoned the whole world with its potato spirit. Moreover, the great landowners in Prussia were given ample opportunity, due to their reactionary laws—of obtaining the funds for operating their distilleries from the poorest of the poor, the toiling peasants.

Whiskey has been shown to contain 40 to 50 per cent. of alcohol.

What, then, is the limit for the temperate consumption of alcohol of which I have spoken before? Expressed in practical terms, we might say that a normal, adult person may drink daily, without harm to himself, 1 to 2 pints of beer, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint to 1 pint of wine, and two to three ounces of whiskey.

But it must always be remembered that this limit is applicable only to an absolutely normal and healthy person. There are people whose constitution is able to withstand such an amount of alcohol. But just those strata of society that chiefly resort to alcoholic stimulants to animate their failing forces are the very ones which are not healthy and normal. They are underfed, over tired, weakened in body and crushed in spirits, and therefore have less power of resistance. So the choice between temperance and total abstinence becomes an individual question. To determine the proper course for himself each individual must study his own nature to assure himself of his proper limit, and besides he must study his social environment; he must examine whether outward influences do not affect him in such a manner that his power of resistance is weakened. Nourishment, occupation, age and sex must be taken into consideration. There are masses of people

who, owing to their unfavourable economic position and social environment, ought to avoid alcohol altogether. It is unfortunately true that just those classes who, by outward influences, are driven to the consumption of alcohol, are the very ones who ought to avoid it, because it has a most destructive influence upon them. One of the greatest crimes that parents can commit is to give alcohol in any form to their children. Nevertheless we are not justified in condemning such parents. Why is it that so many babes are soothed by a rubber nipple that has been dipped in whiskey? If we investigate the causes we will find that such unreasonable means of keeping the babies quiet are employed mainly by mothers who are obliged to go out working or to take work home, and who therefore have no time to care for their children. Moreover, most parents are ignorant of the great danger that lurks in alcoholic drinks. What is true in regard to children, is also true in regard to very young people.

Now, you may ask whether, in view of the dangers described above, it would not be wiser to declare for total abstinence. The reason why I, and many others who share my point of view, do not join the movement against alcoholism, is because we know that the causes which drive people to alcoholism to-day can most effectively be combated and eventually exterminated by the political activity of the Socialist Party. Our activity is far more beneficent than all well-meant sermons and exhortations. The assertion that "we human beings cannot be moderate" is not true. Of course, there are many people who cannot control their passion for drink otherwise than by adhering to total abstinence, and who then compensate for that self-denial by some other bad habit—for instance, by incessant smoking. Others again become total abstainers for the expressed purpose of setting a worthy example to others. But they are mistaken if they believe their good intention to be an effective method; for the economic conditions by which people are impelled to drink are more powerful than the most brilliant example. We are told: "How can you claim that intemperance is a result of economic conditions? Are you not aware that among the class in possession the evil of drink exists to the same, nay, even to a greater extent than among the labouring class?" They who bring forth this argument forget that economic conditions produce not only physical but also intellectual want, and that even those in possession suffer by the extremes of modern conditions. Mental emptiness has taken possession of the ruling class also, and they, too, feel the want of deceiving themselves and of seeking oblivion in drink. Those "respectable gentlemen" who destroy their brains by the means of costly wines are not a bit better than they who are driven to alcoholism by material want, but neither are they less pardonable.

But we, as a political party, need not study the idle portion of the populace but its working portion. We must seek the causes which under present conditions of labour create that increasing

degree of physical and mental want. We must investigate the reasons which incite the masses of toilers to alcoholism. One of the main causes may be laid to exhaustion by overwork. We all agree on that point. Even people who do not pay much attention to social factors admit that overwork causes a craving for alcoholic stimulants. Another cause is that extreme mental fatigue which is produced by the fact that in modern industry "the labourer is but an appendage to the machine," as Marx has expressed it. A third and very vital cause may be found in the numerous unfavourable conditions surrounding the worker during the performance of his work, conditions for which the employers of labour and the Government are to be blamed. Firstly, there are those industries in which thirst is systematically created by the prevailing dust. We frequently hear the employers in such industries boldly declare: "You must not consume alcoholic drinks." But they do not make any endeavours to provide their labourers with cooling drinks that are free from alcohol, or to improve the conditions in such a manner that they do not suffer from constant thirst. Such was the case in regard to the manufacture of cement. For tens of years we demanded proper ventilation of cement factories, but to no avail, until an engineer made the discovery that the dust which filled the air could, when drawn out by proper ventilation, be manufactured into a well-paying product. At that time I questioned in the Reichstag, whether the labourers in the cement factories were now going to be fined for the dust which they had inhaled free of charge all these years. Some time ago there was an exhibition for the welfare of labour in Charlottenburg. There we were shown coal-lungs, lead-lungs, stone-lungs—all of them lungs which had at one time belonged to sturdy labourers, but which had been systematically destroyed by mine and factory dust because employers will spend no money for so unremunerative a thing as the welfare of their employees, and because the State does not give sufficient protection. Therefore we demand not only that the labourers in all the dust-creating industries should be furnished with non-intoxicating drinks, but we also demand such improvements as will diminish the dust. In various other industries the labourers are greatly troubled by thirst on account of the high temperature in which they are obliged to toil. Glass blowers, for instance, must drink about five quarts of water daily. But this large quantity of water does not agree with them, interferes with their digestion, and causes them to perspire to an unusual degree. So they take to alcoholic drinks. In their case, too, then, it will be necessary not only to furnish them with soft drinks, but also to improve the ventilation and to shorten the hours of labour. Still more causes leading to the drink habit are found in those industries that produce nauseating odours and poisonous gases, and cause the labourer to suffer from chronic poisoning such as lead poisoning, mercury poisoning, etc. Although alcohol is the very worst thing for a person suffering from lead poisoning,

those so afflicted still resort to it to deaden the excruciating pains from which they suffer. The extremes of heat and cold to which the labourers in many trades are exposed, is yet another cause that leads to intemperance. Miners, labourers in quarries, masons, builders, steel labourers, truckmen, motor-men, etc., they all are ruthlessly exposed to all kinds of weather. In all these cases shorter hours of labour and improvement of hygienic conditions would long since have done more than thousands of speeches against alcoholism could accomplish.

I have already said that alcohol has a worse effect upon an empty stomach than a full one, and that an empty stomach increases the craving for alcohol. But underfeeding is the immediate result of low wages and of the rise in the cost of all articles of food. As far back as 1860, a pioneer in the science of physiology, the great Justus von Liebig, wrote: "The whiskey habit is not the cause of poverty but its result. Only in exceptional cases a well-nourished man becomes a victim of this habit. But the man who by his toil cannot earn sufficient to buy food of such quality and in such quantity that his labour power can be maintained, will be forced by an inexorable law of nature to resort to the whiskey bottle." The labourer's daily fare is not only of poor quality due to the high price of wholesome food, it is also usually poorly prepared, and so he is doubly tempted to take alcoholic drinks with his meals. The inadequate preparation of food is of course accounted for by the overworked condition of the labourer's wife and by the fact that in numerous cases she too is employed as a bread-winner. It is also due to the omission on the part of our schools to give some instruction in the science of proper nourishment. Professor Bunge has rightly said: "Most people are obliged to eat unpalatable food. This absence of satisfaction to our organs of taste and smell by which the whole nervous system is affected, creates a craving for unnatural stimulants. Our food ought to be a pleasant stimulant in itself. Partaking of one's daily food should be a pleasure; each meal a feast!" If such could be the case then we might be able to banish the demon of alcohol entirely; but until then, preaching against it will be of little avail. Many labourers are practically forced to drink alcoholic beverages by being obliged to take their meals in a saloon. Therefore we demand in connection with factories and workshops resting-rooms for the working men, where they may take their noon-day meal in peace. We also demand the establishment of pleasure resorts for the working classes where they will not be required to partake of intoxicating drinks. For if after a long, exhausting day's work a worn-out labourer can find no other place of recreation but a saloon, he will eventually become incapable of all mental activity, of reading a book or a newspaper or attending a lecture, and will merely stagger from one day of toil to another through the oblivion afforded by alcohol.

Total abstainers lay special stress on the power of self-education and on the effectiveness of exhortations and good examples. But the actual effectiveness of these methods has not been proven. One case frequently pointed to is that of the Irish priest, Father Matthew, who is credited with having gained such a powerful influence by his passionate exhortations, that the consumption of alcohol in Ireland greatly diminished, and that during the five years, 1838-1842, the number of crimes was reduced from 12,096 to 773. But the true cause of this improvement was not an ethical but an economic cause. Ireland had at that time suffered a great famine due to the failure of the potato crops, and this famine called forth a number of crimes, most of the "crimes" being that the starving peasants became desperate and stole the potatoes from their landlords. When the British Government then came to the support of the famine-stricken people and the terrible want gradually diminished, drunkenness and crime also diminished accordingly. But the effect was, of course, not a permanent one, as even those who favour total abstinence sadly admit. New want called forth new drunkenness and crime. For want and drunkenness are closely—we might say inseparably—connected.

There is also an undeniable connection between alcoholism and accidents. But this connection is greatly exaggerated by those who claim that most accidents occur on Monday, because many labourers are still under the pernicious influence of alcoholic drinks consumed on Sunday. Actual statistics show not Monday but Saturday to be that day of the week upon which most accidents occur, because the toiler's weariness is greatest at the end of a week's work. Nevertheless, it must be asserted that alcohol heightens the danger to life and limb to which the working man is frequently exposed, and it is a misfortune to the worker if he has accustomed himself to taking alcoholic drinks while at work. We would, therefore, not oppose a measure that would forbid the consumption of whiskey and limit the consumption of all alcoholic beverage during labour hours; but only under the condition that employers would be compelled to furnish their employees with suitable soft drinks. In some national and municipal employments the custom has already been introduced to furnish the employees with coffee, tea, milk, seltzer water and lemonade at low rates, and among such employees the consumption of beer and liquor has greatly diminished. Alcohol should never be used as a lash to stimulate a weakened, overworked body. But it may be used with moderation, as one of the pleasures of life, by people who are normally healthy and well-nourished.

Statistics are sometimes abused in an attempt to hold alcoholism accountable for all evils. This is being done by those who try to prove the connection between alcoholism and crime. Not every criminal who is at the same time a drunkard has been driven to crime by drunkenness. Frequently a man possessing criminal tendencies is also afflicted with a craving for alcoholic drinks, just

as he may be afflicted with various other vices. People that possess abnormal qualities, degenerates, are inclined to become both drunkards and criminals, and even normal, healthy human beings are sometimes driven to drunkenness and crime by the social conditions that surround them. The diminishing capability of mothers to nurse their babes, has also been accounted for by the evil influence of alcohol upon the physical condition of the mothers. But here, too, we may point out that alcoholic drinks are not as much to be blamed as social conditions, which leave labouring women unaided during pregnancy and child-birth. Many mothers and their babies might be rescued by providing adequate support for labouring women some time before and after the birth of a child, so that the mothers might be rested and well nourished and accordingly able to give sufficient nourishment to their children.

Let us briefly consider the relation of the alcohol question to legislation. As a political party we must take special care to show our colours clearly in regard to all questions of legislation. Therefore, we must rigorously oppose the foolish, dangerous assertion that the consumption of alcohol is diminished by raising the tax on whiskey and all alcoholic drinks. As the alcohol becomes more expensive, those labouring classes that are driven to its use only become obliged to lower their standard of living. Thereby the effect of the alcohol only becomes more dreadful, as long as the causes that favour alcoholism remain unchanged. To increase the cost of liquor means to injure the poorest of the poor. It must be considered an improvement in the standard of living when working men abandon whiskey for beer. If, therefore, the tax levied on beer is high, if the beer becomes expensive and poor in quality, the only result obtained is an increase in the consumption of whiskey. To abolish the tax on beer and wine would help to combat alcoholism. We cannot approve of the system existing in Russia where whiskey is produced by private manufacture but is sold by the Government only. Neither has the Government monopoly for the production of liquor as held by Switzerland had the desired effect, although it contains the provision that one-tenth of the resulting income is to be used to combat the excessive consumption of alcohol. It is a wrong system which first levies a tax upon the poor and unfortunate, and then takes a portion of the money drawn from them to combat alcoholism. The system prevalent in some American states forbidding the sale of alcohol, does not meet with our approval either. Smuggling and drinking in concealment are hereby favoured. England's dry Sundays have shown us what results are obtained by forbidding the open sale of alcoholic drinks: people simply drink at home, and drink even more than they would at the saloons. Equally unreasonable is the suggestion not to permit the saloons to be opened before 8 a.m. In that event the labourer would simply carry away a bottle in his pocket every evening. We must even condemn the principle of

local option for which the English Labour Party stands. Local option means that each municipality is to decide for itself whether the sale of intoxicating drinks should be permitted or not. That would only lead to an unnecessary struggle within the municipalities, and would increase secret intemperance. Our comrades in Finland are endeavouring to bring about a law that will simply forbid both production and sale of all alcoholic drinks. If it be considered advisable to combat alcohol in itself, as a thing apart from social conditions, then this radical suggestion seems the only efficacious one. We only hope our Finnish friends may not learn from experience that smuggling will maintain alcohol among them anyhow.

What we demand in the war waged upon alcohol is that we should employ all our power of political and industrial organisation to abolish the causes that produce alcoholism. We must use our influence in the municipal administrations to bring about model institutions: rest rooms for labourers, pleasure resorts, where they will not be obliged to partake of intoxicating drinks, ample opportunity for obtaining cheap and wholesome non-alcoholic beverages; and so forth. Furthermore we must see to it that our schools instruct and enlighten the children on these matters as well as the parents of the school children. I especially welcome the fact that our young people's Socialistic organisation has adopted a strong resolution against alcoholism. The young workers must foster the power within themselves to resist the temptations of alcohol. I also welcome the fact that our labour unions have commenced a vigorous campaign against the abuses of alcoholism, and are laying stress upon the instruction and enlightenment of their members. The masons and carpenters were the first to forbid the serving of intoxicating drinks at their meetings, and at a conference of bricklayers it was resolved to favour total abstinence. Other labour unions have expressed themselves in a similar manner. We see from this that much good is being accomplished in Germany by means of industrial organisation, and we feel convinced that our labour unions will continue this struggle against alcoholism, the only reasonable one, which is founded upon an improvement of the conditions of labour and instruction of the masses.

Before closing I wish to add a word concerning the attitude taken by our comrades in other countries in regard to the alcohol question: Our Swiss comrades have adopted the following plank in their platform: We resolve to combat alcoholism; we demand such employment of the tenth of the alcohol tax set aside for this purpose as will give the best support to workingmen and their organisations in making them independent of the saloon, i.e., the construction of public pleasure resorts, assembly halls and reading-rooms. In Sweden our comrades have organised the Verdandi Society, which has a membership of 20,000 and has declared for total abstinence. In their national convention the

Swedish Socialists demanded that their public schools should furnish instruction in regard to the dangers of alcohol. The Norwegian National Socialist Convention of 1906 resolved to demand a tax to be levied on beer, wine, and whiskey, the amount of the tax on each to be determined by the amount of alcohol contained therein; it resolved furthermore to demand a strong limitation of the sale of all alcoholic beverages. The party in Finland—as already mentioned—stands for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic drinks. In Belgium our “maisons du peuple” (co-operative establishments) have received orders from party headquarters to discontinue the sale of liquor. That has been carried out effectively. In England the Labour Party stands for local option. In Holland our comrades, at their convention of 1897, have declared themselves in full sympathy with the endeavours to combat alcoholism, and our Austrian comrades in 1903 likewise adopted a resolution against alcoholism.

We, then, can do no better than to continue along the path we have taken, and by combating all the evils of modern society, we can also combat this one specific outward symptom of diseased conditions. But we do not admit that the alcohol question can be treated by itself, without taking into consideration social conditions of which it is a part. To combat this one symptom alone would be as absurd as if we should combat tuberculosis without endeavouring to remove its social causes. They who believe that the danger of tuberculosis can be eliminated by merely keeping the workshops well supplied with cuspidors are simply to be pitied for their blindness in not being able to see the connection between social conditions and tuberculosis; and the same is true of alcoholism. Good examples and well-meant exhortations may influence some individuals here and there; but the great mass of people can only be raised by improving their economic conditions. Give the people enough to eat, give them sanitary dwellings, give them freedom! Then they will be prepared to drive hence the demon of alcohol.

(Translated from the German by Hebe, for the
“International Socialist Review.”)

THE CRISIS IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.—*Continued.*

III.

It might have been thought, and the capitalists did think so, that the shares in motor factories would not fluctuate in value. And as long as the profits were good, they were not alarmed.

However, more than one financier foresaw the crisis. As long ago as July 31, 1907, the "*Revue du Marché libre au Comptant*" warned its readers, for it published the following note, which is significant for the initiated :—

"As far as automobilism is concerned, it is only too certain that circumstances are no longer so favourable to this industry. It has known the prosperous years, and we must now expect the reverse.

"If France, thanks to having a start, and owing to the spirit of initiative and ingenuity of her manufacturers, has been able to export a great many motors, these exports are much less important at the present time. All neighbouring countries now manufacture motors, and competition has become very keen, besides which prices have fallen.

"For these reasons we must fear that profits will be diminished, especially as it is an industry in which the cost of production is very high.

"Therefore it becomes very important to be careful in investing in these securities. The shares in Charron, in Giordot, and Voight (the share at 38 f., the founders' share at 6 f.), and those in the *Etablissements de Dietrich*, are the least risky. One must not, besides, forget that if the latter company is one of the most important of those which manufacture motors, it is also one of the most important companies engaged in the railway industry."

If this Review recommended the shares of the *Dietrich Company*, it was because it was certain of realising important profits in manufacturing railway material. On September 28, 1907, the same "*Revue du Marché*" again wrote on the subject, and said—

"The crisis in the motor industry which has been raging in France, in England, and in the United States, has now reached Italy. The Fiat share, which was formerly at 700 and 800 lire, are

now quoted at 110. This is not encouraging for French capitalists who have sold, and the market is suffering from depression. Many companies have seen their shares fall.

"The Brasier Company has been particularly affected. Its principal shareholders held a meeting recently at Geneva in order to discuss how the company could be revived. M. Bernard said that the proposed debentures had not been subscribed. The company must, therefore, consider the conditions proposed by an English company which would be submitted to the shareholders; this would involve the reduction of the capital.

"The Branhot shares also fell. The directors, with the assent of a shareholders' meeting, would issue debentures. Those of the value of 500 francs would be issued at 475 and would pay 5 per cent.

"The shareholders of the Eugène Brillié company are to meet on October 14 to decide whether the capital should be increased."

Then the crisis became more acute, and on October 2 the Auto Motor Company of St. Etienne, with a capital of 1,750,000 francs, suspended payment. It employed 500 workmen, who were thrown out of work.

On October 5 another financial paper, the "Univers Financier," thus referred to the crisis:—

"The stock of unsold motors is increasing everywhere, whilst fewer cars are being sold, as was indeed to be expected. If it be remembered that France will produce 70,000 cars this year, and that America, England and Italy are also manufacturing cars, we may well wonder where all the cars will go, because it is pretty generally admitted that all who can afford to keep a motor already do so. No doubt there are still new lines in which motors may be used; other cars will be wanted and there may be a new demand. But it is impossible to consider the future with equanimity, the supply is likely more and more to exceed the demand. The evil is due to the extraordinary number of factories which have been started and the promoters of which have not taken into consideration the chances of success—it is clear that there is a great crisis which will lead necessarily to many failures. The motor fever is now over, but the bill has still to be paid, and that will have to be done by the manufacturers in the course of the next few years. Already we hear that the best houses are suffering from a lack of orders, and that they are seeing their profits diminish more and more owing to insane competition.

"This is why we are very pessimistic as to the future of the motor industry, and that though the Automobiles Mors shares are at 140 francs, we think that owing to circumstances they are not a very attractive investment."

And capitalists, who up till now had intrusted banks with their interests, were anxious to understand the question. They found, not without surprise, that the Mors Company was not doing so well as they had thought, that since May 27, 1907, it had given

up the producing of electricity in order to work only at the motor industry, and had changed its name to Société d'Automobiles Mors.

Yet this company, which had been formed in 1898, with a capital of two million francs, had done very well at first. But since 1905 it had been doing badly, so much so that in that year it showed a loss of 582,199 francs, and was not able to pay a dividend in 1906. The following table shows the result for each year since 1899:—

Business done.					
Year.	Motors. Francs.	Total. Francs.	Profits. Francs.	Dividends. Per cent.	
1899 ...	765,745 ...	1,428,432 ...	81,462 ...	20	
1900 ...	1,800,645 ...	2,019,361 ..	416,334 ...	35	
1901 ...	2,798,187 ...	3,232,180 ...	619,227 ...	50	
1902 ...	4,078,568 ...	4,927,580 ...	1,220,044 ...	75	
1903 ...	4,911,742 ...	6,136,619 ...	619,377 ...	75	
1904 ...	3,826,331 ...	5,374,164 ...	527,013 ...	30	
			Loss.		
1905 ...	3,346,157 ...	5,185,545 ...	582,199 ...	Nil.	
1906 ...	3,873,600 ...	5,653,577 ...	228,150 ...	„	

As will be noticed, business was not at all flourishing in recent years. But another surprise greeted the shareholders. At the general meeting, December 6, 1907, they heard that the value of the buildings, etc., which were thought to be worth four million francs, were really only worth about 1,800,000, and this led to the resignation of the manager and of several directors.

As to the shareholders of this company: after a long discussion concerning the election of new directors, they instructed the board to summon, at the latest on January 10, a new meeting, which would first have to consider the accounts for the year ending the end of last September, and then an extraordinary meeting was to be held, which should discuss the question whether the company should continue or be wound up.

As we have seen, the Mors is in a bad way; the future will show what will become of it.

Like many others, it doubtless relied on the Salon to obtain new orders and acquire a new activity. Only, when financiers have any doubts about a business they are terrible. With their help it would, perhaps, have been possible to turn round, and to see what the Salon would bring; but without their help ruin was certain and was accomplished.

The motor industry—both in France as well as abroad—rested more on the financial market rather than on the skill of the manufacturers and the power or the beauty of their cars. Now the action of the financiers brought about ruin just when it was expected that they would reassure people. Their newspapers produced a panic, and caused the shares to fall rapidly on the

Exchange. The following table shows what the shares were worth at different dates :—

	On August 6.	On October 6.
	Francs.	Francs.
Auto Brasier ...	177.50	68.69
Bergougnan and Co....	3,450	2,870
Dietrich and Co. ...	839	725
Falconnet ...	131	105
Garage Krieger ...	38	28.29
Branhot ...	61	47

The Automobile de Place fell from 298 to 268 ; at Lyons the Rochet-Schneider fell to 2 francs 50 centimes, Pilain to 21 francs, etc.

On October 1, the company Georges Richard et Cie. amalgamated with the Société Anonyme d'Automobiles et de Traction (system Bardon) in order to form the Société Anonyme des Automobiles Unie. On October 15 the Court of Dijon declared the Société Cottureau to be bankrupt ; on October 21 the Court of the Seine also declared the Mereur of Lavallois Perret to be bankrupt. Brasier and Mors tried to obtain financial aid from England and from Switzerland in order to escape the catastrophe.

Some dismissals of workmen showed the most sanguine persons that the crisis was very keen ; the press then published a paragraph relating to this, but it was very moderate. It was as follows :—

Panhard	dismissed	...	...	700	workingmen.
Brasier	"	...	...	250	"
Mors	"	...	...	700	"
Mendelson	"	...	...	300	"
Gilet Forest	"	...	...	120	"
Rebourg	"	...	...	60	"
Belleville	"	...	...	900	"
Charron	"	...	...	350	"
Sizaire & Naudin	"	...	...	100	"
Gladiator	"	...	...	100	"
Clément	"	...	...	100	"
Noë	"	...	...	60	"

Besides which 800 men working for small masters were thrown out of work.

Some of these factories closed entirely, in others the men still worked seven or eight hours a day.

It will be seen by these figures, which are necessarily incomplete, since we can only refer to the largest firms, that more than 4,500 men were thrown out of work.

(To be continued.)

A. MERRHEIM,

Secretary of the Federal Union of Metallurgic Workers, in "Le Mouvement Socialiste." (Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

THE BELGIAN AND PRUSSIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS.

The notable victory of our Belgian comrades in the recent election, lends especial interest to the following description of the electoral system of Belgium, which we take from the "Times":—

"Half the members of the Chamber of Deputies retire every two years. It is not exactly half, because there are nine provinces in the country, so that there are elections in four and five of them alternately. This year there are elections in East Flanders, Hainaut, Liège, and Limbourg, and there are 81 members to be elected out of a total of 166. The Chamber last session was composed of 89 Catholics, 45 Liberals, 1 Christian Democrat, and 31 Socialists, giving a Catholic majority of 12. Of the outgoing Deputies there are in East Flanders 16 Catholics, 7 Liberals, 1 Christian Democrat, and 2 Socialists; in Hainaut 10 Catholics, 9 Liberals, and 9 Socialists; in Liège 8 Catholics, 5 Liberals, and 8 Socialists; and in Limbourg 5 Catholics and 1 Liberal—a total of 39 Catholics, 22 Liberals, 1 Christian Democrat, and 19 Socialists.

"There are elections for the Senate also. Of the 39 outgoing Senators there are in East Flanders 10 Catholics, 2 Liberals, and 1 Radical; in Hainaut 4 Catholics, 6 Liberals, and 4 Radical-Socialists; in Liège 3 Catholics and 6 Liberal-Radicals; and in Limbourg 3 Catholics.

"THE PARTY PLATFORMS.

"The electoral campaign is on the customary lines. The Congo question is not much in evidence, except among the Socialists, who find in the financial conditions of the treaty a most convenient weapon. But the old cries are still the chief ones, and the Socialists are relying for their votes rather on their demands for compulsory, non-clerical education, universal suffrage, and the reduction and reform of military service, and on the happy issue out of all their troubles which they look for in a comprehensive programme of State Socialism.

"The Liberals also take their stand upon educational, military, and electoral reform. Up to a certain point they are prepared to

unite with the common enemy, and in several constituencies a cartel, or arrangement, has been arrived at whereby the Liberals and Socialist candidates will appear on the same list. But for the most part the Liberals consider this alliance more likely to hurt than to help them. What they, like the Socialists, do most ardently desire is the freeing of education from clerical influence, which is one of the great standing grievances in this country to-day.

“ The military reform desired by Liberals and Socialists alike consists mainly in the abolition of the present system of replacement, whereby a conscript can buy himself a substitute for a sum not exceeding £72, and which is naturally considered to give an unfair advantage to the more prosperous classes. The electoral reform has to do with the partial, if not the entire, abolition of plural voting. At present every citizen over 25 years of age, who has lived for a year in the same commune, has a vote. Everyone 35 years of age who is the head of a family has a second vote. Everyone over 25 who has an annual income from real property of at least £1 18s. 5d., or an income of £4 a year from the Belgian funds, either directly or indirectly through the savings bank, has an extra vote. The three votes, which are the maximum, may also be made up with the help of a supplementary vote given for the possession of certain diplomas or certificates of higher education or the holding of certain posts. To the Liberals the property vote is the most obnoxious, because of the power which it gives to the small yeoman and tenant farmers, who are the backbone of the Clerical Party, and if plural voting were abolished they would probably unite on the lines of one man one vote.

“ PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

“ Stripped of all complications which do not affect the principle, the system of proportional representation which has prevailed in Belgium since 1900 is as follows :—

“ Each of the three parties—Catholic, Liberal, and Socialist—in a constituency makes out a list of candidates. There is naturally a good deal of competition as to the order in which the list is to be drawn up, but the matter is ultimately settled between the local party organisation and headquarters. Independent groups may also present lists, or an individual may come forward on his own account ; but, for reasons which will presently appear, this practice can seldom be profitable, and is always strongly deprecated by the party managers. The elector, who, by the way, unless he has a valid excuse, is obliged by law to vote, under penalties rising from a reprimand and a fine of from 1f. to 3f., to a fine of 25f. with the placarding of his name, disfranchisement for ten years, and debarment from official nomination or advancement during that time, receives a polling paper for each of his votes. On this he can blacken with a pencil a white bull's-eye in the middle of a black square either at the head of the list which he

prefers, or beside the name of any particular candidate. In the latter case he really votes for the list as a whole, but expresses a personal preference for the candidate against whose name he has made his mark.

"Then, supposing there are four lists in an election for five seats, and that the total votes cast are respectively:—List No. 1, 24,000; No. 2, 11,000; No. 3, 9,000; No. 4, 3,000, the first thing to be done is to discover the number of candidates elected in each list. This is achieved by finding the "electoral divisor"—that is to say, the number of votes which a candidate must obtain in order to be elected at all. The total of each list is divided successively by 1, 2, 3, 4, and so on, thus:—

	List—No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
Divided by 1 ...	24,000 ...	11,000 ...	9,000 ...	3,000
" 2 ...	12,000 ...	5,500 ...	4,500 ...	—
" 3 ...	8,000 ...	— ...	— ...	—
" 4 ...	6,000 ...	— ...	— ...	—

"The five highest numbers (there are five seats to be filled) are 24,000, 12,000, 11,000, 9,000, and 8,000. Eight thousand, then, is the "electoral divisor." Now, in List No. 1 there are three quotients of not less than 8,000, in No. 2 one, and in No. 3 one, or, to put it otherwise, 8,000 will 'go' three times into the total of 24,000 of No. 1, once into the 11,000 of No. 2, once into the 9,000 of No. 3, and not at all into the 3,000 of No. 4. List No. 1, then, gets three seats, No. 2 one, No. 3 one, and No. 4 none.

"The actual candidates elected in each list are discovered by taking into consideration the personal votes obtained by each and making up the essential number of 8,000 by adding to the personal as many votes as may be required by drawing from the total votes given to the list pure and simple, as from a kind of pool. Thus, suppose the total 24,000 of the List No. 1 includes 4,000 votes given to individual candidates, there will be a pool of 20,000. If the first man on the list has received, say, 500 personal votes, he draws 7,500 from the pool, leaving 12,500. The pool is further drawn upon for electing the next man, and so on. As the pool becomes exhausted it is clear that a man low on the list who, from personal popularity, has obtained a large number of individual votes may be elected over the heads of candidates higher up who have been less favoured. But in practice the great majority of the electors vote for the party list without designating any particular candidate."

PRUSSIA'S WAY.

The "Daily News" thus describes the "three class" voting system for the Prussian Parliament, against which our Berlin comrades have been so vigorously agitating of late:—

"In Prussia, the members of the Lower House are elected by indirect suffrage and public ballot. It works thus: The taxpayers

in each district are divided into three classes, according to the proportion of their tax payments. The total sum of the direct taxes paid is divided by three. As many of the largest taxpayers as together pay in a single district one-third of that total sum form the first class of electors; as many more of the smaller taxpayers as together pay the second third, form the second class; the third class consists of all the other taxpayers who pay the remaining third. Each of these classes has the same number of votes in returning the representatives of the district 'Wahlmänner,' with whom rests the final election of the member of the Diet. One representative, or Wahlmann, is elected from every complete number of 250 souls. Therefore, the country is divided into electoral districts of not less than 250, and not more than 1,749 souls, so that in each district from 3 to 6 representatives are elected. The thoroughly plutocratic character of this system is clear. There are a great many districts in which a single taxpayer paying the whole first third of the aggregate taxation of the district commands the same vote as hundreds of third class electors.

"This monstrous system is further intensified by the peculiar division of the electoral districts. It has often occurred that a member of the Prussian Cabinet was elected, according to taxes paid, in the third class, whilst his secretary was an elector in the second, and his tailor of the first class. For there are districts in Berlin where one has to pay 291,813 marks taxes to be elector in the first class, and in other districts, especially the suburbs, only 32 marks are necessary for the same purpose. Prince Buelow, for instance, though having £5,000 salary and a large private fortune, is not an elector of the first class, but of the second."



"Social-Democracy neither swears by private property nor does it demand its division. It demands its socialisation, and the equality which it strives for is the equal right of all to the products of social labour. Again, the social freedom which it asks for is neither freedom to dispose arbitrarily of the means of production and to produce at will, but the limitation of the necessary labour through the gathering in of those capable of working and through the most extended application of labour-saving machinery and methods. In this way the necessary labour which cannot be free, but must be socially regulated, can be reduced to a minimum for all, and to all a sufficient time assured of freedom, for free artistic and scientific activity, for free enjoyment of life. Social freedom—we do not speak here of political—through the greatest possible shortening of the period of necessary labour: that is freedom as meant by the Social-Democracy."—KARL KAUTSKY in "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History."

THE REVIEWS.

THE "RIGHT TO WORK."

Mr. Marriot discusses the above in the current "Nineteenth Century and After." He says:—

No social observer can fail to be impressed by the significance of the debate and division which took place in the House of Commons on Friday, March 13. On that day no fewer than 116 members of the House voted for a Bill "to provide work through Public Authorities for unemployed persons and for other purposes connected therewith." Promoted by the Labour Party, and backed by such men as Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Barnes, Mr. John Ward, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Bill was supported in the division lobby by two Unionists and some sixty or seventy "orthodox" Liberals. It is permissible to surmise, especially after the querulous speech delivered by the chief Liberal Whip, that more Liberals were prevented from straying from the fold only by a stern insistence on party discipline. Even more suggestive, perhaps, is the fact that nearly 300 members found it convenient to be absent from the House on that memorable Friday afternoon.

It may be worth while to scrutinise somewhat narrowly the exact scope of the measure which frightened so many valiant legislators away from Westminster and secured the support of so large a proportion of those who "faced the music." The *Unemployed Workmen* Bill provided for the creation of a Central Unemployed Committee, consisting of persons representative of the Boards of Agriculture, Trade, Education, and Local Government, together with "not less than two persons nominated by a national body or bodies representative of trade unions." It proposed to enact that all County and Borough Councils and all Urban District Councils with a population of over 20,000 should act as Local Unemployment Authorities and should initiate an exhaustive system for the registration of unemployed persons. But the kernel of the Bill was indubitably contained in Clause 3, which ran as follows:—

"Where a workman has registered himself as unemployed, it shall be the duty of the local unemployed authority, subject to

conditions hereinafter to be imposed, to provide work for him in connection with one or other of the schemes hereinafter provided, or otherwise, or failing the provision of work, to provide maintenance should necessity exist for that person and for those depending on that person for the necessities of life. Provided that a refusal on the part of the unemployed workman to accept reasonable work upon one of these schemes, or other employment upon conditions not lower than those that are standard to the work in the locality, shall release the local unemployment authority of its duties under this section."

Other clauses provided for the appointment of "unemployment commissioners to make inquiries necessary for the working of this Act, to inspect and examine work being done under this Act," etc.; for meeting the expenses of administration from national taxation or local rates; for the acquisition of land, dwellings, buildings, material, tools, implements, machinery and plant," and for dealing with any case in which unemployment "is owing to deliberate and habitual disinclination to work." When this is the case the unemployment authority may report the case to a court of summary jurisdiction, and the court may issue an order which shall permit the local unemployment authority to enforce control over the person named in the order for a period not exceeding six months, which period must be passed in the performance of reasonable work under the supervision or control of the local unemployment authority. But interesting and suggestive as the rest of the Bill may be, it is desirable to concentrate attention upon its essential principle, enshrined in Clause 3, which may be described as the legislative recognition of the *right to work*. In the course of the debate Mr. Asquith thus summarised the proposals with commendable explicitness:—

It comes to this, that as a remedy for the problem of unemployment you are to give to every man or woman who registers himself or herself as an unemployed person the right to demand and to impose on the local authority in the district or area in which he or she resides the obligation to provide work, and work, as I read the Bill, at the standard rate of wages . . . or in default of such work to maintain him or her and all those dependent on them. . . . That is a principle which involves . . . the complete ultimate control of the State of the full machinery of production, and which, in my opinion . . . so far from remedying or helping to remedy the problem of unemployment will vastly aggravate it. . . . The real issue is, is this House going to recognise for the first time in the history of Parliament this principle of the Right to Work and the obligation to provide work, which, once recognised, will, I venture to say, lead to conclusions little dreamt of or suspected to-day? . . . I believe these conclusions, if carried into practical effect, will have consequences which . . . would prejudice no class of the community more seriously than the working class.

Mr. Asquith's analysis, calm and critical, yet not unsympathetic, was admirably adapted to the occasion. That the problem for which the Bill offered a solution is grave and insistent will be denied by no one who has any acquaintance with the industrial conditions of to-day. The demand for work put forward by a sober, well-conducted and able-bodied workman thrown out of employment, perhaps by the invention of labour-saving machinery, perhaps by a change of fashion, perhaps by a recurrence of the cyclical depression of trade, is one which must appeal to all those whose ears are not deaf to the cry of human suffering.

But it is necessary at this point to enter an emphatic protest against an assumption which is becoming all too common. Pity for undeserved misfortune has not yet become the monopoly of any single party, political or economic. To express mistrust of any particular solution is not to deny the existence of a problem or to refuse to sympathise with the consequences arising from it. Caution is confounded with callousness, and a refusal to take the first short cut indicated by inexperienced enthusiasm is denounced as cowardice, even though the short cut may lead over an economic or social precipice. Such a short cut is to be found in Clause 3 of the Bill rejected by the House of Commons on March 13.

Unemployment is unhappily no new phenomenon either in this or in other countries. It has, no doubt, been accentuated by the conditions of contemporary industrial life; the crises appear to recur with increased frequency; and manifestly it has become more stridently articulate; but it is not new or even abnormal. It would unquestionably conduce to an understanding of its causes, and therefore of its remedies, to note with exactitude the periods of activity and quiescence in the history of this social disease.



THE NECESSARY BASIS OF SOCIETY.

Mr. Sidney Webb's presidential address to the Social and Political Education League is printed under the above heading in the June "Contemporary Review." He says:—

I invite you, in the first place, to consider for a moment some of the characteristics of popular government. It has been, in a sense, the special task of the nineteenth century, in our conception of social organisation, to bring into prominence the claims, and needs, and rights of the average man, the typical citizen, the normal human being. I do not need to expatiate on the triumphant progress round the world of what we call the ideas of 1789; on the rout and extermination of the notion that society ought or can ever properly be governed for the advantage of a privileged class; or on the universal acceptance of the democratic

assumption that it is by its results upon the life of the whole body of citizens that every Government must stand or fall. One effect of this triumph of Democracy has been to influence us all in favour of large and sweeping applications of governmental administration. That which is used or enjoyed or participated in by every citizen alike has necessarily come to seem much more "Democratic" than that which can only be used or enjoyed or participated in by a few people. Seeing that all have to pay for governmental action, we get into the habit of thinking it exceptionally appropriate—even, we may say, specially fair—to employ the forces of government in such ways only, and for such ends only, as concern us all. So much is this the case that there are actually people to-day, thinking themselves educated, who make this a test of legislation. If a measure does not extend to the whole population they denounce it as "class legislation," the implication being that "class legislation" is bad, or wicked, or, at any rate, undemocratic. It is characteristic of the infantile condition of American political thought that in some of the United States class legislation is actually forbidden by the State Constitution. The result of this conception has been that the work of government, so far as it has been based on democratic ideas, has so far reminded us rather of the crude and clumsy proceedings of an army of occupation than of any fine adjustment of services of needs. It has, even in the most advanced countries, progressed little further—to use a pregnant phrase of Mr. H. G. Wells—than dealing with things in a wholesale sort of way. But the wholesale method of supplying human needs is very far from ensuring accurate adjustment. We are apt to forget that the average citizen or the normal human being is a mere abstraction, and simply does not exist. You and I have never seen him in the flesh. So varied is our individuality that whatever is handed out to all alike must necessarily fail to meet our requirements with an exactness. This is not a valid objection to nineteenth-century achievements. A regiment of naked men needs clothing too urgently to allow us to grumble that the standard sizes of the regimental contractor make all the uniforms, if closely scrutinised, nothing better than misfits. The Early Victorian community, bare of schools, or drains, or Factory Acts, had to get itself supplied with the common article of standard pattern, so to speak, by wholesale, in order to be able to survive at all. But this necessity ought not to blind us to the fact that, when we come to scrutinise them closely, all these governmental products, supplied on the conception of democracy as necessarily a wholesale provider, are, one and all, like the army contractors' uniforms, nothing better than misfits.

From my fundamental paradox that governmental action, to be successful, must henceforth necessarily take the form, more and more, of provision for minorities, various inferences follow. We see at once how needful becomes, in every branch of administra-

tion and legislation, a high degree of specialised knowledge and expertness. The provision for the average man, whether in the way of prohibitions or in matters of supply, is a comparatively simple matter. The draughtsmen of the American Constitution and the authors of the "Rights of Man," writing as they did for the Political Man—quite as unreal a being as the Economic Man—found no difficulty in deducing from the first principles all the government that they contemplated. I sometimes think that those who object to any other kind of legislation are often unconsciously biassed by a haunting suspicion that they, at any rate, are unequipped for it. . . . But well-fitting clothes involve skilled tailoring. Accordingly legislation and governmental administration necessarily become, in all highly organised communities—however democratic they may be—more and more the business of elaborately trained experts, and less and less the immediate outcome of popular feeling.



THOREAU.

Our old friend H. S. Salt has a very interesting article on Thoreau in the current "Fortnightly Review." Amongst other things he says:—

What then are the "ideas" for which Thoreau stands in American literature? It is difficult to express them in a word, for if we say "simplicity"—the word which perhaps most nearly comprehends his views—there is a danger that it will be taken, as it often is, to imply a *mere* simplification of living. "To what end," he asks in one of his letters, "do I lead a simple life at all? That I may teach others to simplify their lives, and so all our lives be *simplified* merely, like an algebraic formula? Or not, rather, that I may make use of the ground I have cleared, to live more worthily and profitably." . . . Individuality of judgment lies at the very root of his simplification. His intensely alert and thrifty nature, backed with keenest insight into the sophistries of custom, led him to the simple life (if we may still use that much-maligned term), of which he was the chief modern exponent—a very different life, be it observed, from the fashionable easy-going "simplicity" which a popular writer has commended as a "state of mind," and as demanding "no external characteristics." In Thoreau's creed, the natural life is to be lived as well as eulogised; and, as it is here that he comes to grips with conventional habit as no other writer has done, it is not surprising that on this point he has been most persistently misapprehended.

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SURPLUS ATOMS.
(AN EVERYDAY TRAGEDY.)

BY ALFRED HICKS.

EPILOGUE.

Scene: *A public park in the East End, on Sunday afternoon. In an open space in front of a tree, two Socialists are preparing to hold a meeting. One, the chairman of the meeting, is unfolding a portable platform. The chairman is a typical cheerful East End cockney. The speaker is a young man, a little more refined—an enthusiast.*

CHAIRMAN: Wy, yus, comred, if yer reddy ter tork, I'm reddy ter open hup. Nah, we'll fling ahr benner ter the breeze, es Comred Morris sed wen 'e spoke 'ere. [*Unrolls a red flag, and joints the pole*] Speaking o' thet time, I'll never fergit ah prahd I wuz ter take the cheer fer 'im—my' eart wuz fair in my bloomin' mabth wen Hi got hup. But d'yer think as ah the thick-eded fools o' workers knoo ernuf ter cum an' listen? Not on yer life. There wuz a dozen toffs as kem speshully ter 'ear' im, but the bloomin' British workman, 'e didn't keer ter stay an' ear great words frerm Willyum Morris, 'e 'adn't sense ernuf ter un'erstan' im, so 'e goes horf ter listen ter two little tinpots a-slangin' of each other, an' bargyin' abaht 'ell an' brimstern. I tell yer hit fair gives me the 'ump when I thinks of it. [*During this time he has been busily engaged in setting up the platform, unrolling and displaying a bundle of pamphlets, putting a collection box under the stand, and now he lifts up the flag and offers it to the speaker to hold.*] Nah, we're orl reddy, comred, if you'll 'old this wile I gets yer a crahd.

SPEAKER: Right you are, comrade. [*Takes flag and stands beside the platform.*]

CHAIRMAN [*getting on to stand*]: Yer sye yer subjec' is "Surplus Labour"?

SPEAKER: Yes, but it doesn't matter about the title.

CHAIRMAN: "A kick's es good es a wink ter a blin' hoss," an' say, comred, don't git 'ot if I jollies yer, yer jest has ter do hit fer this silly crahd. [*Begins to speak to no one in particular*]: Friends an' Feller Citerzens,—'Ere we are agin hat the same ole stehnd, an' we're once more agoin' ter try an' knock some sense inter yer bloomin' fat 'eds. Nah, then, kem on arahnd an' 'ear wot bally fools yer har. We've got a toff ter tork ter yer this afternoon, an' e's agoin ter shove sense inter yer. [*A sprinkling of workmen begin to stand around.*] Strike me bloomin' pink, hif I don't think ye likes ter be trod on by hennythink as wears a topper. But wen hit kems ter bein' told 'ow ter 'elp yerself, yer makes me think hof the ole moke I seen the other dye. The bloke 'ad lowded 'im dahn orful, an' wen 'e wuz going dahn one of them asfalk streets, Mr. Moke didn' do a thing but slips dahn an' all the bally lot on top hof 'im—an' d'yer think the moke cared? 'E wuz quite content ter lay hin the gutter a-munching' at a rotten happle. But wen some bloke tries ter take hof one o' they big boxes on top, Mr. Moke didn't do a thing but kick at 'im fer orl 'e wuz wuth. That's the bloomin' British Workman orl hover. 'E likes ter lay in the gutter, eatin' other people's leavin's, an' wen somebody kems erlong as tries ter 'elp 'im—swelp me bob hif the moke won't try ter kick 'im. [*A Voice: "That's the tork," some laughter, cheers, and clapping from a good-sized crowd that has now gathered.*] That's right, yer bloomin' perishers, laugh away, but yer know hit's true. [*A Voice: "True fer yez, Billy!"*]

Ef ole Joey wiv 'is button'ole an' winderpane [*goes through the pantomime of putting up an eye-glass, to the immense amusement of the crowd*] wuz ter kem erlong a sof-soaping hof yer, you'd be jest bally fools ernuf ter 'ooray till yer wuz black hin yer chivy. But wen a bloke cums erlong as wants ter tell yer the wye ter 'elp yerself, hits a two ter one gee-gee but ye'll holler "Pro-Boer" an' try ter dahn 'im. [*More cheering.*] Nah! wot I got ter sye is this: Hi ain't got no gift o' words ter tell yer abaht Socherlism so's ye'll un'erstan' hit, but we've got a toff 'ere as can tell yer orl abaht hit. 'E's an orlighter, I gives yer the tip, en hif yer wants ter 'ear somethink good ye'll stay right w'ere yer har. Hi wont say as hah 'e kin chuck the guff same's me, but then thet haint 'is fault—see? 'E wor'nt eddicated thet wye. [*Great laughter.*] There yer go ergin, makin' fun hof a poor bloke's misfortin'. [*Renewed laughter.*] Lor' luv a duck, Hi'd give five year if Hi could on'y un'erstan' an' tork like my comred 'ere, an' I tells you perishers thet if it worn't fer sich es 'im, yer ole pal would'nt be 'ere hat the old stehnd week arter week. Hif them as does'nt hev

ter kin stick yer hignerence an' fat-ededness, Hi feels as hah hit's on'y strite goods ter stick by 'em. But strike me lucky, hit goes ergin the grain, so hit do. [*Laughter.*] Ahr comred 'ere is agoing to tork on "Ahr yer earns a Saterdag night, and ahr yer don't git it."

[*Gets down amid cheering and laughter, and clapping of hands from the big crowd that is now around.*]

SPEAKER: Mr. Chairman and Friends,—The chairman was right when he said that it was a poor bloke's [*pointing at himself*] misfortune not to be able to chuck the guff the same as he can. Honestly and truly, Mr. Chairman, I'd give a great deal to be able to talk in the way that evidently appeals so well to my brothers who are around here.

The great difficulty, I am sure, in the way of all working people understanding and working for Socialism is in the way it is put before them. It sounds like some strange story, and as though it didn't belong to them at all; while the real fact is that it belongs to them more than to any other class in the world. As our chairman puts it, the whole question is wrapped up in "How the workers earn a Saturday-night and how they don't get it." The workers earn all the wealth. They create it by their labour of hand and brain.

At the same time, a large part of the people, blinded by self-seeking, have come to think of labour as a disgrace, and so we have also developed a class who do not work, but live on other people's labour.

When those who earn the "Saturday-nights," that is to say, all the wealth that is created, are compelled to share what they have earned with those who have done nothing toward earning it, it is evident that the workers do not get the Saturday-night they are entitled to.

When the Socialist talks of "Class War," he means the conflict of interests between those who earn the Saturday-night and those who share it without earning.

And when the Socialist says that the workers should become "class-conscious," he means that the worker must learn that, under our present system of industry, the people of this and every other nation are divided into those who earn and those who live on others' earnings. [*During this time the crowd has rapidly dwindled to half the size it was when the speaker began.*]

A VOICE IN CROWD: Kem on, Bill! Yer downt wornt ter 'ear henny more Sosherlist heekernomics! [*To Speaker*]: Hit's orl bloomin' rot, that's wot it is. [*Some laughter and some calls, "Shet up yer own bloomin' rot!" "Shet yer malth, carnt yer!"*]

SPEAKER : Our friend is evidently one of those who, as our chairman said, prefer to lie in the gutter. But, friend, before you go away, I want you to think a minute what this means. In the winter-time you are probably out of a job—is it “bloomin’ rot” to find out how that can be prevented? Even when you are in work, you probably only get the cheapest sort of food, and live in two close, stuffy rooms. I put it to you—Is it “rot” if I can show you that it is possible for you to get the best of food and a comfortable, decent home (a home, not a stone pigeon-coop) to live in?

MAN IN CROWD : Garn! hit’s orl words—wy don’t yer talk practical polertics? Kem on, Bill. [*Goes off with his pal amid laughter from crowd.*]

SPEAKER : My God! it looks as though you who are here think that the poor, blind fool who has just gone off has said something funny, if you don’t actually agree with him.

This is a tragedy, not a farce! Look here, brothers! All over this land—*this* land, we are not speaking of China or Africa, or France or Germany—all over *this* land, are men, women, and children dying of starvation. In *every part* of this land, in every city, town and village are girls selling their honour for a living. *Here*, in this terrible London, it is perhaps worst of all. It isn’t only in one district of London, but in every district—in *this* district as much if not more than in any other. Aye, in the very streets *you* live in—in the *same house* maybe. Oh, God! men, do you think that the same terrible compulsion may come to even your own little girl who is the apple of your eye? But it may—but it may. What security have you that you can keep your work? Or, suppose you were to die. Then how much better chance would your girl have than the thousands of others. Brothers! all these things are not only possible but inevitable as long as all the business and affairs of the nation are carried on in the present “each-for-himself” method.

Under Socialism, your little girl would be sure of being surrounded by the best influences; then the wolf of poverty could not drive her to the choice of starving or selling herself to some libertine.

And yet some of you, my brothers, seem to think that all this is a joke—a matter of no importance to you. It is not “practical politics.”

I tell you that we are each one responsible for these things. If sensuality and selfishness seem to have the control over the nation, it is because we, as parts of the nation, do not set ourselves to overcome it.

[*Some more of the crowd leave, one of them taps his head and points with his thumb at the speaker.*]

Sometimes, as a people, our sympathy is awakened by some special case of hardship, but, oh my friends, most of the time we are blinded by apathy—we don't care. We call for "practical politics," meaning by that some juggle of words and names.

I put it to you, Mr. Chairman and friends, what should be of more vital and practical importance to all of us than dealing with the conditions that led to the poor girl's suicide we read of yesterday?

Do the working people want a practical political programme? Let them find it in the letter left by that poor girl. You doubtless all of you have read the letter: how her father was out of work and had to go on the tramp, and, finally, when he got a job up in the north of England, the only way the girl could raise money to send her mother and brother north was by selling herself by becoming the mistress of her employer. But, far better than any words from me, hear the last part of this brave girl's letter. [*Takes a newspaper clipping from his pocket, and carefully spreads it open.*] After telling how she came to sell herself, she goes on [*reads*]: "But, now, what have I got to live for? My mother is dead, my father is a workless, hopeless tramp, my brother is lost in some city; I can't help them even if I knew where they are. I will not stay any longer with the man who bought me, I loathe him so that if I did not leave him I should murder him. I have no money to start afresh in some other country, and I have no courage left to face the hard fight with poverty here. God help me and forgive me if what I am going to do is wicked.

"Why don't the good people make it so that it shall be easier for a woman to earn an honest living than it is to live a life of shame? I will not live a life of shame, and an honest living is so hard to get." [*Folds the paper and pauses a moment, then reverently*]: Friends, brothers! I do not think the God with whom Justice and Love are one and the same, will judge her as sinning. The weight of her sad woe must rest on the shoulders of those who do not try to make it easier to earn an honest living.

You, my friends, who were demanding practical politics,—What is more necessary or more practical than to ensure to all the opportunity to honest work and to the results of their labour? Both these things are embodied in Socialism, and neither are possible under the present capitalist system.

Every workless tramp—and God knows there are many such wrecks even in this park to-day—every girl compelled by want to sell herself, every child cheated of joy and held a slave in some factory, is an indictment of our present system and an argument for Socialism and Brotherhood. And it is

we—you and I—who must take to ourselves the working and striving to bring about the change.

[By this time the crowd has dwindled so that there are only three listeners beside the chairman.]

You, friends, who have stayed to listen, do not your hearts tell you of the great need? Are not your hands and heads ready to respond to the call? If my words have reached your hearts, the message was for you to-day. If aught in the way of presenting the call has repelled you, set it aside; it was doubtless due to the stumbling tongue and defects of the speaker.

The glorious hope and promise of a time when men shall all act as brothers, with love towards each other instead of hate and distrust, is enough to fire the feeblest heart. We who have caught a glimpse of the light, dare not cease to work for it. It means the salvation of man. Come and work with us, brothers. We will welcome—

[Just now a policeman arresting a boy crosses, followed by a crowd. As they sweep past, the last remainder of the crowd goes too, leaving the speaker with no audience at all. He stands irresolute.]

CHAIRMAN: Well, comred, the kid hes swiped yer orjence as well as the gent's clock. That's the way o' this bloomin' crahd.

[Speaker gets down from platform.]

SPEAKER: Do you really think they don't care at all?

CHAIRMAN: Strike me bloomin' pink! I sometimes finks as hah hit's orl a waste o' time talkin' ter sich people, but sumbah hit don't seem the strite thing ter give in. Comred, hit was a fine talk yer give 'em. Some hof it's bahnd ter stick, es the billsticker said wen 'e spilt 'is paste-pot dabn the wall.

SPEAKER: Well, old man, we've got to get what encouragement we can out of the hope that some of it will stick, as you say.

[During this time the chairman has been rapidly folding up platform and flag.]

SPEAKER: Can't I help you with these things?

CHAIRMAN: Wy, thank yer, comred, if ye'll kerry the famplets, we've got ernother meetin' ternight.

[They go off together, and as they do so, a ragged tramp comes on and turns over some papers left on the ground; not finding anything, he lies down on the grass and goes to sleep in the sun.]

CURTAIN.

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THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF MEDICAL CHARITIES.

It used to be said—perhaps it is so still in some quarters—that one of England's great boasts consisted in the number of institutions, up and down the country, above whose portals are inscribed the words, "Supported by voluntary contributions." Foreigners in our midst were supposed to stare in wonder at this strange inscription, and to return to their own countries marvelling at the philanthropy and generosity of the English people. But the implication conveyed in the words quoted is fast becoming a thing of the past, and so far as the underlying principle is concerned it is time that they were erased or painted out wherever they now occur.

In almost every phase of social reform, in every effort which has been made to improve the lot of the poorer classes of society, or to provide them with certain necessities of life which their own conditions of poverty prevent them from acquiring at their own expense, trial has been made of voluntary effort and private philanthropy. And the record has been one of failure. The reasons for this are both moral and economic. There is an increasing body of public opinion—a sort of awakening public conscience—which

is recognising the fact that the poorer classes are poor, not through specific faults of their own, but as the result of an unjust economic system, which deprives them of the greater part of the produce of their labour, and more or less controls every aspect of their lives from the cradle to the grave. And that as society, or the nation, is responsible for the existence of poverty, and all its ills, inasmuch as, and for so long as, it permits the continuance of this system of private-ownership economics, it is the duty of the community, and not of any section or class, to provide for certain at least of the needs of its poorer members. Needless to say, it is the Socialists who are responsible for this gradual awakening of the sense of public duty.

It used to be urged—some folk use the argument still—that any sort of relief to the poorer classes in society, which was paid for out of public funds, was demoralising and pauperising. Why people should be pauperised by receiving something as a right, which had not the same effect when conferred as a favour, has never been explained. But it is now being seen that it is private charity which really demoralises, and that both the giver and the recipient, while it goes to pauperise all those others who ought to contribute, and do not. A common charge should be met by the community. A public necessity should be publicly provided and paid for. It is so in the case of lunatic asylums and fever hospitals ; it must be so in the case of all medical institutions.

These latter, moreover, can no longer be said to be supported by voluntary contributions. They are so only to a certain extent. One of the most objectionable features of modern life is the constant begging that goes on on behalf of public charities. In private and in public, in the press and the pulpit, in the home and in the street, one is constantly pestered with appeals on behalf of some institution or society. The post brings them in shoals, and they disturb the harmony of the breakfast table. People no longer contribute willingly, in many cases. They are worried

into it. It becomes a burden to many, a nuisance to all. The hospital collector is coming to be looked on with the same affection as the tax collector, or the insurance agent. Folk are being badgered, bullied, bothered, or cajoled into giving subscriptions, and they give in the spirit engendered by the means adopted. If the Lord loveth only the cheerful giver, he will soon have few indeed upon whom to bestow his affections.

This is in the natural order of things, and therefore to be expected, and even to be welcomed, as helping to hasten the time when all medical institutions shall be brought under full public ownership and control, and be supported out of public funds. This is a most necessary reform in the interests of the public health. At least 50 per cent. of disease as it exists to-day is preventable. Preventive medicine will be one of the great arts of the future. Much is being done in this direction, all by the community. It will only realise its highest development under conditions of complete Socialism. But in the meantime we should endeavour to bring the *curative* side of medicine under public management, and especially see to it that all public institutions, devoted to the treatment of disease—including accidents—are owned and directed by the people for the common good of all.

There are really very few arguments to be advanced against this proposal. They are getting fewer, and weaker, every day. The oldest, and the most commonly raised, is that it would do away with individual effort, abolish a great deal of philanthropy, dry up the well-springs of private charity, and so on, all of which, of course, from the Socialist point of view, is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Apart from the fact that, as already shown, purely voluntary support is almost non-existent, donations to charitable institutions really represent a giving back to the workers, as a favour, some of the profits which have been wrung from them by the capitalist classes. And when these donations are only bequeathed by one who can no longer enjoy his wealth, they are deprived of even

the small element of the spirit of personal generosity or self-sacrifice which may sometimes be claimed for them.

In this, as in other matters, it is justice and not generosity which is needed. Also common sense. The health of the nation should be the care of the nation. No small section of the community should be encouraged or permitted to assume duties which are the common concern of all.

To nationalise—or municipalise—medical charities would, we are told, entail increased expenditure, because paid workers would be substituted for voluntary ones; members of the medical staffs would demand remuneration from a public body, while ready to work gratuitously for a charity. And public bodies spend money recklessly, knowing that they are dealing with other people's money, not their own. All of which, if true, or so far as it may be true, would be no solid reason against the institution of a reform of so great value. Certainly officials will have to be paid, lay and medical. They are justly entitled to it, and it will be for the advantage of all concerned. Private charity in the form of gratuitous services is often only one degree less objectionable than when given in a money form, and equally inefficient. But that there would be any unnecessary increase in expense when hospitals would be under full public control, does not follow in the least. On the contrary, the more efficient the control the greater the economy. And if the representatives on public bodies do not—as to-day admittedly they do not—always administer the affairs under their control as efficiently or satisfactorily as they should do, the fault really lies with the electorate, and the remedy is in their own hands.

But in any case it would mean some increase in the rates or taxes. And those who at present can afford to subscribe largely would then pay less. Well, as said before, a public burden should be publicly borne. And when the ratepayer sees fit to accept the principle of taxation advocated by the Socialists,

he will find out that most of the proposals of the latter can be carried out simply by adjusting that burden on to the shoulders of those at present best fitted to support it; and by providing the funds necessary for various reforms through the proper taxation of the millions of unearned increment and surplus value now going into the pockets of the wealthy classes.

The majority of medical charities are not efficiently administered or controlled to-day. Usually the managing committees consist mainly of well-to-do subscribers, or busy-bodies who have a weakness for this sort of work. Their annual meetings are a farce, they re-elect themselves to office, and pass themselves votes of thanks. The public do not attend them, least of all that section of the public in whose interests the institutions exist, i.e., the working classes, who form the bulk of the patients. Their balance-sheets are seldom clear and comprehensible. Some of them spend money foolishly, others hoard it up, acting as if they were the directors of a commercial money-making concern. They are usually all laymen, with little if any preliminary knowledge of hospital affairs. And they act in many cases, in most important matters, without consultation with those best qualified to advise them, viz., the members of the medical staff, resident, paid, or honorary. They act as amateur bureaucrats, not as public trustees. They regard themselves as little tin gods on wheels, and not uncommonly the results are what might be expected from such imitations of the genuine article.

Such a condition of things ought not to be tolerated any longer. Our hospitals are public institutions. They perform a vast work: vast both in extent and in importance. Frequently their efficiency is crippled from lack of necessary funds. They should be placed under public control; administered by officials publicly elected; financed out of public funds. It is probable that there will yet be constituted a proper central board of public health, which will control the entire

medical service of the country, both on its curative and its preventive sides.

The advantages of this system would be manifold. In the first place it would mean the recognition of the principle that public needs should be publicly supplied. And the acceptance of every such principle is an advantage to the community, and a step towards Socialism. It should mean, as previously stated, greater economy accompanied by greater efficiency. Mere saving in itself is no virtue. But stoppage of waste is a desideratum. And much waste goes on in our hospitals—of time, money, energy and other things. Efficiency is what is needed. And *every* hospital throughout the country will not be supplied with the most modern equipment, fitted up on the best principles, built upon the best sites, until it is recognised that the duty of seeing that they are so is a communal duty, and the expense a communal expense.

Payment of all members of the medical staff would be a valuable instrument of reform, as it is a measure of justice and common sense. There should be a competent, permanent staff attached to every hospital, as there is in the case of lunatic asylums. As long as the system of payment continues, such men should be adequately paid. This would attract good men, and would retain them. At present our hospitals are the happy hunting-grounds of medical men who need practice, and are anxious to experiment. And too frequently the patient is regarded, especially by the surgeon, merely as a corpus vile upon which to practise. Charity, in this as in many things, often covers a multitude of sins, which would disappear were there no such cloak to hide them under. The socialisation of medical charities would lead to more considerate, humane, and sympathetic treatment than now falls to the lot of many patients. And further, the medical staff at many hospitals are so overworked that even with the best intentions it is impossible for patients, in the out-patients departments especially, to be treated as they should be, either professionally, or as fellow

human beings. In this, as in other phases of the social problem, there must be a moral reform, a new spirit engendered, as well as an economic revolution: only, the latter must take precedence in point of time.

Perhaps the strongest opposition to the scheme will come from the body of general medical practitioners: the G.P's as they are termed. They will be adversely affected, financially, no doubt. But the harm done to private schools did not interfere with making education free to all. And no considerations for any profession, or class, should be allowed to interfere with any system of reform which will be for the good of the community at large. When hospitals are brought under public control they must be made free to all, and their service must be regarded as a right by those who are unfortunate enough to need that service, and one of the greatest benefits which would directly accrue from nationalising and socialising all medical institutions, is that it would lead up to and hasten the socialisation of the entire medical service of the country—which would be a highly and desirable and necessary reform—but that is also another story.

J. NELSON.

THOMAS PAINE AND OLD AGE PENSIONS.

The ingratitude of democracies has been the theme of many a lamentation or rebuke, and it is the fact that, in England at any rate, the great mass of the people are ignorant of, or indifferent to, the histories of those early Radicals, Socialists and Chartists, who earned for us the major portion of those social and political rights we now enjoy. The memory of Thomas Paine, like those of Cobbett, Place, and O'Brien, has suffered from this indifference. The fame of one who was, in his day and generation, among the most striking figures in the politics of three great nations, is now cherished almost entirely by free-thinkers, who read his "Age of Reason" not so much for its positive theories, but because it marks an important stage in the forward march of rationalism.

This neglect of Paine seems particularly strange at the present political juncture. At a time when pensions in old age have entered once for all into the sphere of practical politics, the fact that Thomas Paine was the first of English political theorists to elaborate and justify an old age pension scheme has been almost entirely lost sight of. The object of this article is to give a brief account of the scheme and the theoretical position on which it was based.

Paine's proposals were set out in a pamphlet called "Agrarian Justice opposed to Agrarian Law and to Agrarian Monopoly," which first appeared in England in 1797. A French edition had been published earlier in the same year. This latter has a preface addressed

to "The Legislative and the Executive Directory of the French Republic," and signed "Your former colleague, Thomas Paine." It is chiefly interesting for a brief reference to the Babouvist conspiracy.* The prefatory note to the English edition explains the genesis of the work. It was written, Paine says, "in the winter of 1795 and 1796," but was not published till a sermon appeared by the Bishop of Llandaff (an old theological opponent of Paine), called "The Wisdom and Goodness of God in having made both Rich and Poor." "The error contained in the title of this sermon determined me to publish my 'Agrarian Justice,'" says Paine, and continues: "It is wrong to say that God made *Rich* and *Poor*; he made only *male* and *female*, and he gave them the earth for their inheritance. . . . Practical religion consists in doing good, and the only way of serving God is that of endeavouring to make his creation happy. All preaching that has not this for its object is nonsense and hypocrisy." Wise words these, that clerical critics of Socialism might take to heart with advantage.

The proposal explained in Paine's pamphlet was for the creation of "a National Fund, to pay to every Person, when arrived at the Age of Twenty-one Years, the Sum of Fifteen Pounds Sterling, to enable him, or her, to begin the World; and also, Ten Pounds Sterling per annum during Life to every Person now living, of the Age of Fifty Years, and to all Others when they shall arrive at that Age, to enable them to live in Old Age without Wretchedness, and go decently out of the World."

The position on which Paine took his stand in advocating these reforms is explained in the opening sentences of his pamphlet. "To preserve the benefits of what is called civilised life, and to remedy, at the same time, the evils it has produced, ought to be considered as one of the first objects of reformed

* A translation of this preface is given in the late Dr. Moncure Conway's four-volume edition of Paine's works.

legislation." That civilisation had produced evils enough Paine was clear, and the wretched condition of the agricultural and manufacturing populations in both France and England was ample justification for his statement. As he says, "the most affluent and the most miserable of the human race are to be found in the countries that are called civilised." His life in North America had shown him that the Indians, living, as he puts it, "in the natural state," were better off, economically speaking, than the working masses of civilised countries. "The fact is, that the condition of millions in every country in Europe, is far worse than if they had been born before civilisation began, or had been born among the Indians of North America of the present day."

The root-cause of this state of affairs is the "landed monopoly." "It is," he says, "a position not to be controverted, that the earth, in its natural uncultivated state, was, and ever would have continued to be, the common property of the human race." "There could be no such thing as landed property originally. Man did not make the earth, and though he had a natural right to occupy it, he had no right to locate as his property, in perpetuity, any part of it; neither did the Creator of the earth open a land-office from whence the first title-deeds should issue. From whence then arose the idea of landed property? I answer as before, that when cultivation began, the idea of landed property began with it; from the impossibility of separating the improvement made by cultivation from the earth itself upon which that improvement was made."

Paine contends that the additional value of the earth imparted to it by cultivation is the property of those who made it, and he draws a distinction between the common right of all men to the soil in its original state, and the individual rights of those who have cultivated it. This distinction causes him to refrain from advocating the social ownership of the

soil.* The fact, however, remains that the great majority of the people have been deprived of their right to the soil without receiving any compensation for such deprivation. He insists that "it is the value of the improvement only, and not the earth itself, that is individual property." Therefore, he concludes that every owner of cultivated land "owes to the community a ground rent . . . for the land he owns." It is from this "ground rent" that he proposes to raise the National Fund.

Paine's method of obtaining their just inheritance for the dispossessed is by levying what would now be called a death-duty upon property. He chooses this method "because it will be the least troublesome and the most effectual." The amount of the tax is to be 10 per cent. upon all estates, with an extra tax of from 5 to 12 per cent. upon those which do not go to the direct heirs. This additional taxation is defended on the ground that, as "man is always related to society, that relationship will become comparatively greater in proportion as the next of kin is more distant. It is, therefore, consistent with civilisation to say that, where there are no direct heirs, society shall be heir to a part over and above the tenth part due to society."

The details of the plan may be summarised as follows: Paine takes as the basis of his estimates a statement made by Pitt in his Budget speech for 1796, to the effect that the accumulated capital of England was then £1,300,000,000. Taking the average duration of life as thirty years, the whole of this capital will change hands once during this period (lives extending above the average would be balanced by those falling below it). The actual sum available for taxation each year will thus be one-thirtieth of the total, i.e., £43,333,333. Taking the ratio of property descending in the direct line to that descending collaterally as about three to one, the sum to be additionally

* It seems strange that Paine should have failed to see the essential flaw in this argument, viz., that the soil, in the vast majority of instances, is cultivated by those who do not own a square foot of it.

taxed is, roughly, £13,333,333.* The whole calculation works out thus:—

From £30,000,000 at 10 per cent.	....	£3,000,000
From £13,333,333 at 10 per cent. with additional 10 per cent. more	....	£2,666,000
Total	....	£5,666,000

Taking the population of England as seven millions and a half†, Paine estimates the number of people above the age of 50 as about four hundred thousand. The yearly pension of £10 to every person of this age will thus absorb £4,000,000 of the fund. Another £1,350,000 will go to providing a sum of £15 to every person of 21 years, leaving a surplus of £316,000. This Paine designs as a provision for the lame and blind members of the population.

It will be noticed that the proposal demands a tax on personal as well as landed property. In his defence of this, Paine strikes a genuinely Socialist note. "Land, as before said, is the free gift of the Creator in common to the human race. Personal property is the *effect of society*; and it is as impossible for an individual to acquire personal property without the aid of society, as it is for him to make land originally. Separate an individual from society, and give him an island or a continent to possess, and he cannot acquire personal property. He cannot become rich All accumulation, therefore, of personal property, beyond what a man's own hands produce, is derived to him by living in society; and he owes, on every principle of justice, of gratitude, and of civilisation, a part of that accumulation back again to society from whence the whole came."

Such, briefly summarised, is Paine's proposal for old age pensions. The pamphlet did not, apparently, arouse much attention outside the ranks of thorough-going reformers. Thomas Spence attacked it in a

* Paine's own figures are reproduced throughout.

† In 1801 the population in England and Wales was 8,892,536.

pamphlet, entitled, "The Rights of Infants . . . in a Dialogue between the Aristocracy and a Mother of Children. To which are added . . . Strictures on Paine's Agrarian Justice." In it he contrasts the merits of Paine's plan with his own land nationalisation scheme. Nevertheless, whatever may be the faults of Paine's proposal from the point of view of theory and of practice, one cannot but admire the courage and high-minded desire for justice which characterise the whole production, and this brief appreciation may fittingly close with a quotation which might well be adopted by all those who demand old age pensions in the name of justice. "It is justice, and not charity, that is the principle of the plan. In all great cases it is necessary to have a principle more universally active than charity; and, with respect to justice, it ought not to be left to the choice of detached individuals whether they will do justice or not."

SYDNEY HERBERT.

THE ADVERSARIES OF THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION.

In the March number of the "Social-Democrat" there appeared an article under the title "Socialism by the Sword," by "Mousa," a contributor to "Droschak," the organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. This article is written in reply to mine under the same title, in which I endeavoured to show that the Droschakist Party was not a Socialist Party before its last convention, where the delegates decided to be called Socialists and to send a delegate to the International Socialist Congress for the first time in seventeen years, and adopted a new programme. I have made my point clear in saying that the very claim that the leaders make—that it was a Socialist organisation since its birth—is misleading their members, and makes us doubt their sincerity in endeavouring to convert them to Socialism, which they need very badly if they are to be called Socialists.

Mousa advances fresh criticism of my "puerile arguments" to justify my position, and does not hesitate at the same time to call me and other Socialists insinulators and calumniators. Unfortunately, being a wage worker, and, as such, subject to the whims of capitalism, I have not been able to see his article till recently. Now, although late, in order to do justice to myself and the principle I uphold, I ask for the publication of these lines to show to the readers of the "Social-Democrat" how "Mousa" has perverted my points and ignored some of them entirely.

"Mousa" in order to refute my statement that the Droschakist Party by its original programme was solely organised for the emancipation of Turkish Armenia and that its activities for the last seventeen years tended toward that aim, answers: "The Droschakist Party embraces both Turkish and Russian Armenia and for seventeen years it has inscribed the Socialist ideal on its programme, which it has propagated theoretically ever since—because for any practical work for a 'class struggle,' in the modern sense of the word, the ground is entirely wanting in Turkey." He forgets that this is their new programme adopted at their convention of 1907, and that in their report to the International Socialist Congress of 1907 there is a passage which reads as follows:

"Although bound by its original programme to work for the emancipation of Turkish Armenia, the party could not remain indifferent to this violent Russification which inflicted much suffering." He ignored the fact that the party became active in Russia in 1903 to protest against the confiscation of the property of the Armenian Church by the Russian Government. He ignores that their original programme, the fourth edition of which was published as late as 1906, was simply formed for the emancipation of Turkish Armenia. I fail to see in it the word Socialism, but instead I read, on its third page, a pronouncement against it, calling it a visionary, Utopian dogma, with which the practical Droschakist Party cannot co-operate, and thus leave aside the immediate demands of the people. Yes, the Droschakists have been so practical for the last 17 years that instead of organising the workers and propagating Socialism, they, standing, of course, for the interests of the whole Armenian nation, all classes combined, took into the party everybody whether he believed in the class struggle or not, so long as he wanted to work for the emancipation of Armenia. And to-day "Mousa" and his friends are at a loss whether they have to satisfy their pure and simple nationalist members, or the awakened proletarians whom they still misinform about Socialism.

I admit that "Droschak" had published some articles on Socialism, but that does not prove that the party was Socialist, since there are other bourgeois organs that are doing the same. I admit that Engels' "Socialism from Utopia to Science" was translated and published by "Droschak" in 1902, but by the preface of the translation it will be seen that it was translated for the intellectual Droschakists, and really there were very few of their intellectuals who have read it, and it goes without saying none of their *common* members. But why does not "Mousa" mention the other books published by their party; books that gave vent to the race feeling against the other nationalities of Turkey? Are they Socialist books too? If they are, then we must give another definition of Socialism.

"Mousa,"—ignoring the facts that I brought forward in my previous article to show that the Armenian Revolutionary Federation consciously and unconsciously embittered the Armenians against the Mohammedans—says: "Innumerable are the proclamations and appeals, in Turkish, Armenian and French, which the Droschakist Party has during 17 years addressed to the 'Young Turks' and the Mohammedan world (in Turkey and Russia); appeals for solidarity in the common struggle against the common enemy. Our attempts in this direction, after many checks, have just been crowned with great success. The last congress of the parties organised for the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, which met last month in Paris, combined campaign of all sections against the tyranny of Abd-ul-Hamid." Very true, indeed, the agreement of the revolutionary elements of the different nationalities of

Turkey to work harmoniously against the common enemy, although defective in proletarian viewpoint, is a glorious achievement in itself and none rejoiced in it more than we Socialists, not even those who have opposed us for advocating it and proclaimed that the Turks were inherently criminal and incapable of any revolutionary ideas (vide "The Caucasian Vande'an" by M. Hovhannessian). Yes, once more history comes to prove the position of the Socialists that the differences of language, creed or colour may serve as tools for a while in the hands of the ruling class to keep the peoples, especially the proletariat, apart, but industrial conditions, which are the basis of every political movement, will, in spite of the external differences, unite the exploited class, who will not even heed the cries of nationalist oracles.

But let us not lose sight of the fact that this congress met in the beginning of 1908, after the International Socialist Congress wanted to test the Socialism of the Droschakists, while "Mousa" keeps silence about the Congress of the same forces assembled in Paris in 1902, which was disrupted because the Droschakist Party and Huntchakists would not give up the European intervention. He innocently thinks that I vainly suppose that with their demonstrations and campaigns they thought of vanquishing the Sultan. No, far from it; I wanted to show that their frantic efforts were made to bring about European intervention, just as he says: "We are, alas! only too conscious of the inferiority of our forces. . . . We have reckoned on another factor, the European intervention." You see, there is no catering for the other revolutionary forces in Turkey, but intervention of the European Powers. European Powers which either ordered the Sultan to massacre his subjects, or, by the blood of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, forced concessions from the Sultan only to advance their commercial, industrial, or territorial interests in Turkey. Here are the "allies of the Droschakist Party," and they do not hesitate to proclaim it again after signing the manifesto of the Congress of Paris which condemns the nefarious policy of the Sultan for causing the disintegration of Turkey in the interests of the European Powers.

"Mousa" tries to refute also my statement that the Armenian Revolutionary Federation has done all it could to train its members to be indifferent towards the Labour movement by saying that in Turkey the conditions were unfavourable to awaken class-consciousness there, but they have created a most powerful organisation in Transcaucasia under the watchword, "The Socialisation of the Land." If that is Socialism, the Droschakist Party could have easily done the same in Turkey, as there is plenty of land and numerous people who have been deprived of their land. But "Mousa," being a contributor to "Droschak," and representing the intellectual force of their party, ought to stop one minute and realise that by uttering those words he is giving himself away. The socialisation of the land alone is not Socialism, the dividing of

the land, which he really means, is a petit bourgeois demand. The Single Taxers in the United States have the same demand, but are the most bigoted and retrogressive people one ever comes across. Supposing their party could not be actually Socialist in Turkey, what has it done to awaken the class-consciousness of its members for the last 14 years of its existence in the United States, industrially the most advanced country in the world. This is what concerns me most. If "Mousa" does not know, I will repeat again. Their organ "Hairenik" (Fatherland), their organiser and their party advised the Armenians to vote for the strong party, the Republican Party, in order to please them and to induce President Roosevelt to use his big stick to solve the Armenian question. They have advocated that Socialism is a hindrance to the cause of the Armenian revolution. The party has not even criticised their members for breaking strikes, who justified themselves by saying they had to send money to help the Armenian revolutionaries at home. Mr. "Mousa" has the privilege of finding out whether these are insinuations or not, through the Labour unions and the Socialist Party of America. If he proves that these are mere accusations, I am a calumniator then, and not till then.

Among other arguments, "Mousa" brings forward the following statement: "Our duty as Socialists imposed upon us the necessity of defending our national culture. Our opponents, who also call themselves Socialists, are completely indifferent to all the class-consciousness of its members for the last 14 years of its struggles for the defence of the imprescriptible rights of nationality." This is the mildest of all expressions that the Droschakists have used up to this time to prejudice the people against the Socialists in calling them internationalists, universalists, traitors to their country, and what not. Truly, as one of the comrades said recently, addressing the Droschakists, the weapons they used against us are now being used against themselves by the other nationalist organisations and their own members. It is about time "Mousa" and his friends realised how hard it is to receive such bouquets. But let us see what he means by national culture and imprescriptible rights to which the Socialists are indifferent. If he means the language, there is no Socialist on earth that tolerates any encroachment by anyone upon the freedom of speech, including language. Our comrades in Germany are tirelessly fighting the schemes of their Government to impose the German language upon the Polish population, but Socialists will not waste any energy to impose the national language upon those who, through industrial conditions, are either estranged or obliged to talk a commercial language; they will reserve their energy to fight the industrial system that is at the bottom of those evils. If he means the national church, the Socialists defend the right of freethought and opinion and oppose any State Church, which means religious persecution. They are truly indifferent towards the government of

any church, because no church has been or will be the means of the emancipation of wage-slaves. If "Mousa" thinks that the Armenian Socialists are going to split hairs in discussing who shall or who shall not be elected at the head of the Armenian Church, he is utterly mistaken—they leave that to the Droschakists, knowing well that no organisation can claim to be Socialist and at the same time be a factor in perpetuating a mediæval institution. If "Mousa" means the Fatherland, Socialists leave the question of territorial disputes to the capitalist and retrogressive petit bourgeois classes. The time has passed when the ruling class could fool the proletarians, in the name of country and national glory, to fight with each other. The Armenian Socialist is not going to fight a Russian or Turkish proletarian unless the latter, becoming a tool in the hands of his respective ruling class, threatens his life; in self-defence alone, the proletarian of one nationality will take arms against the proletarian of another nationality. On the other hand, Socialists maintain that wherever the working man is, regardless of his nationality, he has the right and duty to join hands with the other workers for the common fight against the common enemy. Working men have no country, and cannot have one even if they wish, while capitalism is on the throne. Socialists are national enough in organising the proletarians of their own nationality to hasten the unity of the workers of the world, which alone will be able to do away with classes and thus make tyranny impossible. Least of all are the Armenian Socialists indifferent to the sufferings of the Armenians, but, as all other Socialists, they are not going to be moved by the spirit of vengeance. Vengeance means perpetuation of race hatred, which, impairing the solidarity of the workers, retards their victory. On the other hand, Socialists, without any sentimentalism, coolly and patiently work to bring harmony between two warring peoples, which is the best safeguard against any bloodshed.

"Mousa" asserts that in all the sanguinary and desperate struggles of the national defence the Droschakist Party has been alone, and it is due to this circumstance that they won the sympathy of the masses of the Armenian workers, and precisely this sympathy irritates their opponents and drives them to insinuations and calumnies. I am not going to speak on behalf of any nationalist organisation, but on behalf of the Armenian Socialists of Russia and America. I am not going to dispute "Mousa's" assertion of the Droschakist Party being alone in all struggles, as it will take too much space, and I do not want to abuse the privilege that the editor of the "Social-Democrat" has given me. But I will say this, that Socialists are not so foolish as to become irritated by the popularity of any party, especially when they know that the popular party is doing everything to retain its popularity. The Republican Party in the United States is the most popular party, but that does not prove that it stands for the working class, and that the working men keep that party in power because they are conscious of their interests.

Who are those Armenian Socialists, anyhow? Most of them have been formerly either members of the Droschakist or Huntchakist parties, who, seeing that the Nationalist movement is not a solution of the suffering of the Armenian people but a hindrance to the work of uniting the workers under the banner of Socialism, came out of the ranks of those parties and occupy themselves in organising the workers. To-day they appreciate the fact that the half-awakened proletarians in the ranks of the Droschakist caused the party to drift from its moorings, but they will not tire till those proletarians become fully conscious of their interests and steer their ship directly towards the harbour of Socialism instead of wandering round for the interests of the petit bourgeois members of the party. This may mean a great numerical loss to the party, something that "Mousa" and other leaders dared to see, and that is why they try to prove that they have been Socialists for seventeen years in order to keep the party intact, but you cannot stop the inevitable. And when the Armenian Revolutionary Federation is a purely Socialist organisation they will find their adversaries at their side fighting the common enemy, capitalism, that, supreme all over the world to-day, is exploiting the workers of the world, not excepting the mildest corner of the earth, and is upholding old, criminal governments and régimes, Czarisms and Sultanisms. Nothing but the downfall of capitalism and the coming of Socialism can wipe away the tears of all the oppressed and bring peace among the nations of the world.

MARA.

Boston, Mass., June 20, 1908.

THE MONTH.

The Old Age Pensions Bill, with all its imperfections, is through the House of Commons, and is now receiving the gentle attentions of the Lords. It is scarcely likely that the Peers can worsen the Bill, and no one expects them to improve it, so that it may be expected to become law in substantially the form in which it now stands.

It is only fair to the Socialist Labour Party to say that they made a good running fight to remedy the defects of the Bill, but with little success, and Mr. Snowden's slashing criticism of the measure in the third reading debate was amply justified. The Government appears to have set out to obtain the greatest possible amount of credit by a minimum of achievement. It is difficult to see how they could have whittled the concession down any more, if they were going to give anything at all. What with the pauper test, the industry test and the friendly society test, there will be but few indeed even of the very small proportion of the working-class who attain the age of seventy who will be qualified to receive a pension. For those who do manage to successfully pass all the tests, the 5s., 3s., 2s. or 1s. a week which they may then secure will surely be more of the nature of a reward for endurance than an old age pension.

The action of the Independent Labour Party Executive over the bye-election at Pudsey follows quite fittingly the display of similar tactics by the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party in the previous bye-elections. We have no desire to interfere in questions affecting the party discipline of the I.L.P., and readily admit that the national Executive of any such party must, subject to the decisions of the general body, be supreme. Nevertheless, the electoral policy of a Socialist body should be dictated

by a determination to fight wherever possible ; and when the local organisation of the party are fully prepared in every way to carry a fight through, they must be very weighty considerations which could properly stand in the way of the national Executive giving its support.

There seems just now to be a revival on the part of the police authorities in various places of the attempt to suppress our propaganda. At Sheffield, Caerphilly, Glasgow, Dartford and other places, Socialist speakers are being prosecuted and punished for addressing meetings in places where other than Socialist bodies hold meetings without any interference whatever. This petty persecution must be resisted, and our right to freedom of speech maintained at all costs.

The Liberal Government continues to maintain its rigid determination to abolish the House of Lords. In the distribution of birthday "honours" four new peers were added to the long list already created under the present Administration. It is worthy of remark that all the Liberal Peers who have been created have not altered the character of the House of Lords, which is said by Radicals to exist to record the decrees of Tory Governments, and to resist all legislation promoted by a Liberal Administration.

The demonstrations in favour of fine lady Suffrage were as successful as they might have been expected to be considering the enormous expenditure lavished upon them. They certainly reflected considerable credit on the skill, energy and zeal of the organisers ; but beyond that they proved nothing except the fact, which needed no demonstration, that given unlimited means for advertising it is easy for a number of women orators to attract large crowds of listeners to Hyde Park. The demonstration has no other significance than this : that there are a number of well-to-do women who think they ought to have the vote ; who are willing to take some trouble and go to some expense to obtain it ; and who hope thus to attain their object and thereby prevent any extension of the franchise to the women of the working class.

We Social-Democrats may take some credit to ourselves for the evident failure of Mr. Haldane's Territorial Forces scheme. After

three months of zealous touting and advertising, less than two-thirds of the men required have been induced to enlist, and of these the great majority have only joined for a year—just to see how they like it! We have little doubt that they will discover that they don't like it at all—and what will a deserted War Minister do then, poor thing?

The "unrest" in India continues to grow and develop, in spite of—or even, it may be, because of—the quite Russian methods of repression now being applied by the ex-democrat, Lord Morley. When it comes to condemning an Indian patriot to two years imprisonment for re-publishing one of Mazzini's poems, British rule in India has indeed reached a pretty pass. Will Lord Morley, we wonder, have any of our Indian fellow-subjects banished or imprisoned for republishing any of H. M. Hyndman's articles? He has already tried the experiment of attempting to exclude "Justice" from India, and confiscating any copies which reached that country that his police agents could get hold of. But that proved of little use. Morley is scarcely a Bismarck, and even Bismarck found it impossible to prevent the circulation of the proscribed "Social-Demokrat" throughout the Fatherland. The "Justice" articles which Morley most desired the Indians should not read have been circulated in the vernacular press, from one end of India to the other. Why doesn't he try the same repressive measures here, by way of showing the equality of all British subjects?

Some of the inevitable evil consequences of the unholy alliance with Russia have already manifested themselves in gruesome fashion in Persia. That alliance, which purports to define the "spheres of influence" of England and Russia respectively in Persia, practically secures for Russia a free hand in the most important portion of the Shah's dominions. The result of this we have just seen in the brutal suppression of constitutional government in Persia and the horrible massacres at Teheran and Tabriz.

These massacres and outrages, in which the leaders of the Constitutional Party were treated with the most horrible barbarity, were carried out by Cossacks, to all intents and purposes a Russian force, armed and drilled after the Russian fashion by Russian officers, and commanded by a Russian General. That the Shah has been a

mere puppet—albeit a willing one—in the hands of Russia these circumstances sufficiently demonstrate, and the fact that the British Government has given Russia practically a free hand in Persia makes the British nation an accomplice in the abominable outrages which have attended the Shah's Cossack coup d'état.

Farce and tragedy are curiously commingled, and there are few tragedies but have their comic side. So with this frightful tragedy of Teheran. There was something quite Gilbertian in the humour of the situation of the British Legation, besieged and treated with ignominy and contempt by the forces of our dear friend and ally the Czar of Russia. Of course, our Government had to accept without cavil the hypocritical disavowal by Russia of any complicity in the affair. This disavowal, however, deceives nobody. Even a Ministerial organ like the "Daily News" recognises that behind the Shah stands the Czar, and that, therefore, the British Government is compelled to eat humble pie. Were it otherwise, if the coup d'état were not Russian work, it is perfectly certain that the recent events in Teheran would have been immediately followed by the armed intervention of Great Britain and Russia.

THE SPECTRE OF REVOLT IN INDIA.

Saint Nihal Sing, of Rawalpindi, Punjab, India, had recently a very interesting article under the above title in "Harper's Weekly." We give a portion of the article below :—

India is in the throes of revolution.

The Press despatches that have found their way into American newspapers fail to give a comprehensive idea of the real situation in Hindustan. Lord Curzon, on the eve of his assumption of the viceroyalty, declared India to be "the pivot of the British Empire." "If this Empire," he emphatically declared, "lost any other parts of its dominions, we could survive, but if we lost India the sun of the Empire would set." To-day this "pivot of the British Empire" is wobbling. Britain is apprehensive lest this "Sun of the Empire" is losing its potency.

Already bloody demonstrations have taken place in different parts of India. The Punjab, at one end of the country, is rent with riots. The two Bengals, at the other extremity, are proclaimed hot-beds of sedition. The Presidencies of Bombay and Madras are disaffected.

The unrest in Calcutta, the uprisings in Rawalpindi, the riots in Lahore, and the agitation in Bombay and Madras, separated from one another by hundreds of miles, indicate that community of interest is binding the races, nationalities, and castes of Hindustan together, inspiring them to act in concert. A subtle chord of sympathy appears to run through the length and breadth of the land.

This is a new development for India. The country, notorious for its antagonisms of castes, creed, colour, custom, climate, and language, now seems to pulsate at its vital centres with the same heart-throbs.

The world is inquiring to-day, What is the significance of this unrest?—why is the "Nation of Nirvana" burning bungalows, pillaging mission churches, and looting post offices? These tranquil Hindus who have been taught for centuries not to open the shell of an egg lest they destroy the life which still lies dormant—how is it they are now massacring people?

A number of Hindu and Sikh leaders of Rawalpindi have been sent to gaol for agitaing to protect the Mohammedan agriculturists

against the recent exorbitant rise in the land revenue. This is indicative of the new spirit of brotherhood in India which is welding together the wrangling races of Hindustan.

Five native leaders of Rawalpindi have been consigned to the penitentiary, and a publicist of Lahore has been spirited away, no one knows where. These six men were condemned without trial.

Questioned in the British House of Parliament, John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, defended the spiriting away and imprisoning of Indian publicists. As the dispenser of India's fate, Mr. Morley acted for autocracy. As a student and philosopher "he was for liberty wherever they could get it." . . .

The native Press and leaders in India are pulling together and presenting a bold front. Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, Brahmins, or Pariahs, they have the regeneration of India at heart—autonomy for India is their aim, their endeavour—and they are resolutely working singly and jointly in the face of "prosecution, persecution, and conviction."

India's awakening has not been sudden or spasmodic. Gradually English education has been instilling into the minds of the people love of liberty. Imperceptibly English education has been fusing together the different castes and races of India, making them more tolerant toward one another. . . .

This present rioting has not taken its birth from superstition. It is not the Sepoy mutiny of 1857 repeating itself. India is past that stage when a few mean-minded malcontents could play upon the credulity of religious fanatics and cause a revolution. The cablegrams state that the rioting is anti-Christian as well as anti-British. This is merely incidental. People say in India: "When bulls fight, the bushes get trampled." The anti-Christian element in the present rioting is not a primary factor. Nor is the present rioting in India mere street brawling. The uprisings are indicative of the general spirit of revolt against the British despotism.

"Home rule" is the slogan of the India of to-day.

If the people of Hindustan, after a century and a half of British régime, are still incapable of exercising any voice in the administration of their own affairs, what a sad commentary it is on the British rule in India! If 90 per cent. of the men and 99 per cent. of the women of Hindustan still cannot read and write, as the last census reports show, what a shameful state of affairs the statistics reveal! If the average daily income of the people of East India is less than three-quarters of an English penny, as the English statisticians themselves assert, what a curse the foreign yoke has been to India!

Politically, economically, industrially, and educationally, the affairs of India are in a most deplorable state. It was for purpose of commercial exploitation that British rule in India was founded by a company of merchants. The industries in India have been throttled—the education of the people kept back—caste set against

caste—sectarian and religious animosity encouraged. Such is the record of British administration in India.

The average educated Indian believes the English nation to be a nation of shopkeepers.

He remembers the good old days when India stood at the head of Asiatic civilisation, and had a unique industrial position ; when the textile products of the Indian looms found ready market in different European countries. He attributes the decadence of the old Indian industries and the failure properly to develop the industrial resources of the country partly to the unfavourable tariffs that the British-Indian Government enforced to expand industrial England, and partly to the culpable neglect of the British who directed the education in India, which totally failed to provide efficient industrial, technical, commercial, and special educational facilities for the rising generations.

Before the English people took the reins of the Government of India into their hands, India supplied her own markets with cotton, woollen, leather, iron, and steel goods, and had an important export trade. The mills in Manchester, Lancashire, and Sheffield, with their modern plants, superior skill, and scientific engineering service, under the fostering care of the English legislator and the tariff commissioner of India, literally killed all the hand-weaving and other hand industries of Hindustan. India needed what Japan has provided for her people—a high tariff to protect the infant industries, and a scientific, industrial, and practical education to enable her people to compete against any other nation.

India has been bled—bled to death ! The lancet has been directed to the parts where the blood was not congested nor even sufficient, but to those parts already feeble from want of it. From the revenues of India one hundred million dollars annually have been going out of the land to England in the shape of salaries, pensions, compensations, grants, etc. What country on earth could withstand such a bleeding for a score of decades and not be the poorest country in the world ?

Speaking of the East India Company days, the English court of directors at the time testified : “ The vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by the most oppressive conduct that ever was known in any country or age.”

Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, addressing an English audience, said : “ In the time of the Indian mutiny you had only forty thousand troops. It was the hundred thousand Indian troops that shed their blood and fought your battles, and that gave you this magnificent Empire. It is at India's cost and blood that this Empire has been formed and maintained up to the present day. You impose upon us an immense European military and civil service, you draw from us a heavy taxation. But in the disbursement and the disposal of that taxation we have not the slightest voice.”

England has introduced into India her "civilisation, progress, and literature." The irony of the situation is that England to-day is saying to the Indians that "they shall never have any chance of taking part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, *except by getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers.*"

The present Premier of England asserts: "Good government could never be a substitute for government by the people." Sir John Shore, who subsequently became the Governor-General of India, declared: "Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the State, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced), there is reason to conclude that the *benefits are more than counterbalanced by evil, inseparable from the system of a remote foreign government.*"

Mr. John Morley, the present Secretary of State, said: "A motion is made to protest against the suspension of Parliamentary institutions in the Cape Colony. We then all get up, and we all make eloquent, passionate, argumentative speeches in favour of the right of the colonies to govern themselves. The next day Mr. Redmond makes a motion in favour of giving self-government in one shape or another to Ireland. We then all pick out a new set of arguments. What was on Monday unanswerable, on Tuesday becomes not worth mentioning. What was on Monday a sacred principle of self-government becomes on Tuesday mere moonshine and claptrap. That is a comedy in which I at least do not propose to take part. The Boers are to have self-government in order to make them loyal. The Irish are not to have it because they are disloyal."

The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, well-known English statesman and publicist, says:—"Liberty is the best antidote for discontent and disloyalty."

In the face of all this, Indians are asking to-day: "Why not give us liberty?—why does not England grant us, at least, a measure of self-government?" Early in 1858 Queen Victoria declared to India: "It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be *freely and impartially* admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

Lord Lytton, then Viceroy, ratified these promises in 1877 in the following words: "But you, the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the

Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy." . . .

The English subaltern in India is overbearingly haughty. His snobbery, his superior airs, are full of insolence. His attitude toward the natives of the land is brazenly impudent. Each move that he makes alienates the sympathies of the native Indian from the British. The average Englishman in India and the ex-civil servant in England call the educated Indian either a madman fit for a lunatic asylum or a dangerous revolutionary who can be safe only when inside the penitentiary. The average Britisher in India believes himself to be the lord of the soil, and acts as such. Every Indian belongs to the "caste of the ruled," and is therefore unworthy of the white man's society. . . .

In India the facilities for popular education are almost nil. Four out of every five villages are without a school-house. While the alien Government of India spends \$109,000,000 to keep an army for the surveillance of the natives of India, the paltry sum of \$3,500,000 is spent on their education.

While the spirit of revolt against British autocracy, suppression, and oppression is rampant throughout India, while the Indian publicists are going to gaols and being transported, believing they are rendering a service to their country, the new slogan, "India for the Indians"—"*Swadeshism*"—is getting hold of the Indian mind. The awakening of India is phenomenal. People enslaved for centuries by caste, custom, and religion, lorded over by foreigners, and economically exploited by a nation armed with the cunning that science gives, have now resolved to take their destinies into their own hands.

In her arrogance England refused the United States the right of representation—and lost the colonies! But England has profited by this sad experience. To the other colonies England has given autonomy. To India England will also give self-government. If bloody demonstrations take place in India, it will be England's fault.

What are the infallible tests for capacity for self-government? What country now enjoying self-government satisfied those tests in the beginning, and how was the fact ascertained? . . . It is better to make mistakes in self-government than to be continually excluded from participation on grounds of supposed inability to self-govern. How is the capability of autonomous government acquired—if not in the school of experience?

Those who are under the impression that the present unrest in India is merely a temporary ebullition of emotion, destined to die out in a short time, or those who consider that the despotic measures employed by the Government will stamp out the spirit of revolt, are fated to be totally disappointed. The discontent in India is an evolutionary movement. It is the natural desire of a mis-governed people to right administrative and economic wrongs. Indian leaders are gaining large followings. Their ranks are being swelled by enthusiastic recruits.

THE CRISIS IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.

III.—(Continued.)

The manufacturers tried, however, to minimise the effect of these dismissals. Thus M. Paul Sencier, editor of the "Automobile," wrote as follows:—

"I have made inquiries on this point. M. Rebeyrolles, the well-known engineer at Darracq, said to me, 'If you sent me 500 cars of 10-12 horse power costing from 4,000 (£160) to 6,000 francs (£240) you would do me a great service; they would all be sold to-morrow. All factories which turn out small cars at a moderate price have more orders to-day than they can execute.'

"M. de Dion told me 'I turn out every day about ten small cars, and I am sorry that I cannot make twice as many.'"

So that if we listen to these statements, there was no lack of orders. But why then were the men dismissed? There is in these statements and in the actions of the manufacturers an inexplicable contradiction. Either, in saying this they wished to reassure motor shareholders—and then to be logical they should not have dismissed working men, for by so doing they might frighten shareholders who would try and realise and thus necessarily cause the shares to fall; or, again, the manufacturers tried to fight against the financiers by uniting; and there too it was a mistake to discharge their men.

IV.

What appears most evident in all these contradictions is that two chief facts have been important in the crisis: over-production on the one hand, rendered more harmful by the tricks of financiers wishing in order to obtain greater security in their investments to have to deal with fewer persons. This was only possible if the less important houses were unable to meet their liabilities.

This has happened nearly everywhere. The only solution of these questions was the formation of a trust of the motor industry, which would not only regulate production, but at the same time the wages of the workers.

This is what is becoming clearer every day, especially if the people look around in other countries besides France, and it

was then impossible not to see that the situation was the same in all countries, this being brought about by similar actions. The prime cause of all the disturbance was undoubtedly due to the Stock Exchanges. In Italy, more than anywhere else, the crisis was acute and very serious. While shares in motor industries were worth 148 million francs, that amount had fallen in April, 1906, to 51 millions, and of this sum 37 millions represented the value of shares in new companies.

The fall in the shares of the Fiat Company, which was certainly the most important motor industry, gives an idea of the magnitude of the crisis on the Stock Exchange: its shares had fallen from 600 to 110 francs. It had to fall back on a Savings Bank, which before consenting to discount its bills asked for special guarantees, and particularly for the personal guarantee of the directors.

There is a rumour at the present time that the Darracq Company, acting in conjunction with the Dietrich Company, is trying to reorganise the Fiat. At once the financial journals complained of this, saying, "When a company is in danger itself, it should not try to help others!"

Unable to continue its trade, another company—the San Giorgio of Genoa—gave up motors in order to devote itself to the manufacture of railway rolling stock.

Nearly all the Italian factories were working short time, and the Rapid, the third most important factory, closed its doors for a short time, while eight other factories were in a bad way.

To form an idea of the financial slump, I need only recall the fact that the shares of the Fiat fell from 1,885 to 139 francs, those of the Itala from 346 to 65, of the Rapid from 229 to 17, of the Florentia from 90 to 20, of the Isotta Fraschini from 540 to 360, of the Züst from 250 to 33, and of the Tinkeimer from 135 to 90.

This fall was inevitable after the speculation which had taken place, for the Fiat shares had risen from 25 to 1,885 francs!

It was also said that in Belgium the motor factories were giving up making cars and taking to manufacturing railway rolling stock; that in Germany the crisis was so intense that nine of the principal firms were reducing their output, and it was even said that in some places the factories were being entirely closed. In England there was also an alarming state of things.

There were people—and even workers—who dared say at that time that there was no crisis. The facts which I have quoted are sufficient to show that this is a mistake.

Besides, on October 2, 1907, the "Marché libre au Comptant" was summing up very well the general situation in all countries—with the exception of America—of the motor industry by saying:—

"Thanks to the good trade at the beginning there has been a great increase in motor companies, which have increased their capital. Motors were the fashion. It was thought that there would be many good years if prices could be kept up, because they would enable people to do a good trade.

"But things have altered. Supply has by far exceeded demand and there is less eagerness to buy. People have found out, not only that motors are very dear, but that they cost a great deal to keep up. There has been a decrease in the numbers of cars exported from France, as factories have been built abroad and competition has become very keen.

"In that way we may understand the crisis existing in the motor trade; unfortunately it may continue, for the causes which have brought it about are not such as would disappear at once. Not only will the price have to be reduced very much, but it will be necessary to build a type of car that does not cost much to keep up. And all this is conditional on there being such an increase of prosperity as will enable more persons to afford the luxury of keeping up a car."

For the manufacturers made two mistakes—(1) they believed that this industry was an essentially French one, which could control the markets of the world; (2) they thought that motors were not an industry but a sport, and this made them necessarily neglect the practical side. Only aiming at speed, they thought that they had not to fear on that point the competition of the foreigner.

It was, so to speak, the golden age of the motor-car industry. Puffing was largely resorted to; the press sang its praises, young and generous men sacrificed everything to speed. All this made manufacturers forget to be prudent, and they were ready to sacrifice everything to speed.

That was their mistake. Their want of foresight can only be excused by remembering that they thought that their clients would pay any price in order to get a car which would beat records. They forgot that they were only appealing to a limited class, and that these persons would get tired of their new toys when they found how expensive they were both to buy and to keep up.

This has now happened, and has brought about the crisis. It will be easily seen that we are right if the reader will think how many people there are in France who can afford to buy a motor and to keep it up.

It is admitted that a 15 to 20 horse-power car, running from 15,000 to 20,000 kilometres a year (about 9,000 to 15,000 miles) costs from £480 to £600 a year to keep up, leaving on one side the cost of the car. Or, to put it in another way, it would need an income of £2,000 a year to do this. It is difficult to say how many people in France have this income, but some statistics exist on this point. From a return presented to the Chamber of Deputies in 1907 it appears that it was estimated that there were that year in France 9,800 persons having an income of from £2,000 to £4,000 a year and 3,400 having an income of over £4,000 a year. These figures are only more or less an approximation, but with certain allowances they may be assumed to be correct.

Now here is a table showing in the last eight years the number of motors existing on December 31 of each year :—

In 1899 there were 1,438 motors—818 having more than two places.

„ 1900	„	„	2,354	„	1,399	„	„
„ 1901	„	„	4,427	„	2,472	„	„
„ 1902	„	„	7,358	„	4,815	„	„
„ 1903	„	„	9 922	„	7,228	„	„
„ 1904	„	„	12,519	„	9,675	„	„
„ 1905	„	„	15,011	„	12,175	„	„
„ 1906	„	„	17,358	„	14,555	„	„

Thus on December 31, 1906, there were 14,555 having more than two places, and, therefore, being about 15 horse-power. So that this table confirms the preceding one and it shows that there are few persons who in France can have a motor. It would appear quite impossible for the number of motor cars to be increased to any appreciable extent in France.

This is especially so as there is not much likelihood of the customers buying new machines owing to the type of cars being now more settled, and it may, therefore, be said that the rage for motors has gone down not only owing to their initial expense, but especially owing to the heavy cost of keeping them up.

The initial mistake of the manufacturers, which is the cause of the crisis, is not having understood this at first. Instead of trying to satisfy their rich customers in order to obtain large profits at first, they should have thought of the future. If they had realised that the rage at the beginning could not go on, we should not have had this over-production of expensive cars.

The designers would not have thought of nothing but making costly cars. But instead of that they flattered the caprices and also the religious opinions of their clients. For you will find in the catalogue of Messrs. Fortin and Company, of the Rue des Petits Champs, medals on which are inscribed these words, "Pray to St. Christopher. He will help you." You can get them in gold and in silver from 1 franc 50 centimes to 150 francs. Most cars have them. The drivers say that these medals are always well in front, and great care is taken of them. But in spite of the medals accidents happen, but this shows how manufacturers have flattered their aristocratic and superstitious clients.

A. MERRHEIM,

Secretary of the Federal Union of Metallurgic Workers, in "Le Mouvement Socialiste." (Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

(To be continued.)

DIRECT ACTION AND POLITICAL ACTION.

Socialist workers are still joyful in thinking of the elections of May 24. Piccolo of the "Soir" thinks that the time has come to throw cold water on their enthusiasm and to utter some aphorisms, some stereotyped Anarchist phrases on the uselessness of parliaments, the inefficacy of laws, and the vain attempt to obtain control of political power. The conclusions are that workers waste their time and injure their cause by making use of the ballot power, and that the direct action of trade unions is all powerful and can alone effect great social transformations.

Formerly the Anarchists believed solely in individual action. They would not join associations or unions so as not to give up their liberty. They would not accept the rule of the majority and they refused to obey orders.

Now all is changed. Not only do they join unions but they alone are good unionists. They give up their liberty. They bow to the decision of the majority and they will obey all orders and will go on strike if told to do so. They go still further. They no longer deny that political action may be efficacious, and we saw recently how in Paris, though they hated parliamentary methods, Anarchists were ready to demonstrate before shops in order that a law enforcing Sunday closing should be carried out. Yet direct action is the only good thing. All other methods should be rejected. The union stands alone.

The other day Piccolo was saying that Socialists divided the workers, since we compel our adherents to sign a declaration of principles and that by so doing we exclude Catholics, Anarchists, etc. The Confederation Générale du Travail of France—which Piccolo admires—admits all workers of any opinion, since it is a neutral body.

It is easy to say that it is neutral, but one of its principles is that wages should be abolished, so it is Socialist. It is in favour of the general strike, so it is revolutionary. It is anti-militarist, anti-patriotic, and tries to bring pressure on Parliament to obtain reforms, so it does go in for politics.

Do all the workers accept these doctrines? Certainly not; therefore, if we cause divisions among the workers by advocating

the affiliation of unions to Socialists, this body does the same by advocating political ideas which many unionists reject.

Trade union neutrality is a myth—only a few unionists adopt it, and they only look to the immediate interests of their union. As soon as you advocate the general interests of the proletariat you must go in for politics. So that the question to be solved is whether unions should follow us or this body. Piccolo, agreeing with the Anarchists and with M. G. Lebon, says that laws cannot improve the condition of the workers, that it can only register and sanction the social state of the time.

This is only a phrase. Was the law of 1889, which forbade women to work below ground in mines, useless? Was the law on accidents of no effect? And what about the law on Sunday work? We know that these laws are insufficient and that they are not always put in force. But that is no reason for giving up legislation, rather should we strengthen it. As laws may be good, as they may improve the action of the workers, why should we allow the middle-classes to legislate for us instead of legislating ourselves?

We do not condemn direct action. It is necessary and indispensable. Without it political action would remain powerless and would become dangerous. But anyone would think that Anarchists have made a great discovery. Socialists have been all along in favour of this. Has Piccolo forgotten the history of our meetings and of our strikes? Who in France first advocated the great idea of the general strike? The Anarchist trade unions have done nothing new in the matter.

They have not even invented the system of "sabotage," a threat without any meaning, a simple warlike measure which could not be generalised. It is nearly always so easy, owing to the modern organisation of industry, to find out the worker who has purposely made a mistake, and besides, a workman does not like to spoil his work. It is very doubtful if this idea will ever become one which workers will willingly adopt.

One might perhaps understand if great working-class organisations, well organised and disciplined, thought they could do without electoral and parliamentary action in order to obtain their demands. But how would it be possible without the intervention of the law to improve the condition of workers who cannot defend themselves, as for example, children in factories, working women, home workers and agricultural labourers? Does Piccolo advise the brickmakers of Rapel, the children in the rope factories of Hamme, the dress-makers of our large towns, to work out their salvation by direct action?

Political and parliamentary action is not only useful in order to obtain reforms, but it is indispensable in order to protect the trade union organisation itself against the attacks of the authorities.

In Belgium we have article 310 of the Penal Code, which almost renders illusory the right of combination. In the United States, the system of obtaining "injunctions" from the Courts allows them

to send unionists to prison. In England, the Courts made unionists responsible for acts done by their members. In these two countries the unions which were formerly hostile to parliamentary action have now joined the Labour Party. And this is the time when Piccolo calls on the workers to condemn political and electoral action.

The Confederation Générale du Travail has done well to draw the attention of the proletariat to the necessity of reckoning on itself alone, and this is the very foundation of Socialist doctrine. But I do not believe that all its methods are good, and we believe that in many ways it still represents trade unionism in its beginnings, that it is only uttering its first words, is only beginning to walk, and that it will fall down many times before it can walk alone.

AUGUSTE DEWINNE, in "Le Peuple."



ESTIMATED WEALTH OF RICH MEN.

The following is an estimate compiled by a broker of the fortunes of rich American financiers:—

Archbold, John D.	\$50,000,000	Hill, James J. ...	\$60,000,000
Armour, J. Ogden	30,000,000	Leeds, William B.	20,000,000
Astor, John Jacob	100,000,000	Mills, D. Ogden	75,000,000
Astor, William		More, John G. ...	20,000,000
Waldorf ...	300,000,000	Morgan, J. P. ...	150,000,000
Baker, George F.	25,000,000	Payne, Oliver ...	50,000,000
Belmont, August	20,000,000	Phipps, Henry ...	40,000,000
Brady, Anthony M.	20,000,000	Ream, Norman B.	20,000,000
Carnegie, Andrew	350,000,000	Reid, Daniel G....	20,000,000
Clarke, William A.	100,000,000	Ryan, Thomas F.	40,000,000
Duke, James B....	20,000,000	Rockefeller, J. D.	600,000,000
Field, Marshall ...	75,000,000	Rockefeller, Wm.	100,000,000
Field, Harry ...	50,000,000	Rogers, Henry H.	100,000,000
Flagler, John H....	30,000,000	Sage, Russell ...	80,000,000
Flagler, Henry M.	60,000,000	Schiff, Jacob H....	25,000,000
Frick, Henry C....	80,000,000	Schwab, C. M. ...	15,000,000
Gates, John W. ...	20,000,000	Stillman, James...	20,000,000
Gerry, E. T. ...	30,000,000	Vanderbilt, Corn.	
Goelet, Robert W.	30,000,000	("Commodore")	90,000,000
Gould, Jay ...	60,000,000	Vanderbilt, W. H.	20,000,000
Gould, George ...	35,000,000	Vanderbilt, Corn.	90,000,000
Green, Hetty H. R.	40,000,000	Vanderbilt, W. K.	100,000,000
Haggin, James B.	50,000,000	Vanderbilt, F. W.	20,000,000
Harriman, E. H.	100,000,000	Vanderbilt, A. G.	40,000,000
Havemeyer, H. O.	40,000,000	Vanderbilt, G. W.	20,000,000
Havemeyer, T. A.	15,000,000	Widener, P. A. B.	25,000,000
Havemeyer, W. F.	30,000,000		

THE REVIEWS.

A DIALOGUE WITH MARX.

Dr. Beattie Crozier writes the following in the current "Fortnightly Review":—

In this my final article I have been deflected unintentionally from my normal course by an irruption of the followers of Marx and the Social-Democratic Federation, who have given me roundly to understand that no triumph of mine or another's over the sentimental "Clarionites," of whom Mr. Blatchford is leader, or over the Parliamentary contingent, as represented by Mr. Snowden and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and, above all, over those half-hearted Laodiceans and waiters-on-Providence of the Fabian Society—Mr. Wells, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Bernard Shaw—will avail me a jot unless I can get out of the way, first of all, Karl Marx's great book on capital—the basis, as they declare, of the only Socialism worthy of the name, and on which, or on nothing, their Utopia, should it ever arrive, must rest. And as the main body of the Socialist press keeps on reiterating this opinion of my ardent and stalwart young friends of the street-corner, whose sincerity and unselfish devotion to their cause cannot for a moment be doubted, I feel I have no alternative but to accept their challenge in the friendly spirit in which it is offered; the more so as I am pushed to it as a point of honour by one of their number, who tells me plainly that the depths of Marx are "beyond the reach of my comprehension." I had, indeed, imagined that I had already said quite enough in my previous articles to have got Marx out of the way altogether as a serious political economist; and I had hoped that with Marx and his irreconcilables well under hatches, there might, at least, be a chance of this discussion ending in some kind of scheme which would draw all reasonable English Socialists nearer into line with the other political parties in the State. Mr. Blatchford had already, as we have seen, made me, quite spontaneously, some important admissions and concessions; Mr. Snowden has added more, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald yet others; and later on I was prepared, on my own part, to round off the accentuated edge which I had put on portions of my argument, for the purpose of cutting out more clearly those anomalies and

absurdities which lie concealed under every form of Socialism as a practical working scheme for the present age of the world, but which it is not the cue of anyone of its representatives to allow too openly to appear. I was also prepared to make a number of concessions on my own account to what I believe to be both good and true in Socialism; but in imagining that I had made even the slightest impression on the Social-Democratic Party and the other adherents of the school of Marx, it appears that I was entirely mistaken. Mr. Hyndman, in refusing to take up my challenge in this article to discuss with him the political economy of Marx's book on capital, tells me quite frankly that nothing which has appeared in my former articles leads him to think that I "understand Marx at all." Mr. Belfort Bax, however, who, with Mr. Hyndman, is one of the two accredited exponents of the Marxian political economy in England, has gallantly stepped into the breach, and has willingly consented to reply to anything that I might here have to say.

Now, the chief deterrent for English readers in Marx's book on capital is, not so much its profundity—on the contrary, as we shall see, it is a most simple and childlike piece of work—but it is rather the difficulty of grasping it, owing to the peculiar phraseology in which he has chosen to express himself. I have just re-read the book for the purposes of this article, and to show that I am doing no injustice to his style, which is obscure and involved to a degree, and besides is so vague by reason of its endless circumlocutions and want of directness that it can only be grasped with an effort, I shall inflict on the reader only a single quotation, as a fair sample of the whole book. Let us take the following mystic utterance:—"The value of a machine is determined not by the labour process into which it enters as a means of production, but by that out of which it has issued as a product." Now this looks very profound, does it not? And yet it only means this:—That the value of a machine is determined not by the amount of wealth which it can produce, even were it to rain down sufficient manna from heaven continuously to feed all mankind, but by what it will cost an ordinary workman to buy its materials, fit the pieces together, and feed, stoke, or otherwise attend the machine as it runs; or, in other words, its value is not as an *invention*, that is to say, as a mental product, but as a mere piece of *manual labour*, whether skilled or unskilled. But it would not have done for Marx to say so straightforwardly; for not only did he himself know quite well that it was the machine as an invention, and therefore the inventor, who at bottom was both primarily and ultimately the author of most of the added wealth which his mere machine as a piece of wood and iron was giving to the world; but he knew as well that even the most stupid workman who either made or attended the machine knew it also. And as his object was to get the inventor of the machine huddled away and hidden out of sight in the background or wings of the stage; and the capitalist, who had bought

the machine with his own money, put under lock and key as a criminal exploiter and thief, in order to concentrate his limelight solely on the workmen and their machines in the centre and foreground of the stage, he was obliged to cover up his footsteps as he went along, and, like the wily old fox he was, try rather to elude the vigilance of his followers than honestly to assist them in the trail. Hence the series of sentences, like the one I have just quoted, which attend him with ever-increasing vagueness, reiteration, and obscurity throughout the whole course of his book.

The general problem, then, which Marx proposed to himself was: How, by putting into his large mill a heterogeneous multitude of inventors, men of science, capitalists, organisers, financiers, and skilled and unskilled workmen of every shade and degree, to bring them out at the other end, all on a footing of perfect *economic equality*? Now, one would have said, not only on grounds of economic justice, but of ordinary human reason, that an equality of pay among them all would have been regarded both as a theoretical and a practical impossibility. Not so, thought Marx; and it was to show his army of working men followers, not only that in strict justice they *ought*, morally speaking, to get an equality of pay with their capitalist masters, but that if they would only follow his prescription in seeing that this justice was rigorously enforced they must, and would, get it on true *economic principles* as well, that he wrote his book on capital. This, however, was perhaps the least perplexing part of his problem, for it was comparatively easy to persuade the workers of the truth of the doctrines which were so obviously framed in their own immediate interest. The real difficulty arose when he had to show this motley crew of workers, skilled and unskilled, how they themselves, too, like a Barnum's "happy family," would by the magic of his scheme be all induced to lie down peacefully together on an equal rate of pay—a difficulty all the greater inasmuch as the small number of intelligent and highly skilled mechanics, in their pride of rank and superiority, showed up against the loose Falstaffian regiment of nondescript unskilled casuals, like a thin sprinkling of gold-epauletted officers against the rank and file. But Marx, undaunted by all difficulties, entered on his task with a light heart, and started out gaily with his first purely economic proposition, which was:—That in the present stage of the world and of *competitive* industry, salaries, wages, and pecuniary remunerations of all kinds, except those which are regulated by custom or law (and do not belong to political economy as such), are not paid according to *ability*, but entirely according to *supply and demand*, or, in other words, according to the relative scarcity or abundance of the competitors who enter the field at any given point; as you would soon discover, he assumes, if the Kelvins, the Edisons, the Bonapartes, the Turners, or the Pattis of the world lay as thick on the ground, and were to be picked up as easily for the stooping, as either your ordinary

working-men or your skilled workmen. We could breed at a pinch, he thinks, as many "great men" as we require for every emergency of life, just when, where, and as we want them, precisely as we would mushrooms or cabbages! "Pray pardon my interrupting you at so early a stage of your argument," I interpose, "for I have noticed that all the men of your school, as we shall see presently, carry this huge imaginary proposition with them into every argument, as if, indeed, it were an elementary axiom, in the hope, apparently, that it may escape detection among the number of considerations which, at the first blush, would seem to countenance it. Now, although this presupposition of yours may be true in *ultimate* nature, or, if you like, in the decrees of Providence or fate—as, indeed, the fact that successive generations of mankind in their passing away and giving place to each other, always leave somewhere on the earth great men enough in every department of life to carry on the evolution of the *world as a whole* to higher and higher issues, would seem to indicate—it is not true that the breeding of them can be done as yet by any means known to science; nor is it likely to be practically applicable for generations yet to come. Nor is it possible for any *particular* nation to premise that the great men necessary for *its* particular development shall arise within its own borders, and above all, it is not true, should any particular State by its own man-made laws—like that decree of Herod for the "Massacre of the Innocents," designed to catch Jesus in its net—exterminate these great men outright as they arise; nor, again, if priding itself (as you Socialists do) on its facility in reproducing them as they are wanted, should drive them away by poverty, tyranny, or disgust, to other lands, where their particular genius will find a welcome, and where, with adequate liberty and remuneration, they are encouraged to expand and put forth all their fruit. If Corsica, for example, had been still united to Italy instead of to France during the early manhood of Bonaparte, how different indeed would it and must it have been for the future of France and the world! Your presupposition is only true provided that *all the world* has embraced a Socialist régime organised on your particular pattern; but that, again, is for the millennial time, when all the other factors making for absolute equality in the conditions of life shall have been levelled up to it, but not for any age of the world yet visible through the most powerful of time-piercing telescopes. However, apologising for my interruption, and admitting your assumption for the moment—what is the next step in your argument?" "Why this," continues Marx—"if men are paid according to their *ability* or the *quality* of their work, but only according to the *numbers* of them in the field of competition, it follows, does it not? that if there be any *necessary* difference in their salaries, wages, or incomes, it can only come, under fair and equal conditions, from the *length of time* they work, as there is no other alternative. And from this it follows again, that if we could get all men to work the same number of hours a day, and in each of their hours do an *average* stroke

of work, without either loitering or hurrying (average "labour time"); and if each *class* of these workers would only make just as much of its own particular product as was necessary to meet the demand, neither more nor less ("socially necessary human labour")—just the right number of shirts or clothes, or household utensils, or cutlery, or what-not—would not this make the wages of all men *equal* who were doing honest work to the best of their ability?" "For, look you," he goes on, "if the supply of the *same* commodity is always kept equal to its demand, its price, or value, must remain the *same*; if different commodities take the same average time to make, their prices too must remain the *same* (or vary only in *proportion* to the length of that time); and if all men work the *same* number of hours a day, and at the *same* pace—whether engaged in mental or bodily labour matters not—then would not the wages, salaries, or incomes of all men be the *same*; and so at last the economic status and earnings of our colossal-magnates on the one hand, and of their sweated, exploited, poverty-stricken and over-toiled workers on the other, be reduced to equality?" "Yes," I assent, "but that is because things that are equal to the same thing *must* be equal to one another; and I should as soon think of denying the truth of these elementary propositions of yours, as I should of denying the axioms of Euclid; or of denying the proposition that if you divide up a ten-acre field into closed compartments, each of the *same* size and with the *same* quantity of grass and water in each, and into each of these put a single colt, the present and future economic condition of these colts in food and drink must be equal, however much they might have differed had the colts been allowed freely to overleap their fences, or get at each other's provender by kicking the fences down! No, it is not your economic propositions which I intend to dispute; it is the 'ifs' and 'ands,' the 'provisos' and 'conditions' with which you have edged them round, that give me pause. For should any of these, like Shylock's *exact* pound of flesh, miscarry in the event, all the old inequalities of wages and incomes under the régime of capitalism would flow in again from all sides;—as, for example, if little groups of workmen in certain trades should make little 'corners' among themselves by working longer hours; or, as in piece-work, should push their work through more expeditiously in a given time; or, like miners, should restrict their output to keep up prices; or, like retailers, should continue their customary tricks of sale, or what-not;—and in the end these increments and differences between one class and another, or one set of workmen and another, would gradually roll themselves up like snowballs, and at last destroy that very equality of incomes which you consider *ought* to be the prerogative of all human beings, and you say must sooner or later be realised at all costs." "How then," I repeat, "are you going to handle these 'ifs' and 'ands' and 'conditions' so as to compel all wages and incomes to work out on a level equality?" "Nothing could be simpler," replies

Marx, "for if you will only let me take over all the instruments of production, distribution and exchange, and will supply me with a complete register of the state of demand and supply of every commodity, whether of brain or hand (a thing which the State could easily do), and will undertake as well to see that no more commodities of each kind are at any time made, or kept on supply, than will just meet the demand, I will undertake to guarantee in turn that men shall have equal incomes—or, rather, not I, but these laws of political economy which I have just laid down, will do it for us of themselves, whether I guarantee it or not—Voilà!" And then turning round to his followers, he asks: "How does this strike you, my comrades? Cannot you, with your members, your votes, and, if necessary, your physical force, see to it that these 'conditions' of mine are fulfilled?" Whereupon the millions of working-class Socialists in Germany, France, England, like the simple-minded Othello when he heard of the discovery of the handkerchief, jumped up and with one accord exclaimed, "Now do we see 'tis true"; and, as if their imaginary swords were already leaping from their scabbards, declared that if this were all, he might rely on them to see that it was done. "But softly for a moment," interposes Marx, waving over them like another General Booth his deprecating hand, "you cannot be expected to do this thing as individuals and by yourselves, you know; the State must do it for you *collectively*, as it were; only you must give the State your individual allegiance, authority, and support." "Done!" said the men;—and with this the shade of Marx vanished, and Socialism as a living force was ushered into the open arena of the world.



LENGTHENING THE SPAN OF LIFE.

Dr. Edward A. Ayers very interestingly discusses the above in the current "World's Work." He writes:—

As the results of the great revolutions resulting from Pasteur's discoveries regarding fermentation, present views and tendencies may be defined somewhat as follows:—

(1) The processes of life formation are founded in chemical re-combinations of matter.

(2) All matter must be split up into its ultimate forms—corpuscles, atoms, and molecules—before it can form new combinations; they are the structural bricks of the universe.

(3) This dissolution into primary form in organic, or living, matter is accomplished by fermentation.

(4) In the process of dissolution, the particles of matter become electrically changed into positive and negative "ions," therefore,

(5) The force which underlies the affinities and antagonisms of molecular matter, which causes some substances to fly to one another and others to fly apart, is ultimately electrical.

(6) Those combinations which can grow—hold their individuality and keep adding to it—constitute *Life*.

(7) Growth and decay are both accomplished through fermentation—the one constructive, and the other destructive.

(8) Apart from accidents, the measure of one's years depends upon the relative strength of these two antagonistic ferments in the body.

For man to stay the hand of time, to extend the condition of youth, to check growth in any living thing, he must be able to interfere with an apparently universal law of nature—that every individual growth has a limited era in which it can build faster than the ferments will pull down. This he can do to some extent. To be able to do this is almost to be able to create life out of chemicals. Although this has been done to some extent, these wonderful achievements are a long way from controlling the advance of age in the human being.

Chemists had believed that the power to so combine inert into living matter lay in an unknown, mysterious influence called "the vital force." Rather concisely stated, we might say that all vital growth and action are founded on chemical stimulations—ultimately electrical; that what looks like the hand of Providence mysteriously guiding the unintelligent cells, the brainless plants, the wholly inexperienced and helpless new-born mind, the homing pigeon—what we call "instinct"—is but the expression of certain chemical and electrical forces, the unconscious response of certain appetites to particular stimulants. Synder has interestingly expressed this idea as follows:—

A flower standing in a room turns its petals towards the light. To the birds we ascribe intelligence, to the flower no more than the attraction of light. Yet it seems as if the self-same forces rule over both. When the new-born caterpillar climbs to the end of a branch where it may find the fresh bud on which it feeds, it seems as if some dim intelligence were at work. When it is satisfied it climbs down again. A fly will lay its eggs in meat, whereon its larvæ may feed, but not on fat. Dr. Loeb showed how all these wonderful adaptations to an end could be explained in a very simple way. Young caterpillars, for example, will follow the light so long as they are hungry. If they find no food they will keep on climbing conceivably until they die. When they are cold they will not move. when the warm sun comes up in the spring, they begin to crawl upward. All that is needful to assume is that in the hungry condition the light sets up certain chemical reactions which cause the animal to move, just as it sets up a reaction in a photographic plate, or explodes a mixture of hydrogen and chlorine gas. Certain chemical stimuli from meat cause a fly to lay its eggs. In the fat these stimuli are lacking. They can be produced artificially.

VARINKA.

By Haldane Burgess, Author of "The Treasure of Don Andres"
"Tang"; "The Viking Path"; etc.

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Moses Yosky sat in his small shop in the dingy back street with his daughter Varinka. They both glanced nervously every now and then through the window and the open door into the street. For some days there had been a growing rumour of a "pogrom."

"Every noise I hear frightens me," said Moses, "every quick step in the street makes me tremble. It is well for us, Varinka, that the police-officer Borkoff is our friend, that he has feelings of kindness towards us in his heart. My brother Daniel must pay the police much money for protection. They are ruining him, but the good Borkoff never asks me for my money. He is a just man. He will do his duty without bribes.

"Ah, it is a time of trial for the Seed of Israel; and it is all the doing of the young men who have not patience, who will not stand still and see the salvation of the Lord."

Varinka knew well what he meant, but she betrayed no sign.

"Hark," he exclaimed, peering anxiously out into the twilight, "someone comes."

"O joy, it is the good Borkoff himself," he added, excitedly; "receive him well, I pray thee, my daughter."

As Borkoff came into the shop, Moses got up and greeted him in the most obsequious way; then retired quickly into the room behind the shop, casting a furtive and beseeching look at his daughter as he went.

There was a look of sombre pain in the big dark eyes of Varinka when she raised them in response to Borkoff's greeting; and she knew that there was in them too, a gleam of wild defiance, which, in spite of all her trying, she could not repress.

The expression on the face of Borkoff showed clearly the main features of the struggle going on between him and the girl. It showed the passion fired by her ripe beauty, the fierce determination to bend her will to his, the confident belief that he would ultimately win her, and the impatience he felt at the unusual restraint he had been forced to put upon himself in order to ensure the full success of his designs.

He turned his bulky head half round toward the back room, where Moses was trying to make his closing of the door as obvious as possible. Then he looked straight at Varinka, and said :

"You know how it is with your old father, even if you will not think about yourself. You see that he is terrified almost to death. I have protected him and you right up till now : and not for money as I might have done, but for the love I have towards you, Varinka. Surely I have deserved better treatment from you than the coldness and rebuffs you give me. You know that I have but to lift my hand, and neither his life nor yours would be worth a kopeck. You know that I have but to speak a word, and in an hour the streets here would be slippery with Jewish blood."

"'The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them,'" said Varinka, "'He that keeps Israel slumbers not nor sleeps.' Now, my father fears the Lord, so the Angel must be camping round about him ; and he and I are both of the House of Israel, so He that keeps us must always be awake and watchful. After that it does not seem necessary that we should fear."

The tone of sarcasm in her voice showed how completely she had broken with the old beliefs ; but it showed plainly also that her courage was indomitable still. The cold look in her eyes made Borkoff furious.

"Have a care," he cried, "my patience cannot last much longer. It is only from the strength of my love for you that it has endured so long. I will ask you once more ; but I tell you that whatever answer you give to me now you must abide the consequences. I ask for the last time. Will you be mine ?"

Varinka looked at him steadily but made no reply.

Borkoff scanned her face intently. He did not see the slightest sign of yielding on her part. He believed that the one hindrance to his suit was her love for Ivan, the revolutionary ironworker. He decided now to play his strongest card. He bent forward towards her, and said, in low tones somewhat roughened by the powerful effort he was making to seem calm :

"Listen, Varinka. Five terrorists will reach the town to-night. Ivan is one of them. If you refuse me, he is as good as a dead man. He shall not, he cannot escape me. It is he that blocks my way to you. He shall be removed. But I will leave it to yourself to settle whether he shall live or die. I do not wish his death if I can shift him from my path without it ; but if that cannot be, then he shall die."

For an instant Varinka quailed before him. The blow was so sudden and severe. Till that instant she had not had the faintest fear that Ivan's coming was made known to the police. For the first time Borkoff saw a look of terror in her eyes. Her first confused thought was to temporise with him. It was but for a moment. She raised her face, now pale as death, but fearless as before.

"Go, beast," she cried, with flashing eyes, "and do your worst. You cannot harm Ivan. There is that which is worse than death. That is my answer."

Without another word Borkoff strode from the shop. As he moved quickly towards his office, he said to himself:

"Now for my final move. To-night I will arrest her and her father, so as to have them safe from danger and entirely in my power. She shall not see Ivan. By all the saints, she shall be mine, whether she will or no. When Moses Yosky finds himself in prison, he will be ready to do anything. With Varinka and the old man's money-bags once mine, I'll give some other fool the chance to risk his life assisting his Imperial Majesty the Czar to govern Russia: I leave the country instantly.

"The game is in my hands. I fish in troubled waters: but I have full power to trouble them to my own liking. If I fail now, I am a lunatic. Malkeff will send a small detachment of his men down here to-morrow. I asked a small detachment. I did not wish the military to take charge of the town just yet—till I had played my game. A small detachment will be quite sufficient by the time I have that cursed Ivan and his four fellows safely caged. These five rascals will arrive to-night, disguised, and, one by one, will steal into their rendezvous, the loft above Ben Samuels' store, just opposite the shop of Moses Yosky. That is one of their arsenals. Ivan and the four intend to organise the workmen, and head them in a general rising the moment they are ready. The signal is to be a volley fired from the loft windows on the police-patrol."

He reached his office, and began rapidly to issue his commands.

Two hours later, he took four of his men and hurried to the house of Moses Yosky. He found the old man in his shop, alone. Varinka was not there. Moses, with trembling voice, said that she had deserted him about two hours before, that she would not stay with him, though he had entreated her. He prayed Borkoff, his good Borkoff, to protect him.

"I and my men will take you to my office," Borkoff answered, "where you will be safe."

"But my strong box," objected Moses.

"We will take it too," said Borkoff; "later, I will bring Varinka to you."

Borkoff crushed down his chagrin, and faced the situation.

"I was a fool," he thought, "to tell her that I knew of Ivan's coming: but her sarcastic coldness maddened me. No man can be wise with a woman. I counted that she would not try to leave her father till near midnight. But she is netted. My capture of her is only put off for a few hours. She cannot see Ivan and warn him. She does not have the least idea by what path he will be forced to steal into the town. The only place where she is sure of him is at the rendezvous. She will be there now, though she has still three hours to wait. I will take them both together."

On his way back to the office with Moses and the box, he was so preoccupied with his own matters that he did not notice the plain signs of increased unrest among the people moving round him in the streets. Arrived there he gave his men fresh orders as to how they were to follow him, and went out alone, disguised.

He went, as swiftly and as secretly as possible, right to the rendezvous. He felt he must get near the place, although he did not mean to seize Varinka yet.

From a dark narrow lane, he stole quietly through the north gate, into the yard behind Ben Samuels' store, and hid himself beside a pile of timber near the door from which the stair ascended to the loft. The door was closely shut, and everything was silent.

At that moment, in the attic at the far end of the loft above, Ivan and Varinka were in each other's arms. Ivan and his comrades, helped through by secret friends among the police, had reached the rendezvous much earlier than they had hoped.

"That scoundrel Borkoff is outwitted, darling," said Ivan. "You and the comrades here have moved things faster than we thought. The soldiers do not reach here till to-morrow. The workmen are prepared to rise to-night. I expect to give the signal in an hour. After these few blissful moments in your arms, my love, I feel strong as a lion for the work to come. Will you now take word east to Gromovitch? No other messenger is so safe as you are in your disguise."

A little later, he and Varinka crossed the loft together and descended the stair to the door that opened on the yard.

They came out, closing the door quietly behind them.

"You will slip out at the west gate here, Varinka," said Ivan.

"Yes, Ivan," she answered, "and I will be back with Gromovitch in half an hour."

They moved along the house wall towards the gate.

Borkoff, crouching there in the dark, within a yard of them, with difficulty kept back an exclamation that rose to his lips, as he recognised the voices. Ivan had come. Borkoff could hardly hold himself in check. He felt his fingers twitch, as though they clutched his rival's throat.

But he succeeded in mastering himself enough to settle swiftly what he ought to do. He saw that he must let Varinka go, in order to secure Ivan.

The gate opened and closed. She was gone: and Ivan was coming back towards the door.

Borkoff waited till Ivan was just about to grasp the latch. Then, with a bound, he sprang upon him from behind, and crushed him in his powerful arms. It was so sudden that he had handcuffed Ivan, and pressed a rough gag into his mouth, before Ivan could have time to recover from the first confusion of the shock.

Just then, two of Borkoff's men, who had reached the north gate shortly after him and had been watching there, heard the dull noise of the capture, and ran across the yard to their

chief's aid. Before Varinka had returned with Gromovitch, Ivan was at the station, locked fast in a cell.

Borkoff would have been jubilant but for the fact that he now all at once had a presentiment that Varinka was destined to elude him. The feeling only heightened his impatience to secure her. On his way to the station with Ivan, he sent some of his men off to Ben Samuels' to effect such captures as they could. He hurried back to the yard himself as soon as possible, and found that two of Ivan's comrades had been seized. The two others had escaped.

Varinka did not return; one of the fugitives had met her and Gromovitch, and warned them.

All that night, Borkoff searched for her everywhere, but without success. Towards midnight the unrest in the town had seemingly abated a good deal, owing, Borkoff thought, to widespread consternation at the news of the arrest of Ivan and the two others. He was too excited now to see how ominous the lull was in reality.

The leaders of the rising met for consultation shortly after the arrest. They had information that the number of the soldiers sent for was not large. They decided now to wait until the detachment had arrived, and Ivan had been tried. They believed he would be sentenced to be executed. That sentence would enflame the workers to a final fury. They would rise, overpower the soldiers and the police, and liberate their comrades.

Next day the military came, and the town was put under martial law. A few days afterwards, Ivan was tried, and sentenced to be shot.

Up to the day fixed for the execution, Borkoff had not been able to obtain the slightest trace of Varinka. His rage made him gloat with all the greater pleasure over the fate of Ivan.

At noon on that day, Ivan was taken to the square surrounded by the soldiers and the police. When all was ready, he stood there, erect and fearless, before his executioners, a tall, lithe form, with a clear-cut, noble face.

The firing party were awaiting the word of command, when a portentous sound came from the people on the east side of the square.

Borkoff had his eyes fixed on Ivan. He turned instantly in the direction of the sound, and saw an unexpected sight.

He had thought the people cowed. But, from the end of the main street and from the houses near, a solid mass of armed workmen formed up almost instantaneously, and charged straight at the nearest line of soldiers.

At their head came Varinka, her dark eyes luminous with love and patriotism.

"Live the Revolution. Save Ivan," she cried.

To some among the soldiers, the deep answering roar, as of a sea in a storm, that burst from the advancing mass of men seemed like the voice of doom. To others of them it was like the trumpet

call of freedom, thrilling their own hearts. But to others still among them it meant but a summons to perform their ordinary brutal duty, to repel the charge and shatter the infuriated mob.

In the midst of a confused noise of rifle shots, shouts, and the clash of sidearms, the head of the phalanx suddenly appeared on the inside of the ring of soldiers, Varinka leading still, unhurt. It seemed as if she and her comrades would sweep all before them.

A frenzied rage seized Borkoff.

"Shoot the prisoner, fools," he thundered to the soldiers.

The firing party answered with a shout of "Live the Revolution," and fired into the air.

Borkoff snatched a rifle from a soldier near him, fired at Ivan, and missed him.

Next moment Varinka had reached Ivan. Only their eyes expressed the wild emotions surging in their hearts. She gave Ivan the hot revolver she bore in her hand. One chamber was still loaded.

Madness at the sight of them completely mastered Borkoff. His one thought now was to destroy Varinka.

He fired.

Varinka fell.

Next instant a ball from Ivan's revolver passed through Borkoff's brain.

Over the dead body of their enemy tramped the feet of the advancing workmen in that fierce rush that ultimately swept the soldiers and the police clean from the square.

The advancing mass divided where Varinka fell. There, between the two on-rushing human torrents, she lay on the ground unconscious. Ivan knelt by her side. The old surgeon Gromovitch had sprung to her, and was now on his knees beside her also. With tender, practised hand, he made a swift examination of her wound. Then he did what he could.

After a little, Varinka stirred slightly. She opened her dark eyes, and saw Ivan.

"Victory—the Revolution," she cried, faintly.

"She lives," exclaimed Ivan, in ecstasy, "she lives."

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COLONIAL CIVILISATION.

While the air is ringing with fiery denunciations of King Leopold's rule in the Congo, it would be well for those Englishmen who feel themselves carried away by the indomitable Mr. Morel's agitation, to make sure first of all, that no such crimes and abuses as are laid at the door of the Congo administration exist in the colonies which fly the British flag. No doubt their task will be very difficult. There are in the British colonies no foreign missionaries to pry into the little secrets of the colonial administration. Nor are there behind these missionaries such powerful groups of persons interested in the "*chroniques scandaleuses*" of the British colonies, as the Lancashire cotton lords, are with respect to the Congo. For these reasons and some others an Englishman desirous of studying the state of things in the British colonies will not find the same ample and easily accessible material at his disposal which he has when he wishes to denounce the colonial barbarities of a Leopold or of a Car Peters. All he has at hand are the official colonial reports, carefully edited with a view to throwing dust in the eyes of the public. Naturally he will not

find there anything incriminating against British colonial methods, and may easily run away with the idea that nowhere in the world are colonies administered so well and to such advantage both to the natives and mankind at large as under the British flag.

Yet even from official publications it is sometimes possible to catch a glimpse of the true position of affairs, by exercising some judgment and reading between the lines. Those, for instance, who took note of a case, which was reported in the daily press last year,* of the flogging of some natives by a certain Captain Grogan at Nairobi, East Africa Protectorate, will have been prepared to peruse with more than their usual attention the annual reports on that colony which have been issued since then; and if they have done so, they have no doubt found their efforts substantially rewarded by an insight into the working of one of the most typical colonial administrations within the British Empire. I doubt, however, whether many of my readers have ventured upon such a feat as the reading of a British colonial report. I will, therefore, share with them the knowledge which I have gained from a study of these and other reports recently issued by the Colonial Office on this particular "Protectorate," in order that they may know that not everything which is bad is to be found only in the Congo.

Let me say just a few words on the general condition of this colony.† It has an area of 177,000 acres with a native population of some four millions. The number of Europeans is less than two thousand, and it is for the sake of these two thousand that in 1895 the British Government took over the administration of the colony from the hands of the company and entrusted it, three years ago, to the Colonial

* See, for instance, the "Daily Telegraph," May 1, 1907.

† "East Africa Protectorate"—Report for 1906 7 (Cd. 3,729 21) supplemented by "Statesman's Year Book" for 1908.

Office. Its revenue in 1906-7 amounted to £461,362, and its expenditure to £616,088, the deficit of some £200,000 having been made good by a parliamentary and other grants, that is, by the British taxpayer. These deficits have been going on ever since the commencement of the Colony, so that the British taxpayer has already paid several millions—all for the good of the two thousand Europeans and less who had chosen the Protectorate as the field of their civilising efforts. There is a line of railway nearly 600 miles long between Mombasa and Lake Victoria which has already swallowed over six millions, but the revenue does not yet cover even the working expenses, and the Protectorate, with the aid of the British taxpayer, has to pay the interest and the payments on the borrowed capital out of the Treasury fund. The chief occupation of the native is, of course, agriculture, consisting in the growing of rice and maize. Recently, however, cotton growing has been started for the benefit, in the first instance, of Lancashire, and the natives are being taught to gather rubber, gum, copal and other forest products having a marketable value.

The moral condition of the native races is very primitive and belongs to that stage which was characterised by Lewis Morgan as that of middle barbarism. "The natives of the interior," says the Governor's report for 1905-6,* "can scarcely be said to have any religious beliefs properly so called. Among many of them a vague and primitive Pantheism or nature worship prevails. The inhabitants of the coast towns mostly profess Mohammedanism, but except amongst the upper class Arabs there is little knowledge of the teaching and tenets of their religion." Their spiritual wants, says the same report,† "are attended to by no less than eleven missionary societies, who, however, have had many difficulties to contend with, and their efforts have not yet affected the mass of the people." They mostly prefer to go about naked, and "curiously

* Cd. 3,285.⁶, p. 30.

† l.c., p. 60.

enough, connect clothing, so far as their women are concerned, with immorality."* In short, it is a very backward, semi-savage country, separated by thousands of years from modern civilisation.

Let us now see how the British are implanting that precious flower in the midst of these races. Labour is naturally made the central pivot round which the work of civilisation turns. "Materially," it is admitted in the above-mentioned report,† "the East African native is well off. Work is plentiful, food is cheap." The deuce only is, that these natives "are neither thrifty nor ambitious, and are content to satisfy their immediate requirements, which are few, without making an effort to bring about an improvement in their social position."‡ This is certainly exasperating. How can civilisation advance without strenuous work? And so every effort is being made to teach the native the blessings of work.

Let not the reader run away with the idea that the British have introduced a system of forced labour such as exists, for instance, in the Congo. Slavery has become utterly repugnant to British ideas ever since it was discovered that a slave, unlike a free man, has to be fed and cared for irrespective of whether he works and is efficient or not.§ So far, indeed, from having

* Cd. 3,285-6, p. 60.

† l.c., p. 59.

‡ l.c., p. 60.

§ "Slavery," declared Sir Robert Peel, "had been extinguished in most parts of Europe and of the East because it was more profitable to the proprietor of slaves to employ his slave as a free labourer." In commenting upon this admission, James Bronterre O'Brien, in the course of an article exposing the hollow pretensions of the Abolitionists, explained: "In one case he (the master) employs and feeds the slave only when he wants him; in the other, he has to support him whether he has employment for him or not. Emancipation enables the master to get more work done and to give less for it. Emancipation emancipates the slave from the whip, but it also emancipates him from his dinner; and, as hungry men are no respecters of law, he soon discovers that if he has escaped the whip it is only to stumble upon the treadmill or the gallows."—"The Destructive," June 8, 1833.)

introduced it after the manner of the Belgians, they have abolished what little there had existed of this institution before their advent. Slave traffic has been suppressed, and a law has been issued by which all descendants of slaves born after August, 1890, are declared free. The practical value of this reform can best be appreciated in the words of the official report itself: "The so-called slaves may be divided into two classes, those who live in their masters' houses and are practically treated as members of the family, and those who work in the fields and receive lands for themselves which they can cultivate in their spare time."* Not much of slavery, is it? The report, however, adds further: "Any slave wishing to obtain his freedom can do so by crossing the boundary which separates the mainland dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar from the rest of the Protectorate, but it is a significant fact that very few care to exchange the comfort of their masters' homes for a precarious existence up country."† These are damaging words. What they imply is that by freeing the slaves and abolishing the institution itself the British have simply deprived this particular class of natives of "comfortable homes" and delivered them to a "precarious existence." Perhaps, however, that was the intended object of the "emancipation"?

Indeed, it was. The abolition of slavery was but part of a whole system of depriving the individual native of all his support in life, so that he may helplessly fall into the hands of the white settler. It will be seen from the report for 1906-7,‡ that though there is not a single Government school in the Protectorate, there are not less than 28 prisons, and a force of police exceeding 2,000. Prison and police in a community which has not yet emerged from primitive barbarism! And if we look at the criminal statistics we find that no fewer than 4,569 persons were apprehended by the police during the year under review, of whom 667 were tried for offences against persons, and 1,219 for offences

* Report for 1905-6, p. 38. † Ibidem. ‡ l.c., pp. 24, 22.

against property.* And looking further back we find, to our astonishment, that in this primitive community, where the ideas of right and wrong must be very different from ours, crime is steadily increasing, the number of persons arrested in 1902-3 being nearly one-half of that in 1906-7, viz., 2,892.† How could such things happen? Simply because the British have introduced their own capitalist notions of what is right and wrong, have broken up the ancient tribal organisation, with all the moral and quasi-legal superstructure that was based upon it, and substituted in its place a system of individual responsibility which in Europe has been the slow result of the growth of capitalism. "We have introduced an individual law," said a speaker at a meeting which we shall describe more fully below,‡ "we have introduced an individual law which has broken the tribal laws," and he quoted, as an instance of the effects of this revolution, the case of drunkenness among the young men some few years ago. "There were not"—we quote the official report of his speech§—"the same number of white men as now, and there was likelihood of some trouble. The chiefs were, however, induced to call these young men together, and, by some play on their superstitions, had managed to obtain their promise that they would not drink for a period of two years. The attitude of the Government unfortunately had at the end of this period robbed the chiefs of much of their power, and it was found impossible to obtain a renewal of the promise for another two months; since then Mr. Wilson (the speaker) had seen in one native hut 30 to 40 men sitting together drinking." This, then, is the true origin of crime in the Protectorate. The old tribal organisation, with the patriarchal power of the chiefs, having been abolished with one stroke,

* Report for 1906-7, p. 23.

† Ibidem.

‡ "Correspondence relating to affairs in East Africa Protectorate," Cd. 4,122, p. 13.

§ Ibidem.

the individual native found himself face to face with a law and a morality which he did not understand, and at the same time partly free from, and partly unsupported by, the sole authority which he did understand, namely, the authority of the tribe as embodied in the "patria potestas" of the chief. And so, by virtue of his new individual freedom, he turned a drunkard, and by virtue of the new individual responsibility thrust upon him, as against a law which was unintelligible to him, he became a criminal and filled the 28 prisons of the Protectorate.*

Now, this wholesale and cruel vandalism of destroying ancient social organisations and imposing upon native races legal systems for which there is no material basis is usually justified, on grounds of humanity, as a measure of "emancipation" from the despotism of the chiefs and the domination of the stick and whip. The plea, however, is nothing but hypocrisy. For one thing, the despotism of the chiefs carries with it also their protection; and for another, the native is only emancipated from it in order to fall under a despotism at least as oppressive,† which, moreover, knows no responsibility for his welfare. The tribal organisations are abolished for the same reason for which slavery is abolished—to deliver the native into the tender embraces of the white colonist. It is, by the way, characteristic of the humbug which accompanies the Congo agitation that this very destruction of the tribal organisation of the natives forms one of the main articles of the indictment which Mr. Morel and his fellow-"humanitarians" have drawn up against Leopold and his crew.

* Exactly the same phenomenon—a steady increase of crime as the result of the destruction of old forms of life—is observable everywhere where the British have introduced their rule, not excluding Egypt.

† The Nairobi flogging case is an illustration of how the whip has been abolished. Among the legislation issued in 1905-6 was an Ordinance *restricting* sentences of flogging to 25 lashes.—(Report for 1905-6, p. 30.)

But tribal organisation is itself but the social expression of a very material fact, namely, communal ownership of land. According to Mr. Morel's indictment the Congo administration has committed the barbarous act of depriving the native village communities of their tribal land and declaring them "vacant" so as to share them out among the various concessionaire companies. But almost the same is being done by the British administration in the East Africa Protectorate. We say "almost," because a show is made of reserving a portion of the lands for the natives. Unfortunately we do not know either the quantity or the quality of such lands, and can only surmise from the number of men available on the market for hire that they must be insignificant in both respects. At the same time, however, we see thousands upon thousands of acres of what were formerly native lands, given away to concessionaires to be exploited by means of their former proprietors—in 1904, 197,256 acres; in 1905, 549,828 acres; in 1906, 292,741 acres.* In fact, the quantity of land declared "vacant" and given away to companies and individual settlers is only limited by the demand for them and the extent to which the lands have been surveyed. And all this in the teeth of the sacred law of property which is so ruthlessly being enforced against the communistic natives!

By means of these two measures—the application of "individual law" and the wholesale expropriation of their lands—the natives have as effectually been turned into "free men" as the English labourers in their time were by the wholesale enclosures, and, subsequently, by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Nevertheless, even these measures were not considered adequate to meet the needs of the emancipation. The native has so few wants, and the country itself is so rich, that even when sent into the world without any visible means of subsistence, as a pauper and a vagabond, he could still contrive to live in "laziness,"

* Report for 1906-7, p. 16; for 1905-6, p. 24.

that is, without going to the white settler for work. Hence, a number of other measures are being applied to supplement the first two, with a view to increasing the stimulus to work. First and foremost is the "hut tax." In official language it is a tax "in return for the protection which the native receives."* In 1905-6 it brought in £44,541, but in the following year its yield rose to £61,292, owing to the increase of the tax from 2 to 3 rupees and the extension of the control over a wider area.† This acts as a direct incentive to "work," since the native has no other means of getting the wherewithal to pay the tax except by hiring himself out to the white settler. In some cases the tax is still payable in labour or kind, but every effort is being made to turn it into a money-tax and thus teach the native the eternal truth of the universal equivalent of value. "It is a satisfactory sign," says the official report, "that . . . the natives now prefer to pay in specie. This indicates not only a growing acquaintance with and liking for civilised methods of barter, but an inclination to work for Europeans and others with a view to the acquisition of rupees."‡

Yet another means is being used to teach the natives to acquire rupees, but this is a moral one. The preceptors in this case are the eleven missionary societies which carry on an active propaganda against the immoral custom of going about naked and not covering one's sinful body with Lancashire-made clothing. We have quoted already the remark of the Governor about the "curiously"-perverted views of the natives on the subject. The Governor, however, does not despair. "Here," he says,§ "time and the advance of trade and civilisation will work their own results. Inquiries from Indian merchants in the various stations show that the demand for cotton goods is steadily increasing, even in remote districts, and once this demand can be established it will mean the practical solution of the

* Report for 1905-6, p. 59. † Report for 1906-7, p. 7. ‡ Report for 1905-6, p. 8. § l.c., p. 60.

Labour question and a large increase in the output." "The tendency," he says on another occasion,* "to make use of European products increases gradually, and it is hoped that in time it may prove strong enough to induce the native to work for longer periods than is the case at present." To make the propaganda against nakedness more effective, every employer of native labour is enjoined to give their men blankets either as part of their wages or part of their upkeep, and thus to contribute to the progress of civilisation in East Africa.

Such, then, are the methods which the British use in endeavouring to implant in the breasts of the natives a liking for the all-saving article of capitalist faith, work. There is no compulsion to work—oh, dear, no! This is left for King Leopold to introduce, but the British flag is free from such a taint. The natives are only deprived of their means of subsistence and moral support, and are taxed for their protection, as it were, so that it may be in their interest to hire themselves out to the whites. Freedom of contract, just as in England, nothing more.

Still, even with these methods the work of civilisation does not proceed quite smoothly. The natives are very recalcitrant, and are doing everything in their power to avoid work. Sometimes they only work so long as is required to earn the amount of the hut tax, and then return to their reserves and forests. At other times they make the discovery that with all the earnings they can obtain from the whites they might as well not come out from their reserves and forests at all. Then, again, they find that intensive labour, such as is imposed upon them, does not suit their constitution, and they may as well ruin it in prison as on the farms of the settlers. In all cases they find the work that is required of them exceedingly dull and irksome, and whenever they have a chance of escaping from their masters and the police, they do not hesitate to do so.

* Report for 1906-7, p. 39.

In vain has the Government established a minimum scale of wages for various districts and various trades, in the teeth of all the "best" teaching of economists at home. In vain has it also instituted a special department for native affairs, one of whose chief functions is to act as a labour bureau to supply the colonists with men and catch them when they run away. The natives do not take kindly either to the one or to the other, and shirk their work like regular British loafers. Under these circumstances discontent among the colonists has of late become very rife, and broke out recently in an open revolt against the incapable administration. A meeting of settlers was held at Mombasa at which the grievances were frankly aired in the presence of the Governor, and the latter refusing to comply on the spot with all the suggestions, a noisy demonstration was made under his windows and the crowd shouted "Resign, resign!" The reader will find the interesting details of this affair (which included the suspension of two members of the Legislative Council, Lord Delamere and a certain Mr. Baillie, for leading the "revolt") in the recently issued "Correspondence relating to Affairs in the East Africa Protectorate" (Cd. 4,122.) He will also find there a detailed report of the proceedings at the above-mentioned meeting, which it would be to the profit of every Social-Democrat to read. We can only give here the merest outline of the discussion in order to indicate the frame of mind in which the white man views the burden which he bears.

The leitmotiv of the discussion was given by the opener, Mr. Anderson, in the words that "there was a scarcity of labour to-day, and strange to say in a country where the labour was most prolific."* "Never," said another speaker,† "had he seen the labour question in such an unorganised or chaotic position as in this colony." He had three gardeners engaged for six months at the beginning of the month. "After

* l.c., p. 8.

† l.c., p. 9.

a week," laments Mr. Stevens, "one disappears, without complaint or warning; three days ago another walked off, and he was daily expecting the third to disappear." "At Limoru," was the complaint of a third speaker,* "there was no lack of natives, who, however, preferred to loaf on their shambas instead of working." Such a low state of morality among the natives was deeply deplored by those present. "We read," piously said Mr. Wilson, whom we mentioned before,† "we read in the annals of history that a man had a curse put upon him, and by the sweat of his brow he must live. That is so as regards the white man, so that the man who does nothing to induce the native to work . . . was, to his mind, criminally culpable. The best thing for the native was work, and as they work they improve." Dr. Scott, of the Scotch Mission, supported Mr. Wilson's contention. "To think," he said,‡ "that the natives have not a duty to the country as well as to the revenue is short-sighted. Every man in the country should do duty, not only by paying, but by working. . . . Work would undoubtedly be beneficial to them, and in developing the country they would assist to develop themselves. Work supplied to natives is, therefore, a most excellent thing." He, "as a minister, would protest against all means of forcing labour." For one thing, he adds in parenthesis, "arbitrary methods never pay in the long run." He suggests instead "some legalised method to encourage natives to work," such as, for instance, the imposition of a tax equal to a month's work, which "will associate labour with the tax in their own mind." This will have a great educational value, and will result in "a considerable increase in the labour supply without any arbitrary methods and pressing men to work."

This most Christian proposal for the "supply" of work to the natives was warmly supported by many other speakers. Mr. Ward asked : § "What was the

* Report for 1906-7, p. 17. † l.c., p. 12. ‡ l.c., p. 13. § l.c., p. 15.

rock bottom cause of the scarcity of labour? Was it sheer laziness? If so, some system should be introduced to combat this, such as exemption from taxation through work, i.e., that the native should be taxed inversely proportionate to the amount of work for Europeans." Lord Delamere spoke in the same sense,* suggesting also that "indirect taxation, such as a tax on blankets, etc., would certainly bring more into work." Mr. Wood, another worthy,† "suggested a taxation of Rs. 12 per head—not hut—Rs. 9 of which could be rebated for work done." "We had got," he continued, "to educate the native to work. We were educated years ago to work; it was, therefore, our duty to teach the natives to come into line as well."

Others made various other suggestions, as valuable as the first. Mr. Watkins recommended‡ that "they should insist on natives clothing themselves and increasing their requirements." Mr. Morgan suggested§ that, inasmuch as the "natives were enjoying such benefits under the British rule and paying nothing for them," an import duty should be put on blankets, wire, and beads, "so that there would be an additional inducement for them to work for the white man." Mr. Buckland, again, recommended|| the adoption of the Glen Grey Act, invented by Cecil Rhodes, "by which a native, if he could produce a pass from a white employer, need not work for one, two, or three months." Lord Delamere made three valuable suggestions. The one was that the natives should themselves pay for the blankets they obtain. "You have to create wants as far as possible," he declared.¶ "There is one want in this country—the blanket; but by the new rules the employer has to pay for this, and, therefore, that want is done away with." Another suggestion was** "that the amount of land that the natives are allowed to hold should be absolutely limited; as long as the natives may take their cattle away and put them on

* l.c., p. 16. † l.c., p. 17. ‡ l.c., p. 9. § l.c., p. 10-11.
 || l.c., p. 15. ¶ l.c., p. 16. ** l.c., p. 16.

new land you will not get a supply of labour." And the third one was simply that* "the price of labour must be lowered, and the lower you keep it the man can buy less with that money, and so has to work longer to get what he wants." This latter suggestion being a combination of simplicity with genius, the meeting reached the end of its intellectual resources and came to an end.

It is needless to comment on these proceedings, as they speak eloquently for themselves. They are, nevertheless, highly characteristic as showing what the colonists expect to find when they go out to "civilise" the nigger, and what the real crux of colonisation business is. The white man goes out to the wilds of Africa with the sole view of making money by means of the labour of the natives, and the whole business of colonial administration has for its aim to supply him both with natural material and labour power at the cheapest rates compatible with the maxim about the goose and the golden eggs.

Those of us who are inclined to take the view that it is possible to moralise colonisation or to introduce a Socialist policy of colonisation, will do well to remember this simple truth. Colonisation has for its basis the subjection and the exploitation of the native, and by sanctioning the former even to a degree you sanction the latter to the full extent. There is no middle course whatsoever. As the covering letter of the Colonists' Association, forwarding to the Governor the resolutions of the Mombasa meeting, puts it,† "it is grossly unfair to invite the settler to this country, as has been done, to give him land under conditions which force him to work, and at the same time to do away with the *foundation on which the whole of his enterprise and hope is based, namely, cheap labour.*" This is perfectly clear and perfectly true, and those who accept colonisation, while repudiating the exploitation of native labour, simply do not know what colonisation is and what it implies. It is no exaggeration to

* Report for 1906-7, p. 16.

† l.c., p. 4.

say that colonisation on any other methods than those of most ruthless barbarism is absolutely impossible, and the amount of human suffering which it brings in its trail is simply incalculable. It plays havoc with the secular institutions and mode of life of the native races, and delivers millions of them to slow torture and death. A very characteristic story, with which we may fittingly conclude our article, is told in the report of another British colony in Africa, which besides its resemblance to an incident of some familiarity to the Christian world, illustrates to us the working of the native mind in the midst of the misery produced by the advent of European civilisation. "At the moment," we are told,* "when the depressed state of the home markets began to make themselves felt in Ashanti, a fetish priest at Tekiman announced the speedy advent of a new 'god,' who was to bring riches to the poor, and reduce the rich to abject poverty. At his coming the black man was to become white and the white man black. He also let it be known that any man found tapping rubber, farming, or hunting in the forest, on the 'god's' arrival, will be turned into an antelope. Incredible as it may appear, this impostor succeeded in paralysing the local rubber trade. He was eventually arrested, and is at present detained in Coomassie. His 'fetish' has fallen into disrepute, and is not now heard of." A more caustic satire on Christianity could not have been written by Voltaire himself, and we have no doubt that the report of Pontius Pilate on the execution of Christ was drawn up in somewhat similar terms. "The fetish has fallen into disrepute, and is not now heard of." No, it is not yet heard of; but a Paul is arising in the shape of the Socialist proletariat, the humble faith of the unknown fetish priest will be incorporated with the larger and grander faith of Socialism, and a new reign will be inaugurated where there will no longer be any sneering governors or slave-driving Romans.

TH. ROTHSTEIN.

* Ashanti Report for 1907. (Cd. 3729-28), p. 22.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

Aubrey De Vere says: "Prejudice, which only sees what it pleases, cannot see that which is plain." This is undoubtedly true when applied to the question, "Is alcohol of any service or benefit to mankind?" Our temperance advocate will answer emphatically, No. On the other hand, the moderate drinker will as emphatically say, Yes. Each, of course, will claim that all evidence is with his own respective case.

EVIDENCE AGAINST ALCOHOL.

1. Our temperance friends state that although alcohol is a stimulant, it is only temporarily so, as although the temperature is raised and the circulation quickened, generating more energy and activity, yet in a short space of time reaction sets in and the temperature becomes lower than before the alcohol was consumed. This is followed by a feeling of lassitude and inactivity, and, as a consequence, anyone who has taken it is now physically in a worse condition than before he resorted to this pseudo-scientific remedy.

2. The next argument is that experiments made upon soldiers on the march prove the superiority of the non-alcoholic armies over the armies that are served with this body-destroying drug?

3. A further argument is that alcohol is not a food, and, therefore, must not only be useless, but injurious, since without performing any useful function it has to be eliminated from the body, thereby using blood

which might have been utilised for some functional benefit.

4. Again, it is stated, it is not a stimulant but a sedative—a brain cell destroyer—and, therefore, an enemy of man.

5. Lastly, it is claimed that total abstainers have a greater span of life than the non-abstainer, as is proved by having to pay a smaller fee for life assurance.

This, I think, is a fair summary of the evidence in general advanced against the consumption of alcohol.

THE MORAL ASPECT.

It is again and again stated that if there were no other argument, the fact that more evil results than benefits are derived therefrom would alone be sufficient evidence to universally prohibit its use as a so-called medicine.

A POOR BRIEF.

Strange as it may appear, there is no scientific demonstration in any of the above statements.

1. Re temperature. It is well known to students of physiology that the clinical thermometer does not register the actual temperature of the body, but simply that of the surface where radiation is at a maximum; the internal temperature varying in different parts of the body. Hence this evidence must be ruled out of court. (Here we may add that, although the clinical thermometer is a marvellous instrument in the hands of our medical men, it is not an ideal instrument, and will sooner or later have to be replaced by some more perfect method.) And it must be remembered that it is not a question of high or low temperature, but of benefit or injury.

2. The experiments made on soldiers do not affect the case, as these are made on healthy and vigorous men, and no medical man claims that such persons require alcohol.

3. As to it not being a food. Before answering this question let me again emphasise the point that it is not a question of being or not being a food, or a stimulant, or long life, or such side-tracking questions. But is it under certain circumstances of use to man? Well, now, tea is not a food in the ordinary acceptation of the term, yet when taken in a proper manner, it is so undoubtedly, seeing that it is an aid to digestion, and also acts in the same manner as (wrongly so-called) stimulants do, as also do many other articles of consumption.

Samuel Wilks, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., says, "I believe alcohol soothes a worried nervous system, and by preventing wear and tear actually supports the frame." James Risdon Bennett, M.D., R.C.P., L.F.D., F.R.S., says, "Has alcohol any special advantage over articles of diet in restoring exhausted nervous power, or repairing the waste attendant on its exercise? I believe it has, and that where one man may be where a few raisins answer the purpose there are more whose experience has told them that three or four brandied cherries are better." Again the experiments conducted by Dr. W. H. Goddard, B.A., on dogs resulted as follows:—"When small quantities of alcohol are taken 95 per cent. of it was acted upon in the body, but when excessive quantities were taken 49 per cent. of it was excreted unchanged. It would appear, therefore, that the animal system can deal with small quantities of alcohol, and in a technical sense it can be called a food." We are informed that these experiments were made, not with a view to the harmful or beneficial effects, but to find out what became of alcohol and what are its products when taken into the system.

After such expert evidence as the above regarding alcohol not being a food, at least a verdict of "not proven" can be claimed.

4. Whether alcohol is a stimulant or a sedative is beside the question. It undoubtedly acts upon different persons in a different manner. When alcohol

is taken into the system it causes the vaso-motor nerves to release their hold upon arterioles (small arteries) thus allowing the blood to pass with greater ease into the capillaries. Hence, the heart is released of the necessity of having to force the blood into the arterioles. This, it has been well said, makes the heart beat much faster, exactly as a clock does when relieved of the pendulum, thereby assisting a weak heart.

5. As to the longevity of the abstainer as compared with the drunkard, as proved (?) by the insurance premium, this is a plausible argument, yet not scientific evidence, and for this obvious reason—all abstainers are placed in one class and moderate and excessive drinkers in another, thus the average age of the moderate drinker's life is reduced, owing the comparatively short life of the heavy drinker. This classification may be all right for insurance companies but clearly prove nothing regarding the question. To solve this part of the question we should divide men into three classes, viz., abstainers, moderate drinkers, and excessive drinkers (not drunkards) then we would have clear evidence. The standard to be Dr. Parke's daily consumption allowance—one and a-half ounces of alcohol—to constitute a moderate drinker.

Coming to the moral aspect of the question, although there is untold misery and wretchedness caused through its abuse, the fact that even if 99 men suffered from such abuse that is no argument against the 100th man resorting to it if he can derive any benefit therefrom by using it as a medicine, and it is only as such that it is prescribed by medical practitioners. Dr. T. Laude Brunton, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., says: "That for every medical man of distinction who is in favour of total abstinence I would find 20 who would be against it," and, further: "If a man is observant of himself and is temperate in all things he is a better judge of what agrees with him under ordinary circumstances than any physician can be." Again we must remember that in all our hospitals, where all our

leading medical men gain their knowledge, they administer and prescribe alcohol for the benefit of their patients, and, if I mistake not, it is the last resource they have at their command. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that all real scientific evidence at our disposal is against the idea that alcohol is, under all conceivable conditions, the enemy of man, but rather, when used properly, becomes his servant and benefactor.

Sir James C. Brown pertinently says: "Amateur physicians are almost invariably bad, and many of the total abstinence zealots who denounce the medical use of alcohol are of that class."

JNO. RHIND.



SPEAKING before the Bradford Trades Council on half-time labour, Mr. M. Conway, of Feversham Street Council School, said the argument that family necessity determined whether children should go half-time or not could not be maintained, because the more adults there were employed the greater the number of half-timers. In 1901, a time of trade depression, there were 300 half-timers in Bradford out of 15,000 who were eligible. In 1907, a time of trade prosperity, there were 5,093 out of 10,591 who were eligible. In Lancashire, in 1906-7 there were 95 new mills erected, giving employment to 50,000 people, and at the same time the number of half-timers in Lancashire increased by leaps and bounds. The physical effect on the children was bad. He could speak from sad experience. They came to school utterly unable to work, and it was simply cruel to persist in keeping their noses to the grindstone. A teacher told him recently that in an examination of a mixed class of day-scholars and half-timers, the half-timers got only 60 per cent. of the marks, as against 92 per cent. by the day scholars. When the "Daily News" commissioner came to Bradford some years ago he examined a mixed class in mental arithmetic, and against 28½ per cent. of correct answers given by half-timers the day-scholars gave 78½ per cent. There was neither social necessity nor social justification for half-time labour, and society had no right to call upon a child to work whilst there was a single adult unemployed.

THE MONTH.

While the result of the Haggerston election was not as good as most of us hoped, it was better than might have been expected. To have polled nearly a thousand votes for an out-and-out Social-Democratic candidate and an out-and-out Social-Democratic programme was no mean achievement. It is only necessary now for Burrows to stick to the place, and for the local comrades to carry on an active propaganda there, and the seat should be ours at the next election.

The votes polled in a three-cornered contest, with no second ballot, afford no criterion as to what the result would be in a straight fight between two of the parties. Although the Tory was elected by a majority over both his opponents, and our candidate was third on the list, we see no reason for changing the opinion we first formed, that, in a straight fight with the Tory, Burrows would probably have won.

One striking feature of the election was the hostility manifested by the Suffragettes to our candidate. It was a regular rallying of the Socialist forces at Haggerston, and no Socialist candidate surely had such a host of women workers before. But that only made the hostility of the Suffragettes, all the more extraordinary and significant. Incidentally, this not only serves to demonstrate the truth that there is no gratitude in politics, seeing that the demand of women for political enfranchisement has had no more ardent supporter than Herbert Burrows, in the Socialist movement or outside of it—but it should allay the fears of those who fear sex dominatio

as a result of female suffrage. There is quite evidently no sex-solidarity.

It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that some women, even some who claim to be Socialists, should regard "Votes for Women" as the most important question of all. The greater surely contains the less in the domain of politics as elsewhere, and the whole Social-Democratic programme, involving, as it does, the political and social equality of all men and women, is of infinitely greater importance than a proposal to increase the voting power of a privileged class on the specious plea of sex-equality.

Quite apart from that there are other political reforms, if the object is to democratise the political machinery, which are quite as urgent as votes for women. These were well set out and discussed at the national conference held at the Holborn Town Hall on July 25. To enable the working people to use political power as a means to their economic and social emancipation, we need to simplify the present system of registration; to have members of Parliament paid, and election expenses defrayed out of public funds; together with the adoption of some system of proportional representation, as well as adult suffrage. These were the views adopted at the conference, and, as the present Prime Minister has promised a democratic measure of political reform, a deputation was appointed to urge upon him the importance of incorporating these principles in his Bill.

In this connection the article contributed by Keir Hardie to a recent number of the "Socialistische Monats-Hefte" is of some interest. Mr. Hardie says that we of the Social-Democratic Party accuse all who support the Limited Bill of being opposed to Adult Suffrage. That is not true, and Mr. Hardie should know that it is not true. While it is universally admitted that many of those who support the Limited Bill are opposed to Adult Suffrage, and support that Bill because they believe—and, as we think, rightly believe—that it would be an obstacle to any further extension of the franchise, we have never suggested that this was true of all those

who support that measure, or that Mr. Hardie and his friends were not entirely in favour of Adult Suffrage. They, we have no reason to doubt, honestly believe that this Limited Bill is a step in the right direction. We are only astonished that they do not see that it is, on the contrary, a step in just the opposite direction—anti-democratic and reactionary.

With Keir Hardie, of course, his attitude is based upon the theory that political equality is possible under existing economic conditions; that the vote is important in itself, and not merely as a means to an end; that everyone should have a vote; and that every extension of the franchise is good in itself. He would even give votes to peers! It is difficult to understand how anyone with those views—seeing that the present franchise is based solely on property—could reasonably oppose plural voting.

Mr. Hardie, although at some pains to meet what he represents to be the Social-Democrats' opposition to his views on this question, courteously refers to our party as a negligible quantity. He omits to inform the readers of the "Monats-Hefte," however, that the Labour Party has endorsed our view in conference after conference, and at the last conference defeated a resolution in favour of the Limited Bill by 784,000 votes to 257,000.

The decline in trade still continues, and reductions in wages and short time are the rule in many industries. The number of unemployed is quite phenomenal for the time of year, the percentage being 8.2 in the trade unions making returns. This is about three times the normal for this period of the year, and is evidence of quite exceptional slackness. The outlook for the coming winter is gloomy indeed, but our light-hearted President of the Local Government Board, secure in the enjoyment of his £5,000 a year, sees no cause for apprehension.

One of the most infamous of the many infamous acts of tyranny in the whole course of British rule in India has been perpetrated

in sentencing Mr. Bal Gungadhar Tilak to six years' transportation. This, which the "Indian Sociologist" calls a death-dealing sentence and one which it is doubtless anticipated its victim will not outlive, was imposed merely for publishing an article which endeavoured to convey to the Indian Government the old truth that despotism and repression generally breed violence and outrage. But the British Government in India appears to be proof against all warnings, and goes blundering on its headstrong course, which is rapidly consolidating all sections of the Indian people against it.

While our Liberal Government sends Indian patriots to transportation and death for teaching self-evident truths and for advocating self-government for India, all sections of Englishmen are congratulating the Young Turks on the almost bloodless victory of the revolution in Turkey. How true it is that circumstances alter cases! A successful rising against the absolute power of Abdul Hamid and for self-government for Turkey is something to be applauded. The advocacy, not of a rising, but of an agitation for self-government for India, is a very different matter, and must be put down with the utmost rigour.

For this, of course, there are other reasons besides the innate love of the Englishman for liberty—wherever he doesn't happen to rule. The development of constitutionalism in Turkey may be of material assistance to the development of capitalism. Moreover, Turkey holds the key to the East, and the German Kaiser and the Sultan were becoming too friendly. The success of the Young Turks may ensure the maintenance of the British supremacy in the Ottoman Empire, and thus help to preserve "our" Empire in the East, and so, incidentally, a victory for constitutional liberty in Turkey may serve to strengthen British despotism in India.

With it all, however, the war clouds continue to gather, Germany is making vast preparations which can have no objective but England. Now, it is perfectly certain that nobody in this country wants war. As "Vorwaerts" pointed out at the time of

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's appeal for peace, Great Britain is in the position of the man who has won a pile at cards and now wants to leave off playing. But the other players regard the matter in a different light, and while no one here would pretend that England has anything to gain by a war with Germany, the German Government may take a different view of the situation. That is all the more reason why our Government should be free from unnecessary responsibilities and entangling alliances abroad. The working-people of England may have reason to oppose an invasion of these shores; they would have none for fighting to maintain despotism in India or elsewhere. Our sympathies, meanwhile, are entirely with the Peace party everywhere, and with the Peace Congress and Peace demonstrations recently held here; but international peace can only be a mere aspiration until the economic and political causes of war are eliminated.

The occurrences at Draveil-Vigneux in France, where strikers were charged upon and shot down by soldiers, give point to the inquiry recently held here into the use of troops in civil disturbances. That inquiry may be said to have been abortive because wherever an armed force is at the disposal of the master class, that armed force will be used against the workers whenever the masters consider it to be necessary. That, of course, in spite of any difference in the law, holds good in France as well as in this country. The masters will always resort to force when no other means will serve, and the only way to meet this is for the people to be prepared to meet force with force, by arming themselves, or to abandon the struggle at the first display of force on the side of the masters.

MR. H. G. WELLS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The following exposition of the policy of the Social-Democratic Party, sent to Lady Warwick in reply to a question, has been forwarded to us for publication:—

My dear Lady Warwick,—You have paid me the compliment of asking my opinion in regard to Mr. H. G. Wells's article in the June number of "The Socialist Review." To answer fully I should have to write an article at least as long as his, so I must content myself with giving you only a few of my impressions.

Mr. H. G. Wells commences by saying that Mr. Dan Irving is not an official representative of the Independent Labour Party, but what does that matter and what has that to do with Socialism? Mr. Dan Irving is an official representative of the Socialist Party, because he fully accepts the basis imposed by that Party. This basis was re-affirmed at the recent Socialist Congresses to which the British Labour Party was only admitted on sufferance, and because the British Section is so very weak that one has to be indulgent to a fragile movement while it is still in its infancy.

Mr. H. G. Wells, on the other hand, has no claim to stand as a representative of the Socialist Party, having never attended any of the great and governing gatherings of that Party, and because he obviously does not accept the basis there established. It is not possible to be a member of the Socialist Party and to disagree with the Social-Democratic Party of Great Britain, since this is the only British organisation which has openly and before the whole world accepted the basis. Therefore the S.D.P. constitutes the British Section of the Socialist Party. The other British Parties, the trade unionists and the Independent Labour Party delegates, have always striven to whittle down the significance of Socialism, and attempted to introduce amendments for the purpose of changing the qualification for admission. The British Socialists would have been defeated in the British section at Amsterdam by the trade union and I.L.P. delegates but for the aid of the Fabians, whose vote just turned the scale.

Mr. H. G. Wells is of course at liberty not to agree with Socialism, and to try and create some attenuated British Socialist

serum of his own, but he must not call it Socialism or a part of the Socialist Party. That term represents the largest, not the smallest, body. In the largest body the British section is one of the smallest sections, and yet Mr. Wells would make it smaller still. So small, indeed, Mr. Wells is quite right in saying that, unlike the Tory and Liberal Parties, the Socialist Party "cannot fight over practically the whole country"—that is, in England. Mr. Wells seems to forget that we do fight practically over the whole country of Belgium, of Germany, of France, of Austria. As we obtained three and a quarter million votes in Germany—which is probably the best-educated country in the world—we can afford to content ourselves with only 276 votes in an unorganised district of Manchester, which is situated in one of the worst-educated among the large countries of the world.

Also Mr. H. G. Wells should see that it is the highest possible honour for our comrade Irving to have scored so few votes. If he had received one or two thousand votes; or, worse still, if he had actually been elected, suspicion might have arisen that he was ambitious and seeking self-advancement, that he was "a lucky fellow" and "on the make."

What strikes me so painfully in Mr. Wells's article is its absence of generosity, of largeness of mind and of chivalry. He says we are "impracticable and wrong-headed and hopelessly destitute of constructive ideas." This, in my mind, is an exaggerated, violent, unfriendly statement, but I am proud to acknowledge that there is some truth in it. Has Mr. Wells never heard of action and reaction; of the law of nature by which every virtue engenders its particular train of vices and vice versa. The Social-Democratic Federation has for many years preached in the wilderness, has been content to endure every sort of persecution, without the remotest chance of carrying any election whatsoever, of reaping any other result than that of the boycotting and ruin of its prominent members. Surely so pathetic an experience should have inspired an imaginative author like Mr. Wells with an ardent and chivalrous desire to stand by the veterans who have tenaciously fought under such adverse, such absolutely hopeless surroundings. On the other hand, as a philosopher, he would anticipate that this virtuous unselfishness, that this extraordinary and arid experience, would naturally engender some defects. It is not with the dry, loose sand of the desert that we can learn to build palaces and mansions.

Undoubtedly, when there really is a chance of taking part in current legislature, the old Socialist fighters will have to learn a new lesson; but, considering that there is only one member of the House of Commons who has been elected as a Socialist, and even he only represents a minority of his constituency, we have time enough before us. Nor am I at all in a hurry. We do not want ambitious men to join the Socialist movement in the hope of making a political career for themselves. These sort of people are for ever sacrificing their programme so as to preserve their seats.

But the impractical dreamer, the strict adherent to the scientific definition of Socialism, by "over-emphasising the assertion of the collectivist idea," and even by occasionally displaying "vehement" and "childish" impatience, is not under actual conditions winning elections, he is doing more useful work, for he is making Socialists. Nothing would be more disastrous than to win elections if the electors themselves are not in the main Socialists.

It seems to me Mr. Wells should join the Radical Party;—the Radical Socialist Party as it must become, and thus, as usual, following the French example. There he could tinker over legislation and small constructive Bills and win elections to his heart's content. He might even pave the way a little bit for the Socialist movement which will come to the front at a later period of our national evolution.

My dear Lady Warwick, you have, I believe, had some exceptional opportunities of seeing how under the pretext of philanthropic, social reform and advanced movements generally, intriguers have striven merely for their own personal advancement, this has led me to hope you will understand my admiration for, and my devotion to a policy, and an organisation which, more than any other body, has ever endeavoured to promote principle in preference to personal ambition.

Believe me, for the cause,

Yours with all devotion,

A. S. HEADINGLEY.

THE CRISIS IN THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY.—(Conclusion.)

V.

But if manufacturers had been more careful they would have observed the increasing development of foreign competition, which in Italy took the form of making fast motors; in England, and especially in the United States, strong motors which could easily be repaired were being built, and in those respects they were better than the French cars.

Germany was one of the countries which did not compete with French makers. I must quote figures, though this I know is tedious at times. Thus German exports were in 1902 of the value of six million francs, in 1904 of 17 million francs, and in 1905 of 25 million francs.

This was not the case in the United States and in England. Though the latter country only began rather late to take up the manufacture of motors, that industry has since become established there. I quote at this point from an article of M. H. Laporte :

"I may refer to the attempts made by James Watts and his pupil Murdoch in 1784, but it was not till 1803 that Trevethick succeeded in constructing a carriage which took from seven to eight passengers and went up 'Cambon Beacon.' In 1821 further progress was made by Griffiths, and again by Anderson and James. But in 1828 greater things were done. A regular service was established between Gloucester and Cheltenham; they went four times a day, and did the journey in 45 minutes. But, as accidents occurred, in 1836 a Locomotive Act was brought in which introduced many restrictions; it determined the circumference of the wheels, and each vehicle had to be preceded by a man going at a walking pace and carrying a red flag, and this Act was not repealed till 1896."

Since then, however, England has also taken to manufacturing motors. Here are the imports in England for some years, valued in pounds sterling :—

	1903.	1905.	1906.
Germany ...	£29,256	£98,100	£52,950
Holland ...	32,131	49,710	51,552
Belgium ...	114,449	293,242	319,816
France ...	1,425,637	1,859,307	1,764,803
United States...	110,482	132,954	192,715
Other countries	2,085	1,550	3,155
	£1,714,040	£2,434,863	£3,484,997
Colonies ...	126	3,189	1,340
	£1,714,166	£2,438,102	£3,486,337

It must also be borne in mind that England is also now sending motors to countries where formerly we did so. This increase in her trade is shown by the following table of exports :—

	1903.	1905.	1906.
Holland	£4,725	£3,863	£9,39
Belgium	9,877	2,303	3,42
France	156,469	15,920	16,081
Italy	—	6,905	20,686
Egypt	—	5,669	8,433
United States	11,762	60,795	36,907
Argentina	—	11,916	22,534
Other countries	23,003	27,975	45,400
Total abroad	£204,836	£135,346	£162,055
Total Colonies	80,836	240,384	333,334
Grand Total	£285,869	£376,230	£495,393

It will be seen that England has sent fewer motors to France since 1903. Then the value was £156,469, as compared with £16,081 in 1906. But it is necessary to compare the total value of English exports, which, though decreasing as far as France is concerned, has considerably increased with those countries to which we formerly sent French motors. For while in 1903 the total value of the exports was £285,869, it had reached £495,000 in 1906, or an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

As to the United States, the increase is still greater. On this point it may not be out of place to quote a passage from a speech by the Marquis de Dion. He said, "In some countries there has been too great a rush to engage in the motor industry before taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration. Some persons have thought that the motor industry in France would be severely hit by the United States, but this is not correct."

Now I shall show that this is not correct, for the development of the motor industry has been prodigious in the United States. In 1900 there was a capital of 30 million francs devoted to this industry, and this had increased in 1905 to 107 million francs, and, naturally, the number of cars has enormously increased. In 1900 3,723 were produced, and in 1907 this number had grown to 22,830 being an increase in five years of 261 per cent. So that as this number of cars could not be absorbed by the States they exported some of them abroad. The following table shows the increase in American exports since 1905 :

Country to which exported.	1905-6	1906-7.
England	4,982,223 frs.	803,357 frs.
France	1,472,164 "	2,690,651 "
Canada	3,404,299 "	6,170,503 "
Mexico	2,218,786 "	4,288,654 "
East Indies	1,267,103 "	1,068,797 "
Australia	844,956 "	1,090,503 "
Total	14,189,531 frs.	23,342,689 frs.

If we look at these three last tables we see that Germany, England, and America, have exported cars of the value of 10,717,689 francs, thus entering into serious competition with France.

I have said nothing of Italy, where the Darracq Co. has started factories.

It was not possible for France to go on exporting as much as before.

From Jan. to Oct., 1905, her exports were of a value of 88,722,000 frs.

"	"	1906,	"	"	114,303,000 "
"	"	1907,	"	"	120,611,000 "

This shows that the exports of cars have not increased proportionately to the development of automobilism, and that the percentage of increase diminishes each year. In 1900 there was an increase of 73 per cent., and in 1901 of 90 per cent.; but this has decreased each year. It fell in 1902 to 71 per cent., in 1903 to 41 per cent., in 1904 to 32 per cent., in 1905 to 26 per cent., in 1906 to 28 per cent., and in 1907 to 27 per cent.

So it may be said that as motors improved, as the production increased, it became more and more difficult to export French cars, because the market was overstocked.

These facts have an eloquence of their own, and to-day manufacturers are agreed, though rather late, that they have made a mistake, and that now new machines must be made. Lighter cars must be constructed, and much could be done in using motors in agricultural industries. This has been at last admitted by M. de Dion, and he urges that it is advisable to construct cars which would be able to be used in transporting heavy goods.

Unless capitalists invest their money for this purpose, nothing will be done. Already, both in England and the United States, this has been partly done, and comparatively cheap motors for carrying goods have been made.

The "Automobile" of January 19, 1906, published some figures on this point, from which it appears that the grocer Felix Potin of Paris has kept an account of the expense of working two motor vans, and the cost comes to £1 a day, and the paper remarks that these expenses are very heavy, and unless they can be diminished these motor vans will not be employed.

It is to be feared also that great efforts will be made on the part of manufacturers to cut down wages in order that cars may be constructed cheaper. Therefore it is more than ever necessary that all workers employed in this industry should combine in order to oppose a vigorous resistance to any such "scheme."

A. MERRHEIM,

Secretary of the Federal Union of Metallurgic Workers, in "Le Mouvement Socialiste." (Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

THE SALVATION ARMY AND THE WORKING CLASS.

Not only do the bourgeois newspapers romance about the "social activity" of the Salvation Army—especially when a female journalist, possessed of a "socially-feeling soul," led by a clever female captain, is allowed to visit the Salvation Army's charitable institutions, and then give us touching pictures of all that is done there for the "poorest of the poor"—also the Philistine who draws his spiritual nourishment from that press, draws out his purse amiably to give a penny to the "War Cry" lassie who approaches his usual table at the café, as he says to his associates there with a knowing air: "Yes, these people do a great deal of good."

All this might be a matter of supreme indifference to us Socialists, if it were not that such talk is carried on thoughtlessly, and that even some of our comrades who wish to be specially impartial, are sometimes guilty of aiding in it. Such a one may, for instance, pronounce the Salvation Army to be a "harmless curiosity," which can do the working class no harm, and defend with eagerness truly worthy of a better cause the good faith of these "rather peculiar saints."

In general, our Social-Democratic press, and, consequently, the workers, take up an indifferent attitude toward the Salvation Army, sometimes tempered by a certain friendliness, as a harmless and very well-meaning body. It has been thought that we have no occasion to examine more closely into it, and we have let the Salvation Army establish itself, praising year after year its "social work," and its "good and beautiful intentions." This has been especially the case in England, where the Salvation Army has gained the firmest footing. But it is exactly there that the working class is at last beginning to rise up against this abuse, and to tear the hypocritical mask from its face. It has taken a great many years to realise what is really behind the pious Methodist-preacher, Booth, who has given himself the title of General, and who fills the people with enthusiasm by his prophet-like appearance and preaching.

At the fortieth Trades Union Congress, which was held on September 2-7, 1907, in the British watering-place, Bath, Mr.

O'Grady, M.P., delegate of the Furnishing Trades Federation, accused the Salvation Army of *making the utmost use of the sweating and Truck systems.*

After a careful examination of the evidence received, the Congress commissioned the Parliamentary Committee to put itself in communication with the leaders of the Salvation Army, and to beg them to do away with the system of sweating which is carried on in their workshops (in Hanbury Street, London), so that the work done there should no longer, as hitherto, be thrown on the market at a price which is immensely lower than that which is in general agreed upon between the building firms and the trade unions. O'Grady explained that the Salvation Army endangered the conditions of work obtained by the trade unions, besides doing nothing but harm to those it is supposed to save. It has been known for years that in the Salvation Army the worst system of exploitation flourishes, but one had no proof of it till three weeks ago. Over fifty workers are employed in the above-mentioned workshop in making furniture as well as carpentering, and it is almost impossible for them to free themselves from conditions which are almost like those of a penal colony.

Cases were mentioned in which *the wages were just one-fifth* of those generally paid to an ordinary carpenter by London firms. *Besides that the law against Truck is infringed.* According to calculation the worker is to receive 12s. a week, from which 9s. is kept back for board and lodging, a sum which O'Grady finds very high, even if the worker really gets the weekly wage of 12s.; in ninety cases out of a hundred, however, this is quite impossible, owing to the wages being paid on the piece-work system. Then out of the remaining 3s. something is taken off for clothes and boots, although these are mostly given as presents to the Army! The Salvation Army's idea to rescue and raise the people is very beautiful; but in reality it is made impossible for them to get back to proper conditions of work. For outside the Salvation Army's workshops the workers would have to provide their own tools, but they could never get together enough money to buy them out of the 1s. to 2s. a week that they really receive in cash from the Salvation Army.

Another delegate, Chandler, of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, reports that the Union he represents has paid thousands and tens of thousands to prevent the ruin of the workers during the trade's bad times. But the practices of the Salvation Army actually endanger the existence of the Union. If the S.A. continues to employ labour at such unheard-of low wages, and to throw the products on the market at a correspondingly cheap price, there would be danger that the speculative building contractors in the suburbs of London would realise the opportunity to buy cheaply the finished work, instead of having what they want made themselves, for which they have to pay the wages agreed to by the Unions as adequate. Chandler is of opinion

that we must get the leaders of the Salvation Army to see their mistake, and they will certainly take means to rectify it.

Mr. Dixon, representative of the same Carpenters' and Joiners' organisation, said that for seven years efforts have been made to obtain sufficient proofs of the existence of these unheard-of abuses, and that during all these years not one single member of his organisation has ever even spoken a disrespectful word about "General" Booth. But after a few more salaams before the "General" and the work of the "Army," the speaker, after all, closed by expressing his opinion that: "Religion is *one* thing, and an exalted thing, if it keeps on the right track; but when a religious association lets itself down so low as to propagate religion on the one side, and on the other to make it a business concern, then it is high time that the public should know what is going on."

Supposing we assume that it is really as these cautious English trade union leaders say, namely, that Booth knows nothing of the detestable goings on in the "Salvation" institutions he has called into existence, it is at the same time obvious how much this pious social help is worth, this "work for the welfare of the poorer brothers and sisters."

The Methodist preacher Booth relates that he had been shocked by the horrible misery which he saw in London's streets and alleys, under its bridges and gateways; he had wanted to help to save by the means procured by him for charity from the rich, who were moved by his eloquence.

And with the help of these means he lets shameful competition be entered into against the organised trade unionists by letting those "saved" by him work under conditions which have been shown up to the whole world by the Trades Union Congress. The carpenters and cabinet-makers rescued by the Salvation Army work at one-fifth of the trade union rate of wages in London! The charitable employers and their ladies may well, touched by the benign "social" work of the Salvation Army, joyfully encourage their works by giving the General a small portion of the greatly increased profits for enlarging the institutions of the "Army"! The more such rescue-institutions—such workshops in which the toolless workers toil for board and lodging, for old clothes and boots given by the public, and, in addition to this, 1s. or 2s. weekly wage in cash—the richer the blessing to the capitalists, the more are they liberated from the energetic demands of the organised workers, strong through self-help and solidarity.

All this General Booth, the social reformer, the rescuer, did not see!

The victims of the capitalistic order of society, who, as a result of exploitation, of temporary unemployment, and their necessary accompaniments of moral and physical weakness, have become drunkards and prostitutes, are here again made serviceable for the capitalist society—without hope of escape!

"With what we earn here we shall never be in the position to begin work afresh outside," said one of the "rescued" to a colleague from a trade union. This is so, not only because they can never get together enough money to buy themselves decent tools, or to satisfy the most urgent needs when they come out to pay for lodging and food till they find work, but also because the fare they get there is such that a renewal of energy and courage for the struggle for existence is precluded for all time. Added to this there is the training in humility, the complete breaking down of any independence, which makes the poor creatures thus "rescued" for ever incapable of independent action for themselves and their class.

What sort of spiritual food is offered there is shown in the hymns proclaiming the glories of the hereafter, the "white robes" and "golden shoes" to be worn by the rescued, who turn and repent and become "washed in the blood of the Lamb."

If the large, excellently managed London Carpenters' Union needed seven years before it was able to show up and prove with figures and undeniable facts the abuses, of the existence of which is was quite certain, it shows how clever these people must be who know how to hide their "rescued ones" so well from the profane eyes of the trade unions.

What streams of blessing for the rich benefactors must flow from the agricultural and other industrial undertakings of the Salvation Army, the workers' organisations will have to ascertain. If the 40,000 persons who, according to a report by Adele Schreiber, in the "Frankfurter Zeitung," are employed in the sixteen country colonies of the Salvation Army, work under the same conditions as the fifty carpenters in the above-mentioned London workshops, one can imagine how unfairly they compete with the other workers there.

Here in Germany the Salvation Army gains ground each year. It understands how to get hold of its victims just among the most miserable classes, its oblation of persons and of money. I know a case of a poor quilt-maker, abandoned by her husband, who has to keep her child, who is still at school, and yet gives out of her wages of £1 a week, 2s. to the Salvation Army. Each "converted" one has to pay a penny for the recruits' ribbon, and 2½d. at the dedication, when he becomes entitled to the letters S.A., and then 10 per cent. of his weekly earnings, subscriptions for the hire of premises, and other things. But worse than this is the deteriorating influence that the Salvation Army exercises on the proletarians, turning their heads and making them incapable of raising themselves by force of organisation.

Our trade unions will do well to see if there be not also here among us, already existing, such hot-beds of unfair competition as those shown up by the London Unions.

—IDA ALTMAN in "Die Neue Zeit."

THE REVIEWS.

SOCIALISM REAL AND SO-CALLED.

Our comrade E. Belfort Bax replies to Dr. Beattie Crozier in the current "Fortnightly Review" as follows:—

Modern Socialism, in the strict sense of the word, dates as a theory from the "Communist Manifesto," written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1847, and is the outcome of the principles laid down in this essay and developed in the scientific and in the detail of a full and close analysis in the subsequent works of its authors, but, above all, in the magnum opus of Marx, "Das Kapital," the first volume of which, laying down the basis of Marxian economy, was published in 1867. The above statement as to the fatherhood of Marx, with respect to modern Socialism, so far as the main principles are concerned, I maintain is true without any reserve whatever. I am fully aware that there are not wanting English "Socialists" who are very anxious to disclaim all connection with the great founder of modern Socialism, and who are apt, when it is said of anyone of them, "thou too art of his disciples," to begin, I will not say precisely to "curse and swear," but certainly to protest very vehemently "I know not the man!" Of such as these a recent critic of Socialism in the "Spectator" was thinking, I suppose, when he alleged that time was when a criticism of the economic principles of Socialism was virtually synonymous with the criticism of Marx's "Kapital," but now that this basis is repudiated by so many it was difficult for the critic to know the precise nature of the doctrine he was dealing with. The critic may reassure himself in respect of what constitutes the theoretical basis of present-day Socialism. If he will analyse the speeches and writings of those true British Socialists who boast that they have never read Marx, he will find that all those ideas which differentiate them as Socialists from the ordinary Radical-Democrat come, directly or indirectly, out of Marx. In fact, generally speaking, we may define the Socialism of certain members of Parliament and popular writers for whom Marx is a "back number," as a species of bastard Marxism. The logical consequences and real bearing of the main Marxian theses are ignored, while a determined effort is made to reconcile them with all manner

of bourgeois prejudices. As practical men, members of Parliament and popular writers, having seats and circulations to be considered—seats sometimes in constituencies in which a Nonconformist element in the electorate may readily turn the scale, and circulations in respectable suburbs which are not to be despised—they hold that the wind must be tempered to the prejudices of these shorn lambs. Provincial Nonconformists sometimes have their own opinions on the subject of German Jews and of doctrines derived from them, while subscribers to local libraries are apt to be strict disciplinarians as to the views held by authors whose books are to be read in the family circle. *Hinc illæ lacrimæ.*

If he will forgive me for saying so, Dr. Crozier's whole criticism of Marx is throughout based on what logicians term an *ignoratio elenchi*. He sets up a terrible bogey, purely of his own construction and device, which he would have us take to represent Marx, and which he straightway proceeds to hew to pieces with manifold oburgation, in approved style. We expected in this last article, which claims to be a direct challenge to Marx himself, that Dr. Crozier would deal systematically with the main positions of the treatise on capital, rather than continue to harp upon the one or two deductions of his own which he fastens on to Marx in the course of the articles dealing with his English opponents. In this we have certainly been disappointed. Dr. Crozier, I suppose, might urge as an excuse for repeating himself that neither Mr. Blatchford nor Mr. Snowden, proud in their ignorance of Marx's works, were in a position, or were concerned, to deal with the subject from the Marxian point of view. This being so, it only remains for the present writer to point out in detail the misapprehensions under which Dr. Crozier is labouring on the subject of Marx's teaching, and to endeavour to indicate the fallacy underlying his chief counter-proposition.

Marx shows that value, as the fundamental economic element running through all produced and exchangeable articles of use, is the human labour which has gone to their production. This is, of course, a doctrine Marx has taken over from the old classical British economy. In consequence of the part it plays in Marx's system, this simple and obvious truth, recognised by Adam Smith, Ricardo, and all the older theorists, has come to be viewed with abhorrence by the modern bourgeois economist, who is never tired of denying it as out of date. Now, this principle of value being embodied labour, Marx applies as the touchstone in his analysis of the modern capitalist system of production. He points out that the value of wealth produced under the conditions of the great machine industry of modern times, with all the complexity of its processes, is au fond nothing but the "congealed human labour" expressed in it. The complexity of the economic forms may often hide this fact from view, but, as Marx contends, it remains a fact nevertheless. But now steps in our critic. "No," says Dr. Beattie Crozier, "it is not labour, it is not the workman who pro-

duces the wealth around us with its value; it is the powers of nature embodied in the machines; these are the real originators of wealth." How the machines could produce wealth by themselves without the application of human labour to them, or how the machines themselves could come into existence save as the product of human labour as applied to iron, wood, stone, in a word, to the raw materials of nature, Dr. Crozier does not tell us.

But, after all, it is not so much the machines themselves that interest our learned critic as the inventors of the machines, and thereby hangs a tale. Dr. Beattie Crozier bases his criticism on Marx on the theory that the latter was chiefly concerned in his analysis with the question of "strict economic justice" in the division of the surplus product over and above what was necessary to the maintenance of the labourer; a division, as Dr. Crozier informs us, "whereby each man gets the fruits of his labour, neither more nor less." Hence, we are told, "it became necessary as a preliminary for him to inquire as to precisely what men or body of men it was to whom this surplus was due, and without whose special exertions it could not have come into being at all." Here, therefore, according to Dr. Crozier, we have the kernel of the Marxian system. Marx, of course, insists that the whole of wealth production, the whole of economic value (and surplus value) is the creation of labour, or, to put the matter concretely, of the workman operating on the products of nature. But herein, says Dr. Crozier, Marx was a subtle deceiver. The real creator, if not of all value, at least of the surplus value, the surplus product, over and above the labourer's means of subsistence, now appropriated by the capitalist, is neither the labourer nor the capitalist, but the *inventor*.

Now, before going any further, it may interest Dr. Crozier to learn that this statement of Marx's position would be accepted by no Marxian and would be certainly unrecognisable by Marx himself. The author of "Das Kapital" was led to his Socialist conclusions as the logical outcome of his analysis of capitalist production, and was certainly actuated by no intention either beforehand or afterwards, of discovering "strict economic justice" in the division of the surplus, whereby each man gets the fruits of his labour, "neither more nor less." I defy Dr. Crozier to produce any passage in Marx which would justify the caricature of Marx's position contained in the words above quoted. It is a gloss put upon Marx by Dr. Crozier. The idea of "strict economic justice," in Dr. Crozier's sense, certainly never entered Marx's mind; while as to "each man" getting "the fruits of his labour, neither more nor less," it requires but a very little consideration of the conditions of modern industry to enable anyone to see such a scheme to be preposterously chimerical. In the complicated processes of modern production, the impossibility of assigning the precise amount of labour put by any given workman into the finished product is obvious. If Dr. Beattie Crozier was really under the delusion that Marx was capable of propounding such nonsense as this, there may have

been some excuse for his thinking him a Utopian schemer whom he could "dispose of as a serious economist," and for his talk about getting "Marx and his followers under hatches."

What, then, it may be asked, was the real gist and intention of the labours of Karl Marx? The answer is, Marx took not things as they were—the capitalist system, in which we live, and move, and have our being—as the subject of his investigation and analysis. He did not start with, or call to his aid, any abstract "economic man." What he sought to inquire was the meaning of, and implications involved in, the present conditions of production and distribution which we term the capitalist system. The course of his analysis brings out at once its historical bearings, its roots in the past, of the evolution of human society and the tendencies latent within it as regards the future of that evolution.* This tendency, he finds, points inevitably to the communist ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange as the next salient stage in the economic development of society. But for Marx the economic side of human affairs is the side which determines all the rest. A fundamental economic change involves sooner or later a corresponding change in all the other departments of human life—political, religious, juridical, ethical, artistic. It may be that Marx himself, and I certainly think that such is the case with some of his followers, has unduly exaggerated the direct causal efficiency, great as it undoubtedly is, of the economic factor in some aspects of human evolution. With this question I have dealt elsewhere, but whether or not, the point is, for our present purpose, more academic than practical. For the truth established by Marx—a truth all but recognised before his time—of the stupendous import of economic development on human development generally, whether, as with some Marxians, we treat the economic development as the sole cause of the rest, or whether we regard the economic factor and the intellectual factor as co-efficients in a common result (i.e., as reciprocally determining and determined by each other) is alike undeniable. Now of criticism of Marx's method or of any scientific treatment of the results of his analysis, I can find no trace in Dr. Crozier's animadversions. Instead of this he sets up an Aunt Sally of his own, consisting of fragments of Utopian dogma, which he proceeds to demolish.

The great *pièce de résistance* of Dr. Crozier, and also, I believe, of Mr. Mallock, in the attack on Marx, namely, the trotting out of the "inventor," can surely not be meant to be taken quite seriously? In the first place the ideas of the inventor do not as such enter into the sphere of economics. Marx found in the great industry, as established, the three factors—the workman, the

* It may be as well to point out here that the purely bogus opposition, so popular with a certain order of politicians to-day, between evolution and revolution does not exist for Marx or his followers. They recognise that every revolution forms a part, usually the consummation, of an evolution, and that every evolutionary process contains within itself revolutionary momenta.

capitalist, and the machine. He did not find Dr. Crozier's pet, the inventor, "fooling round" (as Mr. Dooley might say), and, therefore, not being there he was not in a position to get him "huddled away," as alleged by the learned doctor. Marx explains that in the process of capitalist production, the workman is necessarily docked of a portion of the product of his labour, a portion which may be determined with fair accuracy, in the long run, in the different phases of capitalist production, although it would be impossible to assess the amount of surplus value of which any given individual workman had been deprived. In estimating the rate of exploitation of labour by capital we start from *economic value* as defined by Marx and the older economists, namely, specially useful average labour, simple or compound, as measured on a time basis. Hence the value of the machine for Marx's purpose is neither the use-value nor the exchange-value, but the economic value as defined by Marx in the sense I have just given. Such is my answer to Dr. Crozier's challenge on page 88.

Let us now come back to Marx, not as the analyst of capitalist production, in other words, not in his capacity as scientific exponent of economic truths, but to Marx, the human agitator for the rights of the working classes, to Marx, in his capacity as man with ethical impulses and socio-political aspirations. As I have already pointed out, sheer scientific analysis of the conditions of capitalist production had led Marx to the conclusion that the present system of society must inevitably become transformed into Socialism. This, however, *per se*, is a purely theoretical deduction. It has, in itself, no immediate ethical or other practical bearing. But Marx was more than a mere theorist, he was also a social revolutionist with human sympathies. He desired the realisation of the future human society which scientific analysis showed him was already gestating in the womb of modern capitalist society, and he desired its realisation as speedily as possible. His economic and historical studies had shown him the proletariat as the heir of the ages in this connection, and as the class in and through which the great change should be effected. They taught him, further, that the entry upon the scene of the proletariat, as the dominant class, must mean the crucial step towards the abolition of a society based on classes altogether. Now here, undoubtedly, on the practical side of Marx's activity, the ethical moment, the idea of justice towards a class which, since entering the arena of history, has been oppressed and disinherited, did play a strong rôle with him. That the producers of wealth have always been those who have been the least enjoyers of wealth is an undoubted fact. This fact, under the conditions of modern capitalist production, is daily and hourly staring the whole world in the face. But that portion of the world for which writers like Dr. Crozier and Mr. Mallock have taken to themselves a special brief, the portion which has the good fortune to belong to the propertied classes, is very unwilling to recognise in its true bearings this same fact. Hence its advocates are com-

pelled to have resort to subterfuges. Across the great patent fact of injustice inflicted on the working classes by the present system of society it is accordingly sought to draw a red-herring in the shape of an imaginary counter-victim, to wit, the inventor. Now this poor fellow, it is contended, ought to have the whole increment of wealth produced by machine-industry over earlier methods of production to his own cheek. It is not the working men who slaves at laborious toil his eight, nine, or ten hours a day who is unjustly treated by the system! Oh, dear no! It is a man who, probably by the mere easy and agreeable exercise of natural gifts with which he has chanced to be endowed by "nature," in the shape of ancestors, who themselves have had to thank untold generations of men for the faculties they possessed and for the whole social environment which has made them what they were—he it is, forsooth, whose lot ought to be bewailed, and not that of the workman who, by his toil, gives effect to inventions which but for him would be dead devices! Dr. Crozier himself admits, besides, the Socialist contention that "hundreds of thousands of minor workers have been engaged in building up the successive steps to every great scientific discovery and invention before the single discoverer with whose name the great invention is identified has planted his flagstaff on the summit." And how is Dr. Crozier going to find these out, be they few or many? No invention is isolated. It is inextricably bound up with innumerable other inventions and with the general scientific knowledge of its time.

Now let us consider the indications afforded us by Dr. Crozier of the extraordinary "scheme" he seems to think Marx, of all people in the world, and, with him, all revolutionary Socialists have up their sleeve. In the first place it may surprise him to hear that modern Socialism, and least of all Marx himself, does not offer any "scheme" at all. Individual Socialists may elaborate "schemes," but these, whether right or wrong, good or bad, represent only their own personal opinions. Socialism as a doctrine, as recognised by the Socialist Party as a whole, proclaims *tendencies*, the *main lines* upon which political and economic action must take to be effective in bringing us nearer the goal, namely, the complete communisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, which is the fundamental economic aim of Socialism. . . . But I am aware of no individual Socialist even of any note who has ever yet put forward a scheme involving the absurdities attributed to the unfortunate Marx and his followers by my respected opponent in the present controversy. As usual with the critics of Socialism, Dr. Crozier confuses between current Capitalist conditions and Socialist conditions. He tacitly assumes the whole framework of existing society and the existing state, and interpolates into it a measure supposed to represent the carrying-out of some principle of Socialist society, The incom-

patibility being obvious, it only remains for him to exclaim "Behold the absurdity, behold the monstrosity, of this proposal!" He cannot see that just as a statement of the main features of modern capitalist society, rehearsed by some prophetic seer to a feudal baron of the twelfth century, would have involved preposterous absurdities to the mind of the latter simply because he crudely judged them by the conditions and standard of society in which he lived; so he, Dr. Beattie Crozier, finds a difficulty in placing himself at the point of view of the principles enunciated by the scientific-Socialist seer of to-day, being equally incapable with our hypothetical feudal baron of divesting himself of the prepossessions derived from society around him in which he has, been all his life immersed.

Of course, we are treated in this latest attack on Socialism to suggestions as to the tyranny and coercion the "Socialist State" would exercise over the individual. Of the tyranny exercised to-day by the possessors of capital over the non-possessing classes nothing is said. The tyranny imposed by the directive power of a Socialist society would at most amount to the obligation of every average man to contribute a limited portion of his time to the carrying on, in some form or shape, of the necessary work of the world, by which true liberty would be ensured to all. Socialism means the *administration of things*, in contradistinction to our present civilisation, which means the *coercion of men*. The present State implies coercion in the interests, direct or indirect, of private property, all round. The ethical basis, which is the motive-power of the movement for economical and political reconstruction, may be found in the motto of the old revolutionaries of the eighteenth century—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." It is, however, pregnant with a new content. The sense in which the earlier revolutionary took it has proved itself illusory, but its ethical significance none the less remains. The conditions of capitalism themselves suffice to do the coercion in the economic sphere, but there are other forms of coercion of men in what Mill called "self-regarding actions," which the State still exercises directly. . .



SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE SUFFRAGE.

Keir Hardie has an article in the latest number of the "Socialistische Monats-Hefte," which, as a strange misrepresentation of our attitude to the "Votes for Women" movement, may be of interest to our readers. For that reason we reproduce it here:—

To us English people there is nothing new in the Women's Suffrage movement being persistently represented in a false light by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, as well as many

other persons. They speak and write exactly as if those amongst us, who support the demands of the women for the immediate granting of the franchise, were opposed to Universal Adult Suffrage, or, at any rate, were endeavouring to defer its introduction. Both assertions are untrue. I will here explain why I and a great majority of the Labour Party are for the immediate granting of the franchise to women on the same conditions as it is at present held, or may in the future be held, by men.

To-day no woman can vote in a Parliamentary election. She may possess all the necessary qualifications which would entitle a man to vote; solely and simply by her sex is she excluded from the exercise of the franchise. It is this sex disqualification which we are directing our efforts to clear out of the way. Once that is done, each further extension of the franchise in the future will equally apply to both men and women. If that is not done there is always the danger that women will have the same experience as in the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884, and will remain ignored in any fresh extension of the suffrage.

The opponents of the Women's Suffrage movement, in order to stir up opinion against it, now declare that an extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as the existing law will only benefit propertied women. That is a complete, and probably wilful, misrepresentation of the facts, as a simple examination shows. At present any man may have the vote who owns a house or rents a dwelling for which not less than 4s. a week rent is paid, and also any male employees or servants who occupy a house or dwelling for which they do not pay rent directly, but the rent of which is reckoned as part of their salaries. At the present moment there is a case pending before the High Court with the object of deciding the disputed point as to what shall be understood to constitute a house in this connection. In many parts of England a single building is divided into dwellings of one or two rooms each. There may be six or eight such dwellings in one house, having a single common entrance from the street. But each occupier will have a key to his own dwelling as well as a key of the street door. Such a room or rooms is regarded as a dwelling-house in the sense in which the term is used in the Electoral Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884. From that it follows, therefore, that each occupier of such separate dwelling is thereby qualified to vote. If this kind of franchise were now extended to women, a married woman, who possessed no property qualification, would not be entitled to the suffrage, but a married woman who had such qualification would be able to vote. It is on that ground that the opponents of the Women's Suffrage movement base their contentions that only propertied women would be able to vote. They, therefore, carefully ignore the fact that for every propertied woman who in this way would acquire the franchise, no fewer than 20 working women would gain the same right. Every widow who owned a small house and has had no

poor law relief, every married woman who occupied a separate dwelling, would be enfranchised, as would also every woman lodger paying a net rent of 4s. a week. Two years ago I spent some time in ascertaining the number of working women who would be enfranchised under the present suffrage. The Independent Labour Party, who from the outset have supported the demands of the women in this matter of the franchise, instituted a census in various parts of the country. It is on the information thus obtained and my own general knowledge of the working-class districts that I base the estimate I have given. Although, therefore, the granting of the franchise to women on the same terms as it is now possessed by men would enfranchise 20 working women for every propertied woman who would get the vote, the Social-Democratic Party not only intervenes as the opponent of this reform, but also, in the name of democracy, spreads abroad in England and foreign countries entirely misleading statements. Happily, in this instance, as so often in other cases, it is only a negligible quantity.

The Women's Suffrage movement has caught hold of the popular imagination in Great Britain in a way that no other movement has done in the last half century. Its influence already shows itself distinctly in the elections. Wherever the Women Suffragist speakers appear, such meetings assemble as no other party or movement can get together. Before this Parliament comes to an end an attempt is to be made to simplify the present system of registration, and then the Labour Party will strenuously fight for Adult Suffrage. But we do not conceal from ourselves the fact that our task will be rendered considerably easier if, in the meantime, we have got rid of the sex disqualification, which alone excludes women from equal political rights with men.

The leaders of the militant section of the women's movement are all Socialists, and have, most of them, been Socialists for many years. This fact alone should have secured for the demand of the women suffragists the sympathetic support of the Social-Democratic Party. It appears to me, however, that most of the opponents of the immediate extension of the franchise to women are influenced by the sex sentiment, the most prominent representative of which in this country is Mr. Belfort Bax. However that may be, the opposition to the suffrage campaign of the women, and especially to their methods, by trying to discredit these, is unworthy of the Socialist movement, and, I repeat, will be ineffectual against the rising tide which will bring women the franchise.

THE OLD LIGHTHOUSE-KEEPER.

There are a great number of small lighthouses on the rocks and reefs which stretch from the mouth of the Loire to the Gironde. Simon Lavan was keeper of one of these, and he lived alone in his lighthouse. The little round room which he had at the top of the tower, just below the light, was no bigger than the cabin of a small coasting vessel, but, small as it was, it was quite big enough for him. He only had his sailor's chest, a deal table, some shelves on which to put his kitchen utensils, a portrait of Jean Bart, and a crucifix. On each Saturday a small cutter used to bring him provisions for the week from a small port about nine miles away. If, during the week, he was in urgent need of anything then he hoisted a flag at the top of the lighthouse, and the master of the cutter would set sail at once for the lighthouse.

Yet one day the master came without being called, and brought a temporary substitute to Simon Lavan. He came to warn the old lighthouse-keeper that his dying sister wished to see him.

The cutter set sail at once for the port which could be seen far off in the evening haze. The master was at the helm, and the lighthouse-keeper was sitting near to him. Lavan was about 60 years of age, but his bald head, his pale cheeks, and his lack of teeth showed that he had been a long time at sea. He was dressed as a common sailor, but he had the cross of the Legion of Honour. This he had obtained during the war between England and France for a deed of daring. He was a slave to discipline, but at times he drank rather too much.

He was listening to the master of the cutter, Jacques Merlet, who was giving him details of the illness of his sister Madeleine. He only replied in monosyllables, and seemed to have some difficulty in talking, as he was so used to being silent when alone in the lighthouse. Jacques Merlet, on the contrary, was very fond of giving a great deal of explanation, and he used to take pride in rounding off his phrases. He had tried many trades: had been in turn a carpenter, a smith, a sailor, a sea-lawyer, and he even used to drug cattle and men. So he was a person of some importance in the district; the men used to touch their hats to him, and called him *Monsieur Merlet*.

He was reminding Lavan that his sister had lost her fifteen-year-old son Donatien by a mysterious accident, his boat having been lost while the boy and his sister were in her, and that since then the girl had become an idiot; he finished by asking him what he was going to do with his niece Georgette.

The answer was not an easy one to give, and the old man said nothing. Merlet, however, went on talking, and the cutter was coming near the harbour. There was a schooner from Marseilles at anchor, and they had to be careful not to come into collision with her mooring-rope. Merlet swore, for, as he said, it was Captain Bardanon, and he was one of the most quarrelsome men in existence.

As they were landing they saw Georgette, who was waiting for them. She was about fourteen years old, and was only dressed in a few rags. She was very pale, but she looked healthy, and was chanting the "De Profundis," which she always did when excited after having heard the psalm at her brother's funeral.

Lavan asked her how her mother was.

"She is waiting," the girl answered.

The lighthouse-keeper, who had feared he would be too late, heaved a sigh of relief. He jumped out of the boat, and began to climb the steps.

"Has the priest been?" he asked, looking at her.

She nodded.

"Will he come back?"

She shook her head.

"Then all is over?"

Georgette did not reply, but her eyes opened still wider, and her lips became more set.

Lavan went towards the cabin of the dying woman without repeating his questions.

The open door let him see two little candles inside, while the neighbours were praying on the threshold.

He went in. Madeleine was on a wretched bed, without curtains, which was almost level with the ground. A brass crucifix had been placed between her arms, and under her head there was a heap of ashes, called the pillow of anguish. An old woman, kneeling at the bedside, was repeating aloud the prayers of the dying, and the women kneeling outside were replying to these prayers. The breath of the dying woman was coming in gasps, and her eyes were shut. Yet, hearing Simon, she opened her eyes and showed that she was pleased to see him. She raised herself on her elbow, and gave her hand to her brother.

"Ah! there you are," she said in a low voice. "I was only waiting for you to go. May God reward you for having come."

She signed to him to come near. He knelt on the ground. Georgette squatted down near the bed.

"I have much to say, and I have but little time," continued the dying woman. "Listen as carefully as you can, Simon."

"I am listening, Madeleine," replied the sailor.

"The priest promised that I shall not live the night," she continued. "When my eyes have been closed you will let the neighbours attend to my poor body, but let it be with the linen which is on the oak chest."

"The sail of the cutter!" ejaculated Georgette, half-rising.

"Yes, Georgette; yes," continued Madeleine. "It was on it that we found Donatien when the tide brought back the wreck of the boat. Half was used for him. I wish to sleep in the same sail as my dear boy."

"It shall be done," murmured Georgette, with a kind of exaltation. "Will you see to it, Simon?"

"I will."

"And now," added the dying woman, "I want to ask you for something more; and if you agree it will make me happy, and if you decline it will add to the bitterness of death."

"Do you not know that I can refuse you nothing?"

"Is it true?" she cried. "Then if I asked you to have prayers said for the repose of the soul of my poor Donatien?"

"They shall be said."

"You promise?"

"I do."

"You will not forget it?"

"I will not."

"And you will not mind what it costs?"

"No; even if I had to spend all that I have saved in the year."

The dying woman clasped her hands.

"God will reward you on the great day when He shall come in His glory to judge us all; but I cost you enough while I was alive, and I shall not rob you when I am underground. My good man, I only want you to carry out my wishes."

She looked round her, and took a little old linen bag from her bosom.

"Here, my Simon," she whispered, "here are seven silver crowns which I have saved sou by sou, often going hungry to bed. I want to have a mass said every year for my poor Donatien, and I want a stone put by my grave instead of a wooden cross."

"It shall be placed," murmured Georgette, who was paying great attention to the words of the dying woman.

This attracted Madeleine's notice to the poor girl.

"Would you not like it, my poor innocent?" she continued.

"Some people would say that it would be better if I had left you the seven crowns; but you have relations who will not forsake you. People see the sufferings of the living and help them, whilst they forget the sufferings of the dead when they are hidden under the grass of the cemetery."

"I shall not forget Donatien," cried Georgette, with energy.

"Do you hear her, my Lavan?" replied the mother, whose face brightened up. "For Donatien and she loved each other

dearly, and were always together. As long as her brother was alive she was like all other children, but it would seem that when he went away he took her mind to the grave. Ah, if Donatien still lived all would be well, and I would not care even if I were to die."

A small tear, the last which was to leave her eyes, fell gently on her pale cheek. The keeper of the old lighthouse grew pale, and his tongue was untied.

"Do not think of the past, Madeleine," he said, "and take courage. All that you ask for shall be done. I swear by my cross, and I can do no more."

"Well, I am at rest, Simon," replied the dying woman, "and now I am ready for death."

She fell back on the pillow of cinders, and the death-rattle was heard in her throat. The dying woman spoke for some time more about Donatien and her daughter; she repeated the requests she had made, but gradually her voice became more confused, and soon it was nothing more than an inarticulate murmur. The neighbours approached, and fell on their knees near the bedside. The girl was silent, while perspiration clustered on her brow. The agony lasted for part of the night; but towards morning Madeleine seemed to wake up. She called Donatien, and then Georgette, stretched out her hands as if she had wished to grasp something, heaved a deep sigh, and expired.

Georgette looked at the bed, and then uttered a great shriek. One of the neighbours ordered her to be quiet, and made her kneel down. The old woman began to say the prayers for the dying. Georgette remained silent, without seeming to understand what was being done, but when the prayer was over and she saw the neighbours cross themselves, she rose up, turned several times round the bed laughing hysterically, then chanting in a piercing voice the funeral hymn, she rushed out of the cabin and disappeared in the midst of the night.

EMILE SOUVESTRE.

(To be continued.)

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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

The following interesting article on "Proportional Representation" by our Belgian comrade Emile Vinck needs no recommendation to Social-Democratic readers. Its publication is the outcome of our recent conference at the Holborn Town Hall on Adult Suffrage and Parliamentary Reform. At that conference our comrade read a highly instructive paper on the principle of Proportional Representation, pointing out, as he does in the present article, that various electoral systems are misleadingly called "proportional representation systems," although they partake of *none* of the special features of real Proportional Representation of every important current of political thought in a country.

The present age is an age of science, and Proportional Representation is a scientific instrument (the result of the work and study of specialists) which is offered to modern nations as a twentieth-century improvement on the unscientific, and more or less barbarous "Majority system." To anyone who has witnessed with disgust the crude and degrading electoral methods of Peckham and Haggerston, where the blatant wealth and pushfulness of Unionists and

Liberals hypnotised a charity-fed proletariat, and stultified any honest attempt to teach class-consciousness or to point out the gradations between "reforms" which cost the classes next to nothing and "revolutionary changes" which would be of real permanent benefit to the masses, any electoral system which would add depth and dignity to our propaganda should be studied and advocated by our leaders of thought. Comrade Emile Vinck's article is therefore doubly welcome: first, because he has seen and noted the practical working of proportional representation; and, secondly, because those Socialists who were unable to be present at our recent conference will now be able to study the subject at leisure in the present article.

D. B. M.

It may seem to some superfluous to define the term "Proportional Representation," but the fact that other systems, in no way related to it, are often called by this name make it necessary to do so. Real Proportional Representation is a system under which every political party or group must gain a seat or seats in proportion to the number of votes recorded by that party or group.

It will at once be seen that it is essential to the working of this system that the candidates of each party should be grouped, and it will further be observed that Proportional Representation has nothing in common with those systems whose aim is merely to determine the order of preference of the voters for the various candidates. Among these other systems, having nothing to do with Proportional Representation, are the *Cumulative vote* system, by which each elector can give more than one vote for the candidate of his choice, and the *Limited vote* system, under which the elector can only vote for a number of candidates less than the number allowed to the constituency. Another system is that promulgated about 1865 by Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Hare (and warmly supported by John Stuart Mill, who thought it would put an end to some

of the existing evils). Under this system the elector may vote for as many candidates as he likes, but places the one he wishes to be elected on the first place on his list. After the papers have been well shaken up in the ballot-box, the name of the candidate figuring at the head of each list is noted down. The candidate who in this way is the first to have the *minimum* votes required is elected first, and from this moment his name is no more taken notice of in the next papers, and the second name is head of the list, and so on till the necessary number are elected. This, of course, is a way of showing the *personal preference* of electors for a candidate, but it has nothing whatever to do with Proportional Representation.* The whole thing partakes of the essence of chance, even the order in which the papers are removed from the ballot box, affecting the chances of the candidates.

At the time when Hare invented this system, it might have been considered advisable to allow the voters to send to Parliament certain eminent personalities who were unwilling to place themselves under the unintelligent discipline of the autocrats who dominated at that time the two great political parties in England. But now in the twentieth century we have other parties representing different ideals and aims; and one advantage of Proportional Representation is that one single man may constitute a party; if he is sufficiently prominent and interesting he may obtain sufficient votes to be elected.

As stated by Lord Balfour of Burleigh at a meeting of the Proportional Representation Society, held on April 12: "The first characteristic to be aimed at is a faithful reflection of the various currents of opinion pervading the country." The second characteristic, according to the same authority, is "That the majority

* An argument used in favour of a system of this kind is that it is used by trade unions for the election of their committees. This argument itself shows that the system is one of *personal preference*, for in the trade union committee elections there is no question of Proportional Representation but a question of *personal choice*.

should rule"; and these two characteristics are the automatic results of true Proportional Representation. The third, fourth and fifth points—freedom of choice for the elector, independence of members from small cliques, and the election of the best possible candidate, are certainly interesting and important, but are not, as are the two first characteristics, of the *very essence* of Proportional Representation.

This "faithful reflection of the various currents of opinion prevailing the country," involves the necessity that the men belonging to the various groups or currents shall constitute groups or parties, who present to the public a list of candidates representing these currents. A single drop does not constitute a stream; a shower of rain, even if it contains as many drops as does a river, can only become a river when all the drops run in the same direction. So is it with the social current. A man is not a current; a crowd is not a current, unless it follows in one direction, with one and the same ideal. Proportional Representation needs party politics, and needs a list of candidates presented by a party or group. That may be said to be its essence. But when this is admitted, let us look at the best way to secure the freedom of choice to the electors, independence of members, and election of the best possible men. How will each current obtain representation proportional to its electoral strength? It is first necessary to determine what is the electoral strength of a party or current. Parliament is a *national* representation. The questions dealt with in Parliament are national questions, even when they have a special or local aspect. Each M.P. is looked upon as a delegate of the nation. Therefore the currents, or parties, are of national interest. Even when specially active locally, they are of national importance, because if they send a member to Parliament this member will have a national influence. The currents, or parties, must therefore be considered from the standpoint of their national strength—that is, if a current has throughout the nation sufficient supporters, it *must* be

represented if the Proportional Representation be a faithful one.

The practical side of this question is, that if the national strength is not taken into consideration, but only the local number of votes, certain currents (often very interesting) could secure in many districts but a small number of votes; but if the aggregate of these votes were taken throughout the whole country, this current would gain several seats, which would not be assured under a system confining the calculation of votes to one particular constituency.

We may, therefore, conclude that Proportional Representation will work out the most faithfully if there is only one national constituency; and we shall now see that this result can be obtained in different ways. The main defect of the Belgian system is precisely that different currents which are strong enough nationally are not represented, because the number of votes they obtain in different districts, being less than the local minimum, are wasted. The result is, therefore, real *misrepresentation*; for it often happens that a party having an entirely different programme secures the seats belonging by rights to the unrepresented current. Let us take, for example, the Belgium election of 1900, showing the following results:—

Catholics (obtained nationally) 1,016,080 votes.

Liberals 466,770 „

Socialists 463,529 „

Christian Democrats 56,085 „

Radicals 33,840 „

According to these figures the representation—

Ought to have been, But was in fact.

Catholics (Government)	76	85
Liberals	35	31
Socialists	35	33
Christian Democrats	4	1
Radicals	2	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	152	152

The Catholics thus secured nine seats belonging to the Opposition. They are still in power, though they should by rights, for several years past, have been in opposition. The principal reason for this misrepresentation is that the Belgian system works each constituency separately; and another reason is that each constituency has a different electoral minimum; then again, a third reason is that some constituencies are too small.

It will thus be seen that unless a national minimum be adopted some currents cannot possibly be represented, as they are otherwise too feeble to attain to the minimum of a separate constituency; in which case no candidate could be found to fight such a forlorn hope, and most voters would not care to take the risk of wasting their votes, but would prefer to give them to some current of similar tendencies. With a national minimum they would be able to add their votes to those of sympathisers in other constituencies, and in this way elect one or more members representing their current of thought.

But how, it may be asked, could a system work with a national minimum, and with party politics? The English House of Commons consists of 670 members. Is it necessary for each voter to vote on a list bearing 670 names? Not at all. But what is necessary is:—

(a) That the number of votes necessary for election must be the same throughout the whole country.

(b) That the number of votes obtained by a party in one constituency must be added to those obtained in other constituencies, so as to constitute the electoral strength of any current or party.

By this means the natural minimum will be the number of votes divided by the number of seats. For instance, if the number of voters in the United Kingdom is 6,700,000, that would give 10,000 votes per seat. Each current or party would secure as many

seats as could be captured by its candidates polling 10,000 votes.*

This would work out as follows: (1) Each constituency must be represented by at least five or six members, in order to give more freedom to the voter, and to allow him to show his preference for any special candidate—a freedom that is impossible when the constituencies elect only one candidate. (2) Each party may form a national list with all the local lists put together and deposit such list officially. This is necessary in order that any votes which might otherwise be wasted can be collected from the various constituencies and used for the benefit of the party. This would do away with the danger of wasted votes and of misrepresentation, and this last-named provision is an essential part of Proportional Representation.

The electors would be able to express through their votes the exact shade of their political opinions. Each party that could obtain a minimum of 10,000 votes could be certain of being represented by one member. Independent candidates could be returned, if sufficiently influential to secure throughout the country this minimum. The results of such a system would be mathematically exact.

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to give further details about the mechanism and practical working of Proportional Representation; but two points must be insisted on:—

(a) No elector may vote for more than one list; he may not make his own list by selecting different candidates from different lists. If he votes for more than one list his vote is lost. It is evident that it would be nonsense to talk about proportion between parties, if on the one hand and the same ballot paper an elector could vote for different parties.

(b) Each list bears the name of some supplementary candidates of the same party or current, who would on the death or resignation of the sitting member

* It must be remembered that in Belgium the vote is *compulsory*.

take his place. This would do away with the necessity for expensive and inconvenient bye-elections, which are often the cause at present of political misrepresentation.

Who is to be responsible for deciding which men in each party are to be elected? Under the Belgian system each party or current offering a list of candidates has itself to determine in what order such candidates are to stand. The elector may change the place of *one candidate only*. He may either show by his vote approbation of the order in which the candidates have been placed by the party, or he may vote for one man on one list. In the latter case, though benefiting one party only he gives a preference to one candidate. The votes cast above the list are given successively to the first, second, third, etc., candidate, each of them adding to the personal vote, till the necessary number is obtained in order to reach the minimum. If a candidate obtains more votes for himself than the list gives to another standing before him, the first-mentioned one will be preferred. This happened in a Brussels constituency.

This of course gives to the elector a very limited freedom. To give him full freedom it would be necessary to allow him to number the candidates in the order in which he would wish them to be elected; all the votes given above the list supporting the order given by the party.

The danger of this amendment would be that a given number of electors could stultify the decision arrived at by the party as a whole; and the party would naturally be more likely to know which candidate would make the best representative than would the individual elector.

Another advantage of the Belgian system is that, once the order has been determined by the party itself, all the candidates are fighting as one man for the complete list, without having (as under the previous system) to force into prominence their own personality;

and this gives (with rare exceptions) great unity and dignity to the propaganda.

Let us now consider the working of Proportional Representation in Belgium from the standpoint of uncompromising Social-Democracy.

There is little doubt that Social-Democrats should favour Proportional Representation.

The majority system causes not only one, but all minorities to be sacrificed in every constituency. Having pointed out this mathematical side of the question, let me now consider some of the intellectual and moral sides which deserve to be noticed.

Had the majority system been continued in Belgium, there is little doubt that the desire to get rid of the Catholic Government would have tempted many Socialists to ally themselves with the Liberals, or, in other words, to *compromise*. As a consequence, it would have been almost practically impossible to fight on purely Social-Democratic lines. How could we have fought capitalism if the names of Liberal capitalists had been included in our lists? How could we have awakened class-consciousness in the hearts of the workers? They would have looked upon us merely as extreme Radicals, but not as revolutionary reformers!

Can there be class struggle without class consciousness? Neither the trade unionist fighting for higher wages, nor the unskilled labourer fighting for an extra few pence a week, are taking part in the class struggle, unless they are at the same time fighting with the revolutionary aim of changing our existing social and economic system. How can we instil this philosophy into the minds of the workers without organising and carrying through an uncompromising electoral fight?

Another argument in favour of Proportional Representation is that it introduces a total change in electoral traditions and habits. Under the old majority system the result was *all or nothing*. A few votes cast

on one side or the other decided the victory. The result obtainable was so enormous that it was difficult to resist the temptation to sacrifice at times some jot or tittle of the purity of political attitude. Under the system of Proportional Representation, as each party is sure to obtain the number of seats it really deserves, the question is no longer one of *all or nothing*; the difference between one election and another can only be a matter of a few seats.

The propaganda must, therefore, be of a quite different character. It must be continuous and thorough, where formerly it was too often momentary and superficial. And there can be little doubt that continuous and thorough educational propaganda is of the utmost service to the cause of Social-Democracy. Under the old system the hope of a sudden change misled the minds of those who were asking for reforms, and the working classes failed too often to recognise that whether the Government were Catholic or Liberal it made little difference to them. As a matter of fact, we are quite aware that any real change can only be the result of continuous and prolonged effort, and therefore our fighting capacity, instead of diminishing, will become more and more serious.

Another important factor which should sustain and increase our faith is the knowledge and growing reality of our strength. There is no system which registers this knowledge better than Proportional Representation. First, because when two parties enter into an alliance it is never possible to know how many votes either party has contributed; and, secondly, because when parties are fighting one against the other under the majority system there are various factors which vitiate the real results. The most important of these factors is that it is quite easy to persuade people not to waste their votes, as they too often are forced to do under the majority system. When there are three candidates (a Conservative, a Liberal and a Socialist) contesting one seat, if the voters are convinced there is no chance for the Socialist they will understand that every vote

given to the Socialist is one lost to the Liberals, and if, at that moment, there is some important Bill before Parliament affecting democracy as a whole, many Socialists will vote for the Liberal candidate.

The system of Proportional Representation removes this danger. An election will be no longer as it is now, a real gamble with a superficial excitement aroused on some momentous question. The election will be the automatic result of previous effort, and the reward of sane and thorough propaganda. These are the results we have experienced in Belgium. Previous to the introduction of Proportional Representation neither Liberals nor Catholics did any real propaganda till a few weeks before election time; concentrating all their energies on the last week, and the last few days and hours. And at such moments of excitement any arguments were of course good. Now, propaganda continues from one election to another; and, even if the old parties are far behind us in organised propaganda, they have nevertheless been compelled to change their methods. All this helps to educate the citizen, and it has given great calm and dignity to the electoral struggle in our country.

Another advantage of Proportional Representation is that it makes second ballot unnecessary; and this is another argument in favour of uncompromising politics; for, as has been pointed out already, with a system of Proportional Representation no alliances need be made.

One objection sometimes made against Proportional Representation is that it gives to members of Parliament a position of too great stability. As a matter of fact there will be fewer sudden changes, as a party will not easily remove a member, unless he has really forfeited his position. But, on the other hand, better work can often be done when a member is assured that he cannot lose his seat by a mere chance; more especially when he is a working man, and has abandoned his ordinary means of livelihood for political work.

With these few words in favour of the system of Proportional Representation, I leave the matter in the hands of the workers and intellectuals, who are doing their share in England in the great international class struggle of the world. May they, after profounder study of the subject, be led to adopt a system which the cause of Social-Democracy in Belgium has found of vital benefit.

PROFESSOR EMILE VINCK (Brussels).



THE NEW JOHN BURNS.—Although Mr. John Burns has become almost the last hope of the Whigs, he has not ceased to be a hero in the eyes of the man in the street. Socialists may sneer at the old comrade who so daringly and vigorously denounces some of their projects, but the average Londoner is always interested in his sturdy figure and his strong, familiar face. Of course, he is greatly gratified by his notoriety, although he is not so pleased to be called "John" as he was formerly.—"British Weekly."

GRANNY AND THE WORKHOUSE.—We banish into an eventless life behind high walls our most effective teachers and most patient nurses, and then wonder and bemoan that the big girls and boys are so rough and inconsiderate, and that the population is decimated by infant mortality. If half the old dears now in the workhouses were given 7s. a week, and their relations encouraged to support them, under inspection, if need be, until a standard for their comfort is created, it would do something towards the solution of the problem of infant mortality. If granny were there to mind the baby and watch the children the rates of infant insurance would become lower, the family able to rent another room, and the coroner not have so frequently to sit on burnt children and advise weeping mothers to buy fireguards.—MRS. BARNETT in a recent issue of the "Cornhill Magazine."

THE NECESSITY FOR A STATE MEDICAL SERVICE.

The history of medicine is practically coeval with the history of mankind. But, as the science and industry of to-day differ enormously from the science and industry of bygone ages, so does the practice of medicine and surgery show vast strides from what it was either in ancient or even very modern times. It, too, has made rapid progress during the past half-century; and yet in some respects it is still only in its infancy. Not merely is there more to be discovered concerning disease itself—its causation, its transmission, its cure—than has been found out up to the present time, but the most important side of medical practice has hitherto received but scant attention; and very little has been done to organise the medical profession along the lines most conducive to the public well-being. That medicine should still be regarded as “the healing art” is no testimony to its fitness for coping with present-day needs; rather the contrary. To cure is good; to prevent is proverbially better. And it is preventive medicine which will be the art of the future. The study of disease, all important as it may be, will give gradual place to, or at least go hand in hand with, the study of the conditions which give rise to disease, and the means necessary to remove or alter those conditions. The Medical Officer of Health, and not the fashionable physician or the eminent surgeon, is to be the future high priest of medicine. And the Medical Officer of Health is, and always must be, a servant of the community, local or national.

The position of the medical profession in the community to-day is an anomalous one. It exists ostensibly to cope with and eradicate disease and ill-health. And yet its members depend for their very livelihood upon the existence of the evils upon which they make war! They are not, of course, alone in this. There are other professions and occupations which find their *raison d'être* in conditions which are hostile to the welfare of the community. But none to whose immediate financial interests it is, that those things should continue to exist which they are presumably doing their best to abolish. That medical men, individually and as a body, do their duty by their patients, and in the public interest, in the way they do, is to their credit. But the anomaly remains. It at least affords opportunity for abuse; and the opportunity for evil oft induces the doing of the same. For which reason it should be removed. Which is only to be done by the conversion of the practice of medicine into a branch of the State service.

This is (to use the hackneyed phrase) "a consummation devoutly to be wished," from practically every point of view. Firstly, because, as already said, preventive medicine must take precedence over the merely curative art. And the treatment of the conditions which make for the existence and spread of disease in the community, can only be undertaken as a public service. This is in part recognised at present; but only in part. The public health service to-day is very imperfectly organised and administered. The number of medical officers of health devoting their whole time to the performance of their official duties is sadly inadequate; and the same may be said of the subordinate officers—sanitary inspectors, etc.—who are not members of the medical profession. Their numbers must be greatly increased; they must be adequately remunerated. There must be a central department of Public Health, with a medical Minister of the Crown at its head. And the officers of this service should hold their appointments direct from the

State, and not from the local authorities as they do at present. The latter system tends to keep all officials more or less under the thumb of members of town or county councils, who may be directly interested in maintaining the conditions (e.g., slum properties) which it is the duty of the public health officials to have removed, which not unfrequently leads to unpleasantness, perhaps to some shirking of duty. Such extension of the public health service, and raising of its status, will attract more and more of the best men of the profession into its ranks, and will pave the way for the conversion of the entire practice of medicine into a State service.

It is probable that little opposition to such a change would be met with on the part of the great majority of the population. The wealthier classes would doubtless object to it: they would not care to be attended by the same doctor who also looked after the health of poorer members of the community. Such an idea would be sufficient to shatter their nervous systems straight away. Well, of course, their feelings need not be considered too minutely, and possibly, as long as the existence of a wealthy class is permitted to continue at all, there might be a means found whereby they could spend a portion of their wealth in obtaining medical attendance. There might also be some fear in the minds of others, lest the medical man should degenerate into a mere official; and performing his duties in what has come to be regarded as the manner typical of officials, lose that personal interest in his patients which he maintains as a private practitioner. We do not think the objection a very serious one. But so far as it is grounded on experience, we admit that it will only be by the cultivation of high ideals of duty on the part of the doctor that it will fully and finally disappear. And to secure the development and continuance of these ideals implies not merely the nationalisation, but the socialisation, of the medical service, and the adoption of genuinely Socialist ideas and practice.

Considerable opposition will be encountered amongst members of the profession; yet not so much, perhaps, as might be expected. Socialism is permeating the medical ranks. A Medical Socialist League is already in existence, its chief immediate object being the establishment of a State medical service. It is a step which should commend itself to large numbers of practitioners, even on purely economic grounds. The medical profession is not a wealthy one, though it, like society at large, is cursed with the existence of a wealthy minority. The average income of the entire profession is very small, when compared with the long and expensive preliminary course of education, and the further expense necessary either to buy a practice or "sit down and wait" while one is growing. The work is hard, the strain often severe. There is no eight hours day for the G.P. Many doctors work for ridiculously small fees—the result of competition. They are often distinctly sweated: by the general public, by clubs and friendly societies, or by such public bodies as the Poor Law authorities. In place of which a State service, properly administered, would offer a decent livelihood from the start, security of tenure, freedom from worry, not too excessive work, adequate remuneration, and an old age pension. Once presented in its proper light, we do not consider that the proposition would meet with very strenuous opposition from the bulk of the members of the profession.

In addition to which, it is certain that there are many doctors who, while not wholly in favour of the adoption of such a socialistic measure, yet regard it as being inevitable, and who would, therefore, at least offer no active opposition to the measure.

Some there would be who would prefer remaining free agents in an open profession to becoming public servants in any shape or form. The latter might entail some loss of dignity or caste. These people are suffering mainly from that lack of imaginative power with which Socialists are so familiar in their opponents. The latter see things as they are, and believe that they

would be the same under Socialism. They recognise the evils of officialism, as they exist to-day, but fail to see that we want social service and not officialism. They take as their type of a public medical service and its officers the present Poor Law and the parish doctor. They see the latter too frequently ill-paid, overworked, badly treated by a bumptious and ignorant lot of men, who in current phrase act as guardians of the rates and not of the poor. And, as a consequence, they see that the work of the Poor Law doctor is often badly done; his patients not properly looked after, and the posts seldom sought by men of standing or of marked ability. They imagine that the establishment of a State medical service would mean merely an extension of such a system. They ignore the fact that in this, as in other things, the Socialist—even the State Socialist of the mild and orthodox type—aims not at the extension, but at the complete reform and re-organisation of the present system. Both in the methods of administration, and the spirit actuating all reform, drastic and radical changes must be effected. It is only the principle of public ownership and control which must be preserved and extended. Moreover the Poor Law forms but one branch—and that the least admirable—of existing public medical services. Those of the Army and Navy, gaols and prisons, of the Local Government Board, Public Health, Lunatic Asylums, Fever Hospitals, and other systems are now under the control of the State, or the local authorities. Probably one-fourth of the entire body of medical men are public servants in one or other of these services, and such appointments are not looked upon with contempt or disfavour. On the whole they are decently, sometimes remarkably well paid, the duties are not over burdensome, and there is keen competition for all vacancies as they arise. They are not ideal services. They do not come up to Socialist ideas of what they should be; but, like the Post Office, they are useful examples of what is already being done in the way of publicly controlled, publicly paid services, and, of

course, if conducted on Socialist principles, the efficiency would be enormously increased.

In any case, it is not likely that the entire medical profession would be nationalised all at one time. The establishment of a State medical service would not mean the immediate extinction of private practice any more than the introduction of free elementary education meant the abolition of all private schools. So long as class distinctions and inequality in wealth distribution continue to exist so long will private, as well as public, services in such things as medicine and education also exist. It will only be by the full and free acceptance and application of the principles of Socialism that they will be abolished. But there is no reason why we should not make a start now, and at least get these principles put into practice as far, and in every direction whatsoever, as we are able.

A most important step to be taken in the direction of securing a public medical service, consists in the nationalisation—or at least the public ownership and control—of all hospitals and medical charities. The desirability of this step on general grounds has been demonstrated in a previous article. It would greatly assist the formation of a public medical service. At first it would press hardly on the poorer members of the profession. By degrees this pressure, combined with the many advantages to be obtained in various ways, would induce them to enter the public service; to exchange the worries and uncertainties of private practice for a decent and permanent position. It would be good for the hospitals, for the staff and patients alike. The latter would obtain the best treatment possible: physicians and surgeons would be chosen from the best men obtainable; the institutions would be equipped as few privately endowed and supported charities can expect to be. With all the medical institutions in the country publicly owned and controlled, their numbers increased, their efficiency ensured, and free to everyone needing attention, it would be a comparatively easy matter to extend the principle to medical practice in

general, and to establish a splendid public service to attend to the health of the entire nation.

The recent Act providing for the Medical Inspection of School Children will almost certainly have considerable influence in bringing this about. In itself it opens up a new department of public medical service, and it cannot stop where it is. Inspection must soon be followed by treatment. At first this will be obtained at existing hospitals and dispensaries. These will become more overcrowded than ever; local authorities will be compelled to follow the example already set them in some directions abroad, and establish institutions for the treatment of the children. And the public ownership of the children's hospitals will pave the way for the public authorities to assume control over *all* such places. Further: inspection of school children must, to be adequate, lead up to inspection of their home conditions and general surroundings; and the uselessness of treating the individual apart from his environment will tend to emphasise the necessity of dealing with the latter; all of which will make not merely for the establishment of a public medical service, but also for the introduction of general Socialist measures of reform, with a view to promoting the health of the nation by removing all the varied conditions which now militate against it.

We have already said that the prevention, rather than the cure, of disease will be the great aim of the medical art in years to come. This implies the necessity for careful and scientific study of everything connected with its causation, transmission and methods of prevention. Such work cannot be undertaken properly by men engaged in the wearisome task of earning their daily bread by seeing patients. At present, only such men, for the most part, as are in the possession of private means are able to devote themselves to investigation in these directions. With a well-organised public health service, there should be a large number of thoroughly trained medical men whose duty should be to study such questions, particularly

the influence of general conditions of life and labour on the health of the members of the community, their work in the main being in the direction of the removal of all conditions conducive to ill-health and disease rather than to the means of effecting a cure in every individual case. Needless to say, such men would be public servants, under the control of a central State department, and paid out of public funds. It is to a co-operation between such experts—Medical Officers of Health and the mass of general practitioners—that we must look for such a body of opinion as to the relationship between conditions of life and conditions of health as will compel the State to take measures to carry out the reforms which will be indicated—irrespective, needless to say, of any expense which it may be needful to incur in the preservation of this, the greatest asset of any country, the health of the nation.

There are many other points worthy of consideration did space permit. The subject of Eugenics, as it is now termed, is a very vital one to the race, but will only be properly dealt with when it is made a national question. Such matters as vivisection and vaccination should be investigated and pronounced upon by an absolutely impartial and uninterested body of experts, which they cannot be so long as it is to the private interests of every doctor to support them, be they right or wrong. Practice by unqualified quacks, and the sale of so-called proprietary medicines, would be firmly repressed when medicine was a State and not a private profession. The evil results—from the points of view of patient and practitioner alike—of competition are as manifest in the practice of medicine as in the industrial world. And the same remedy is indicated: socialisation. The most important aspect of every single social problem that confronts us to-day is, in the ultimate, its effect upon the health of the people, using the word health in its widest meaning. The establishment of a State Medical Service, a great public health department, supplied by men imbued with a sense of

their responsibilities, permeated by Socialist ideals, would probably do more than anything else to lead up to the abolition of such evils as overcrowding, unsanitation, slum areas, bad conditions of labour in factories and mines, and the many other conditions which contribute to infantile mortality, high general death-rates, ill-health and disease, and also to vice, immorality, drunkenness and crime. It should be the duty of lay Socialists to do their utmost to bring this about ; it should be made an important item in the programme of the Social-Democratic Party, and other Socialist bodies ; and any efforts that may be made by the members of the medical profession itself to forward this scheme should be heartily and strongly supported by all Socialists and social reformers on every possible occasion.

JOSEPH NELSON.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

Aubrey De Vere says: "Prejudice, which only sees what it pleases, cannot see that which is plain."

The foregoing quotation forms the introduction to Jno. Rhind's contribution to the above subject in the August number of the "Social-Democrat."

It is remarkably significant how applicable that quotation is to his own position. He has very carefully laid down his own proposition thus: "Is alcohol of any service or benefit to mankind?"

With a rather large acquaintance of temperance reformers I know of none who would propound such a query. Most thinking men admit that all things have their uses, although the specific use is not always that to which it is commonly put. So with respect to alcohol. It may have its use, but that use is not clear to the temperance reformer. At any rate, I doubt whether anyone of them would answer "Empatically, No."

But, even so. Mr. Rhind has destroyed his own position very cleverly. He chooses his own premises and suggests a series of five arguments based on those premises.

In order to make this clear to my readers it will be necessary to reproduce most of the arguments, and in some measure the answers.

No. 1 argument is: "Our temperance friends state that although alcohol is a stimulant, it is only temporarily so, as although the temperature is raised and the circulation quickened, generating more energy and activity, yet in a short space of time reaction sets in and the temperature becomes lower than before the alcohol was consumed. This is followed by a feeling

of lassitude and inactivity, and, as a consequence, anyone who has taken it is now physically in a worse condition than before he resorted to this pseudo-scientific remedy."

To this he replies: "The clinical thermometer does not register the actual temperature of the body, but simply that of the surface, where radiation is at a maximum."

After thus disposing of the matter to his own satisfaction he says: "Hence this evidence must be ruled out of court. . . . And it must be remembered that it is not a question of high or low temperature, but of benefit or injury."

Surely, if the temperature is affected, and the user "is physically in a worse condition than before," that is a question of "benefit or injury."

No. 2. "The next argument is that experiments made upon soldiers on the march prove the superiority of the non-alcoholic armies over the armies that are served with this body-destroying drug."

Now read his answer to that:

"2. The experiments made on soldiers do not affect the case, as these are made on healthy and vigorous men, *and no medical man claims that such persons require alcohol.*"

I have italicised the point of that reply, and, it seems to me, those words destroy all his contention, for if healthy and vigorous men do not require alcohol it simply becomes a medicine, and is only fit to be used as such by medical men. But, read carefully, Mr. Rhind has really proved what he asserts the temperance reformers claim. For if you must not give alcohol to the healthy and vigorous man, to whom may you give it? Not to the sick, for it is not a stimulant nor a sedative. Not to the drunkard, for he has already had too much. Not to the teetotalter, for he does not require it.

Now we come to No. 3: "A further argument is that alcohol is not a food, and, therefore, must not only be useless but injurious, since, without performing any

useful function, it has to be eliminated from the body, thereby using blood which might have been utilised for some functional benefit."

In his reply, Mr. John Rhind again asserts that, whether alcohol be a food or no has nothing to do with the question; but yet he assiduously devotes nearly a page to support his own view that it is a food. However, he need not have gone to so much trouble, for the italicised sentence in a previous paragraph eternally disposes of that, for, if alcohol were a food, healthy, vigorous men would surely not be deprived of it.

Dr. W. H. Goddard's experiments on dogs is hardly flattering to the lord of creation, unless Mr. Rhind means to say that what is good enough for a dog is good enough for man. A bone is an excellent thing for a dog, but hardly for a man—at least, not a healthy, vigorous man!

No. 4. "Again, it is stated, it is not a stimulant but a sedative—a brain-cell destroyer—and, therefore, an enemy of man."

The answer to this is also very interesting. Note: "It undoubtedly acts upon different persons in a different manner. When alcohol is taken into the system it causes the vaso-motor nerves to relax their hold upon arterioles (small arteries) thus allowing the blood to pass with greater ease into the capillaries. Hence the heart is released of the necessity of having to force the blood into the arterioles. This, it has been well said, makes the heart beat much faster, exactly as a clock does when relieved of the pendulum, thereby assisting a weak heart."

If alcohol has the effect upon the heart which Mr. Jno. Rhind describes, surely, well, now, surely, that is the action of a stimulant.

As to No. 5, I am willing to admit it is not scientific evidence. But who said it was? At the same time Mr. Jno. Rhind does not advance much in favour of the usefulness of alcohol. He merely asks for a fresh division for insurance, and that no one shall have more than an ounce and a half of alcohol (per diem, I

presume, although he does not say so), and then not healthy, vigorous men.

In the next paragraph he deliberately limits the scope of alcohol to that of a medicine, and to be prescribed by medical practitioners only.

Well, temperance reformers would not quarrel much with that; for if it were only administered as an ordinary medicinal drug, and kept in the dispensary, much that is immoral and revolting to-day would disappear, and we should be the better for it.

The following quotation, "That for every medical man of distinction who is in favour of total abstinence I (Dr. T. Laude Bruton) would find 20 who would be against it," has little or no point, for we know as Socialists that for every intelligent person who advocates the socialisation of the means of production, etc., as the cure for capitalist ills, our opponents could find 200 who do not.

My readers will see that I have merely traversed Mr. Jno. Rhind's arguments, and, I think, showed their inapplicability. In another article, with the permission of the Editor, I will endeavour to show the scientific effect of alcohol on the human system, and the Temperance Reformer's position.

H. W. HOBART.

THE MONTH.

The situation in Morocco has become somewhat farcical. Humpty-Dumpty Abdul-el-Aziz has fallen, as everybody supposed that he would, as soon as ever he attempted to act independently of his French guardians and protectors. His rebellious relative is easily triumphant, has been proclaimed in all the chief towns, and the fatalist Moors, who have a racial genius for accepting the fait accompli, are cheerfully acknowledging their new Sovereign. This change-over of masters for the Moors would have little interest for us were it not for the fact that the prospective exploitation of them has been very nearly the cause of war between two great nations in another Continent. What will France do now? If Mulai Hafid is strong enough to secure a reasonably obedient turbulence among his desert subjects, France will continue for a time to waste more money in keeping up the farce of helping him to do it, what time she wonders how to clear out of it without looking too foolish. If however, his writ does not run, there is still the danger of being drawn into greater responsibility, greater expense, and greater danger from Germany. For our part we hope France will get out of it quickly, and leave to the Moors the working out of their own destiny.

Foreign affairs, or international relations, have formed the chief topic of interest during the past month. Blatchford and Hyndman having called attention to the alleged menace of war with Germany, some of our pacifist friends took advantage of the opportunity to suggest that those two comrades in particular, and Social-Democrats generally, had turned jingo. They were denounced as "scaremongers" and disturbers of the peace, not at all of the kindly company who imagine that in these matters Socialists have no other duty than to cry "Peace, peace," where there is no peace, and to assure everybody—what everybody knows already—that the working-classes everywhere have nothing to gain by war.

That, however, is not the question. The question is: Is there any danger of war, and, if there is, what can Socialists do to avert that danger? The reply to the first part of the question is that there is always danger of war under capitalism. The causes of war to-day are economic, and are inherent in the capitalist system. Capitalism means the persistent production of a surplus of commodities, and for this surplus some outlet must be found. That demands constant expansion of markets, but this expansion does not proceed fast enough and there are the consequent glut and crisis. These necessitate waste, and war—quite apart from its objective in commercial expansion—is about the most stupendous and efficient method of wasting wealth that has yet been devised.

Looking at the matter from this point of view, we have to consider from which direction war is likely at any given time to threaten. At the present time no one can view without apprehension the naval demonstrations the United States have been making in the Pacific. The enthusiastic welcome given by our Australian colonists to the Yankee fleet was significant of much. It was a striking illustration of the strong anti-Japanese sentiment which exists there as well as in California. However our pacifist friends may regard it, there is little doubt that the whole thing is a demonstration on the part of the United States against Japan. Well-informed Americans, indeed, regard a war between the U.S.A. and Japan for commercial supremacy in China as a foregone conclusion. The States must have a war—or a revolution—in consequence of the enormous development of production and productivity.

There we have all the elements of a very pretty quarrel; with our own colonists, in fear of a Japanese invasion, enthusiastically welcoming and fêting the potential enemies of our allies, the Japanese.

To come nearer home, we see Germany preparing a navy which, it is alleged, is intended to be directed against the British power. Whether this is or is not the case, we have to reckon with the following facts: the British Empire is in the way of German expansion; Great Britain is suspected of an agreement with other European Powers for the isolation of Germany, and Great Britain

is pledged to the maintenance of the independence of the smaller States of Europe, which, it is suggested, might otherwise become part of the German hegemony.

Here, at an rate, are sufficient combustible elements to make it worth while for Socialists—the only international political party of the working-class—to keep their eyes open and to carefully note what is going on. But in addition to these influences making for war, there are in each and every country certain interests which would be served by the outbreak of hostilities.

It is doubtless true, as Blatchford has said, that there is no war party in this country, and equally true that the British Government has every reason to wish to preserve peace. We do not suggest, moreover, that the commercial classes in general, are other than desirous of peace. For many of them war, and especially a war between two or more European Powers, would probably mean ruin. Nevertheless, there are great and powerful interests for which war would be a perfect godsend. Shipbuilders, ship-owners, stores-contractors, colliery-owners, ironmasters and manufacturers of munitions of war. All these, vulture-like, would batten upon the ruin and carnage of war, and for the rest, even if war meant no immediate benefit, but loss, it would clear the ground and give an impetus to trade for the immediate future.

Anyone who thinks this is too cynical a view to take of the capitalist class generally, and of those who contract to supply munitions of war in particular, needs only to recall the scandals of the Crimea and of the Boer wars, and notably the scandal of the traffic in stores in South Africa after the war was over.

The question is often asked, Assuming all the facts to be as stated, what good is to be done by calling attention to them, seeing how little influence the common people have in foreign politics and how completely these are in the control of monarchs and statesmen? That certainly seems to us reason the more for calling attention to the dangers of the situation, and for urging the people—who, after all, have to provide the “food for powder”—to shake off their apathy and ignorance, and to insist upon knowing at least what they are fighting about before they fight at all.

One good thing, at any rate, has resulted from all this talk of war. It has brought the possibility of a Citizen Army appreciably nearer. Our pacifist friends in this country affect to contemplate this contingency with horror. They appear to ignore the fact that what we advocate in this respect has the support internationally of even such extreme pacifists as Hervé. In this connection, as in so many others, they live in a fool's paradise and shut their eyes to disagreeable facts. They appear not to know that Mr. Haldane has destroyed the civil character of the Volunteers and converted them—in so far as they have joined his Territorials—into a purely professional soldiery, under military law, and that with it all there is no army in this country capable of anything except to be used against the civil population. With a Citizen Army—the nation armed—all this would be changed. The Citizen Army would be, as the Volunteers were, free from military law; it would provide an efficient force for defence, and would be incapable of being used for domestic despotism. Incidentally it would give an irresistible impetus to the demand for the better physical development of the children. The military authorities know very well that the youths who now join the Army are quite unfit for military service; and the first year or two in the ranks are expected to be devoted to filling out the recruits and making them measurably physically fit for active service. With military training only, this period would not be available for such a purpose; and the youths coming in for training would have to be physically fit to begin with.

The seriousness and the deep-seated causes of the "unrest in India" have been demonstrated by the shooting of the informer, Gossain, in the prison by some of his fellow-prisoners. In the meantime, Morley has no conception of any policy beyond the old, ineffectual one of repression, which makes discontent only more dangerous by driving it under the surface. Among other acts of foolish petty tyranny, we have to record that "Justice" has once more been prohibited.

The terrible explosion at Maypole colliery, once more calls attention in a lurid fashion to the tragedy of the collier's life. Almost in a moment some seventy men, brothers, husbands, fathers, busily engaged in their toilsome and arduous calling, were cut off from the land of the living. Dead for bread! How truly, as the "Times" remarked, do coals, like the "Caller Herrin," represent the "lives o' men"! The collier, like many another

worker, has daily to face death—not amid the “pomp and circumstance of glorious war,” with the excitement of battle and the inspiration, it may be, of a great cause—but amid the sordid surroundings of the toil for mere sustenance; the lifelong struggle with the ever-present wolf at the door; the struggle in which defeat, sooner or later, is assured. And these are the men whom capitalists of the Livesey type condemn, and to whom they begrudge the slightest alleviation of their terrible lot.

The persistence of the trade depression and of the numbers of unemployed, should serve to damp even the cheery optimism of the President of the Local Government Board. In many districts already—although we are just at the end of summer—there is terrible distress, and there is every reason to anticipate a very serious state of things in the coming winter. Amid these gloomy circumstances there is just a ray of hope. From recent happenings in Glasgow we may hope that the unemployed will not much longer suffer in silence, and when they make themselves sufficiently objectionable something will be done.

THE TWO ALTERNATIVES—WAR OR SOCIALISM.

During the eight years of its existence, "Wilshire's" has consistently enacted the rôle of a herald announcing the certain imminent collapse of our present industrial system, and the equal certainty that it must be supplanted by a co-operative system—in other words, Socialism.

It has laid little stress on the desirability of this change, and has emphasised rather the "must be" than the "should be." The desirability of Socialism is a matter that is altogether judged from the standpoint of class interest. Still there are many thousands of business men who have no love for Socialism, who at the same time recognise more or less clearly the forces that impel modern industry in that direction. To most of these men the coming of Socialism is at the very least a probability, while to a considerable number it appears a practical certainty just as it does to an avowed Socialist. And it is not without a certain significance that when the average business man looks into the industrial future, which, it must be admitted, is rather seldom, he always sees the vision of a possible Socialism confronting him.

In the July issue of this magazine we took the position that the present industrial depression would remain with us unless war intervened to stimulate the stagnating industries of the world, but that war after all could only act as a temporary stimulant. We see no reason for abandoning this view; on the contrary, the events which have occurred in the interim have considerably strengthened it.

Despite the efforts made to restore confidence, and the numerous optimistic predictions of a renewed prosperity, if we only have sufficient faith to persuade ourselves of its coming, there is certainly nothing in the great financial and commercial journals of the country to warrant such hopes. It is true that here and there some plants and factories have partially re-opened, generally with a much reduced wage scale, but the attempts to demonstrate a general revival of business from these scattering and largely artificial efforts can deceive none who does not wish to be deceived. The question of how and where to dispose of the enormous surplus which our modern industrial machinery is capable of producing—

the question of where to find adequate markets, remains unanswered, and until it is answered it is the height of folly to imagine that our capitalists will keep on producing for production's sake alone.

That the limits of our home market have long ago been reached is denied by none. Under our competitive wage system it is obvious, as Mr. Depew pointed out many years ago, that we cannot consume the enormous surplus we annually produce. The world market is now an absolute necessity for the existence of our competitive system, and a glance at the possible world markets shows at once that far from affording adequate opportunities for expansion, they are, instead, rapidly contracting.

European countries can buy no more from us than they are now buying. Their manufacturers also have a surplus to dispose of in an ever-contracting world market. Our capitalists may, perhaps, for a time "dump" some of their surplus upon Europe, but this method merely tends to increase the number of unemployed workers there, and intensify further the industrial stagnation. If the foreigner cannot sell his own goods it is not difficult to see the impossibility of his becoming a permanent buyer of ours.

Neither Australia nor South America can possibly figure as buyers to an extent sufficient to relieve the stagnation. Their populations are too sparse and their needs too small for us to expect relief from these sources. One-hundredth part of our vast industrial equipment is more than is necessary to supply their needs, even if they purchased exclusively from us, which they do not, the struggle for their markets being as keen with our European competitors as with ourselves. Africa is in much the same situation. And there also our competitors are already established. The attempt to oust them, even if successful, would avail us nothing. The African game isn't worth the candle.

There remains but one possible market that may be regarded as the least temporarily adequate—the market of eastern Asia, which is correctly regarded as the last and greatest of the world's commercial prizes to-day. And there we find that a new power has arisen, the power of Japan, whose commercial domination of the Chinese and Manchurian markets is rapidly being pushed to completion, a domination which, having been made possible by force of arms, can only be transferred to another Power by the same method. Every report from this part of the world brings news of the determined policy of Japan in dislodging by every possible method her commercial competitors from the markets of the mainland. Even as we write comes the news that the great American steamship companies have notified their shippers that they must abandon the Pacific trade, as Japanese competition makes it impossible.

Yet in this direction alone lies the only hope of our American capitalists. The markets of China and Manchuria offer the only possibly adequate outlet for their products, and a temporary relief

from the unemployment and industrial stagnation now prevalent here. But to secure these markets Japan must be reckoned with. And that means war, for the markets in question are quite as necessary to the national existence of Japan as they are to our own.

Such is the condition in the industrial world to-day. The potentialities of production have altogether outrun the limited capacity of the world market to absorb the ever-increasing volume of commodities that our modern industrial machinery can produce, and must produce, if the workingmen are to be steadily employed. And when we consider that every industrial country on earth is in the same pressing need of a constantly expanding market as ourselves, it is evident enough that war—the forcible capture of markets from weaker rivals—is an absolute certainty if our present economic system is to remain unchanged.

It must not be supposed that our capitalists fail to understand the situation. To those of them who are directing the affairs of the country through the politicians, this fact is as fully discernible as to the Socialist. The only difference is that the latter make the view public, while the others try to conceal it.

The recent expressions of our next President, Mr. Taft, on this subject, clearly indicate that Mr. Roosevelt is by no means ignorant of the necessities of the occasion. Mr. Taft, whose honesty of expression is well attested by his candid reply of "God knows" to the inquiry what a starving man should do who could not get work, is thus quoted:—

"The *foremost issue* of the coming campaign will be the question of *expansion*, and the affairs of our insular possessions."

"American Chinese trade is sufficiently great to *require the Government of the United States to take every legitimate means to protect it against diminution or injury by any political preference of any of its competitors.*"

"The merchants of the United States are being aroused to the importance of their Chinese export trade, and will view political obstacles to its expansion with deep concern. *This feeling of theirs would be likely to find its expression in the attitude of the United States Government.*"

"The Japanese have no more to do with our policy as a people than any other nation. *If they have or develop a policy that conflicts with ours, that is another matter.*"

"Talk of war is deplorable in the extreme, and I do not believe the people of the United States are unfriendly to, or seek a quarrel with Japan or vice versa. On the other hand, I am an advocate of a strong navy, etc., etc."

So far Mr. Taft. The Japanese Government, quite as alive to the situation, also believes in a "strong navy," and goes on building battleships, and increasing its military field strength, just as our capitalists are doing. The recent programme which contemplates a permanent field force of 250,000 United States regular

troops, with 700,000 trained militia as a reserve, and which is now being worked out, the rushing to completion of monster "Dreadnoughts," the determined fight made by Mr. Roosevelt for four of these engines of war instead of two, and the unconcealed alarm that the ships ostensibly being built for Brazil in British yards were really intended for Japan—all these things can have but one meaning. And that meaning is no secret to those who understand the industrial conditions and needs of the present.

"You would not have Socialism—then you will have war," said a famous European Socialist many years ago. All signs now point to the fact that the American people are being offered the same alternative.

We can have Socialism without war; but even if we choose war, we cannot ultimately avoid having Socialism. In our July issue we said: "It may be up to Mr. Taft to decide whether America shall employ itself by fighting Japan or by organising the Co-operative Commonwealth." It would now seem that Mr. Taft, or rather those interests whose spokesman he is, had already decided. And unless a Socialist vote several millions strong is forthcoming at the November election, it certainly looks as if the Japanese would have to shoot some thousands of us to help convince the rest of us of the folly of fighting for a market for products instead of consuming them ourselves.

"Wilshire's Magazine."

LIFE AND WORK OF MARX.

In the case of many philosophers and learned men the knowledge of the details of their life is not of much importance for anyone who wishes to understand and even to realise their conceptions and their essential discoveries. But this is certainly not the case with Marx, who is above all the theorist of action. Not only every militant Socialist who wishes to realise the exact ideas and the realistic methods with which he has enriched revolutionary thought must study the biography of the founder of modern Socialism, but the way in which he reacted, in the face of facts, during all his life as an active fighter for the Revolution, throws a particular light on his economic and social doctrines, and affords almost as much remarkable interest as his work itself.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

Karl Marx was born on May 5th, 1818, in the old Roman city of Treves, on the left bank of the Rhine, which town had been part of French territory during all the first Republic and the Empire, and where the French Revolution had left unmistakable traces.

He belonged to a very learned Jewish family; his maternal ancestors, the Presbourgs, were Hungarian Jews who had emigrated to Holland, and several of whom had been learned commentators of the Talmud. Six years after Marx's birth, in 1824, his father had become converted to Christianity, and had had himself and all his family christened.

The explanation of this does not appear to be owing to a Government persecution, as Liebknecht has said, but Marx's father, who had come under the influence of the French eighteenth century philosophy, wished to absorb "European culture," as Heine says, and free himself from Jewish Talmudism and Clericalism.

At once Marx was the hope and the pride of his family, owing to the keenness of his intelligence and the brightness of his wit. After good secondary studies, he went, in 1834, to study law at the University of Bonn, and then at that of Berlin, where Hegel had been teaching for the last ten years, but whose teaching was being shattered by natural science. This intellectual centre exercised enormous influence on Marx, who devoted himself more and more to philosophy and to history. His thesis, presented two years afterwards to the University of Jena, was on Democritus and

Epicurus. Leaving the Hegelians he had joined the materialistic philosophers of the eighteenth century and the modern critics. Persecution by the Government prevented him from teaching at Bonn. He wrote for the "*Deutsche Jahrbücher*," of Riga, and soon became the chief writer on the staff of the "*Rhenish Gazette*," a democratic organ which had just been started. Though only 26, he became its editor. The paper advocated representative government, financial control by the Chamber, and freedom of the press. Being accused by the middle-class press of having a tendency to Communism, Marx argued that this was not so; but, as he wrote shortly afterwards, this referred rather to the primitive Communism of Weitling and of Cabet.

In March, 1843, the paper was suppressed, and Marx went to live in Paris, where he was in close relations with Heinrich Heine, and other democrats and Communists of the time. With Arnold Ruge, with Engels—henceforth his life-long friend and co-worker, he wrote for the "*Deutsch-Französischer Jahrbücher*," published in Paris by the advanced Germans who lived there.

His thoughts broadened, and so did also his fundamental conceptions. It was in that review that he published his "*Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*," where he says that "No revolution is possible unless conditioned by economical conditions."

Expelled from France by Guizot, Marx went to live at Brussels in 1845, where he wrote his "*Discourse on Free Trade*," and also in French his celebrated refutation of Proudhon's "*Philosophy of Misery*," published under the sarcastic title of "*Misery of Philosophy*." It already contains the chief ideas of what was to be Marxism.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

At Brussels Marx and Engels had joined the "*Alliance of the Just*," which from being a Utopian and secret organisation, was to be transformed into a modern Socialist group after two Congresses had been held in 1847.

It was at the second of these two Congresses that the Communist Manifesto was drawn up by Marx and Engels, and adopted. In spite of some passages which have naturally grown out of date, it remains the Charter of our Party, the most lively and complete synthesis, owing to its brevity, of the philosophy and of the action of the international proletariat. The immortal appeal, "*Workers of all countries, unite!*" which ends the masterly summary of modern economic evolution, became the battle-cry of the workers of the old and the new world. First hundreds, then thousands, afterwards hundreds of thousands, and now millions of workers of Europe, of America, of Oceania, of Africa, and even of Asia, have adopted the watchword given by Marx and by Engels.

The Revolution of February, 1848, rendered null and void the decree of expulsion against Marx, who came back to Paris, but left almost at once for Cologne, where he refounded the "*New Rhenish Gazette*," whose programme was thus summed up by

Engels: "A German Republic one and indivisible, and war against Russia in order to restore Polish freedom." For eleven months the paper fought against all the Government persecutions.

But soon events grew more serious. The Prussian and Austrian Governments dissolved the Parliament of Frankfort. Eighteen months afterwards, in his letters to the "New York Tribune," Marx showed the incredible weakness, the parliamentary cretinism of these German Liberals, of whom some at all events, like R. Blum, knew how to die like heroes for the cause of liberty.

It was in vain that Engels and Liebknecht went and joined the insurgents of the Palatinate; it was in vain that the "New Rhenish Gazette" each day recommended its readers to refuse to pay taxes, and to resist with force. As in the whole of Europe, the revolution was crushed in Germany, and on May 19, 1849, the newspaper was suppressed.

Marx then went to Paris; but, after the failure of the rising on June 13, 1849, he was threatened with either being expelled or being imprisoned, so that he went to London, that safe haven for all political exiles.

ELABORATION OF THE DOCTRINE.

As Liebknecht says, it was from London—that centre of the world from whence the economic and political movement of the world can be best observed—that Marx was going to realise the two great works of his life: to write that monument of economic science, "Capital," and to constitute the first great autonomous organisation of the universal proletariat, "The International." But besides in this period he wrote a whole series of polemical and of critical works of the highest interest.

In 1851 the great revolutionary movement which had so agitated the whole of the European Continent, had only a little while longer to live. In France the Republic was strangled on December 2, 1851,* and Marx in his "Dix Huit Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte," while denouncing the infamy of the perjured President, was not satisfied in indulging in denunciations only, like Hugo in "Les Chatiments," but showed the economic cause of the coup d'état, thus applying for the first time his method of the economic interpretation of history. About the same time was published his "Revelations on the Trial of the Communists at Cologne."

Marx wrote regularly for the "New York Tribune." That is where he published his able essays on the Eastern question, which read as if they were written yesterday.

The question of Italian independence brought Marx into a controversy with the salaried scribes of Bonapartism, and in a virulent pamphlet he denounced the venality of Monsieur Vogt.

* Longuet says 1852; but this is wrong.—J. B.

It was in 1859 that he wrote his "Criticism of Political Economy," in which is found the first proof of the theory of value—to be further developed in "Capital," of which the first volume (the only one published in the lifetime of the author) was published in 1867.

Middle-class political economy has tried for nearly half a century to ruin this massive work. The eminent German Professor Werner Sombart says: "Marx's 'Theory of Value' may perhaps be refuted, but in any case this has not yet been done."

THE INTERNATIONAL.

After a meeting which had been organised in favour of Poland in 1863, the International Association of Workers was founded on September 28, 1864, at a meeting held at St. Martin's Hall.* Marx drew up an inaugural address, a programme, and rules. These contain the principal ideas of the Communist Manifesto, and this synthetic formula which is the basis of all the modern Socialist movement: "The emancipation of the working-class must be the work of the working class itself."

It would take too long to give an account of all the struggles which Marx had to wage in the International, first against the primitive Utopian and secret communism of the old German Socialists, then against the middle-class co-operation of some of the Paris lower middle-class, and finally against the revolutionary anarchism of Bakounine. As he wrote in his circular on the so-called dissensions, Marx and the General Council stood for the real and active organisation of the working classes of all countries against the fancy organisations of sectarians.

Against Utopian communism, against co-operation, against anarchism, the proletariat of the two worlds had rallied round the conception that Marx had evolved of a real, united and disciplined movement, and of which he had first traced the directing line.

At the Congress of the Hague, in 1873, feeling that the divisions raised by the followers of Bakounine no longer allowed the International to accomplish its work, and feeling that it was better to allow for some time the movement to develop on its own account by its own efforts, he, therefore, got the Congress to vote the transfer of the General Council to New York. This was necessarily the end of the great association which had accomplished its mission.

Meanwhile, the war and the Commune had taken place. It is well known with what fervour Marx, after Sedan and the fall of the Empire, when the national independence of France was threatened, drew up on behalf of the International a strong protest against the spoliation of France, stated his sympathy for France "which at the present time is not only fighting for her national independence, but also for the liberty of Germany and of Europe" (letter to the "Daily News," December 13, 1870).

* The author says St. James' Hall, but this is not correct. See "History of the International," by G. Jaechh.—J. B.

A few months later the proletariat of Paris had for the first time obtained possession of political power ; but after a heroic resistance, had fallen, after 35,000 men had perished. Marx then used strong language to denounce the executioners. He praised in eloquent language " the Paris of the workers of 1871, the Paris of the Commune, which will ever be celebrated as the forerunner of a new society, the memory of its martyrs which shall live as in a sanctuary in the great heart of the working class."

AFTER THE INTERNATIONAL.

During ten years the German Socialists had been divided into two fractions—Marxians, or adherents of the programme of Eisenach and of Lassalle. In 1875 was held at Gotha the unifying Congress. In order to realise this, concessions had been made by the Marxians to the State Socialism of Lassalle, concessions which Marx, in his letter on the programme of Gotha, criticised with his merciless logic. Yet, as Liebknecht says, there was then an interest superior to any other, that was the union of the German proletariat against the middle-class capitalists and the Bismarckian State. As an exile Marx could not feel the necessity of this as much as Liebknecht and Bebel, who were in the field of battle. Besides, fifteen years afterwards, when Kautsky, in 1890, drew up the programme of Erfurt, he carefully struck out the economic heresies of 1875.

The health of Marx got worse ; his fine constitution had been ruined by the terrible excess of work, and especially by his working at night. The death of his peerless wife, in December, 1891, was a heavy blow to him. The death of his favourite daughter, Jenny—Mme. Longuet—in January, 1883, was the last blow. On March 14, he died peacefully in his study at Maitland Park, in London, almost without pain. He left two daughters, Mme. Laura Lafargue and Eleanor Marx.

CONCLUSION.

By his action, by his writings, Marx has demonstrated that the proletarian movement could not be the personal creation of one or of several men, but must be the work of the working-class itself asserting itself to be a class, mistress of its destinies, and conscious of its end, tending to constitute itself more and more by its economic and political organisation as a State in the State—a proletarian State in a capitalist State.

He never pretended that he solved all the new problems of life which are raised in the course of time, but he enabled us to see how to set about to do it. This is why, as Kautsky says, we must see in Marxism not the rigid dogma of a sect by which we should blindly judge everything, but a method pregnant with living researches and investigation.

JEAN LONGUET.

(A Grandson of Marx.)

—From " *Le Socialiste*," translated by Jacques Bonhomme.

THE REVIEWS.

THE TURKISH REVOLUTION.

Mr. Edwin Pears discusses the above in this month's "Contemporary Review." He says:—

It looks as if the arbitrary power of Abdul Hamid had definitely come to an end. During 30 years he had put the screw on all the ranks of his subjects until it seemed that the régime of oppression could not cease except with his death. His arbitrary Government may be said to date from February, 1878, when he dismissed the Parliament which he had granted while the Conference of the Powers was sitting, in December-January, 1876-1877. With the dispersal by force of its members he commenced the system of personal government which continued till the middle of last July. Then, with a sudden explosion, the whole régime was blown into space.

Abdul Hamid had begun his régime of arbitrary rule by appointing Ministers who were left without power. After a while, and somewhat ostentatiously, he put them under Ministers who were known to be hostile to their chiefs. The Ministers themselves became mere clerks. In a conversation with one of them ten years ago, he remarked that the system of corruption then universally prevalent, would never cease until the Sultan was changed. On my replying that the reputation of the heir to the throne did not inspire confidence, his answer was, "We shall get back the Government of the country into the hands of the Ministers instead of its being in those of the Palace clique." In order to reconcile the Ministers to their undignified position they were allowed to fill their pockets at the expense of the State, and corruption increased in every department. Then the results of misgovernment and arbitrary rule began to show themselves everywhere. Custom House duties were divided between the Exchequer and the officials. Mining concessions were heavily paid for in bribes, both at the Palace and the Ministry of Mines. Legal decisions were bought and sold, or were obtained by favour. The Valis, or Governors, paid for being appointed, and contributed a portion of their salaries to the Palace gang which kept them in place. In return no inconvenient questions were asked as to their extortion in the provinces. Public meetings were forbidden either

in the capital or in the provinces, and this, to such an extent, that no wedding festivity or dinner party could take place without the permission of the authorities and the scrutiny of the list of invited guests. The attempt was made even to prevent evening parties and balls at wealthy European houses, and when, with the aid of the Embassies, this demand was resisted, agents of the Government were stationed around the houses to forbid the entrance of Turkish subjects. In every newspaper office not a line was permitted to be printed until it had passed the Censor. No mention was ever allowed to be made of political events in Egypt, a country which, if a historian had only to depend for his information upon files of Turkish newspapers, would be considered by him to be still under the direct rule of the Sultan, as it was before 1879. The word "Armenia" was not permitted to be printed. "There is no such place," said the chief censor. "Macedonia" was tabooed also, and this to such an extent that in the translation into Turkish of St. Paul's message, "Come over into Macedonia and help us," it was difficult to obtain permission to print the phrase, which the Censor claimed should have substituted for it the names of the three provinces into which Macedonia is now divided. Theatrical performances were censured with equal severity. "Hamlet" was forbidden because it spoke of killing the king; so also was "Julius Cæsar" and a host of French historical plays. Everyone remembers the hideous massacre of the Armenians, the greatest crime of the reign, in which probably the victims did not fall short of 100,000; but few English readers realise the inconvenience and loss of trade caused to British and other European merchants and the cruel wrong done to the Armenians by the strict execution of an order which has been in force for ten years, forbidding any of them to journey from one place to another in Turkey.

To secure the execution of the Sultan's orders, a great number of spies had gradually come into existence. They belonged to every rank in life. Small fry only received a matter of £3 a month; one man, a foreigner, is known to have obtained £90 a month. Out of the Budget of Turkey no less a sum than £1,200,000 had to be set aside last year for this army of spies. They worried the souls of Ottoman subjects, Moslem and Christian alike. Upon the reports furnished by these men—and a spy must find out something in order to justify his existence—thousands of men belonging to every class of the community were haled for secret examination to the Palace or before the police authorities. In very few cases were those arrested sent for trial. In the majority they were dealt with arbitrarily. Some were sent to prison for long terms and cruelly treated. A large number, especially of notable Mohammedans, were banished from the capital. I may remark in passing that this form of punishment for the most notable of the discontented was a great mistake on the part of Abdul Hamid, because it came to pass in time that in every province of the Empire exiles were found of ability and energy above the average, and full of sentiment of hostility towards the Government. They became the mission-

aries of revolution. In some of the provinces, as in Euzeromin, the exiles were so numerous and so superior to the Governor and other officials that they practically became the rulers of the province, and readers will remember the events of eighteen months ago, by which the population, led by the exiles, dictated to and obtained from the Sultan the change of the Governor.

The system of espionage was extended at an early period, but cautiously, into the army. It destroyed its esprit de corps and created a strong current of disaffection among the officers. Even 20 years ago a Turkish officer informed me that, excepting by name, he did not know any of his brother officers in his regiment. There is no common mess among them, and they were sure to be reported if they were seen conversing with each other. Suspicion ruled the conduct of every public official. Everybody was suspect. Spies were set to report upon spies. The local post was abolished because it facilitated conspiracy. Letters in the Turkish post were ostentatiously opened and delivered open. Nobody was trusted. These and many other causes created widespread disaffection throughout the country. Armenians were everywhere vexed, the ancient privileges of the Greek Church were threatened, and the Turks were treated as enemies of the nation. Yet there was no sign of a Young Turkey Party until two years ago. I maintained, and I believe with truth, that while disaffection was almost universal there was no organisation among the disaffected. Armenius Vambérg, who knows inner Turkish life very thoroughly, states, in a letter which has just been published, that owing to misgovernment every Turk, at heart, has been ready to belong to the Young Turkey Party for many years; and the statement is correct. Still, years passed and young Turkey did not organise itself. About two years ago, however, the Moslem fugitives who had escaped from Turkey, and many Armenian exiles, formed an organisation for pressing reforms upon the Sultan. It had its headquarters in Paris. Many of its members had been condemned in their absence to imprisonment and to the confiscation of their property. . . .

Misfortune makes strange bedfellows. And, even two years ago, if anyone had predicted that Turk and Armenian would make common cause against the tyrannies of Abdul Hamid, he would not have been believed. Nevertheless, about October last, such a union was effected. It probably dates from a congress held in Paris of two Turkish and two Armenian societies. All agreed to form one society, and this took the name of the "Committee of Union and Progress." Arabs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Armenians and others joined the society. They decided upon immediate action, in order to obtain the establishment of a Parliament or dethronement of Abdul Hamid. Their operations in Turkey were largely aided by women. The first six months of this year were spent in preparations. . . .

Whether the Constitution will last depends upon various circumstances. I believe that so far as its duration depends upon Abdul Hamid, it will last. The Committee acted wisely in deciding not to attempt to dethrone Abdul Hamid unless he refused to accept their conditions. No step which they have taken shows better statesmanship. It must have been difficult for its members to set aside their wrongs, and take the decision counselled by cool-blooded commonsense. But they recognise that Abdul Hamid is a man of much cleverness, and of great mental ability, and they believe that under sanction of his oath, his notification to the Powers, and the other steps taken they have sufficient sureties for his future conduct.

An "Eastern Statesman" who has often contributed to these pages, and whose great experience in Turkey and keen diagnosis of its situation was always highly appreciated, writes to me that the "Young Turkey Party will destroy Abdul Hamid, or Abdul Hamid will destroy them." This time I believe he is mistaken. They have found a more excellent way. Had they tried to dethrone him—which would probably have resulted in his death, in case either of success or failure—there would have probably been civil war.

Happily these difficulties so far have been surmounted, not only by the good judgment of the Committee, but the astuteness of Abdul Hamid himself. When he once learned that the army, and the mollahs, were determined to exact Constitution or abdication, he yielded. With the single exception of the endeavour to preserve his right to name the Ministers of War and Marine, he has given way on every point which the Committee has demanded. His declarations are wonderful. The Constitution was his making!

That Abdul Hamid exercised sound judgment in taking up this attitude is shown by the way in which his name has been cheered daily by the Moslems and Christians since July 25. If, therefore, he respects his solemn word, the Committee will have reason to be satisfied, and his own safety is assured. I believe indeed that his position on the throne has been strengthened by his own conduct during the last month. It would be difficult now for the Committee itself with all its ramifications to dethrone Abdul Hamid so long as he respects his oath to be faithful to the Constitution.

The dangers of the situation are serious. The first is lest the movement should get out of hand. The words "Constitution," "Liberty," and "Equality," mean to the ignorant mass something good, though they could not say what; to some they signify general license. The workmen on a newspaper a few days ago demanded a large increase of wages. "But why?" asked the owner. "Because there is a Constitution." The tramway men are on strike as I write, and are marching below my windows cheering for the Constitution, the granting of which in itself they believe to entitle them to higher wages. . . .

THE OLD LIGHTHOUSE-KEEPER.

II.

Two days afterwards Lavan, Merlet, and a few other neighbours were assembled in the cabin of the deceased, while the local judge was drawing up the short inventory of her possessions. They had been called together as a family council in order to decide what should be done with Georgette, and also to appoint a guardian to look after her. The latter duty naturally would fall to, the old lighthouse-keeper, who was her only relation; but it was more difficult to decide the other question. Each person had a new solution: some talked of putting her in a farm of the parish, where she would be fed, and would have two linen chemises at Easter, and a pair of clogs at Christmas; others urged Lavan to send her to work in the clay factories for making pipes, where she might earn as much as threepence a day; others also said that the new factory employed girls of her age, but Merlet showed that the orphan was so lazy that she would not work. He was of opinion that the only thing to do with her was to try and get her in the local asylum.

Lavan had been silent till then; but he blushed and asked Merlet angrily, "Who has said that I will not look after Georgette?"

"No one," replied Merlet; "but I hope that you will not want to keep her."

"Why not?"

"Why not? But, my dear fellow, asylums are intended for the poor and for orphans."

"Asylums are for vagabonds and for bastards," cried the old sailor. "Georgette does not need to get her bread by begging. There is some one who will look after her."

"I understand the scruples of Master Lavan," said the Justice of the Peace, who came near, "and his feelings are honourable. But has he thought well of the responsibility which he is going to undertake?"

"Yes," replied Simon.

"And to whom is he going to entrust his niece?"

"Now, that is the point," said the lighthouse-keeper. "I spoke this morning to some one, did I not, Robert? Tell them that Marguerite will take Georgette."

"Wait a minute," interrupted the old fisherman who was being appealed to. "The wife has promised too quickly, Master Simon."

"Won't she agree, then?" asked the sailor.

"I do not say that," replied Robert; "but you know the girl is not easy to look after. When one is responsible, one must look to her; that takes time, and time is money."

"Did I ask you to take her for nothing?" interrupted Lavan. "We agreed about the price."

"I know, I know," said the fisherman, who was rather embarrassed; "but I should like first of all to ask the judge a question."

"Well, what is it," said he.

"The idiot has no claim against Master Simon. The law does not compel him to keep his niece; and those who keep her at home will only have his word to rely on."

"Have you any reason to doubt it?" asked the sailor.

"I do not say that," said Robert; "but His Honour, the Judge, knows that opinions change. Sometimes one is tired of giving, or one has no money, or one dies, and then—good night! so that we should have to keep the idiot at our expense."

"Why could you not do then what Master Simon refuses to do now?"

"Send the girl to the asylum?" said the fisherman. "That would be impossible. When a poor creature has slept under your roof, when one has become accustomed to watch over her, to laugh with her, to treat her as one's own daughter, you cannot get rid of her. It is no use saying: 'I do not owe her anything.' There is a habit, do you see. Then one gets attached to these children; little by little they fasten themselves to your heart. One would sooner be poor; and if one has only one piece of bread, one divides it in two. But, after all, it is hard to suffer for another, and that is why I fear to promise too much."

"Well, then, what do you want?" asked Lavan.

Robert first seemed to hesitate, and then he said: "Well, before taking Georgette I should like to be more sure of the future."

"How?"

"Well, by means of an advance."

The old lighthouse-keeper felt in his coat pocket, and found two five-franc pieces, which he threw on the table. "Here is all I have left of my month's salary," he said. "Take it for the daughter. The mother had the remainder."

Robert shook his head.

"If I were to take it Master Simon would be poorer, and I should hardly be richer," he replied.

"Then you refuse?" said the sailor.

"I feel that I must."

"Then you doubt my word?"

"No; but I should like to have a guarantee."

"Where the devil can he find one?" cried Merlet, shrugging his shoulders.

"Where?" repeated Simon. "Why, here it is." And he pulled off the Cross from his coat, and presented it to Robert.

"Keep that for me," he said. "And if ever I forget to pay for Georgette, come and show it to me. If I send you away, go and sell it. It is my honour that I entrust to you. Is that enough?"

"That is enough, Master Simon," replied the fisherman.

"Then let it be so. Take the guarantee, and take care of the girl."

But she was no longer in the cabin. She had come in during the inventory, and had carefully observed everything until the time when a little casket had been opened. There with the marriage lines and the certificates of birth were a copper ring and a little medal in lead, which had been found on the corpse of Donatien. They had been kept by Madeleine as a cruel and sad memento, and had been recognised by Georgette, who was driven by a strong desire to have them. So she carefully waited, crouching down in a corner until people were looking elsewhere, then creeping with all the agility of a savage to the half-open cupboard, she put her hand in the casket, seized the two precious relics, and got to the door without being seen.

She ran through several small lanes, carefully concealing her treasure, scrambled down the steps of the jetty, and arrived at one of the rocks on the seashore, which formed a kind of cave. She was used to coming to this place, where she kept all her treasures. She had a little cross which her mother had given her, a set of beads given by her uncle Simon, a piece of boxwood blessed by the priest on Palm Sunday, and some strange shells picked up on the beach. She was going to add to them the medal and the ring of Donatien. After having seen that her hidden treasures were safe, she spread them out before her, and resting on some seaweed she looked at each one attentively.

She had been there for some time when she heard voices. She peeped through the rocks and saw Captain Bardanon and two of his sailors, who were heating a cauldron full of tar in order to caulk the seams of their schooner, which was drawn up on the beach.

The Master was very angry, and was half drunk. He had had a quarrel with the innkeeper of the Golden Eagle, and was cursing the whole of the inhabitants. He told the two sailors how he had once revenged an affront put on him by young Donatien. "But," he continued, "I was even with him. One evening I was coming from the factory in my rowing boat, and I saw Donatien in a boat, so I drove mine against his, and sank him." The sailors were horrified at this, but said nothing, as they feared the consequences.

But Georgette had heard. At first she hardly understood, but

little by little she realised that Bardanon was the man who had murdered her brother, and she then determined to be revenged.

Hidden in her mysterious retreat, she waited till after sunset; then came cautiously out of her cave, and went to the fire which was still partly alight. She managed to rekindle it, and looked around.

The schooner was aground. She went near it, and noticed that all was quite quiet; the dog was not even on deck. The inn was closed, and the custom-house officer on duty was asleep in his hut. She heard eleven o'clock strike, and this seemed to make her come to a decision. She kindled two pieces of wood, and walked towards the schooner. She was chanting her favourite psalm, and said, "'From the depths I have called unto Thee.' I come, I come! Listen unto me. They put Donatien into the water, I shall put them in the fire. May they hope for mercy in the Lord. Blow, good wind, blow as you did on the day when I was coming back with Donatien."

She had got near the schooner, and she was looking for a favourable place to set it on fire. She put the torch near the tar in one of the seams, and a tongue of fire began to go round the ship. Georgette cried aloud with joy.

"They burn, they burn!" she cried, laughing. "Ah, ah, ah! Help me, O Lord! Donatien will be pleased."

She was going to use the second torch when some steps were heard on the jetty. She did not notice it at first, but when she did she tried to run away. It was too late. Master Simon had got hold of her. "What are you doing there, you wretch?" he said.

"Can't you see?" said Merlet. "She is setting fire to Bardanon's schooner."

"By Heaven! it is true. I can see the flame shine. In the name of God, Master James, warn the crew."

"It is useless. I hear the Captain call. He will have noticed it."

"You must go to him," said Lavan, going towards the schooner.

But Merlet stopped him. "You mean that we must get away," he said in a low voice. "God help us. If Bardanon sees us he will say we have tried to set his vessel on fire."

"But if we explained everything?"

"He would send the girl to prison. Listen; their dog is barking; they can easily put the fire out. Quick, quick! Let us get into our boat; we must not stay here."

He, Georgette, and Simon went to the little creek where their boat was at anchor. The seaman was quite ready to start, the sails were hoisted, and they made for the old lighthouse.

Then Simon and Merlet wanted to question Georgette about what she had done, but it was no use. She seemed not to understand, and the old sailor felt all his anger disappear.

"She does not even seem to understand that I am talking to her," he said, shrugging his shoulders.

Merlet shook his head in a wise way.

"What can you expect? She no more knows what she does than a new-born baby; but I am glad that we came up in time. In another quarter of an hour they would have been suffocated like rats in a hole."

"Thank God! no harm seems to have happened to them," said Simon, who was looking towards the port. "If they had not put the fire out, we should see the flames from here."

"You can be quite easy about that," replied Merlet. "Bardanon is on too good terms with the devil for fire to hurt him. He must be as happy in that element as a fish in the sea. I am only afraid that he may suspect something, and that he may denounce the girl."

"What could be done to a poor girl who has not her wits?"

Merlet shook his head. "One never knows; one never knows. Judges are so strange. And, remember that the law on incendiarism is not lenient; it is the galleys or the guillotine."

"Is that so?"

"It is. If that were to happen you can easily see how awkward it would be for you and for her."

"No, no; that cannot be! that shall not be!" Lavan interrupted suddenly, as if he were speaking to himself. "No, it shall not be, even if I had to drown her with my own hands, and myself afterwards. But there is nothing to fear. We alone saw her."

"As far as a man can say, I would swear it is so," replied the Master. "Yet, if you believe me, you will keep her there."

"At the lighthouse?" said Simon. "It is contrary to the regulations."

"But it is more prudent. If people see her, people may suspect her; while if she be away no one will think about her. Bardanon is going away in a few days, and the next time I come back to the lighthouse I would take her back with me to Robert."

In spite of his respect for regulations, Lavan saw that this would be prudent. Besides, the very idea of seeing his sister's daughter in prison so terrified him that he would have agreed to anything. Merlet and his man promised to say nothing. It was decided that nothing should be said to the man who was doing duty for Simon. The orphan was landed on the opposite side of the island, and then the cutter made for the usual landing place. The substitute for Simon was delighted to leave, and did so at once.

The old sailor waited till the cutter was only a speck on the ocean, and he then went and fetched Georgette, making her come into the tower.

In a few hours Georgette was quite at home in her new dwelling-place. At first Simon tried to question her, but he had to give it up, and she was left to roam at her own pleasure on the island.

(To be continued.)

EMILE SOUVESTRE.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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NUREMBERG AND NEWCASTLE.

It is a far cry from the old mediæval town of Nuremberg—the jewel-casket of the German Empire as it is called—to that centre of modern industrialism Newcastle-on-Tyne. Yet, during the past few weeks the same issue, from a Socialist standpoint, has been fought out in both places.

In Nuremberg the question of supreme interest in the Annual Congress of the Social-Democratic Party held there in the third week of September, was that of the Budgetbewilligung—the voting of the Budget by the Socialist groups in the National Parliaments of Baden, Bavaria, Hesse and Würtemberg. These groups claimed that the work they had done in the direction of social reform in their respective Parliaments justified them in voting for the Ministerial Budget. It was illogical, they contended, to press forward certain reforms and then refuse to vote the Budget which included the amounts necessary to pay for these reforms.

They were opposed by the North Germans, including the Executive of the party, on the ground that to vote the Budget in any Parliament was contrary to the principles and policy of the whole party ; there-

fore those groups which had adopted that course had, in the first place, been guilty of a breach of discipline, and, secondly, by so doing had surrendered the uncompromising revolutionary standpoint of the party by taking part in the administration of the existing régime.

On the other hand it was contended that the national groups should exercise a certain amount of autonomy; that in the places where they had voted the Budget they had acquired a power and influence which imposed a responsibility upon them which did not attach to those who, as in Prussia, had not been able to attain such a position. Therefore, they could not allow themselves to be dictated to by these others. Party discipline and party loyalty must be maintained, certainly; but it was idle to make these too rigid in their application, as then they could not be enforced.

And so in this way the discussion, frequently heated and sometimes bitter, went on for nearly four days, and then a vote was taken on a resolution upholding the rule of the party, submitted by the Executive, which was carried by 258 votes to 119. The minority agreed to accept the decision of the majority—instead of resigning as they at first threatened to do—while at the same time maintaining their right to do as they like, independent of the decision of the Congress, in any such case as that under consideration.

Much has been made in the capitalist press of the personalities, the heat and bitterness which sometimes characterised the debate. But neither these manifestations nor the rejoicings of our enemies over them are to be wondered at. It is a great mistake to suppose that Socialism involves the suppression of all individuality and the elimination of all differences of opinion. Most Socialists are persons of strong individuality, who have been first impelled to Socialism by a recognition of the impossibility of the development of full individuality except through Socialism; and differences of opinion, especially on questions of tactics

and policy, are bound to arise, and are essential in a party such as ours. Such differences of opinion, too, among people who are in earnest are bound to excite considerable personal feeling, as this or that point of view comes to be identified with a particular individual. And this question of the Budgetbewilligung was, on the face of it, one of tactics and policy. At bottom, however, it was much more than that. In itself the question whether, in given circumstances, the Social-Democratic Party should vote supplies for the Government in a class State might be regarded as one of tactics. Really, however, it involves a vital question of principle—the question whether the party stands for revolution or mere reform: whether participation in the Government of the capitalist State is to be the rule for a professedly Socialist Party.

It is precisely the same question which embittered the division in the French Party, and occupied much of the time of the Paris International Congress in 1900 in relation to the Millerand affair. It was this question also which was at issue in the International Congress at Stuttgart in the debate on Colonial Policy. And the same question was the real point at issue when the Labour Party declined to contest Newcastle in the recent bye-election, and local Socialists and trade unionists stepped into the breach.

The question is whether the working-class movement is to be a movement of revolt against the existing social order, scorning all alliances and working along the lines of political organisation, and with all available means, for the emancipation of the working class and the abolition of capitalism, or whether it is to have for its object such ameliorations and palliations of capitalism as will make the capitalist system tolerable, and to work for that object by participating in every possible way in the function of organising and administering the Government in a capitalist State.

Those who adopt the latter view assert that the former is sheer impossibilism and leads logically to

anti-Parliamentarism and Anarchism. To this it may be replied that almost any argument carried to its logical conclusion leads to an absurdity. The advocates of the revolutionary Socialist principle and policy are neither Impossibilists nor Anarchists; neither are they opposed to political action nor palliative reforms. But to them these things—Parliamentarism and reforms—are but means to an end, and they do not magnify the means to the exclusion of the end. They do not admit the necessity of being drowned in the maelstrom of Revisionism or shattered on the rocks of Impossibilism. There is a middle course. It may not be always easy to follow it; but undoubtedly it is the right course to take. On the one hand we have the Revisionists who seem to think that the highest aim of a working-class party is to play a part in a capitalist Government. On the other hand, we have the Impossibilists, who declare that no circumstances can justify any participation, no matter how temporary, in a capitalist administration, and that no reforms, however revolutionary in their scope or character, are worth voting for. As between the two, we say that a Socialist Party cannot, as a rule, take part in a capitalist Government. That that is, and should be, the rule; but that circumstances may arise to make it the duty of the party to so participate; the party, as a whole, to determine when such participation is necessary and when it shall cease. In the meantime, we take all the reforms we can force from the Government of our enemies, but we must recognise that in obtaining these reforms they may be the result of the pressure we have been able to bring to bear upon the Government, but, after all, they are conceded by our enemies, not granted by ourselves, seeing that we are everywhere in a minority; that therefore they are bound to have the defects of their source, and we cannot accept any responsibility for them.

Between Nuremberg and Newcastle there is this difference, that whereas in Nuremberg it was the local

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people who stood for revisionism against the rest of the party, and the party Executive which stood for the old revolutionary principle, in Newcastle it was the local people who were in revolt against the compromise to which they were committed by the Labour Party Executive. That, however, is not strange, but is quite in keeping with the general circumstances. The German Party against whose ordinances the South Germans were in revolt, is a Social-Democratic Party; pledged to maintain the principles and traditions of Social-Democracy. The British party, against whose ruling the stalwarts of Newcastle were in revolt, is merely a "Labour Party" without principles or programme, and with nothing but a somewhat doubtful independence as its single article of belief.

There was compromise

Poor old Quaker

In the one case as in the other, however, it seems to me, the party Executive was bound to insist, as far as possible, upon the maintenance of discipline. It is probable that some of my friends will not agree with me; but in the fact that it is the duty of the Labour Party to enforce discipline in its own ranks I see the justification of the position taken up by the Social-Democratic Party in this country. The Labour Party is essentially and fundamentally a compromise, an alliance for a specific object between Socialists and non-Socialists. That specific object is not Socialism, the Social Revolution, the abolition of wage-slavery, nor even labour legislation of a Radical character. The specific object of the Labour Party alliance is to get as many representatives of the affiliated bodies as possible into the House of Commons. There, it is true, they are supposed to form a separate and independent group, but as none of them can say to what end this independence is to be exercised, and as the *raison d'être* of their party has been achieved by their own election, the independence itself is of a rather nebulous quality. At any rate, it is quite clear that the all-important thing—seats in the House of Commons being the one object of the party—is to take care not to jeopardise

What for

any of those which have been won. Thus at Newcastle, Mr. Walter Hudson, a member of the Labour Party, but not a Socialist, was at the last election returned at the head of the poll by the gracious permission of the Liberals. A vacancy occurs and the Socialists of Newcastle are eager to fight for the seat. Naturally, the leaders and statesmen of the party were opposed to doing anything of the sort. And from their standpoint they were right. They owed it to Mr. Hudson to do nothing to injure his position or to risk his defeat at the next election.

The object of a Socialist Party is Socialism. To that end the education and organisation of the proletariat and their conversion to Socialist principles is essential. We cannot have Socialism without Socialists. Therefore, the first duty of a Socialist party is propaganda, in order to make Socialists. In doing this a Socialist Party should also champion every movement of the working class towards improving its condition—even in present circumstances—or in defence of its interests; so that the Socialist Party may come to be constituted as the head and centre and rallying point of the whole working-class movement.

The constitution of a Parliamentary Party and the winning of seats in Parliament may well serve as useful, and indeed the best, means of serving these objects; but they are only *means*, and not the only means, and they must certainly not be permitted to supersede the objects themselves. No Socialist will deny that it is a help to the movement to win a Parliamentary seat for Socialism; but it is a hindrance rather than a help if the seat is won by a sacrifice of principle or by any sort of compromise which restricts the liberty of action of the Socialist elected. When our men go to Parliament they want to go with a direct Socialist mandate, and if they cannot go with that they had better stay outside. It is of no moment to us that this, that, or the other individual should be

elected to the House of Commons. It is of importance however, that a *Socialist* should be elected and a seat won for Socialism. From this standpoint, therefore, it is better for a Socialist to fight and be beaten as a Socialist than to fight and win under any other flag. However successful we may be at the polls we must necessarily be in a small minority for some time to come in the legislature, because we are in a small minority in the constituencies. While that remains the case our most important work is to be done, not in Parliament but in the country at large. Even the chief utility of a Parliamentary Group in its work in the House of Commons will be not in its direct influence on legislation, but in its effect in the constituencies. Its value will be rather agitational than legislative. That is a very different conception of the function of such a group from that held by the present Labour members in the House of Commons. These gentlemen, all highly respectable, honourable men, regard themselves as statesmen and legislators, elected to take part in the government of *their* country. They would scorn to use the House of Commons as a platform for agitation. Even when they feel that an appeal to the people outside should be made, they threaten to do it *outside*, oblivious of the fact that by their election they have been placed on the best platform in the Kingdom, and that the most effective appeal to the country can be made from within. All this marks the essential difference between the Labour Party and ourselves. And it is precisely this fundamental difference which justified the Labour Party in refusing to fight Newcastle. Allied to non-Socialists, and with no common Socialist aim as a party, the Socialists in the Labour Party have no right to take any action which will jeopardise the position of any of their non-Socialist allies. If we of the S.D.P. were in the combination we should be loyally bound in the same way. We might vote for a change of policy, for the adoption of a more aggressive line of action, but, being in the minority, we should be out-voted every time, and

All this is to excuse the failure of the S.D.P. to win a seat

being out-voted it would be an act of disloyalty—to give it no harsher name—if we refused to abide by the decision of the majority.

The leaders, and most of the members of the Labour Party, to some extent recognise this and accept the position, but there is a rebel minority. It may be that when the majority recognise it as clearly as does this minority they will not be prepared to accept it so readily.

H. QUELCH.



THE SILENCE OF MR. BRYAN.—“When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the officers of the Western Federation of Miners, were standing in peril of their lives, when every agency of government and of the old party press was being used to the utmost to railroad them to the gallows, when Mr. Bryan, according to his own later declaration, ‘never believed those men were guilty,’ and when a word from him would have been of inestimable value in strengthening the protest against the Mine Owners’ conspiracy to hang them—then, by just preserving a discreet silence until the Socialists and Labour Unions had won their case without his aid, Mr. Bryan did what he could to pay the debt he owed to the associates and the heirs of Marcus Daly and the other mining kings who had helped to finance his two campaigns.”—“New York Evening Call.”

“It must be remembered that the poor cannot originate a demand for commodities. Only the possessing class can do that. When the working classes receive their wages, they become for the moment members of the possessing class, and they create a demand for one another’s labour. But, vast as is the demand for commodities created by the working men, if their wages are not renewed their power to demand quickly ceases; and their wages will not be renewed unless the rich require commodities. The workman’s power to demand commodities is but a secondary or delegated power; the power of originating or initiating a demand does not rest with him. If a rich man requires a house built, he must in effect not only place at the disposal of the workers, bricks and mortar, timber and stone, but must also supply them with food, clothes, etc., while they are engaged upon the work. In building a house, therefore, he indirectly employs a great many more than are actually engaged in building operations, and those who supply the workmen with necessities, as well as the workmen themselves, depend for their opportunity to labour upon the rich man’s demand for commodities.”—From “Low Wages and No Wages,” by OSWALD ST. CLAIR.

THE GERMAN PARTY CONGRESS AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

The German Party Congress has this year been of special interest to women, as it is the first held since the new Law of Associations came into power, and the question of re-organisation of the women's movement under the new conditions must be settled. The Law is in principle an entirely reactionary measure, curtailing the rights of association of foreign workmen, and rendering the political enlightenment of the youth more difficult than ever. But as it is an ill wind that blows nobody good, at least the women of Prussia and other restricted States have been able to find a loophole in the Law through which they have a glimpse of political freedom.

Until lately we women in Prussia have not been allowed to organise ourselves politically, we must not even attend political meetings of associations, and two-thirds of the time we might have been using in agitation has been wasted in dodging regulations. Our women's societies have therefore always been mere "Improvement Societies," strictly non-political; notice of meetings having to be given to the police on pain of instant dissolution of the society, and our every step dogged by portentous-looking policemen with notebooks, doing their best to light on any informality which would enable them to break up meetings or get fines imposed on the leaders. If we wanted to attend a men's club meeting we dare not be "present" but could sit in an adjoining room with the door open, or we could sit in a "section," a part of the room

portioned off by any line being drawn, a row of chairs perhaps. If there was a platform to the hall this was generally our place, and here we could enjoy the whole of the smoke from the room below, be refreshed by the draughts from the wings, and hear an occasional word from the speakers, who generally had their backs to us, and always one or two of the unspeakable Prussian policemen sitting by and keeping strict watch that no woman over-stepped the "section" by an inch and thus began to "attend" the meeting.

And still we did attend political meetings, and did organise ourselves politically, for our Improvement Societies were known to us, the police, and everybody else, to be political; indeed openly so long as there was not actually a policeman present. The absurdity of sticking to the letter of a dead law would have long been impossible anywhere but in Germany, where the police are a religion, and it never enters anybody's head to defy the law, but merely to dodge it. The new Law enables us to do openly what we have done in secret, to go forward in the work with less restraint and increased opportunity.

With these new conditions very different prospects of work are opened up to us; we are no longer condemned to work in a corner, struggling with the petty till we become petty ourselves, as is so often the fate of women. We can enter on an equal footing with man the field on which men and women are to fight for their common rights. Our views and enthusiasms, freed from the bitterness born of the continual galling injustice incurred by being a woman, have space to broaden, we can take up the work with hope and spirit, and it will be our own fault if we do not dissolve the last remnants of prejudice which still remain in the minds of many, even of our own comrades.

The question to be decided by the Congress has been the best way of utilising the new possibilities. It is only to be regretted that in all the debates woman was still regarded as *woman*, as a race apart, for whom special regulations must be made. It would seem

obvious that once the possibility was wrung from the law, the women entering the party organisation would do so simply as members, without disadvantage or privilege, the accident of their being women passing unnoticed. And no doubt this is the ultimate condition of things desired by those attending the Congress, but partly owing to the women having worn their chains so long that they cannot accustom themselves to freedom, and partly owing to an engrained sex prejudice, the whole tone of the Congress was to set woman in a separate category, to accord her a special treatment. That the special treatment proposed was generally in the form of a privilege is the greater proof of distrust in woman's powers.

Thus it was agreed that at least one woman should be on the committee of each elective society, a regulation intending to protect the women from being unrepresented, but in itself logically superfluous, for where there is a capable woman she will be elected to the committee in any case, and where the women as a whole are the most capable the committee may consist wholly of women, but where there are no women fit for the position one cannot be dragged in by the hair of the head. If such a regulation is necessary before women can get on the committee in places where there are capable women, then it is a sad confession of sex prejudice in the party itself. That women must necessarily be represented by women is also a remnant of prejudice.

Then the subscription for women is recommended to be less than that for men, This is again a well-meant privilege based on the lesser proportionate earnings of women, but it is also a fatal pandering to the illusion shared by the majority of even Socialist workmen, that the work of their wives, especially where the women do the housework only, is worth absolutely less than theirs, and that if the woman's subscription is as high as the man's, it is *he* who pays double from his own pocket. It is only the most unenlightened of the working women who are

pleased to pay a lower subscription; those who understand the economic value of their work feel it is as a degradation.

Again, it has been agreed that the existing women's improvement societies should not be done away with and that the Women's Conferences should continue to be held. The idea underlying both these proposals is that women have certain interests in which men have no part, "interests as mothers and as unenfranchised," and it is suggested that the women may discuss their own affairs at their own conferences, and thus save the time of the Party Congress. It seems as if the women themselves cannot realise the thought of equality with men: in one direction they accept privilege, and then here they are at once so overwhelmingly modest. Theoretically they will erase sex distinction, practically they insist on it. Do they not at heart believe that there exist no feminine interests as such, no masculine interests as such, but solely human interests? The women are part and parcel of the party, what concerns them concerns the party, they have neither obligation nor right to discuss their affairs alone. Would it not be regarded as an absurdity if any category of male comrades—say those deprived of votes by their pecuniary circumstances—should announce the intention of holding a separate conference on the ground that they had other interests, and did not wish to trouble the Party Congress? It is precisely in the interests of any such body of comrades that the Party Congress is held at all, and it is scarcely thinkable that a party composed of men and women should pick out a few subjects of particular interest to half their members, and exclude these from discussion. At the Congress, party matters are discussed in accordance with their importance; this year, for instance, over two days were given to the affairs of the South German comrades, as affecting the whole party; another year perhaps so much time might be devoted to the political and social disabilities of the women members,

as equally affecting the whole party. The whole object of the women should be to merge themselves and their interests in the rest of the party, that women and men may work together in such a manner that the disadvantages suffered by the one are felt equally by both.

Then with regard to retaining the women's improvement societies, there is a sort of fear abroad that most women are not yet advanced enough to take real part in the men's clubs, that their interest would decline when knotty problems took the place of the agreeable gossip reading circles, and that the whole women's movement would suffer a set-back. And yet this supposition is contradicted by experience. In Saxony, for instance, where the women have long been able to organise politically, the doing away with the improvement societies has resulted in the 200 to 300 women formerly belonging to these associations being increased to 4,000 in the political organisations. Where the women have had sufficient interest to join an improvement society, their interest will be correspondingly greater when they are able to take part in the real thing, now that they need no longer sit in a corner without voice or vote, but can join in the discussion, and vote or be voted for.

Our German comrades have too much fearfulness and distrust in woman's abilities. It would in every case be better to simply give women equal opportunities and see if they prove worthy of them. A fair field and no favour is all we ask, and though our inexperience and disabilities may make the struggle the harder at first, we enter on it with a better spirit. Equality of the sexes is part of our party programme, let us then have it first of all in the party itself. It is always a mistake to be afraid of being too ideal, and woman will be better educated to her responsibilities by being offered on a small scale that equality it is intended shall be hers in every respect under Socialism than by being kept in leading strings.

However, when all is said, the German Congress has given the women's movement a great forward impetus, and it will take but a short period of work under the new conditions to show to the German women comrades the needlessness of their lack of self-confidence, and to the men comrades the superfluity of their fear of weakness in the ranks of the women.

MAUD PARLOW.



BUT do not believe that we mean that everyone will have to do manual labour. Labour undoubtedly will then come to honour ; work will then be a beneficent exercise, and not an oppressive task as now ; but brain-work will have its due weight : the New Commonwealth will not be a State of mechanics. In all States that at present pretend to give its citizens educational facilities, it seems to be entirely overlooked that education and aspiration go hand in hand. America gives such young men and women as can afford to improve themselves free access to high-schools, colleges, and universities, and then leaves them to scramble for a precarious existence, for which their very education has unfitted them. The educated pauper is the most pitiable. Our Commonwealth, on the other hand, will nourish the aspirations it awakens ; it will use for its own good the talents it has matured ; and enable every man and woman to develop his or her peculiar aptitudes, whether for brain-work or hand-work. The freedom of every citizen to follow his bent, will itself vastly increase the product of the social activity ; for it is well-known that a person accomplishes most when he is at the sort at work for which he has the greatest inclination. . . . It has been computed that if everybody now worked at some useful calling for four hours daily, everybody could live in comfort. There is good reason for believing that this computation cannot be far off the truth ; and who can doubt that in the Coming Commonwealth the hours of labour could be very much reduced, and yet everybody willing to work have everything that heart could wish. Why should anybody then object to being restrained from working more than six or four hours a day ? That very many working men should object to such a check on their liberty *now*, when they are often reduced to absolute want by seasons of enforced idleness, is natural enough, and may be noted as a stumbling-block in the way of those who agitate for a compulsory eight-hour law under the present system.—From the "Co-operative Commonwealth," by LAURENCE GRONLUND.

A STATE MEDICAL SERVICE.

Recently one of the orthodox medical papers wrote a meant-to-be-scathing comment on Socialism in the medical profession, showing that the writer was ignorant of the elementary fact known to all sociologists—that Socialism is not a coming State, but one into which by evolutionary process we have advanced not a little. Socrates pointed out many generations ago that good qualifications in your own special occupation did not qualify a man to be an expert in political affairs, as we would now say—that a knowledge of human society needed expert study as much as any other branch of knowledge. And yet now, as then, most men are content to accept their views of the body politic at second hand. The very men who would listen with amusement to those taking a prisoner's part because his lawyer followed up the plea of "Not guilty" are just those who fail to see that the vested interest, or capitalist press, are the defending lawyers of present-day civilisation, which unbiased students of society declare to be inefficient, and often inhumane, in its incidence to the majority.

They are ignorant of the fact that their much-quoted political economy is not scientific; it is founded on the deductive reasoning that there must ever in mentality be a slaver caste and a slave class, the former being those who control the sources and means of production of wealth; and that wealth will always be produced for the benefit alone of those of the slaver caste, and not for the welfare of the community. In short, that wealth will always be

produced for private profit, and not for general utility.

All branches of knowledge go through three stages of growth, from that of puerile observations and surmisings to that of deductive reasoning, founded on the imagining of reasons and the forcing of facts to fit in with those ideas to the stage of inductive or scientific reason. In this stage facts are investigated by all the senses, simply and complexly; from a marshalling of facts, guiding principles are discovered.

Thus, scientific astronomy succeeded astrology; modern chemistry mediæval alchemy; present-day medical science that of rule of thumb practice and drugging. Just as the ideal of a spiritual ministerial service founded on the needs of humanity is replacing the theses and theological arguments of the schoolmen, with the imaginings of the golden-harp-and-hell-fire futures, so is social economy, the science of Socialism, replacing that of a perpetual slaver caste and slave class political economy.

Educated men ask as a clever poser "What is Socialism?" In a few years' time they will not do so without the obvious answer that is intellectual laziness not to know. The facts of social science, gleaned by minds not biased as to the need of for ever upholding capitalism, are to be found in many books and publications, one of the Fabian tracts numbers many hundreds. Also, all standard dictionaries give some definition, not all the same in words, but the same in ultimate effect; do not the diffuse volumes defining Christianity differ in many aspects?

The essentials of a Socialist State will be: That all labour to the best of their ability; that the wealth produced goes to all who labour according to their needs; that the performance of the duty of labour secures the right of the franchise to all adults, and that wealth is produced, not for the profit of individuals, but for the benefit of the community.

Applying these principles to the medical profession it will be seen that it is the most Socialistic of all

occupations. No one can get into it unless they have worked hard to obtain that result, no one can support themselves in it except they apply their knowledge by further work. There are no financial genii, gifted with the power of administrative ability, the instinct to pick out men to do all the hard work while they sign the cheques; there are no guinea-pigs, though there are guinea placebos owing to the ignorance and follies of restricted society. All registered practitioners are enfranchised as to the ruling authority, the General Medical Council, but in accordance with the principles of capitalism, the hardest worked and worst paid have least power. As regards remuneration there is a minimum county court scale, the Shropshire tariff, laid down for fees, which is accepted by county court judges where not vitiated by local custom or special contract. But again, the cloven hoof of competitive commercialism steps in, and many a medical man makes an income but little above that of a skilled artisan. The whole system of treatment by fees is wrong. Future generations will wonder that their ancestors could have been so silly.

But the absolute Socialistic basis is seen in the last essential, that of wealth being produced for the welfare of the community. Remembering Ruskin's definition, is not health, haleness, holiness, wholesomeness, all words from the same Saxon root denoting soundness, the greatest of all forms of wealth. Even the political economists admit that labour is the source of all wealth, that nothing can be produced for the well-being of the human being except human energy has entered into it, or been applied to it. And the objects of medical knowledge are to restore impaired health, and to train up human beings to the highest efficiency. All medical men of good feelings, whose ideals rise higher than that of Ruskin's acquisitive machine, are agreed as to the following principles, the ignoring of which constitutes a breach of medical etiquette. (Medical ethics are framed to lessen the evils of the commercial system we live and move in.)

A professional man is one who professes to act from higher principles than those of profit-mongering; how can a medical journal claim to be a professional paper and yet disclaim Socialism? Medical etiquette forbids the patenting of any remedy, French law does not allow it; it forbids the keeping secret of any discovery, the whole results of a man's research has to be given unreservedly to the world. It forbids a man being put off the Register because his views are not acceptable to the majority, that is, the world gets the benefit of new ideas being worked out to their uttermost; a medical man can only be put off the Register for misconduct in action and life, not for his views or teachings. It even forbids to advertise; for the capitalist system by length of purse can make a mediocre mercenary into an angel of light and learning.

In two essentials the medical profession is Socialist now, in the other two it is well on the way. As the medical profession has increased in knowledge and efficiency in two generations through the acceptance of these principles from rule of thumb practice and drugging of symptoms to a scientific state, where functions are first defined, changes in physical signs noted, and causes removed, so in the organisation of the community like principles can lead up to production of wealth for the benefit of the nation at large. What an outcry there would have been if a syndicate or trust had purchased the secret and control of the sale of anæsthetics, or allowed only at what price it pleased the application of antiseptic surgery, and its further outcome of aseptic practice. For the alleviation of human suffering it was held right that there should be no private property in these discoveries. Why should the rights of private property stand in the way of the social disease of want of work if a way out can be discovered?

There is no scarcity of oxygen molecules in the atmosphere and in fatty foodstuffs, and yet tuberculous disease exists for want of them to certain individuals.

No scientist but knows that this disease could be wiped out if the State so ordered it ; in this commercial age expense is the only obstacle. In the same way starvation and social ailments due to want of sufficient work and insufficient reward for labour could be wiped out if the State so willed it ; if the enfranchised majority ordained that wealth should be produced for common use and not for private aggrandisement.

On June 25 the Socialist Medical League was founded at a meeting at 19, Buckingham Street, Strand. Its proposed work can largely be summed up in the idea that most disease is preventible, that it cannot be successfully combated under a commercial régime, and that a State Medical Service can alone, even in these days, give the best results to the community.

About 70 medical practitioners have joined, 34 being in or near London, about 20 in Scotland and the six northern counties, about 20 more in the rest of England. The catholicity of the medical profession was shown by the facts that both sexes, several forms of religion, and, at least, four nationalities were to be found amongst those present, some 28 in all. Many far-reaching movements have started with a smaller initial meeting ; that of temperance is credited with seven members.

The question of a State Medical Service is of importance to the individual, the community, and the medical man. To the individual, because he is gradually awaking to the fact that the essential of medical science is to prevent disease by sanitary measures and by a right course of living ; that medicine is a secondary matter in treating most diseases ; that it is no more the work of a medical man to sell medicines than of a spiritual adviser to sell charms, prayer books, or crosses. (In this article I keep to the term "medical man,"—in London I have found the grossest ignorance as to the word "doctor" ; to

many middle-class people, who have no excuse to offer, the term means—a man giving medicine, a chemist.)

To the community it is important. The less the death-rate the greater the amount of labour-power available; the healthier the worker, the greater his efficiency. I remember the late Mr. Caine, M.P., commenting on a certain trade turning out in the States 20 per cent. more output from the same machines as in England; the workers were well-housed and total abstainers, Weary Willie was unknown in those works.

To the medical man it is important. The ordinary practitioner has loyally seconded the efforts of preventive medicine; the Infectious Diseases Acts have robbed him of much income, sanitary measures of more, and the out-patient departments at the hospitals of still more. And yet the public, as exemplified often by tradesmen jurors, who would be the first to tell a starving family to go to the Overseer, condemn him for not wasting his time and health by going to every urgent call when there is no chance or intention to pay him. These same men expect him to pay his rates up to date, they expect communal service from him, but grant no equivalent in return. And some people will impertinently tell him it is his duty to attend them when sent for, that the law compels it; these same people would not go to an employer at all hours on the mere chance of being paid sometime. But medical men have themselves largely to blame, they have not as a mass spoken out plainly to unreasonable people; some because they live on the low commercial principle of living not to give offence, ignoring the fact that you cannot keep your self-respect if you do not offend some people, much less do your duty to the State. Medical men have been too considerate of people's feelings, they have taken for granted that they would receive the same consideration that they have given.

The law compels people to find medical attendance for those dependant on them, but the finding of it is

capricious, dilatory, and medicinal in many cases, chiefly so in those needing most advice and supervision. There should be medical attendance constantly in the growing years, especially in infancy, a period not touched by the new School Medical Service; it should start at the commencement of ill-health, not when people feel they must call in a doctor; in this case the community would soon understand that health is regained best by aiding natural processes, not by drug swilling. Most early symptoms are caused by nature's attempts to rectify machinery gone wrong.

Eliminate excess in alcohol, give cookery of a decent standard, and healthy bed-rooms, and in two generations the sick rate would decrease over 50 per cent. Friendly society figures show, I believe, one year's work lost in 31 to the ordinary worker. Medical men can be divided into three large classes: those practising with the avowed object in life of making money—these are usually "such nice men," they take care not to give offence; a class, small in number who say what they think scientific truth demands, not always those who can best afford to do so; and the great mass who tread a middle course, not because they like it, but virtually under compulsion. Give these a certainty in income, and most of them will well repay the State in full service, influencing the public rightly as regards both the evils of excessive drinking (any drink affecting the health from normal is excess) and in the housing question.

I would outline the needful State Medical Service as follows. All the arguments applicable to a State Ecclesiastical Service, or to compulsory and free education, also apply to it. But in medical attendance the personal element must always remain a greater factor than in education, and for this reason a tax on those who would not avail themselves of the local medical officer would be at first best avoided. The object should be to provide attendance for the working classes alone, their contribution for it being direct and compulsory.

The classes who most need medical advice are just those who will not join clubs or friendly societies; they put off sending for assistance from fear of expense until in money and health it costs them more. To make this class contribute compulsorily will be to their advantage. Others of the working classes who provide ahead now for sickness would have to revise their rules only. The best form of direct contribution is a tax on all weekly wage sheets or individual wages, in the shape of a stamp to be found by the worker. The rate of stamping should be from a half-penny to threepence on single wage-earners, a penny to sixpence for married ones, the scale being according to wage. The stamps to be sold by local post offices, marked so that each municipality or county knows what is due to it. Big firms could have one stamp of sufficient high value attached; out-of-works could be granted consideration by allowing, in calculating the rate of taxation, a certain percentage of time lost.

The service would only consist of those who ask that their names may be entered on the local list for it, any registered medical man to be allowed to join. Those taxed to be allowed to choose what medical attendant they prefer, but only to be allowed to alter their minds once a year. In this way town districts would have no less a choice than now, and country districts no less.

People have but little idea as to the fact of the great average equality of most medical men; the financially successful man is largely the outcome of good luck at the start, or owes much to the possession of capital. Any college can point to the successful prize winner who gets stuck for life in the country, or to the "chronic" who rides into affluence on his father's name and motor-car.

Another advantage would be the forcing on of the question of the co-ordination of the medical profession for the greatest national advantage. At present there is waste of energy, mental power lost in financial anxiety,

or atrophied in money-making, absence of opportunity for post graduate study, and overlapping of institutions.

Medical Aid Institutions would cease to exist, the friendly societies would no longer employ medical officers, workmen already taxed by their employers for their medical attendance would be in the same position as now, and outdoor Poor Law medical attendance would cease except for strangers, thus far reducing the rates. Men would kick against forced contributions from their wages for the hospitals, at which the attendance at the out-patient department would largely cease. The bulk of such work is due to people who will make no provision, and to those who buy houses, drink to excess, and wear fine clothes at the expense of the ordinary medical practitioner. Diminished contributions would bring the hospitals back to their proper functions: of attending to accident and emergency cases, for major and specialist operations, and for cases that cannot be properly treated at home; the staff being the consultants for the general practitioner when his patient cannot afford them otherwise. The hospitals would probably soon reorganise both for external and internal administration, and a proper system of co-operation with the workhouse infirmaries would evolve.

To the medical man starting life the advantage would be great. He generally does so with a high idea of his duty as a scientific man and as a citizen, circumstances often force him to lie low. The certainty of an income to start with, that could not be affected for evil by prominent local men of the vested interests of drink, house property and sweating, would enable him to develop mental and moral stamina of high resistance; in London he would have the opportunity of taking his proper position as an intellectual man, as in Scotland at present, and for many years past. There the three ruling spirits of any locality are the minister, the doctor, and the schoolmaster—to the advantage of the community; they set the pace,

and the communal conscience is largely theirs. In London, in the purely industrial parts, the men looked up to are the drink trafficker, the property owner, and the Board of Guardians contractor-tradesman, hence it is as it is.

G. ROME HALL, M.D.



POINTS FROM THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL'S ANNUAL REPORT.

The number of persons on the establishment of the Post Office on March 31, 1908, was 90,776, of whom 13,259 were women. The number added during the year was 2,568.

In addition, there were 112,821 persons filling unestablished situations (some of them employed only for a portion of the day), of whom 30,476 were women. The number added during the year to the unestablished force was 1,851.

The total number of persons employed wholly or in part in the Post Office on March 31, 1908, was thus 203,597.

The number of established persons dismissed during the year was 318, whilst 239 were deprived of good-conduct stripes. The corresponding figures for 1906-7 were 358 and 198. Dishonesty accounts for 23 per cent. of the whole number of dismissals, whilst intemperance is responsible for 36 per cent. of the dismissals and 66 per cent. of the losses of good-conduct stripes.

The number of women who retired on marriage in 1907 was 329, with an average age of 27 and an average service of nine years.

The postal revenue of the year, including the value of services rendered to other Departments, was £18,096,243, an increase of £735,739 on that of the previous year. The postal expenditure was £13,108,734, an increase of £813,905 on that of the previous year. The net profit was thus £4,987,509, or £78,166 less than last year.

The telegraph and telephone revenue of the year, including the value of services rendered to other Departments, was £4,484,120, an increase of £114,893; and the telegraph and telephone expenditure was £5,335,996, an increase of £324,071 upon the previous year. The net deficit on working was thus £851,876, or £209,178 more than last year.

The net revenue from the postal and telegraph services combined was £4,135,633. If the interest on the capital expended on the purchase of the telegraphs—£10,867,644—be taken into account, the net profit was £3,863,942, or £287,344 less than last year.

THE MONTH.

Public attention during the past month has been chiefly directed to two questions—Foreign Affairs and the Unemployed. In regard to both, the smooth prophecies of optimists have been belied and crises have developed which threaten serious trouble in the near future.

The foreign storm-centre has, for the time being, shifted from the North Sea to the Balkans. There the action of Prince Ferdinand in declaring the independence of Bulgaria has practically put the finishing touch to the abrogation of the Berlin Treaty, and has re-opened the whole Eastern Question.

It cannot be supposed for a single moment that this step was taken by Bulgaria without an understanding with some of the Great Powers. Germany, which was prepared to back up Turkey against Russia and England, is equally prepared to join in a scheme for plundering the "Sick Man," and so we have Germany and Austria presumably agreeing to the independence of Bulgaria in order to facilitate the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. Anything more utterly cynical and contemptuous of international treaties and agreements has never been witnessed.

Now it is alleged that Russia, upon whom the British Government counted to oppose the schemes of Austria and Germany, was actually a party to the plot! And so once more our clever statesmen and diplomatists have been out-manœuvred.

At last even members of the Government have awakened to the existence of unemployment. Little more than two months ago, the President of the Local Government Board affected to make light of the apprehensions as to the coming winter expressed

by some members of the House of Commons, and jeered at the misery of the unemployed. His light-hearted optimism, based upon the sound foundation of five thousand a year, is now at a discount, and his colleagues, the Minister for War, the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, all recognise the gravity of the case.

In a letter to his henchman at Newcastle, the Prime Minister said that the Government had had the subject of the unemployed under their serious consideration during the whole of the time they had been in office, and were pledged to deal drastically with that and other social questions. So far, however, the Bills which he indicates as embodying the drastic measures of the Government do not inspire us with much hope. Even if the Licensing Bill were as good a measure as it is a bad one, it would scarcely be of any value in relation to unemployment. To believe the contrary is to assume that men are unemployed because labour is inefficient and unproductive, and that a remedy for unemployment is to be found in making it more productive and efficient, instead of the very reverse being the case.

The same idea is manifest in the deliverances of the other Ministers. Mr. Haldane suggests that the working-classes should be stimulated to thrift, and induced, in prosperous times, to "lay by for a rainy day." He appears to be quite ignorant of the fact that that is what almost every workman with any opportunity of saving does now. In their friendly societies and trade unions working men establish immense funds against sickness, death and want of employment. Hundreds of thousands of pounds are yearly paid out by the trade unions in unemployed benefit. But all these funds are sadly inadequate when all is done. There is scarcely a union which is not finding its unemployed an almost intolerable burden, through the levies which it is necessary to impose on the whole membership for the relief of those out of work. On the other hand, this burden of unemployment is frequently reduced, especially in the unions of less skilled workers, through the falling-off in membership due to unemployment.

It is this which, in some instances, makes any calculation as to the numbers of unemployed, based upon trade union returns, so unreliable. If there is a high percentage of unemployed in a union it is evidence of a slackness of work; but there may be a considerable reduction in the percentage of unemployed members

in the union, or that percentage may disappear altogether, and yet there may be greater slackness and a larger number of unemployed in the trade.

Mr. Lloyd-George talks a lot of high-sounding platitudes about the necessity of doing something for the poor, and ridicules the idea of frightening capital away ; but he does not formulate any definite proposal nor give a hint of anything practical that the Government intends to do. Mr. Winston Churchill finds the causes of unemployment in a lack of industrial organisation ; casual labour, and the employment of boys. How industry is to be better organised or systematised he does not say, nor how regular employment is to be substituted for casual labour. It might even be suggested that to discover how this latter is to be done would be to solve the question of unemployment. Clearly, if everybody was regularly employed there would be no one out of work. As to boy-labour, Mr. Churchill suggests a remedy for that in apprenticeship. That is quite the thing now, to suggest teaching all boys a trade as a remedy for unemployment. If only those who talk this nonsense would reflect for a moment on the proportion of unemployed in practically every skilled trade they would see the absurdity of their suggested remedy. It is very bad, of course, for boys to be employed at a comparatively early age, in work which offers them no opportunity of a career, in which they can learn nothing of any use to them as men, and from which they are cast adrift to swell the ranks of the unemployed, and to make room for others, as soon as they are too old to work for boys' wages.

But the difficulty would not be solved by teaching them all a trade. If all the youths and young men who, with no trade or profession, are now out of work, were qualified to work at some trade or other, they would not, therefore, at once find employment. If they did, it would only be at the expense of throwing others out. The numbers of the unemployed would not be lessened by a single unit. It would only mean that the numbers of unskilled unemployed had been reduced while those of the skilled had increased in the same proportion.

The pressing unemployed difficulty is intensified by such special circumstances as those at present existing in the cotton trade, where the workpeople are out through a demand for a reduction in their wages. Here we see that slack

trade not only means a smaller aggregate of wages, but also a reduction in the rate of wages. People are out of work because there is not a sufficient demand for the commodities they have produced, and then their own power to purchase these commodities is still further reduced by reduction of wages.

In addition to all this, as a further source of unemployment, the railway companies are combining to effect economies in working, and are reducing their respective staffs. There is plenty of room for economy in the working of our railway system; but it is unfortunate that this should be achieved at the expense of the workers. A more excellent way would be to reduce the hours of labour; but then that would not bring profit to the employers. The facts, however, serve once more to demonstrate that efficiency and economy under existing conditions, only serve to increase unemployment and poverty.

The bye-election at Newcastle, while it did not result in so good a vote for our candidate Hartley as we had anticipated, fully justified the action of the local comrades in contesting the seat. It has afforded an intimation to all the other parties that the Social-Democratic Party will have to be reckoned with in Newcastle in future.

The Trades Union Congress this year was not a particularly notable gathering. The chief items of interest were the adoption of a thoroughly democratic political reform resolution, and the re-endorsement of the Education programme in spite of the efforts of the Catholics to delete Secular Education.

ALCOHOL AND WOMEN'S LABOUR.

I.

Increasing alcoholism—that is one of the findings of the English “Commission on Physical Deterioration” which was appointed by the late Government.

One of the experts on the Commission explained in answer to a question as to the causes: “The women’s lives, through their being increasingly employed in factories and workshops, are becoming more assimilated to those of the men, with the same pleasures and distractions.”

The author of an essay on “Female Prisoners” in the May number of the “Nineteenth Century” says the same thing. From his experience as prison inspector he proves that “where the conditions of life of the men and women show the greatest similarity, where they work together in factories, the number of female convicts is much higher. In the agrarian district of Surrey, for instance, there are only three such to every ten in Manchester. The different proportion of criminality is therefore ascribable not to natural but to social causes, and the crime itself may be called a social phenomenon. The same essay says on this point: “In so far as the occupation of women assumes more of a masculine character, they will, in their struggle for existence, in pursuit of their independence and all that belongs to it, be subject to the same disadvantages as the men, and will bear the same marks of degeneration with the same inclination to crime.”

In England one does indeed see a rapid increase of sentences on women for serious crimes; the number of female prisoners is much greater than in the less industrial countries, such as Italy and Spain. For this the “increase of habitual drunkenness” is, according to this authority, “in a high degree responsible.”

In studying alcoholism one constantly meets with apparent contradictions, which can only be explained by tracing the causes back to their primary root.

In tropical countries, as is well-known, the Europeans drink a great deal. The older writers, among them Quélelet and Le Play, point out, on the other hand, that in the northern and colder climates the necessity for alcohol makes itself specially felt. Alcohol, it is said, on the basis of well-known facts, is the refuge for persons tortured

by anxiety about their daily bread. But it is equally well-known that the drink habit was nowhere more universal and seemed nowhere more impossible to eradicate, till a short time ago, than in the university world, which was then almost exclusively composed of young men who were well-off and at the most careless age. Contradictions of this sort could be enumerated by the dozen, and they have often awakened a pained anger in the opponents of alcohol, that our fellow-creatures should be so accomplished in what is bad as to be always able to find an argument in favour of a habit that is never anything but an abuse.

We seek to explain alcoholism—sign of a general craving for pleasure—in the circumstance that, under the capitalist system, work in itself has ceased to give mankind satisfaction, or life an object worthy of humanity—but, on the contrary, has become a source of many torments. On the other hand, work for the sustenance of life—that is, everybody's share in the process of production and exchange—claims more and more of man's attention, exhausts the bodies and takes such possession of the minds that very little time, desire or opportunity is left for any other exertion. It is true some of the younger generation seek in some activity suitable to their time of life a pleasurable exertion denied them in their profession. It is worthy of record that in those cases sport does to a certain extent take the place of the drink habit. But the great mass of all classes of society are only attracted by such pleasures as do not require exertion—that are nothing more than a kind of rest, distractions without trouble, recreations for the body and mind, exhausted by work for the sustaining of life.

Therefore, opposite to work in our society, there stands pleasure—the unavoidability of work opposed to the desirability of enjoyment. We see how people, at certain times, throw the burdens of work from them, and eagerly give themselves up to enjoyment, which, divorced from work and independent of it, is supplied by a hundred separate industries. And, perhaps, the most general, most easily procurable, most effectual means of enjoyment, that is, in its quality and kind the easiest to share and that can best be combined with other enjoyments, is alcoholic drink. Finally: this cause of drinking is not always a direct one. In a state of society where the enjoyment of alcohol is looked upon as a necessity of life, many are led to drink through the influence of custom, chance, example, and the invitation of others. On the other hand, one sees people who might otherwise have escaped becoming drunkards through hereditary tendency.

* * * * *

The examination of the causes of drinking among working-class women shows complicated contradictions. The report of the English Governmental Commission mentions causes which could hardly be brought into agreement with each other if they were not all to be traced back to one great primary cause.

As far as the general cause is concerned, it has already been pointed out that when women begin to work like men they also begin to live like men. In the particular position of the wage-worker under capitalism, alcohol is for the most part not only a means of enjoyment, but a food. It offers more than mere distraction after work, it also dissipates the feeling of fatigue during work. It does not only provide the longed-for recreation, but renders possible the necessary exertion. In short, the worker drinks, not so much to give himself pleasure as to enable him to satisfy his exploiters. That which in the long run undermines his vital force, increases momentarily his power to work. To the workers alcohol has to serve as a substitute for necessities; it enables them to bear the unbearable. The greater the number of workers who during the absolute reign of capitalism come under the sway of its sceptre, the greater is the increase in alcoholism. The men, who are the first to appear as wage-workers, drink from every cause, on every occasion. The women, who follow on them, also drink under all circumstances and from all causes. Men and women, male and female workers, drink always and everywhere. The men who have begun to free themselves from the absolute dominion of capitalism are here and there partially laying aside the drinking habit. The women, who for the most part have no power of resistance to capitalism, are also unable to resist alcohol.

* * * * *

Factory girls—young, without worries, free, with money in their pockets—drink a great deal. They form dancing-circles, who go regularly together to the public-house, and each takes it in turn to pay for the whole lot.

Young married women continue to drink in order to help themselves over the sufferings of pregnancy. Young mothers who are in the workshops all day, drink away the worry over the neglected family at home. They drink when they have the money for it, they drink also some of the household money, they drink on credit and pawn the furniture when the money is all gone. The man finds no dinner at home, and the children have no clothes in which to go to school, because the mother drinks.

In good times the women get their share of the men's superfluity, that is, they get beer and spirits. In bad times alcohol is the only comforter.

Workmen's wives who are also working in the factory, take care not to become pregnant; they go with the men to the public-house, and among the habits they acquire is that of drinking. If, later on, children do, after all, come, then alcohol is the only thing that supports the women at their work, which is harder than the man's because the household work is added to it.

When the wages are good the women drink because it tastes good with their dinner. Also, alcohol is the cheapest substitute for food. At last they drink so much that they can hardly eat at all.

Women who work with the men rival the men in drinking, as there is no single reason why they should drink less. If they continue to work after their marriage, they also continue to drink. If they no longer go to the factory, they do not generally care much about housekeeping, nor do they, for the most part, understand much about it. They do not know how to use their free time, and drink because they are bored.

The question of why the female workers drink is, therefore, as we have seen, not easy to answer.

Is it youthful thoughtlessness?—It is quite as much the mothers of families who drink.

Do family cares, want of liberty and distraction, and the roughness of the men, drive them to the public-house?—The factory-girls are frequent customers there.

Do good earnings make them intemperate?—One sees them sell their children's bread.

Is bitter poverty to blame?—Often the more they earn the more they drink.

Or, perhaps, the bad custom that married women continue to work?—Those who have left off working drink secretly at home.

Then the monotonous life, where they wear themselves out for the family?—Those who have no children and live with their husbands as with comrades, drink at least quite as much as the men.

No, it is not one of those things, because it is all of them together. The female workers drink just *because they are female workers*.

Formerly, in so far as the women of the working classes still remained outside the workshop, drunkenness in women was an exception. The reason was not that they suffered less from want than the men, but they found a satisfaction in their work, which was work in their own household and their own family, a satisfaction that kept them from alcoholism. However simple or even defective were the arrangements of the household, however hard the house-work, the care of the man and the children is an occupation, which differs in this way from most industrial work, that it contains in itself an element of satisfaction, and offers some enjoyment. Order and comfort in the worker's family is for the most part the work of the wife and mother. As long as the proletarian woman remained outside the factory, she found in the *nature of her occupation* a protection against the seduction of alcohol. When she began also to work in the factory, the nature of her work changed. The domestic work now added to the drudgery of wage work, became an unendurable burden. Instead of a means of protection it now became a cause of the weakening of the power of resistance to alcohol. The increase of the drink-crave among female workers is as important for the understanding of capitalism as of alcoholism. When one says "misery leads to drink," one must not overlook the fact that "misery" is not meant here in the narrower, purely material sense of the word.

The misery of capitalism—the bulk of which is increasing—lies above all in the *nature of the work* that it inflicts.

II.

What the above-mentioned Commission has found out regarding alcoholism in women, is summed up in their final remarks, as follows:—

“The evidence showed that the drink habit among women of the working classes was certainly increasing, to the great detriment of the care of the children—not to speak of the possibility of the birth of children who are ruined for their whole lives.”

Factory work is mentioned as one of the causes making for drunkenness; one of the witnesses, for instance, pointed out the fatal effects of the drinking-circles among young girls in the Potteries.

Another witness mentioned the depressing effects of pregnancy as a frequent cause; the general influence of town-life, which calls out a longing for distraction and which weakens the force of public opinion, was mentioned by another. Also intemperance in young women in agrarian districts is thought to be rare.

* * *

The last observation proves perhaps better than the others that it is indeed the alteration in their way of life that leads women to drink. Le Play, that accurate investigator, often made the same discovery in the course of his studies of the conditions of the workers in Europe half a century and more ago.

He found the workers in the armament factories at Solingen, in Westphalia, devoted to alcohol and tobacco, their only means of enjoyment. But the women, he says, abstain from both. They stay at home, and what the men find in their pipes and brandy-glasses, the women find in their intercourse with their neighbours. The labourers who help the peasants in Maine, France, know no other recreation than the enjoyment of coffee, wine and spirits. But their wives “show in general little inclination for spirituous liquors.” (“Ouvriers Européens,” III.)

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As soon as the girls, still children, enter the factory, they are exposed to the same temptation as the men. According to several witnesses before the English Commission, the sight of drunken factory-girls aged 15, 16, 17 years is no rare one. How extraordinarily the companionship of men tends towards it, was shown by a witness of the private Vienna investigation Commission in 1896.

“In the beginning the women may not have drunk any spirits, but now it happens often enough. They are sent out for brandy, and then it is the custom for the men to say to them: ‘Have a drink, too, my lass,’—and so many have fallen victims to drunkenness.”—(Report, page 334.)

"The drinking circles in the Staffordshire Potteries confirm Sherard's description of the morals of the young female workers in the Manchester weaving-rooms." ("The Cry of Poverty," 1901.)

"It is probably in the laundries and potteries that the women drink the most, which is certainly to be ascribed to the nature of the work. It is also in general becoming more and more the custom for women and girls to go openly to the public-house. One can see them standing on the threshold, calling their acquaintances to come in. Treating each other is a universal custom among the girls."

It is also according to this author not uncommon for sentences to be pronounced on children of 15 and 16 for being drunk in public.

Evidence from the above-mentioned Pottery districts reminds us of the worst that has ever or anywhere been reported with regard to the conditions of the workers. The towns of Hanley, Stoke, Fenton and Longton have a dismal appearance. The dwellings are miserable, without drains, and reeking with dirt. The municipality makes no use of its legal right of ordering improvements to be made, and the sanitary officials do not dare to take action against the owners of these wretched dwellings, because they are at the same time members of the council. From these dirty and overcrowded dwellings, in which two rooms often have to serve for eight people, children and adults, the girls come to the factory. The workshops, with the exception of a few new ones, are just as dirty and miserable as the dwellings. Like the rest of the population, who have lived there for many generations, the young work-girls who have grown up in this environment are quite indifferent to the evil and quite incapable of demanding or even imagining anything better. One of the results of capitalism and its unmitigated rule has been alcoholism caused by degeneration. On the other hand, the use of alcohol works as one of the causes which lead to this degeneration.

"The drinking circles," says Miss Garnett, who speaks as an expert after many years' experience, "exist in almost every workshop. Every member must contribute. Then some merry party is arranged to drink up the money. I think that this is how the girls get the love of alcohol."

Then, too, there, as everywhere where the women work out of the house (or at home for an employer), where there is therefore no family life and the mothers have no skill in housekeeping, the boys and girls are from early childhood accustomed to bad and unnatural food. Milk is hardly used, or only in the form of bad substitutes. One sees children a few months old drinking tea or coffee, and eating anything that happens to be on the table for the grown-up people. No more cooking is done at home, the dinner comes from the eating-house, and for the little ones from some dirty little grocer's shop.

Here follows the description of the lives of female factory-workers in certain districts of London, as it was reported to the Commission :

"In the morning they sleep as long as possible. Before they go out to catch an early workman's train, they drink a cup of strong tea. They do not eat anything, having neither time nor appetite. In the dinner-hour they are too exhausted to eat a proper dinner, they only have bread. They fetch—or send for—a little pot of pickled cucumber, which is the only addition. Much cucumber and little bread. In the afternoon again tea and bread. At 8 or 9 o'clock they go home, and then take, as the evidence says, the heaviest, really *first*, meal of the day, also principally consisting of bread, cheese and beer. This eating and drinking just before going to bed makes them sleep badly; they pass an unrestful night in ill-ventilated, overcrowded rooms, get up weary, with parched mouths, have no desire for breakfast, and have to make haste to get to the factory in time, where they work till mid-day with nothing in their stomachs but several cup-fuls of black tea."

"Is poverty the cause that they do not eat better?" asked the chairman.

"No," was the answer, "but they are so stupid, and they do what they see their mother and all their friends doing."

"It is in contradiction to human nature," said the chairman, "that anyone who can pay for it should not nourish themselves properly."

"Yes," said the expert, "but they are so frightfully stupid in all those sort of things."

But the expert and the chairman both omitted to take into consideration that poverty is not necessarily always want of bread, *but may also be want of appetite*, a form of hunger no easier to cure and perhaps equally common. Even there, one may add, where capitalism leaves means enough for the buying of food, it takes away the skill to prepare it properly, and also the taste for good nourishment. In this case human nature, and even the human stomach, accommodates itself as usual to the social circumstances, to the great detriment of the individuals and the race.

"That is what they all do," concludes the writer of the report, "and that is the cause of half the abuse of alcohol among the women."

"Only go on a Saturday," he says, "to any factory when the women have just been paid and are going home. You will see them swarming like flies, five or six together round the public-houses. They go in together. They do not drink one glass and then come out again, it is customary for each in turn to treat the others all round."

As trades in which much drinking goes on, the ironing of fine washing, a "very unhealthy occupation," and the making of match-boxes as a home-industry in an "atmosphere that is enough to make anyone sick, were specially mentioned."

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Here follow some extracts on general or special causes. A

Glasgow doctor related of one of his patients, a widow and mother of a family, that when asked if she took alcohol she replied that she took a little glass now and again, because she was so worn out. That is the beginning of "alcohol neuritis." This continual drinking in small quantities is the principal cause of the degeneration of the race. "So it was with this poor woman, mother of nine children, who did her best and lived very economically."

The Director of a lunatic asylum who was questioned regarding alcohol as a cause of insanity said that this result occurred visibly more and more. *"Insanity through women's abuse of alcohol is doubtlessly increasing, and that on account of the immense increase of women's wage-work."*

The work in factories makes great demands on the physical strength. "The single women have some pocket-money, but have little to occupy their minds." "When they marry they do not want any children." "Women who have no children go out with their husbands, and the chief pastime is alcohol." Everywhere where women are engaged in industrial work, this is noticeable, as, for instance, in Nottingham, in the East End of London, and in Glasgow. "Factory work leads to alcoholism, and to insanity as one of its results."

Of the female drunkards, said another expert, the most are mothers of families, "who have given way to drink on account of family cares." The alcoholism of the mothers was designated by one of the doctors interrogated as the most dangerous form of alcoholism, "on account of the effect on the unborn child." The child is poisoned before birth, and is predestined to inferiority.

"In past centuries also there were drunken nations, whose vital force did not, however, appear to be much weakened. Probably the wives and mothers remained sober. But when the mother as well as the father is given over to drink, then the coming generations will retrogress in every respect and the future of the human race will be imperilled."

As regards the "drunken nations" of past times, it may, we think, be added that they did not know alcohol as the only foremost and daily means of enjoyment. Drunkenness on extraordinary and festive occasions has for the mass of the population under capitalism been superseded by a passing, constantly repeated, but only momentarily effectual stimulation.

F. VAN DER GOES (in "Die Neue Zeit").

THE REVIEWS.

THE STATE VERSUS THE HOME.

SHOULD THERE BE A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT FOR CHILDREN?—PART I. "THE PROBLEMS."

Mr. M. K. Inglis writes the following under the above heading in the current "Fortnightly Review":

The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, in one of his speeches, made a statement to the effect that every child had the right to be brought up under such conditions that it had the chance of becoming a good citizen of the nation. These words are surely endorsed by every sane man and woman, but how can they best be carried out? Sir Oliver Lodge, in an address given at Birmingham, said that "Children required individual notice and attention; in the ideal and natural family they got it, but the present prevalent idea seemed to be that they could be wisely dealt with by the gross. The conditions of average family life throughout the country were so bad that the State had to step in and act as foster-parent co-operatively." Certainly the whole trend of our State and private philanthropy is each year to take more and more children from their parents, who, it is argued, alas, in many instances with much truth, are unfit guardians, and to send them to homes, to institutions, to industrial schools, or to reformatories, or to board them out with strangers, or to emigrate them.

With many such parents their only "crime" is poverty, sometimes brought about through ill-health, sometimes through lack of trade; and, owing to sheer inability to feed, clothe, and rear their family properly—in perhaps one room—they willingly connive at two or more of their children being taken from them. Though payment for the children's keep and board may be promised by the parent or ordered by the magistrate, the non-fulfilment of this is often winked at. Their children and they may never meet again, and a correspondence is hardly ever carried on. The child in this case may lose for ever the help and guidance of its parents. Can the State or philanthropy make up the loss of home love and training and go one better than Dame Nature?

In some cases parents, who under other conditions might have been good parents, have acquired intemperate habits owing to the hope-

lessness of their lives under existing conditions (some may even have entered the ranks of vice and crime from the same reason), and the State thinks, perhaps wisely, that to remove the children altogether and immediately from such contamination is best. And yet—even these parents may love their children and their children may love them.

In other cases, as on the death of the bread-winner, the mother is left to fight the world alone. The parish offers her the "House" or outdoor relief, sometimes wholly inadequate in amount, so that, even if she accepts the latter, she usually has to go out to work in order to make two ends meet, generally at a wage of 10s. a week in a laundry, where she is often overworked, and frequently has to stand side by side with the most depraved of her sex.* If she lives in a manufacturing town, the woman will probably find work in a factory or in sweated home-work, or, if in the country, as a field worker, but anywhere unskilled female labour brings in a very small wage. Her children are naturally neglected, and the law then steps in and the State or philanthropy relieves her of two or more of them, and sends them away to an institution or home, or boards them out with strangers—Why not their own mother?—At this time the poor woman sometimes takes to drink; if so, no further communication is allowed between her children and herself, and the aliment for the remaining little ones is promptly stopped. When a home is broken up refuge is often taken in a slum lodging-house. In these, even in the model ones, and in those for women only, the life is the worst possible for both parent and child.

A man whose wife is dead or has left him has very much the same difficulties to contend with. He may be only able to afford a one-roomed house, and can get no respectable woman to come to him as housekeeper, so he also often drifts to a lodging-house, or else marries again, with sometimes the direst consequences to his children. . . .

Or to look at the question from another point of view. There are parents only too anxious to do their duty, even though they are fighting against terrible odds. A father who was cautioned for neglecting his children pleaded that his pay was only 16s. 6d. a week, and that he had seven of a family. His employers had reduced his wages owing to his inability to do hard work. Poor man, he was consumptive, and required the best of food: he looked utterly hopeless. Yet, if I remember

* Our present system of too often giving inadequate relief or else withholding it altogether, may undoubtedly in some cases tend to create immorality. There are, I believe, authentic cases where a mother, a good woman before, has even gone on the streets in order to keep her children with her. A woman with illegitimate children is hardly ever given aliment, and yet she is sometimes found to be living in comfort, even in luxury, without any ostensible means of livelihood after she has been refused relief by the parish.

rightly, he indignantly refused to listen to the suggestion that he should try to get some of his children admitted to a home or taken over by the parish. All the same, I daresay he wished they had died when they were babies, or that he had never married, or that he had no family. What is the use of alarming ourselves about our decreasing birth-rate and the heavy infant mortality when such a home is the type into which many of our nation's children are born?

When the bread-winner is sent to prison generally the sole resource for his family is the "House." In such a case, only under very exceptional circumstances is outdoor relief granted by the parish for the mother and children. If she goes out to work the children will most likely be neglected. I myself have argued with a mother that her duty to her family was to go into the workhouse, but, with a tiny blue-lipped baby in her arms and two mites tugging at her skirts—and perhaps others with a neighbour or at school—she left me vowing that she would not enter it, but would keep the home up for their father to return to when his time was up. Numberless cases can be quoted of brave fights made and of terrible privations undergone in order that the home might be kept intact, sometimes with success, but more often the "House" has to be entered at the end, every stick of furniture and shred of available bedding and clothing having been pawned, and the rent being weeks overdue. A man at the conclusion of his sentence is often met at the prison gates, generally at 7 a.m., by his wife and all his family, they having been sent for the purpose straight from the workhouse, though the younger children may be mere infants, and the distance two miles or more. He may have lost character, situation and home. What a hopeless future lies before both the parents and the children! Prisoners' Aid and similar societies may help much, but they cannot overtake the necessities of such cases nor undo the harm already done.

Many a sad story could be told and vouched for where neglect and starvation of children are unavoidable under the terrible conditions of the home life often brought about through no actual faults of the parents, but *preventable with State-philanthropic organised help*.

The natural normal home life is *the* life for the child, and is nature's training ground to fit it for the great battlefield of the world. In whatever rank of life a child is born it suffers irreparably not only in childhood, but for ever afterwards, through the loss and want of such a home life, from whatever cause arising. It may be bullied by or bully in its turn its brothers or sisters, but they love each other nevertheless. Also it may receive more often slaps than kisses from its parents, but this need be no sign of want of deep affection. No institution system, however perfect, nor "Home," however few the number of inmates it contains, can make up for the loss of the rough and tumble of family life, and for father and mother and sister and brother love.

There are, however, certain classes of children who *must* be taken from their homes and kept under special conditions if the best is to be made of their own lives, and if a healthy home life is to be made possible for the other members of the family; such are most cases of epileptic and mentally defective children. For them the danger of the streets is manifold, and they require very special training and protection long after they cease to be children. Their offspring, if, alas, they should have any, as is too often the case, are frequently defective like themselves.

Such, too, are consumptive children, who are hardly ever taken off the hands of their parents, and yet it would pay the State to do so. The Prince of Wales stated not long ago that the working classes in London lost annually £4,000,000 in wages through consumption alone! At Peterborough County Court quite recently a woman said that she had had 23 children, of whom 18 had died of consumption. These children are left to die in hundreds in their one-roomed dwellings. I myself have seen the corpse of a little consumptive baby laid out under a table-cloth on the only table in the only room. It was kept there for two or three days before burial, and was pushed on one side when the family, that included children, had their meals!

Reformatories and industrial schools, and all the various and numerous institutions run by voluntary State effort, are, at their best—and some may be excellent in every possible respect "*as such*"—remedial, not preventative. The whole trend of such remedies is to go against nature, whereas our whole aim should be to help to conserve nature where she fails under our present artificial conditions of domestic and social economy. Do children receive in these big monastical and conventual institutions the best knowledge of life for fighting the world when they are discharged at the age of 16 or older? I unhesitatingly say "No." The discipline in the institution may have been excellent, but to be turned out into this complex world of ours, an utter stranger to the opposite sex at the most impressionable age, that alone condemns the system as unnatural and dangerous.

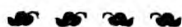
Day industrial schools offer many advantages over ordinary industrial schools, although they are not always looked upon favourably by the authorities. Quite recently I went to see such a school in London. It was about 100 short of the number it was licensed for. "Why is this so?" I queried of the headmaster. The answer was, "Because those in power prefer to send the children away where they are off their hands altogether."

Part II.

THE SUGGESTED MEANS OF SOLUTION.

The late Earl of Mansfield strongly advocated the importance of having a State Department or Council for Children, and shortly

before his death was interesting himself in the formation of a Children's Protection Committee "pledged to further by legislation and otherwise the welfare of children, and the prevention of juvenile crime." The late Prime Minister, in the course of a personal interview with the writer of this article, said that a Central Government Authority to deal with the affairs of the Nation's children was, in his opinion, *essential*. Had he lived, his words might no doubt have become deeds. On these lines, and as a means for solving the great social problems touched upon, it is suggested that the Government should form a "Central Intelligence Council" as a basis for a permanent "Child-Welfare Committee." This Committee might be composed of representatives from the Home Office, the Local Government Board, the Board of Trade, the Education Department, the Treasury, the War Office, the Admiralty, the Board of Lunacy, and a certain number of co-opted members, with a permanent secretary and under-secretary. . . . This committee should look after the interests of all children in the United Kingdom and Ireland from babyhood upwards; *with defective children there should be no age limit*. It would not take over the charge of children from the departments that have now the control of them, but would look upon the child's life *as a whole*, see where defects arise in the present many-sided arrangement, prevent overlapping as well as gaps, and, above all, aim always at conservation and improvement of "home life."



A SLUMP IN FRENCH SOCIALISM.

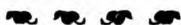
Mr. Laurence Jerrold has the following interpretation in this month's "Contemporary Review" of the present position of Socialism and the Socialist movement in France:—

Is there one coming? At this year's municipal elections all over France "Unified" Socialism lost three seats in Paris, half-a-dozen in Lyons, and the towns of Brest, Toulouse and Dijon completely, while it failed to recapture, as it hoped to do, either Marseilles, Grenoble, Lille, Roubaix, Limoges, Bourges, or St. Etienne. . . . If one be asked whether there be a slump in French Socialism, one must answer by asking what the boom in French Socialism really was. Outside France, and even outside purely political France, few seemed even to have understood it exactly. Half-a-dozen years ago the French political world was ruled by M. Jaurès, who has just strenuously failed to keep fiery Toulouse faithful to Socialism. . . . But M. Jaurès, and especially the year or two of Jaurès' power, have never been well understood. We fancy that M. Jaurès is completely sincere; but he did enjoy his short uncrowned kingship. It was indeed his reign and not at all that of French Socialism—at the time not yet "unified." M. Jaurès pulled the wires while M. Combes danced, and it seemed to the

world that the French Republic stepped to the bidding of French Socialism since the latter's captain played with her Prime Minister for his puppet. Very nearly all Republican France was in M. Jaurès' hand—and often all Republican France, for the "Progressists," the extreme reactionary wing of the Republican Party, though they generally sat on the fence as they habitually do, yet at times got down on the Left side, as well as at others on the Right. M. Jaurès himself had then one of the most splendid opportunities ever offered to a public man, but it was not the opportunity of Socialism. That he lost it shows that he was stronger, and perhaps also more sincere, than he was taken to be, but it in no way proves that Socialism missed its chance. Under M. Jaurès the French Socialist Party enjoyed the first real taste of power which any Socialist party has ever been able to smack its lips over in any country. It was an extraordinary feast which several different circumstances, perhaps accidentally, combined to provide—the Dreyfus case, the church question, and their offshoots. But it was not really spread for Socialism at all. . . . The power which the Socialist Party gained in the State accrued to the party as a political party, not to Socialism. The country learnt to look up to the party, but to the men of the party rather as live men with vital force in them than as Socialists with principles. . . . It said, "These Socialists are less alarming than we thought them, they are men like the rest of us; they are in power and they like it. Perhaps Socialism would not make much difference to us after all, for we do not perceive that Socialists in power are very different from other men in power. Then Socialism is human, and would let us live; let us vote Socialist, since the Socialists are the men of the moment, and on being seen close are no monsters, but like any other men." Hence the crisis in the Socialist Party, hence "unification," articles of faith, the doctrine of grace, baptism, and excommunication.

The purist of "Unified" Socialism holds that Socialism (like Ibsen's individualist) is strongest when it stands most alone. We are persuaded that M. Jaurès thinks completely otherwise, but he has been "unified" and is loyal. It is a difficult question whether he or the purist is right. If discipline be power, and if a compact party, bound by the very letter of one creed, be better worth having than a larger but more diverse following, "Unified" Socialism has advanced the cause of Socialism in France. If the spread of influence, won even at the expense of principle, so long as it is won, be real power; if the hold of men over men be the strength worth having, and if it be better to be in touch even loosely with a greater number than a lesser number even immediately, "Unified" Socialism has arrested Socialism. In the opinion of the country it has sterilised Socialism; hence the municipal elections. The country may be proved wrong, but at the present holds the opinion. The sterilising process has been going on for some time, and M. Clemenceau's

usual cleverness has delicately hastened it. . . . He saw his chance, and since he has been Cabinet Minister, first Home Secretary, then Premier, his deliberate and determined policy has been to widen the breach dug by "Unified" Socialism itself between Socialism and the reality of politics. To-day French Socialism is back again where it was before the alliance with the Combes Cabinet, back again to its own island, a tight isle enough, but a little one, and the nation has learnt once more to look upon it as unconnected with the continent of practical affairs and of busy every-day life.



ENGLAND AND GERMANY.

In an article on the above subject in the "Contemporary Review" for October, Mr. Harold Spender has the following:—

No friendly feeling, be it said, will ever come into being between England and Germany until they begin to understand one another's aims. At present the strangest legends hold the field on both sides. It is easy for us to laugh at the fictions about ourselves which carry authority in Germany, but are we sure that our beliefs about Germany have any better ground? Everywhere where-ever Germany acts, or whatever she does, we see the cloven hoof. A few years ago it was Venezuela and Bagdad. Mr. Balfour, inheriting the friendliness to Germany bequeathed to him by Lord Salisbury, wished to act with the German Government in collecting debts from an eccentric South American President and running a railway from the Mediterranean into the heart of the mysterious East. These were proposals to be discussed on their merits but they certainly did not differ essentially from such tasks as Great Britain has since agreed to perform in common with France and Russia. But the British public would have none of either proposal. There was no pause to examine these policies on their merits. It was enough that Germany was concerned with them. A rebellion of public opinion swiftly gave check to a weak Government, and Germany was thrown over. Is it remarkable that Germany should have fallen back resentfully on the policy of "splendid isolation," and is it wonderful that the British Foreign Office, having been ignominiously thrown over by the British public, should have hesitated to attempt again any co-operation with Germany? For the incident was only characteristic of the view now taken by British public opinion of German policy in every part of the world, whether in the Far or Near East, whether in Morocco or Turkey.

THE OLD LIGHTHOUSE-KEEPER.

II.—(*Continued.*)

This solitude was nothing new for her. Since the death of Donatien she had been used to live far from all company, and she was only happy when in the midst of rocks. So she did not find her new domain at all strange. Often standing by a rock, she would watch the sea for hours, or else she would wander all over the island. It had near it at low water a ledge of rocks where, before the lighthouse was built, vessels used to go ashore because there was nothing to indicate the proximity of the reefs. At low tide you could still see in the rocks fragments of anchors, pieces of wood showing that casualties had occurred.

Every day Georgette used to explore these rocks, trying to recover some fragments of wrecks, and Simon allowed her to please herself. Her presence had made no difference in his life. Seeing that she did not speak, he had soon got used to that kind of pale and fleeting shadow wandering on his island. At meal-times he used to call her, and then she would disappear like a wild bird.

They only spoke a few words occasionally, and they lived apart, she among the reefs and Simon by the lighthouse. There he would stand in front of it, with his hands in his pockets, his pipe between his teeth, from sunrise to sunset, looking on that azure plain agitated by currents. Skilled in recognising vessels, he could tell where they were going to, their tonnage, and to what country they belonged. With his telescope he could see all around him. One day he saw a vessel leaving the little harbour. The sea was dark, but the wind was getting up. The vessel was trying to get through the pass before sunset. After looking at her for a little while Simon gazed on the reefs and on the island. The setting sun was already gilding them with his beams, and the tide was beginning to cover the rocks with its foam. Suddenly the old man saw the girl hastening from the extreme end of the island, and she was carrying something which prevented her going quickly, but she got to the old lighthouse, and, coming up the stairs, was soon by his side.

“What is the matter?” he said.

She did not answer in words, but gave a joyful shout and put what she was carrying at his feet.

He saw it was a little English cask for spirits, containing about a gallon. It had come from some wrecked vessel, and it was covered with seaweed and shells, showing that it had been a long time in the water. He asked her where she had found it.

"There, there," she said, pointing to a distant reef. "There are many more, but the rocks hold them."

She tore away the seaweed, which covered the barrel, and the sailor lifted it.

"Well, now, it is full," he said. "We must see what it has got inside." And he pushed the bung in with his knife. A golden liquid bubbled out, and he recognised it by the smell.

"God save me, it is rum! You have found a treasure. Take care that we do not waste it. He took it up with a fatherly care, and carried it into his room. He filled a glass and drank it slowly, a broad smile settling on his face.

"It is real Jamaica rum," he murmured. "It must come from some English ship. Those rascals only drink the very best."

Then he drank another glass.

"What liquid fire! What a taste! But for you, my dear, that barrel would still be at the bottom of the sea. It is the good God who made me meet you the other evening and bring you here. I have got all this rum, and the other man has still his ship. For, Heaven be praised! his schooner is all right."

"All right," repeated Georgette.

"Certainly; for, look, she has left port and is making for the pass."

He showed her the ship, which was tacking and making for the pass, and, the rum making him eloquent, he explained to her the difficulty of the vessel getting into the open sea. But, putting down his glass, he remembered that he had not attended to the light, and he went and did so. After having done this he came down and began to drink. He went on so doggedly that he soon became drunk and fell fast asleep.

Then Georgette went out of the room, shut the door quietly, and went up the stairs to the light. She brought it down, put it out: and the tower, which seemed full of light a moment before, was now quite dark. She went outside, and it was only after a little while that she could see the schooner battling with the wind.

The idiot uttered a vengeful cry, stretching her clenched hands towards the vessel in a threatening way.

"Ah! ah! ah! he no longer sees his way," she murmured. "I have put out the eye on the tower. Without the light, uncle has said that the vessel must perish. Ah! ah! ah! he shall go where he has sent Donatien. Jesus, give Donatien a place in Thy

glory! Jesus, cast his murderer into hell. Virgin Mary, pray for us. *Ave Maria!*"

She knelt down, and fervently repeated the "Hail, Mary." When she had finished she rose and looked again.

The schooner was going on, but a sailor could see that she was no longer pursuing a safe course. No doubt the master perceived this, for he tried to beat up against the wind. However, he did not succeed, and went straight on to the reef. Too late, he tried to put about, but the schooner struck on the reef. The masts went by the board, fearful cries were heard: and then all was silent. The ship and men were lost.

She rushed towards the rocks, but she met Simon, who had been roused by the cries of distress, and was still half-dazed. He was looking for the light, and was going to the tower when he ran against Georgette.

"The light! The light!" he said.

"The schooner," she murmured.

"It is out!"

"The vessel is wrecked."

The old lighthouse-keeper seized the idiot's arm. "What do you say?" he cried. "The captain?"

"He is in the sea," she replied, and she escaped from him. He followed her.

She had hastened to the spot where the schooner had struck, and was looking intently at the sea when Lavan came up to her. He asked her if she could see anything.

"Nothing but floating planks," she replied, in a joyous voice.

"Be quiet," said the sailor, listening to a bark of despair.

"It is the dog," she said.

"Yes," replied Simon. "On that side—look! there is something."

For the foam was darkened there, and the idiot went towards the object—it was the captain, clinging to a spar, and on his shoulders stood the dog. When she recognised him, Georgette uttered a shriek of despair, but Simon managed to secure the spar.

"Here, quick!" he cried to his niece, feeling that the sea would regain its prey.

The idiot came near him, looked at the captain, lifted his head, and began to laugh.

"He is dead!" she cried, clapping her hands.

"Curse you," said Simon, "he will be lost. The sea will carry him away."

She saw the danger. She laid hold of the corpse, and Simon and his niece managed to get it on to the reef.

She was right. Bardanon was dead ; he remained motionless, while the dog continued to howl.

Georgette stood still, looking at the corpse, while her uncle vainly endeavoured to find the bodies of the crew. At last he came back.

His niece still stood there, and the dog still howled. The old man was now quite sober. He looked at the dark lighthouse, and he began to suspect what had taken place. Seizing the hands of the girl, he wished to question her, but at once she told him all with a kind of triumphant emphasis.

Mad with rage, he was going to strike her ; but he did not, and rushed indoors, locking himself in his own room.

All that had taken place was so unexpected that at first he was quite dazed. He tried to recall what had happened, and little by little all became clear, and he felt what a responsibility rested on him. It was not Georgette, a poor creature without any reasoning faculty, who was responsible for the loss of the schooner, but he alone was to blame, first for bringing her to the island, contrary to the regulations, and, secondly, for getting drunk. The horror of the situation soon dawned on him, and he saw that life would be impossible in future, and he determined to die.

He took out several sheets of official paper, and after much trouble he wrote the following letter to Merlet, who was coming to the island on the next day.

“ Jacques Merlet,

“ This is to tell you that I have neglected my duty, that I have let the light of the tower go out, and that, in consequence, the schooner has been lost with all hands. After this you will understand that I could not live any more.

“ Jacques Merlet, I know that when I have killed myself I shall no longer have the right to rest in consecrated ground ; but if you are a true Christian, you will not refuse to say a prayer for my soul ; then you will wrap up my body in a sail, and you will throw it into the sea ; that is the cemetery for sailors.

“ As you will come by the morning tide, I pray you go back at once so as to bring my substitute to the lighthouse before night, in order that all may be in order.

“ Jacques Merlet, you will find on the island the daughter of my sister Madeleine. I recommend her to your kindness. I should have liked to have had my cross in my shroud, but I have lost that right.

“ Jacques Merlet, once more I wish you a last good-bye, and I trust that God will grant you a long life.

“ SIMON LAVAN.”

Having written this letter, he addressed it, placed it on the table, and then went upstairs.

He made sure that the light was in good order, then taking the cord he made a slip-knot, and fixed one end to a hook in the roof.

Then he looked out. The dawn was breaking, and he could see the sail of the cutter. All was quiet except for the howling of the dog. "All right," he murmured, "wait a bit; your master will soon be avenged." A little while after Jacques landed on the island, but old Lavan was dead.

His terrible end disarmed public opinion, especially as no one really liked Bardanon. So that Simon Lavan was buried in the cemetery without any religious ceremony in the corner where heretics and suicides were interred; but many people went to the funeral, and his cross was buried with him. A public subscription was made, and Robert agreed to look after Georgette, as he had promised Simon he would do.

She became still more strange. Often she would go away for days together, and at last she disappeared. It was thought she was drowned; but a year afterwards her body was found under the rock. She was holding in her hand the copper ring and the medal in lead which had belonged to Donatien.

(Conclusion.)

EMILE SOUVESTRE.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

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THE FUTURE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Several circumstances combine just now to call attention to the present position of the Parliamentary Labour Party and to excite curiosity as to what its future is to be. On the one hand we have the International Socialist Bureau agreeing to waive the essential condition of membership of the International Congress in order to admit the British Labour Party. On the other hand, we have the Labour Party group, by its own lack of independence, its supineness and ineptitude, provoking a violent outburst of protest, not only from Social-Democrats, but from a considerable section of their own constituents. That the first consideration makes it necessary for the Social-Democratic Party to carefully review its relations alike with the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the International Bureau, appears fairly obvious; that the second vitally affects the continued existence of the Labour Party itself in its present form, there can be no question.

As to our relations with the Labour Party, however they may be affected by the decision

of the Bureau, they must ultimately be determined by the attitude and course adopted by the Labour Party itself. Therefore, the important question just now is, what is to be the future of the Labour Party?

There are not wanting those who declare the Labour Party to be already played out. That is a very extreme view to take. It would be, probably, much more correct to say that it has never played itself in. This, in any case is certain, that as a political instrument of the working class it has conspicuously failed. As such an instrument, the one question the Labour Party should have made its own was that of the unemployed. It was the duty of that party to have made legislation impossible until this burning urgent matter—this question of the lives of multitudes of the people—had been drastically dealt with. It is idle for them to pretend that they have had no time or opportunity. The question of the unemployed is not one of this Session only, or of this year, or even of this Parliament. Nearly four years ago, on the eve of the meeting of the last Tory Parliament, the members of the Labour Party who were then members of the House of Commons were appealed to to raise their voices there on behalf of the unemployed, and to demand that the deputation which the organised workers of London were sending there should be heard at the bar of the House. With supercilious superiority they declined to do anything. The present Parliament is nearly three years old. At the opening of its first session the Government promised legislation on this all-important question of the unemployed. That promise has not been kept, and the Labour Party has done practically nothing to enforce its fulfilment. It is true they, last session, introduced a Right to Work Bill, but they must have known that there was not the slightest chance of getting such a Bill through Parliament, unless it was taken up by the Government. And it was quite out of the question for the Government to adopt the Labour

Party's Bill when it was not prepared to formulate proposals of its own.

The introduction of this Bill, indeed, was characteristic of the Labour Party's policy, and indicative of its utter misconception of the rôle which a working-class party is called upon to play under present circumstances in the House of Commons. The majority of the House of Commons is representative of the master class, of capitalist interests; and the House of Commons as a whole exists to promote the interests of capitalist property and to safeguard and consolidate the capitalist class State. In such an assembly a Labour Group which is true to the interests it claims to represent must be a hostile force, a party of revolt. Its mission there is not to legislate—being but a small minority it is impossible for it to do so; its mission is to oppose, criticise, and amend the legislation of the Government; to thwart the efforts made in the interest of the capitalist class, and to force action to be taken in the interest of the working class. Such a party should be a driving force for any legislative movement on behalf of the working class, and an obstructive force to any movement in the opposite direction. With quite different aims, the policy and tactics of the Labour Party should be analogous to those of the Irish Party as led by Parnell and Biggar. By their policy of obstruction those two men practically brought the British Government to its knees, made the work of Parliament impossible, and gave a real, literal, practical meaning to the phrase that "Ireland blocks the way." In similar fashion the Labour Party should have obstructed all Governmental business until this urgent question of the unemployed had been dealt with. It is the one question that matters; a question of life and death to thousands of our class; yet the *Labour* Party, the party which specially represents that class, is content with a mild protest at the inaction of the Government; to make a few speeches and to sit down quietly under the sneers and jibes and insults of the President of the

Local Government Board, who affects to make light of the misery of those whose cause the Labour Party so half-heartedly champions.

It is all very well for members of the Labour Party to sneer at the action of Mr. Victor Grayson, in his disorderly irruption into the debate on October 15. That action may have been theatrical, irresponsible, inconsequent and, worst of all, futile. But their chief objection must necessarily be that it was a stinging reproof of themselves. That it was futile so far as it has had any influence on the Government, may be admitted, but it is quite clear that it has had an immense effect in the country in calling attention, not only to the urgent need of the unemployed, but also to the failure of the Labour Party to give expression to that crying urgent need. That is the secret of the immense enthusiasm which Grayson's action has evoked, and the shoals of letters and resolutions of congratulation which have poured in upon him. The writers of those letters, and the people who pass those resolutions, do not desire disorder for the mere sake of disorder, as some of the Labour members affect to believe. They do not see anything specially grand, in itself, in a man defying the ruling of the Speaker, and getting expelled from the House; nor have they any desire that the whole Labour Group should go out of their way to court this or any other indignity or punishment. They do, however, think that the stand which Grayson made on October 15 was one which ought to have been made by the Labour Party as a whole, not merely three days, but at least nine months earlier. Had this been done, we should not be hearing now of "panic legislation" and of the need for mere tiding-over palliatives; the Government would certainly have been forced to introduce legislation of a more or less permanent character. And to that end the Labour Party should have been prepared to have gone any lengths; to have outraged every form of the House, to have been suspended or imprisoned—not that any of these things are good to do

in themselves, but because they would have been effective in achieving the end in view.

To the highly-respectable and "tone-of-the House" leaders of the Labour Party who object that such action would have been useless and that the methods they have pursued have been more effective, we would suggest that they should ask themselves what would have been the action of any other party in like circumstances. Why, if an old woman's pig had been killed by a member of the R.I.C. on a hill-side in Connemara, the Irish Party would have made more stir over it in the House of Commons than our Labour Party have made over the starvation of tens of thousands of the class they claim to represent. And does anybody suppose that if it had been Irish landlords or English or Scottish capitalists who were suffering instead of mere working-people, that the representatives of those respective classes would have permitted the House of Commons to go doddering and droning on with a Licensing Bill, instead of at once taking in hand remedial measures?

Of course in their case no disorderly action would be necessary. We know how readily responsive a capitalist House of Commons is to any cry for help from any section of the capitalist class; but in no circumstances would the representatives of that class have remained silent while the needs of their constituents were neglected.

But the Labour Party could do nothing drastic on behalf of the unemployed, nor could it work up any enthusiasm over the subject. Its enthusiasm is reserved for puritanical bourgeois measures for the repression of any small pleasures the working class may now have. The Labour men would not risk suspension on behalf of the unemployed. They are prepared to risk the loss of their seats over the Licensing Bill. From a tactical point of view, to put it on no higher ground, this is a great mistake. Whatever may be said, from a working-class standpoint, in favour of what have

been called the confiscatory provisions of the Bill—and these have been whittled down considerably—the sumptuary clauses ought to have been strenuously fought, not supported, by a really representative working-class party. The Labour Group has, in this connection, a clear and definite mandate from the Party Conference, and that mandate is scarcely in accord with the provisions of the Government Bill, which the Labour members have supported so enthusiastically, and for which they have been willing to forego their political independence. They will find, unless we are greatly mistaken, that in so unreservedly supporting the Government on this and other matters they have “put their money on the wrong horse,” and are courting the defeat which unquestionably awaits the Liberal Government at the next election.

With an independence based upon definite principles, and the unflinching maintenance of that independence, the Labour Party might at least have avoided sharing the fate of the Liberals. Although it is true that a number of the members of the Labour Group owe their seats to the acquiescence of the Liberal Party, that acquiescence must not be taken as the same thing as active good-will. The Liberals permitted a Labour man to be elected, not because they desired him in preference to a Liberal, but because they preferred him to a Tory; and they hoped, moreover, to get something of a quid pro quo. So far they have certainly not been disappointed, and the Labour group have done their best to give the lie to the proverb that there is no gratitude in politics. To their gratitude for past favours they have been prepared to sacrifice even the negative independence which alone differentiated them from the Liberal Party. The question now is, how much farther is this going? Is the Labour group prepared to “cut the painter” by which it now appears to be attached to the stern of the Liberal Party? It is too late to undo the mistakes, the errors of omission and

commission, of the past, nor can the Parliamentary Group do now what it should have done at the beginning of the Session. But if it will profit by the warning it has now had, will assert its independence, adopt definite revolutionary principles and a policy of hostility to all capitalist parties, it may shed some of its present adherents, but it will consolidate its real strength, attain an assured position, and guarantee its future as a political instrument for the emancipation of the working-class.

H. QUELCH.



THE RESULTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM.
—The great war of which I have just spoken in the preceding chapter found England at its beginning a nation whose mainstay was agriculture, with manufactures increasing, it is true, but still only of secondary importance. At the commencement of the war, English workers spun and wove in their cottages; at its close they were herded together in factories, and were the servants of machinery. The capitalist element had become the main feature in production, and the capitalist manufacturers the main figures in English industry, rivalling and often overtopping the landed gentry. But a man cannot become a capitalist without capital, and capital cannot be accumulated without labour; though these remarkably obvious facts are constantly forgotten. The large capitalists of earlier manufacturing days obtained their capital, after the first small beginnings, from the wealth produced by their workmen and from their own acuteness in availing themselves of new inventions. Of the wealth produced by their workmen they took nearly the whole, leaving their employees only enough to live upon while producing more wealth for their masters. Hence it may be said that capital was in this case the result of abstinence, though the abstinence was on the part of the workman and not of his employer.—From "The Industrial History of England," by H. de B. Gibbins.

ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

In view of the existing relations between England and Germany, and the circumstances in which our comrades Karl Kautsky and Georg Ledebour were invited to visit this country, the following report of Kautsky's speech at St. James's Hall on October 14 will be of more than ordinary interest.

After expressing his appreciation of the heartiness of his welcome, Kautsky said: We see in the working class of England our elder brother, our protagonist, who has shown us the way we have to go, who was the first to develop those methods of political and economical struggle which were afterwards accepted by the whole international working-class movement. Owenism, Chartism, Trade Unionism have, each in a different manner, shown to the workers of the world the way which we afterwards took with such happy results.

But it is not only the past of the British workman that fills us with respect, with sympathy, with enthusiasm. We rejoice in seeing in our days the rise of Socialist feeling and of independent political action among the British working class. We are proud and happy to witness their successful struggles and their victories over both parties of the ruling classes. Your struggles were like ours. When to-day I encountered the British police Cossacks on the Embankment, I could almost fancy myself in Berlin. The German workmen feel themselves united with their British comrades like two battalions of the same army, who march under the

same banner, who fight the same enemy and win the same victories. We feel united with you in the great war against unemployment, which you wage to-day with so much determination and courage, and so we are united with you in the war that the international Socialist movement is waging to-day on behalf of peace.

A very serious but at the same time a very queer situation is that of the peace of the world to-day. Everybody wants peace, everybody professes to be a lover of peace, everybody cries for peace—and the more we hear of it, the greater the general uneasiness, the more we see peace endangered. Indeed, that is a situation full of inconsistency and contradiction, but we must not suppose that those discrepancies were sheer folly or wickedness. They are the necessary outcome of the social situation of our ruling classes.

In every class of human society a mode of thinking and feeling prevails peculiar to it, and quite different from the mode of thinking and feeling of other classes. This mode is the logical outcome of the principle on which rests the existence of the class, a principle which is determined by the economic structure of society.

The principle upon which depends the existence of the workingman, is solidarity. The interests of all wage-workers lie in the same direction. No workman ever loses by his fellow workman getting higher wages and reduced hours of labour. He can only win by it, as his own wages and hours of labour are in close connection with the wages and hours of labour of his comrades. One may imagine that there exists no solidarity, for example, between British and Russian workmen, who undersell the former on the labour market. But in reality that underselling is the very reason why the British workmen have the greatest interest in seeing in Russia wages raised, and hours of labour reduced. Therefore, the victory of the Russian revolution is of the utmost importance for the working-class of England, not only from an ethical, but equally also from a practical point of view.

The solidarity of the working-class finds no limits in the frontiers of the different countries that were erected in previous centuries. The more the working-class of any country becomes politically independent of the other classes, the more it becomes conscious of its international solidarity, the more it discards and combats every sort of race hatred and national hostility, the more it becomes the determined champion of peace in the world.

Quite differently stands the matter with the ruling classes, whose mind is dominated by capitalist interests. As we all know, capital strives not for higher wages but for higher profits. That is its ruling passion. For the capitalist class as a whole there is only one way to raise profits. That is by increasing the exploitation of labour, by increasing the hours of work, by reducing wages. The necessary outcome of this antagonism is the war of classes that is being waged in every capitalist society. But the hunger for profits creates other wars, too.

For the capitalist as an individual there is yet another way to increase his profits, to wit, at the expense of his fellow-capitalists. There is always a keen struggle among the capitalists for the share of each in the aggregate profits that the whole class has taken from the working class. Each of the robbers fights the other robbers to get as much as possible from the common spoils. Not solidarity but competition is therefore the principle on which is based the capitalistic spirit. The more capitalism develops, the keener the competition among capitalists, the more exasperated their struggle for profit, the more they hate each other and fight against each other with all the means at their disposal. But the same development tends to make the single capitalist more and more powerless. He will be crushed unless he combines with other capitalists. The times are over when capitalism was identical with individualism. In the times of trustification capitalism becomes identical with combination and organisation, but combination

not for the purpose of a peaceful understanding, but, on the contrary, for enlarging the means of competition, of commercial war, to drive the weaker rivals out of the market, to monopolise the market, to dictate the prices to the consumers.

This state of things cannot fail to react on the relations of the nations and to poison them. In former days it seemed as if England was to become the workshop of the world and the other countries the furnishers of its raw materials and the buyers of its manufactures. But that is long ago. To-day every country tries to become its own workshop and to sell manufactures on the great market of the world, and the industrial progress of some of those countries is more rapid than that of England itself.

The keener the competition of the different nations on the universal market, the more bitter their animosity towards each other, the greater their mutual distrust, their mutual hostility. But just as with the single capitalist, so the single nation loses in the course of this development the ability to stand alone against the growing competition. Even the strongest cannot remain any longer in splendid isolation. But no more than the industrial trusts are the alliances of the nations tokens of a growing sentiment of social peace. Each of them is only a powerful weapon against a powerful common enemy.

This growing distrust and hostility is not due to some peculiar malice or wickedness of some person or nation; it is found in every capitalistic nation and is the natural outcome of growing capitalism. It *must* grow in the ruling classes as long as capitalism is growing, and so it must endanger the peace of the world to an ever-increasing degree. If it does not lead to war it leads to growing armaments that become an intolerable burden for the nations, as intolerable and pernicious in the long run as war itself, and ultimately leading to war.

But that is only one side of the international spirit of our ruling classes. The same evolution of capitalism

that creates a growing distrust and hostility among nations, tends to make war more pernicious for capitalism itself. The capitalist class does not mind destruction and bloodshed if it gains by them, as it has shown by many commercial and colonial wars of the last three centuries. The British capitalists have money enough to throw away for the bloodstained Czar, but none for the starving unemployed of their own nation, and as shown for example, to-day the Jewish capitalists of Europe are supporting with their money the Jew-baiting hangman of all the Russias. So the capitalist would not mind war were there anything to be gained by it. But to-day capital has much more to lose than to gain by a war, it endangers by it the very foundations of its own existence.

The more capitalism develops, the more complicated a piece of machinery it becomes, machinery, extending over the whole world, with innumerable wheels, that are moving one another and in which the stopping of one stops all the rest. And at the same time, as we have seen, the growing hostility among nations tends to the forming of alliances among them, alliances not for the purpose of peace but of war, alliances that will not make peace universal, but war universal. If there should be war between two European Powers to-day the system of alliances will make it a war of all the great nations of Europe, nay, a war of the whole world.

Never was capitalism by any disturbances so easily affected as to-day, never was universal peace more necessary to it than to-day, and never has war tended more to be universal than to-day.

So the next war will not only lead to a tremendous squandering of money and material, to a terrible butchering of the flower of the nations—all that capitalism would welcome if profit were to be made out of it. But the next European war means a general break-down of capitalist enterprise, a general bankruptcy all over the world.

And the end of the war? It threatens with utter annihilation not only the conquered but the conqueror as well. In a European war the parties will be nearly equal. The French, for example, would be this time much better prepared than they were under Napoleon III., and they would not fight alone. None of the belligerents may expect to wage a war like the Germans in 1870 and the Japanese a few years ago, where only victories were on one side and only defeats on the other. It will be a long desperate struggle, fought to complete exhaustion of all parties concerned, a war like that of the Roses in this country. It may last only as many months as the war between York and Lancaster lasted years, but its termination will see a much worse breakdown of the ruling classes than those feudal wars led to.

To-day we find in every capitalist nation a strong working class which cannot be satisfied in the existing society. Whenever it becomes conscious of its social position it aims at the overthrow of the existing state of society, that is to say, it becomes a revolutionary party. War must help immensely the growth and power of that party.

War may at the beginning foment jingoism, but in the long run it must exasperate the great mass of the people. It will drive it to despair, it will thereby excite the revolutionary spirit in the nation, will make revolutionary Socialism a tremendous and irresistible force. And at the same time it reduces the moral and material forces of the ruling classes who are responsible for the war and its abominable distress; it compels the rulers to squander their moral credit and their material means. So the war that will begin with the bankruptcy of a large number of individual capitalists will end in the bankruptcy of the whole capitalist system—in social revolution.

In such a manner ended the Franco-German war of 1871, in the rising of the Commune of Paris. It was only the rising of a single city, and was therefore crushed. But three years ago we

saw the rising of a whole *nation* against its rulers at the end of the Russo-Japanese war. That rising too has up till now not been the success we wished. Russia is an agrarian nation. Its industrial workers fought splendidly the battle of the revolution, but their numbers were too small to conquer alone, and their natural allies, the peasants, the great mass of the people, were in general too dull and too slow for quick revolutionary action.

But much stronger than in Russia are the Socialist parties in Western Europe. Socialism may very likely win a decisive battle in the uprising that will surely follow a European war, at least on the Continent. I cannot speak here for England, that you know better than I do, but I am sure in England too the sufferings of a great war will immensely increase the ranks of the Labour Party, make it more revolutionary in its aims, its ways and means, and it is not impossible that through the war it may become at last the supreme political power in the kingdom.

Some of you may perhaps think such ideas to be only the wild dreams of a hare-brained Marxist. But you may be sure, if not the workmen, the ruling classes know very well what a real danger for them social revolution is, and they act upon that knowledge. There is no more powerful support to European peace than the fear of the social revolution. The champions of the Paris Commune of 1871, and of the revolution in Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw in 1905 and 1906 have done much more for the cause of peace than all the meetings of kings and emperors, all the peace congresses of middle-class politicians, and all the Hague conferences put together.

The fear of the revolution is the great obstacle to war. But it is no obstacle to the development of capitalism, and with it of the growing hostility among the ruling classes of the different nations. And so we have the queer spectacle of the ruling classes, while crying for peace preparing for

war. And the louder they cry for peace the more energetically they prepare for war.

I think there is no ruler of any great European nation who would like war. They all fear it with all their heart. But they are all busy creating situations which make it more and more difficult to preserve peace. There never were so many peace demonstrations as in the last few years, and never during the last thirty years were we so near to a European war as just now.

There is only one power that works consistently for the cause of peace, and this power is the various parties of the working classes. They strive for peace not only by creating with their growing strength the growing fear of social revolution, but they strive for it also by disseminating among the masses of the people the spirit of international solidarity. That spirit becomes a powerful pillar of peace. It is a desperate undertaking to-day to begin war without the consent of the masses of the people. Who wants war must begin with diffusing the spirit of jingoism. The rise of jingoism is one of the greatest dangers for the maintenance of peace. Now there is no greater obstacle to jingoism than Socialism. It is especially the Socialist press whose wide circulation is indispensable for an effective fight with jingoism. In that connection our press is more important even than the winning of seats in Parliament. Speeches in Parliament have an influence on the population only if extensively and correctly reproduced by the press, and it is impossible to deliver a speech every day in Parliament. The daily press speaks every day to its readers, and is for the masses the only regular source of information.

Now, the German Social-Democratic Party is in that respect in the happy position of being able to work most effectively for the cause of peace and for promoting international solidarity by the wide circulation of its press. Our party has in Germany not less than 71 daily papers in all the big towns of the

Fatherland, and together they sell every day more than one million copies, which are read by at least three or four millions of readers. These papers are discussed in every workshop, in every public-house and club of the great towns where workmen meet. I may add that the trade unions of Germany have a weekly press with about the same circulation, the paper of the mechanics and engineers alone with 380,000 copies; carpenters, 150,000; masons, 200,000; miners, 115,000; textiles, 110,000. The daily papers appear only in the industrial centres, but the weeklies go into the small towns also. So nearly the whole working class of Germany, with few exceptions, is under the influence of the Socialist press, and it is therefore impossible in Germany to infuse the great masses of the industrial workers with jingoism. All the lies of the yellow press about foreign countries are promptly refuted in our press and cannot take root in the industrial population. Unfortunately we have not the same influence on the shopkeepers and the peasantry. But it would be a very foolish thing to go to war with only the consent of shopkeepers and peasants and against the determined will of the industrial working class.

At any rate you may be sure, the German working class will do everything it is able to do to prevent the growing up of any warlike disposition in our country. We strive for peace with all our power, not because we are afraid of war but because we *hate* war. That is the difference between the peaceful tendency of workmen and capitalists. The former *hate* war, the capitalists *fear* war.

The working class is that class of society that has less reason than any other class to be afraid of war. It is true that in the beginning the burden of war will fall heavily on the shoulders of the working class, but in the long run war promises to accelerate their emancipation from slavery. Nevertheless the working class detests war. They are sure to win their emancipation in any case whether war comes or not,

and they think the atrocities of war are too high a price to be paid for the acceleration of their emancipation. They abhor the idea that workmen should kill their comrades of other nations, who are their best friends, at the bidding of their Governments—those Governments that are their worst enemies.

The strength of the labouring class is the only solid guarantee of peace in our times. The rule of the labouring class—Socialism—will be the era of eternal peace. Who works for the working class, who works for Socialism, works for the cause of peace too. Who desires to work effectively for the cause of peace must work for the strengthening of the labouring class, for the victory of Socialism. The downfall of capitalism is the only means to secure the abolition of everything that is abominable in the present state of civilisation, the misery of unemployment as well as of overwork, of crime and of prostitution. The worst of all those abominations is the war of civilised nations, is the organised butchery of millions of men, performed with all those tremendous implements which the science of our century has created. Relentless war upon that criminal folly, the war of our days, and relentless war upon capitalism, the father of that and many other criminal follies; the most energetic and ruthless fighting against capitalism—that is the only way to secure to mankind an age of peace and freedom and happiness for all.

KARL KAUTSKY.

WAR AND PEACE UNDER SOCIALISM.

I.—WAR.

England is still echoing the past summer's discussion of a possible or probable war with Germany. The discussion was precipitated by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the veteran Socialist leader, and his presentation of the German danger was ably supported by Mr. Robert Blatchford, editor of the "Clarion," and Mr. Harry Quelch, editor of "Justice." It was further enhanced by the rather brutal presentation of a like point of view to the House of Peers by Lord Cromer. The brunt of the question, however, fell upon Mr. Hyndman. He aroused the indignation of the British Liberals, whose obtuse hypocrisy he exposed to ridicule. But more especially, and most unfairly, was he attacked by the leaders and organs of the British Labour Party. It was through these Liberal and Labour Party misrepresentations that the reports of the discussion went into the American and European press, and upon these misrepresentations have both Socialist and capitalist editorials been written.

Now, Mr. Hyndman is the farthest removed of any man from the jingoism of which he has been accused. He has been a life-long advocate of peace, and the most consistent and hated enemy of British imperialism. When others quibbled and compromised, he risked life and limb in opposing the Boer War. For a quarter of a century he has laboured, with disastrous consequences to himself, for the freedom of India. No other man has so faithfully borne the banners of the oppressed peoples of the world in the face of the

English ruling class. At all times, and through all lands, have the years of his life been spent in inciting the enslaved to manhood and revolt. Of all men, he is the last against whom the charge of jingoism should be brought. And this his opponents in the discussion perfectly well knew.

But Mr. Hyndman knows, as probably no man has known since Joseph Mazzini, what is taking place in the Cabinets of Europe; and the present Anglo-German war discussion is due to his effort to get International Socialism to face the European political fact. It is not because he wants war, but because he wishes to avert war, that his warning has been sounded; it is because he would avert a war that might turn far backward the dial of the world's progress. And his warning is in strict accord with the economic interpretation of history. He is urgent with a knowledge which so few Socialist leaders really seem to possess—the knowledge that the wheels of the world are increasingly turned by capitalist control, and in no wise regulated by professional presentations of moral sentiments, or by the idle resolutions of diletante Peace Congresses.

Now, the present dominant European fact, upon which Mr. Hyndman based his warning, is the economic necessity of political expansion on the part of Germany. Next to the United States, Germany has reached the highest stage of development in her productive machinery. The German population is also increasing more rapidly than that of any other nation of capitalist Europe; and, under capitalism, the growth of population means that Labour's ability to buy the things it produces decreases in ratio to its increased power of production. Thus, industrial Germany necessarily reaches out for new markets. It must possess itself of yet unexploited lands, and found colonies therein, in order to make place for its surplus goods and surplus workers. It must have free course with savage peoples in Africa, with yet unindustrialised peoples in Asia, and with the islands of

the seas, that it may compel these populations to buy its products. Either the collapse of German capitalism, with ten million workers in the streets, and with the Social Revolution at the Kaiser's doors, or else German political expansion—this is the logic, the sheer economic necessity, of German industrial development.

But it is England that bars Germany's way to possession of more of the earth. England either owns the earth that Germany wants, or controls the ocean highways and island outposts leading thereto. If the continued existence of capitalism is inevitable, then just so inevitable is the Anglo-German conflict for the possession of these highways, and the markets to which they lead. It is not a question of what Hyndman wants in England, or what Bebel wants in Germany, or of what the Peace Congresses resolve; it is a question of what the capitalist control finds necessary for its continued existence and increase. Nothing but the swift establishment of the co-operative commonwealth in Europe, predicated upon an immediate Social Revolution, could prevent the great war between Germany and England for possession of the remaining unpillaged lands and peoples. And there is not the slightest sign of the establishment of Socialism, in either of the two nations concerned, in time to avert the world-changing war. If the Socialist movement were now fully aware of itself, if it were strong and alert through a mature and vivid international experience, it might hold the strifes of nations in abeyance until Labour's triumph and order should end all war by removing its economic cause. But the psychological contradictions of capitalist society still endure in the movement that makes for the overthrow of that society. The Socialist movement is not yet a living world-soul, inhabiting a well-formed and harmonious world-body. We have not yet entered the long-opened door of international command; we have not been trained to treat the world as a whole, and to seek the fulfillment of the interest and freedom of each

individual, each distinct people, each human type, in this wholeness of view and purpose. International Socialism might speak, even to-day, the word that would prevail against its enemies. It might say, Let there be peace, and there would be peace. Yet we do but babble before our matchless opportunity.

But coming back to Germany, we may see her as a potent cause of wars apparently not her own. It is well known that the red imbecile ruler of the Russias might have resisted the grand ducal ruffians, and might have compromised with Japan, had it not been for the treacherous encouragement of the Kaiser. The first step in German expansion was the weakening of Russia on the East, and the bullying of France on the West, preparatory to the decisive conflict with England. From the same source springs the embroilment of the Balkans, with the aggressions of Austria and Bulgaria, at the moment when they serve to paralyse the hand of Young Turkey, for a free Turkey would prove an effectual barrier to the German commercial and political occupation of Asia Minor. Besides all that, the programme of Young Turkey looks toward a common well-being of the Ottoman peoples, toward a progressively free federal organisation, that exceeds anything that either Prussia or Russia desires in neighbouring States. Some of the most effective leaders of the reform movement in Turkey, as well as in Persia and India, are intelligent revolutionary Socialists, political revolution being but the first step in their programme. Of this fact the Prussian and Russian spies keep their respective Governments well informed. And though carefully concealing its real dread, European diplomacy is fearfully engaged in quenching the springs of freedom that break forth in the deserts of Oriental despotisms. And it is to the interest of capitalist Germany to restore and protect the crumbling despotisms of Asia and Africa, in order that its own economic despotism may be established in their shadow. To even such measure of freedom as the English and French colonial systems supply are

the interests of German capitalism utterly antagonistic.

But Mr. Hyndman's warning against German purposes was not that of the mere English patriot; his concern is infinitely vaster than that. What he dreads, more than all else, is the effect of German expansion upon the Socialist movement. With the hand of the German giant upon European capitol, the Prussianisation of Europe and of nearer Asia quickly follows. And the Prussianisation of civilisation means its recession into practical barbarism, with the long postponement of the social revolution. Let us be under no illusions about the essential Prussian spirit; it is still the spirit of the savage, ruthless to the last degree; it is pre-eminently the spirit of capitalism in its culminating and most devastating stage. Compared with the dominant Prussian, the Turk is a kindly and heavenly-minded human animal. It is in Prussia, more than elsewhere in the so-called civilised world, that the peasants might envy the swine they tend; and there, rather than in primitive savagery, that the women are kept in the condition of mere breeding animals and beasts of burden. From the time when the Teutonic knights stole Prussia from the Poles, and spread massacre over eastern Europe in the name of Christ; from the time when the princes and barons made with Luther one of the blackest bargains of history, taking for themselves the comparatively happy lands of the Catholic Church in exchange for their support of Luther's religion—a bargain that put some eleven millions of German peasants beneath their ravaged and untilled earth at last; from the time when Bismarck, cynical, satanic, and the prince of perjurers, changed Germany into Prussia, every Prussian advance has been destructive to all that is free or fine in the human spirit. The German Kaiser, braggart, brutal and cowardly, and the horrible monstrosities of modern German art, are revealing types of Prussianism. Let this Prussianism once gain the hegemony of Europe, and the result will be a barbarian renaissance, followed

by an abysmal human decadence ; and this, notwithstanding the present strength of German Social-Democracy. Such is Mr. Hyndman's view of the matter ; and it is a view which he does not hold alone. It is because he would prevent so overwhelming a catastrophe to what is worth preserving in civilisation, that he has warned English Socialists, and the Socialists of all nations as well, to prepare against the present European fact. And his words become the more important, when it is known that he has good reason for believing that the English aristocracy would welcome a German invasion sooner than a social revolution at home.

Nor is it any answer to say that the German people do not want war with England, and that the English people do not want war with Germany. Up to the present moment historic peoples have had precious little to do with the decisions to fight or to make peace. We have only to rightly read our histories, as far back as their first dim conjectures go, to see how world-wars are continually recurring under some form of economic pressure ; to see how wars are really fought for no other reason ; and to see how wars will continue to waste the earth so long as economic control is private and not social. A study of the psychology of war, especially in the light of capitalist development, also shows how little the previous sentiments of a nation have to do with any particular military struggle. And the rulers of the world know that, in case of war, they may still discount the Socialist movement, notwithstanding its latent power to compel international peace ; they know that they may still count upon the old appeals to patriotism, and upon the hypnotism exercised by the possession of power. With the possible exception of Italy, the Governments can still throw obedient armies against revolting workers. The governing class of Germany knows, just as certainly as the governing class of the United States knows, that the black magic of war, even in the worst possible cause, can still arouse a maudlin national feeling, can

still make the people senseless and delirious. Upon this knowledge will the Kaiser and the Hamburg-American Steamship Company act, should the psychological moment for war with England arrive. And not Bebel, with all his superb influence, nor the German Socialist movement, with all its discipline and strength, could stay the German nation an hour, in the event of such a war.

The American people did not dream of empire when the war with Spain began. Nor did they need to fight for the freedom of Cuba; it is well known that Spain would have granted our demands on Cuba's behalf. But the knowledge was concealed from the people, in order that the governing class might secretly precipitate its imperialistic programme. We really went to war with Spain, in the first place, that the financiers who had pre-empted Cuba might come into unbridled possession of that beautiful and unhappy island; and, in the second and larger place, the war was planned in order that American capitalism might make the Philippine Islands the door into the great market of China. Never was a war more inexcusable, or more disgusting and cowardly in all that pertains to it; and never did war bring swifter or deeper degradation to a nation. The best leaders of the Republican Party were opposed to it, and so was the body of the Democratic Party. Yet the capitalist will prevailed; the Government played its trick with success; a foul and subsidised press inflamed the people; the preachers preached their loathsome blood-sermons; and the nation went to war. In a day, in the twinkling of an eye, a blood-drunken people parted from what was best in its past, from what was true or noble in its history. And now, wallowing in the hollow of Mr. Roosevelt's hypocritical hand, we have shaped our national ideals unto the glory of the brute. Besotted with the taste of Spanish blood, insanely acclaiming our historic bully as our national hero, we are eager for the war that shall hold the markets of China against all comers. Let our capitalist masters loose the

lash whenever they will, we are ready to fly to the fight at their bidding, which we shall soon and certainly have, unless the Social Revolution come quickly. And we shall be ready to hang as traitors, and to stamp with infamy, such as have the hardihood to declare our national guilt; while the politicians again appeal to the black magic of patriotism, and the clergy again arouse the blood-hunger of the nation in the name of Christ.

The English people did not want war with the Boer republics; England's best men opposed it; Queen Victoria was practically coerced into giving the royal assent, and was broken-hearted thereafter until her death. But the alien owners of the Transvaal mines did want war, and to war the nation went. History affords no more infamous spectacle than that of the English people, supposedly of a higher order of intelligence than most other peoples, thus instantly turned into a sottish beast by the national hypnosis which a few mine-owners were able to governmentally produce. And South Africa proved to be not only the grave of 75,000 soldiers, and of England's military reputation; it seems to have been the grave, for a while at least, of what was left of England's soul; for English times, since the Boer War, have been the times of rapid decay.

The Russian people did not want war with Japan; General Kuropatkin, and the two most powerful Ministers of State, exhausted their resources in vain efforts to prevent it. But the Grand Ducal robbers, and finally the pitiable yet monstrous Czar, thought that war with Japan would perpetuate the economic control; and war they had, with what consequences of measureless evil we now know. They wanted war in order to protect their vast timber speculations in Corea, and the still vaster schemes of Governmental graft that were based thereupon. What is it to them that probably a million men, most of them slain in the strength and flush of youth, are now under the red sod? What is it to them that the dead knew not what they died for—that the nation knew not for what

it fought? What is it to them that Russia now reeks with Governmental rapine and murder, in order that the ghastly throne of the Czar and his criminal kinsmen be preserved? Nothing; no more to them are the wretchedness and ruin of the people now, nor the fruitless acres of the dead, than were the voices of Russia's prophets at the war's beginning. That the Russian people did not want war from the first; that Tolstoy and Gorky cried out against it, that even the nation's intelligent capitalist statesmen tried to prevent it, had nothing to do with the final decree. No more than had Queen Victoria or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, or Mr. Hyndman and Edward Carpenter and Walter Crane, to do with England's war with the Boer Republics; no more than had Senator Hoar and Edward Atkinson, or Mr. Bryan and his Democratic Party, or such of us as raised our poor voices of protest in college rooms and public halls, to do with the advent of American Imperialism. In each case, the decision issued from the seat of economic control; which in Russia was the throne of the Imperial family; which in England was the will of the owners of the Transvaal mines; which in America was the interest of speculative financiers.

Then we must keep in mind that it is not only new markets that are necessary to capitalism; the first and fundamental necessity, in these days of Labour's awakening, is the suppression of domestic revolt, and the diversion of attention from social inquiry. A great foreign war is each capitalist nation's reserved defence against Socialism. The German governing class waits only for a war that shall cheat and command the national feeling, that shall arouse the old illusion of the Fatherland. The German Kaiser, who is essentially a commercial drummer in mediæval masquerade, and his financial associates, know very well that the idea of the Fatherland will not for a long time be subjected to close analysis or clear exposure. They have sufficiently tested the Socialist leaders upon this point and know that they have little to fear from

Social-Democracy, in case of a plausible foreign war. They know that, let the right pretext and moment arrive, with an officially-prepared sense of national danger inspired among the people, and the Social Revolution may be turned backward. So capitalist America is quite aware of the disgrace and difficulty that would attach to a Socialist propaganda, in case of war with Japan, or with Japan and her English allies, for the ostensible freedom of China; and American Socialism must be prepared to face just such a disgrace and difficulty; for this Socialist reversal, as well as the market of China, is in the capitalist mind. An American financier once remarked in my presence that he and his kind, as a last resort, could invoke a German occupation of New York against a general strike or a Socialist revolution. And I heard an English duke quoted as saying, during the past summer, that his class would prefer defeat and government at the hands of Germany to Socialism at the hands of English workingmen. Whether or not the duke be correctly quoted, of this we may be sure: that the possessing class of each nation, if it comes to the choice, will prefer foreign rule to dispossession at the hands of a Socialist industrial administration. Grotesque and horrible as it seems, not at all impossible is a situation in which a tacit understanding for mutual preservation might exist between the possessors of two nations, say, England and Germany, while the armed workers, numbered by millions, were marching and battling for their own extinction—the blind suicide of the proletarian revolution.

But there is a greater danger to Socialism than foreign wars, or the suppression of domestic revolt. Not the revolutions against which the capitalist power will openly arm itself—not these need we fear; but rather the proletarian revolutions which the capitalist himself will insidiously create—these are our danger, and these should be our dread; and against these, seducing the Socialist movement to self-destruction, should the Socialist and the worker watch. It is

Victor Berger who has lately said that "a second French Revolution is just what we do not want." And never did a Socialist speak more wisely. Well does he state our purpose to be the gradual conquest of political power, with the progressive amelioration of the working class, and the education of the whole nation in the theory and practice of Socialism. But all this is exactly what the capitalist does not want; and what he will exhaust his last resource in preventing. Perhaps I may be pardoned in this connection, since it is the first time I have ever quoted myself, for repeating some words which I addressed to an audience in Fanueil Hall on the occasion of the celebration of the Paris Commune, March 21, 1903: "I have reason to say that it is already a settled capitalist purpose and tactic, in case it should become evident that Socialism is about to conquer political power through the suffrage of American voters, to precipitate a revolution of force on the part of labour before the Socialist movement is strong or wise enough to take care of it. It is the capitalist who would like to have us try to win the day with guns and bricks in our hands, rather than with intelligence in our heads and comradeship in our hearts. And whoever counsels violence in these days may be safely set down as a conscious or unconscious emissary of capitalism, a conscious or unconscious traitor to the Socialist movement. We must be wise enough, and have faith enough in our cause, to refuse to let those who would destroy us appoint the hour and manner of the decisive conflict. We must be sane and brave enough not to accept our appointments for battle from capitalist hands. We must be bold and true enough to refuse to be governed by the irritations that are meant to drive us to premature revolt. It is one of the marks of greatness to know how to bide one's time—greatness in a cause, or greatness in an individual. And it is the mark of one's faith in his cause, or of a cause's faith in itself, that the man or the cause know how to wait until the clock strikes the hour for finality of action."

The capitalist necessity for war is something that escapes adequate presentation, even in the attitudes and actions of Socialist leaders. One of the evidences of this is the article of Jean Jaurès on "Socialism and International Arbitration," in the August number of the "North American Review." Even the old-school political economist would not have written so ignorantly and foolishly about the sources of war; nor would the pietistic preacher have presented a more thoughtless or sentimental cure. Hague Congresses may afford a new amusement for the idle rich; they may provide a rather sportive veil for the cynical and naked hypocrisy of existing Governments. But it is silly to suppose that they have anything to do with the world's war or peace.

Socialism is the only preventive of war. Without regard to their previous sentiments or principles, and without regard to their well-being, just so long as capitalism endures, the peoples will go to war when and where the capitalist sends them. Wars will be fought whenever any centre of economic control finds war necessary for its preservation or expansion. The peoples will be stupid enough to fight for masters, and to die for masters, just so long as they are stupid enough to have masters. Men will pour out their lives in senseless battles, pour them out unto the brute's death, just so long as men labour in the exploiter's mill or mine. The world will lack the sense and strength to forbid war, and will know nothing of true peace, until it is rounded with the social revolution, and made an altogether new creation, fashioned for the fellowship of man.

II.—PEACE.

But peace, no less than war, is a capitalist arrangement. As war is declared, so peace is proclaimed, according to the convenience of the dominant economic interest. And as capitalism develops intensively, interest grappling with interest for final

control over the whole industrial arena, the more will the peace of the world be imperilled, and with it the economic security and spiritual repose of the individual. The armaments of the nation will increase with the increase of capitalism, for which war and present institutions endure. In these frankly financial times, the capitalist nature of our institutions is obvious and brazen; there is less and less attempt at concealment. We see that the rulers of the world are but rulers in name; the real rulers sit in the seats of the money-changers. The ambassadors of nations, the kings and the presidents, are butlers and footmen to the great bankers; they are lackeys who must henceforth wear their livery in the face of the world. The old diplomatic appearances are kept up; but it is the diplomat, not the capitalist, who thinks to save his face. The diplomat is a fool; but no fool is his capitalist master. Great Britain's King may be paraded as the peace-maker of his day, as the first gentleman of Europe, and as the presiding prince of international politics. But the great financiers, whose messenger King Edward notoriously is, discount the imposture in advance. Nor is their laughter among themselves confined to their sleeves; it is loud upon the moneyed streets of London and Paris. That the recent meeting of King and Czar at Reval was a bankers' arrangement is well known; and equally well known is the fact of the King's reluctance. The British Government was compelled to send the King, and the King was compelled to go, by a will more sovereign than that of Kings or Cabinets—the will of the dominant economic interest.

There is no better illustration than the sudden end of the war between Russia and Japan. When Theodore Roosevelt received the Nobel Prize, he was doubtless unconscious that he was being rewarded for a supreme example of diplomatic treachery; nor did the givers of the prize know the thing they were rewarding. But the Portsmouth Treaty was due to no desire for peace as such; it sprang not

from the stricken hearts of the rulers, seeking to close the scenes of death upon Manchurian battle-fields. The real international concern, and the sudden grief of Governments, was the menaced money of the money-lenders. The value of Russian bonds, and the collection of their accruing interest, depended upon the stability of the throne of the Czars. Let the Russian Revolution succeed, and not the Russian bonds alone might become worthless; in the revolutionary overflow from Russia, there was danger to all capitalist Europe. There was the possible exposure, too, of the whole system of national indebtedness—the very holy of holies of modern finance. It is by this system, so long and carefully developed, that the money-lenders most subtly and surely appropriate the labour-produce of the world, making even the captains of industry to serve them. A crisis in this international finance was at hand, fateful and far-reaching beyond anything yet realised by the public understanding; the world's owners knew, but not the world's workers. By this time also, Russia had been weakened enough to suit the purposes of Germany; and enough to subtract from England's imperial apprehensions the Russian menace to her Asiatic possessions. So when the great bankers said that peace must be, the Governments of Europe were ready to bring it about; to this end the diplomatic machinery was set going; and finding a fit vehicle in the vanity of Theodore Roosevelt, through him the royal servants of the bankers betrayed Japan, and made peace between Japan and Russia. But it is only the ignorant who imagine that the war was ended through the pity of rulers for the Russian and Japanese peasants, by whom the killing and the dying were done; it was ended through the capitalist need of the throne of the Russias, and the other thrones endangered by its danger. The Peace of Portsmouth was made to save the money of Europe, and to prevent or to postpone an international capitalist catastrophe.

Commercial America, let it be said in this connec-

tion, was becoming eager for peace as well. Across her capitalist perspective loomed the menace of a greater Japan, balking the exploitation of Asia. That Japan should be cheated into paying for the war which Russia had forced upon her; that the defence of her national being should be made costly to herself; that she should be weakened by the victory she had won; that it should be made difficult for her to stand between the capitalist West and the markets of China; this was the desire of the nations of Europe, and the deed of the United States of America. And Japan's subsequent industrial and military expansion, even when occupied with self-recovery, is the problem and the wrath of the older capitalist world.

The Peace of Portsmouth is the pivot of the present and future history of the world. It was not only the first successful deflection of the international Social Revolution; it was the beginning of a new tragedy of the nations, moving toward a universal catastrophe—a catastrophe that might have been avoided, had the Socialist movement spoken the word it had power to speak. And when its truthful history comes to be written, this same peace will be read as one of the three or four most infamous bargains ever made by diplomacy—even though diplomacy be but the science of treachery. Whether Mr. Roosevelt knew or not, the rulers of Europe knew well what they did at the time: the blow at Socialism was struck secretly, but it was surely aimed. And the Portsmouth Peace was the blow—the key to capitalist diplomacy for a generation. It prevented the immediate collapse of Russian despotism, releasing the hands of the Czar to deal imprisonment, exile, torture and murder to his beloved subjects. It fastened the grip of the money-lender upon the nations. It gave longer life to European capitalism, by saving the thrones upon which that capitalism depends for its policing. It moved America to make military and industrial preparations for the commercial conquest of China, and for the practical control of Chinese government. It delayed the Asiatic renaiss-

sance—India for the people of India, China for the Chinese, Burma for the Burmese, Afghanistan for the Afghans, Persia for the Persians; which renaissance, flowing westward, must give Egypt to the Egyptians, Morocco to the Moors, Africa to the Africans, and the world to its workers. The new birth of Asia, with the power to protect itself from an alien industrialism, means the collapse of the capitalist society, and the social revolution throughout the Western world. This the capitalist knows better than the Socialist; and it was to prevent or to postpone this that the Peace of Portsmouth was proclaimed.

If I have said less of peace than of war, it is because I am discussing national conditions as they exist under capitalism. Indeed, in the state in which mankind now finds itself, the talk of peace is an impertinence. Our whole system of life and labour, with all that we call civilisation, is based on nothing else than war. It is a war which the teachers are cunning to conceal; yet it is the woof and warp of the world's social pattern. It is the war between the class that labours and the class that appropriates what that labour produces. It is a war so terrible, so full of death, that its blood is upon every human hand, upon every loaf of bread, and upon every human institution. Capitalist society is but the organisation of this one human fight—this one universal and comprehensive contradiction. And it is only folly, or worse falsehood, that prates of peace in such a society. There can be nothing but war in a human system carried on by workers beneath and possessors above; nothing but war in an order wherein the whole emphasis of government, of social security, of public morality, of individual worth, is laid upon the possession of things produced rather than upon the human producers. Such a state of things is not social at all, and there is no order in it. Our social order is but the anarchy of the jungle—the sign that man is not yet human, not yet evolved from the beast. There

can be no peace, not the first basis for peace to build upon, until there is but one class in the world, one mode of progress, and one human worth—the class, the progress, the worth, that associates all men as common workers, to whom all leisure, all culture, all beauty and immortality belong. Then shall prevail, when this one social earth has come to be, and not till then, the peace of good-will among men.

GEORGE D. HERRON.



“ I HAVE protested before against that complacent optimism which concludes, because the health of the upper classes has been greatly improved, because that of the working classes has been bettered, and appliances, unknown before, have become familiar and cheap, that therefore the country in which these improvements have been effected must be considered to have made, for all its people, regular and continuous progress. I contend that from 1563 to 1824, a conspiracy, concocted by the law and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into, to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty. In a subsequent chapter I shall dwell on the palliatives which were adopted in order to mitigate the worst and most intolerable burdens of his life—palliatives which were rendered necessary by no fault of his, but by the deliberate malignity of Governments and Parliaments. For more than two centuries and a half, the English law, and those who administered the law, were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out every expression or act which indicated any organised discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights.”—From “ Six Centuries of Work and Wages,” by Thorold Rogers.

THE MONTH.

The determination of the Government, as expressed in Mr. Asquith's letter to the Liberal candidate at Newcastle, to deal effectually with the question of the unemployed, has, so far, not materialised to any appreciable extent. Extra men to be employed in the Post Office at Christmas—as usual!—24,000 men to be enrolled in the Special Reserve for six months' training, and an increase of a hundred thousand pounds to the Government grant for the Distress Committees, these represent all the practical measures the Government is prepared to put into force this winter.

And the only one of these measures of any value is the extra hundred thousand pounds, and that is worth—just a hundred thousand pounds, neither more nor less. The extra men at the Post Office are simply the additional help usually engaged at that time, while the intention to enrol men in the Special Reserve is merely a method of taking advantage of the poverty of the workers to force them into military service, and to help Mr. Haldane out of the difficulty into which the unpopularity of his Territorial Forces scheme has led him.

So far as providing any practical remedy for unemployment, these two measures are absolutely illusory. The Special Reserve, of course, only takes the place of the old Militia, and from the point of view of useful employment, the men might just as well be paid to walk about the streets.

Great delight is expressed by the authorities over the success of this form of compulsory service. It is stated that a comparison of the returns of recruiting for the Special Reserve in October, with those for the Militia in the corresponding period of last year shows an increase of 30 per cent. In other words, while in October, 1907, about 2,300 men enlisted into the Militia, in October, 1908, 3,000 were enlisted in the Special Reserve.

In other words, in consequence of the exceptional distress and want of employment, there have been found in a month throughout the kingdom about 700 more men between 17 and 30 than last year who prefer military service to tramping about the streets hungry and in want, vainly seeking for work. Not much gratification for the authorities in that, it might be supposed, but they are easily satisfied with small mercies.

A noteworthy fact in connection with this enlistment for the Special Reserve is that the increase is particularly marked in London, and in other large towns like Cardiff, Nottingham, and Sunderland. This shows clearly that the increase is due to the distress. Another piece of evidence to the same effect is afforded by the statement that a "satisfactory feature of the returns is that the proportion of rejections in October last was much smaller than usual. Those who are now joining the Special Reserve, it would appear, are men of good character and physique, and just the class of recruit which the nation should be glad to enlist."

This not only proves that poverty and unemployment are driving men into the ranks ; but also that the conditions are so bad that men of a quite superior calibre to those who generally enlist are now being driven to do so.

The unemployed demonstrations which marked the opening of Parliament were not more numerously attended than on other similar occasions, but the general temper of the crowds appeared to be less passive, and there was somewhat more vigour in the speeches than in recent years ; so much so, indeed, that the police appear to have become alarmed, and took proceedings against our comrade Thorne for deprecating the invitation issued by the Suffragettes to people generally to "rush the House of Commons," and suggesting that they had much better—if they were hungry—rush bakers' shops. None of the "rushing," however, or the talk of it, had any effect on Parliament or the Government.

The most striking incident in this connection was, of course, Mr. Victor Grayson's "disorderly" interruption of the business of the House on the Thursday following the opening. This has been loudly acclaimed by Socialists everywhere, as a necessary protest against the indifference of Parliament and Government. It cannot be said to have been otherwise effective, except in so far as it also called attention to the supineness of the Labour Party.

The "blazing indiscretions" of the Kaiser, as revealed by the "Daily Telegraph," have had the effect not only of dealing a blow at the personal power of the monarch in Germany, but have also fully justified the warnings which we of the Social-Democratic Party, very much to the annoyance of some of our pacifist friends, have given as to the danger of war between Germany and this country. William has certainly played the part of a "candid friend" to his own Government, and it is not surprising that all parties are united in their indignation.

The German Government, partly, no doubt, in order to divert attention from the indiscretions of William, sought to make of the Casablanca incident a matter of serious international importance, and for a time the relations between France and Germany appeared to be assuming a grave aspect. Fortunately, however, the storm has blown over. In the Near East, too, the prospects of peace appear to be better than they were a short time ago.

The continued unrest in India, and the happenings at Calcutta, afford a striking comment on the King's Jubilee proclamation to our fellow-subjects of India. Like all such pronouncements, the proclamation was a gross misrepresentation of the facts, and a flamboyant attempt to justify the reign of plague and famine maintained by the British Government in India.

The municipal elections have been mainly favourable to the Tories, and as far as they can be regarded as a guide in political matters, they indicate a tremendous reversal for the present Government whenever the election comes; unless something very extraordinary and unexpected happens, the next Parliamentary election may be expected to result in the triumph of Tories and Tariffists. The present Government is certainly riding for a fall by pressing its reactionary and illiberal Licensing Bill—which is really an anti-Licensing Bill—with so much zeal. What is worse, the Labour Party seem determined to indissolubly ally themselves with the Government over this measure.

The municipal elections, however, which resulted so badly for the Liberals, and in which our Labourist friends suffered a considerable reverse, turned out, on the whole, very well for our party. Our losses were more than made up for by our gains, and all along the line the out-and-out Socialist vote showed an increase.

The monthly comparative statement of pauperism for England and Wales for the third quarter of the year rather gives the lie to the President of the Local Government Board. He referred to the pauper returns as evidence that there is no very great distress. But the report just issued shows an increase of no less than 17,559 paupers over the number at the end of June. In the corresponding quarter of last year, the increase was only 144.

And this increase, it should be remembered, has taken place in spite of the fact, as boasted of by John Burns, that some six or seven thousand Reservists have been permitted to emigrate, who, but for this salutary provision would now be loafing about the streets or swelling the number of paupers! A very nice compliment, indeed, to pay to the men upon whom the Government relies for the national defence in a time of danger!

In reference to the national defence, it must be admitted that the present War Minister is doing his best to make conscription inevitable—failing the adoption of the principle of the Armed Nation. According to a return just issued, since October 1, 1905, the Regular Army has been reduced by 20,434 men, the Militia and Special Reserve by 19,450, and the Volunteers—now “Territorials”—by 73,726; or a total reduction of some 113,610 men! And it must be borne in mind that of the “Territorials” the bulk of the two hundred thousand, or less, who have enlisted, have only joined for one year. No wonder poor Haldane is doing his best to make use of Hunger and Unemployment as recruiting sergeants!

THE REVIEWS.

HOW SWITZERLAND DEALS WITH HER UNEMPLOYED.

Miss Edith Sellers writes on the above in the November "Nineteenth Century and After." She says:—

It was realised clearly in Switzerland, already many long years ago, that a working man who is unemployed is, if left to himself, prone to become unemployable. He takes to the road in search of work, and on the road drink is cheaper than food, besides being more easily procured. A glass of Schnapps is more comforting, too, than a hunch of bread, when one is down on one's luck, and may have to sleep in a ditch. Nor is drink the only danger. It is the easiest thing in life to drift into loafing ways; they are few and far between, indeed, who can, for very long at a time, tramp up and down, day in, day out, looking vainly for work, without losing the desire to find it.

It was realised also, and equally clearly, many long years ago, that for the community to allow any one of its members, who could be kept employable to become unemployable, is sheer wasteful folly, if for no other reason than because, when once he is unemployable, the community must support him—must support his children, too, if he has any. Although Switzerland differs from England in that no one there may claim relief as a right, a self-respecting community cannot anywhere, in this our day, leave even the most worthless of its members to die of starvation. Besides, even if it could, such a proceeding would be fraught with difficulties, especially in a country where, as in Switzerland, the Government is democratic. For although there are undoubtedly both men and women capable of starving—some of them actually do starve—without disturbing their neighbours by unseemly wails, they form but a small minority of any population, and with the vast majority it is quite otherwise.

The vast majority it is practically impossible to leave to starve, because of the uproar they would make while starving. For them the community must provide board, together with lodging, if they cannot provide it for themselves; and they cannot, if they are unemployable. It behoves the community, therefore, as a mere matter of self-interest—so, at least, it is argued in Switzerland—to

do everything that can be done to prevent their being unemployed, lest they become unemployable.

This is a point on which all cantons alike hold decided views. Throughout the country, indeed, there is a strong feeling that any man who is out of work must be helped to find work; and this not so much for his own sake, as for the sake of the whole community—to guard against his being a cause of expense to it, instead of being, as he ought to be, a source of income. There is, however, an equally strong feeling that, when the work is found, the man must, if necessary, for his own sake as well as for the sake of the community, be made to do it, to do it well, too. Practically everywhere in Switzerland, while it is held to be the duty of the authorities to stand by the genuine work-seeker and help him, it is held to be their duty also to mete out punishment to the work-shirker, and force him to earn his daily bread before he eats it. No toleration is shown to the loafer, for he is regarded as one who wishes to prey on his fellows, and take money out of the common purse while putting none into it. On the other hand, what can be done is done, and gladly, to guard decent men from all danger of becoming loafers through mischance or misfortune.

In England a man may deliberately throw up one job, and, without even making an effort to find another, remain for months in the ranks of the unemployed, steadily deteriorating all the time into an unemployable. Meanwhile, no one has the right to say him yea, or nay, unless he applies for poor relief. In Switzerland, however, it is otherwise. There is no resorting to workhouses as to hotels there; no wandering around the country side extorting alms while pretending to look for work. For begging is a crime and so is vagrancy; and in some cantons the police receive a special fee for every beggar or vagrant they arrest. If a man is out of work there, he must try to find work; for if he does not, the authorities of the district where he has a settlement will find it for him, and of a kind, perhaps, not at all to his taste—tiring and badly paid. And he cannot refuse to do it, for if he does he may be packed off straight to a penal workhouse, an institution where military discipline prevails, and where every inmate is made to work to the full extent of his strength, receiving in return board and lodging with wages of from a penny to threepence a day. And when once he is there, there he must stay until the authorities decree that he shall depart; for as a penal workhouse is practically a prison, he cannot take his own discharge, and the police are always on the alert to prevent his running away. No matter how long his sojourn lasts, however, it does not cost the community a single penny; for in Switzerland these penal settlements are self-supporting, some of them, indeed, are said to be a regular source of income to the cantons to which they belong.

. . . . There is no classing of the unemployed by casualty or misfortune with the unemployed by laziness or misconduct there;

no meting out to them of the same measure. On the contrary, as a matter both of justice and good policy, considerable trouble is taken to distinguish between the two classes, so that each may be dealt with according to its merits. The man who is out of work through his own fault, and because he does not wish to be in work, is treated as a criminal, and sent as a prisoner to a penal institution, while the man who is out of work in spite of his earnest endeavour to be in work, is helped without being subjected to any humiliation whatever.

In most districts in Switzerland there is a special fund out of which grants are made to respectable persons who are temporarily in distress owing to lack of employment; and these grants entail neither the disgrace, nor yet the disabilities, entailed by poor relief. In most districts, too, the authorities make it part of their business to try to provide lucrative work for persons who cannot provide it for themselves. They pay them regular wages, but lower wages than a private employer would pay them for similar work; and sometimes, instead of paying them in money, they pay them in kind. The relief in-kind stations—i.e., casual wards organised on philanthropic lines—are now maintained in every part of industrial Switzerland for the exclusive use of the respectable unemployed; and drunkards, criminals, and loafers are never allowed to cross the threshold of these places.



THE IRISH INVASION OF THE HARVEST FIELD.

Mr. W. Carter Platts has the following roseate account of the above in the "The World's Work" for November:—

A twinkling-eyed Irish harvester confidentially summed up the situation thus to the writer, "Shure, Sorr, whoile the English labourer is busy shouting, 'We've got no wurrk to do!' the Oirish-man is com'n' over an' doin' ut."

Whatever may be its political or economic significance, it is a fact beyond dispute that, while we have the unemployed Englishman always with us, and his case provides a problem of perennial perplexity, the migratory Irish agricultural labourer is annually coming over to England and Scotland from 20,000 to 30,000 strong—last year the estimated number was 24,000—and is taking back with him at the close of the season well over a quarter of a million sterling after clearing all his expenses. Moreover, the farmer, thankful for the help that otherwise in the time of his greatest need he might seek in vain, is glad to pay it to him.

HOW THE INVADERS COME.

Coming and going, like the birds, at well-defined seasons the Irish harvester in certain districts is a common object of English

country life; harvest and the Irishman turn up simultaneously, but the whence and whither of his migrations, and the method of his industrial itinerary are matters known only to a comparative few. An inferior portion of the agricultural invaders hail from Achill, and are chiefly interested in potato raising. Donegal provides another small section of the harvesting army, the Donegal men making their way principally to Northumberland and the Scottish lowlands; but the main body of the forces is composed of Connaught men, from Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon, recruited with a sprinkling of West Meath men of Mullingar, where the sturdy ankles of the local colleens gave rise to the facetious explanation that their calves had crept down after the wisp of hay stuffed into their brogues to make them fit tighter, and so originated the saying, "Beef to the heel like a Mullingar heifer." Some thousands of these agricultural migrants are themselves farmers, occupying holdings of anything up to 30 or 40 acres in the West of Ireland. Probably the average farm of this class will run to about 12 acres, of which one acre will be devoted to potatoes, another acre sown with oats, a rood will be set apart for turnips, and the rest will be permanent pasture of a more or less—chiefly more—inferior quality. Anyhow, the leading characteristic of an Irish farm of this type is its inability to support the family upon it, in consequence of which the farmer, leaving his holding in charge of the "missus and the childther," fares forth to the English harvest-fields to eke out the means of subsistence. Many of the others who come over are the elder children, brothers and family relatives, of the small farmer.

Earlier in the year the advance guard of this industrial army—the Connaught Agricultural Rangers—have come over in irregular straggling order; but it is during the latter half of June, from the 16th to the 20th, that the main body pour into Liverpool in one tremendous stream, the London and North-Western Railway Company bringing them over at the reduced fare of 11s. each from the West of Ireland to the Mersey port. Arrived there, they immediately disperse north, east, and south—but mainly north and east—in their attack upon the northern counties and the more northerly Midlands. From Liverpool a large portion make at once for the hayfields of the Lancashire and Yorkshire lowlands, where they find employment for two or three weeks before the lowland hay is won. A considerable number find billets on the same farms year after year, and practically have their programmes arranged before they leave home. The rest depend on luck to secure good places, meeting the farmers at the country markets.

HOW THEY LIVE.

And what about the sleeping accommodation on the farms for the temporary increase in the number of hands? The Irish harvester works hard and sleeps anywhere. The smaller occupier engaging only one or two extra hands hunts up an old mattress and a horse-cloth, and with these the wearied labourer fares sumptuously in the corner of the corn-chamber; but the large

employer shakes out a few bags of straw on the barn floor, and the bed being thus made turns into it 16 or a score of Irishmen. As in the old "three-bottle" days, each man finds his bed where he falls, and frequently the floor of the barn is strewn so thickly with sleepers as to recall the small room in slumdom which was occupied conjointly by five families, one family in each corner and one in the middle, an arrangement which worked with signal harmony until the family in the middle burst up the sweet accord by taking in a lodger. Give the Connaught man six feet of dry barn floor, an armful of straw and a couple of sacks, and he asks no more. Offer the same accomodation to his Saxon brother and he would decline it with a vehemence commensurate with the extent of his vocabulary.

On the upland farms of the higher dales of the mountainous districts in the north of England the hay harvest is much later, and conveniently fills the gap between the lowland "hay-time" and the corn-harvest. A considerable extent of the hill farms about the great "backbone of England," the border highlands of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Durham, and Cumberland, consists of vast sketches of sparse mountain pasture, concerning which an inquiring south countryman put the question to a local farmer :

"And how many sheep do you allow to the acre in grazing your pastures?"

"Eh, mon," was the hardy dalesman's prompt reply, "ye've gitten hold o' t' wrong end o' t' stick! Ye should ask hoo many acres gans to a sheep."

However, intersecting the rough mountain pastures, richer meadows mark the bottom lands and sweep along the lower slopes of the valleys and ravines, and here the full tide of the hay harvest surges, in a normal season, from the early weeks of July until the middle of August. Up from the plains swarm the Irish labour hordes, and, "hiring" for a month, Hibernia is, for a spell, very much in evidence in England's remotest rural districts.

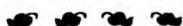
With the expiration of the "hay-time" contract in the higher dales the migrant harvester hurries back from the hills and spreads himself over the wide Plain of York and the great arable flats of Lincolnshire, Cheshire and Lancashire, what time the corn is ripe for the reaper. Here for another month he toils mightily among the golden sheaves.

The clearing of the cornfields does not mean the end of the season for the Irish agricultural labourers, and vast numbers next betake themselves to the potato districts, where another month or so is spent in gathering the potato crop. The general exodus then ensues, and the harvesters get back home in time to accomplish a few weeks' clearing upon the Connaught farms before Christmas.

THE INVADER AND HIS EARNINGS.

Now take the case of a steady man following the typical labour route we have sketched out. With reasonable luck he earns two or three pounds during the first fortnight or three weeks after he

lands, he then "hires" for a month for £5 10s. with an upland farmer; he next "hires," or otherwise engages himself, for a month's corn-harvesting, which likewise brings him in clear £5 10s., after which he engages in potato-gathering on piece-work at 1½d. per score yards, and this also puts £5 or £6 into his pocket. In all he handles anything up to £18 or £19, and, as he is fed and lodged in addition during the greater part of the time, he can, if he is thrifty, take home a surplus of £12 or £15 for his five months' work, while the English labourer is shouting the battle-cry of freedom under the banner of the unemployed.



SOCIALISM AMONG CATHOLICS.

That Socialism is making headway among Catholics of this country is admitted by "The Catholic Fortnightly Review" (Techny, Ill.). In the issue from which we quote (October) it assembles citations from various organs of its Church to prove the point and asks with some appearance of concern, "What are we doing to counteract? Pushing the needed social reforms?" Instead of this, the editor intimates that Socialists are being furnished with weapons, and "one of the strongest of these weapons," it adds, "is the unintelligent, brutal attitude of a portion of our Catholic press." It cites a "specimen extract" from the Syracuse "Catholic Sun" (Vol. XVII., No. 7). Thus:

"Frankly, we believe 'The Catholic Fortnightly Review' is right as to the growth of Socialism among Catholics of this country. It is simply heart-saddening to a layman who mingles much with his kind to find so many going astray. Still, we may query what more can the bishops do than they have done already? Most of them have warned against it and many of them have solemnly argued against it. The Catholic societies have denounced it and most of the Catholic papers of the country have fought it continually. Perhaps, after all these warnings, *it may be just as well to let the 'Catholic Socialists' go out of the Catholic camp and herd with the Church's enemies.*" (Italics mine. A. P.)

The writer finds that "The Catholic Sun" takes a somewhat different view in a later issue. He quotes the editorial comments of this paper made on a recently published interview with Archbishop Ireland as follows:

"We have no objection to the Archbishop preferring Mr. Taft, of course. It is natural he should, being a Republican, but we fear his incessant defending of 'property' and 'vested rights' and all that sort of thing, which Mr. Bryan certainly is not attacking, is just a trifle unnecessary at this juncture. The Archbishop himself has admitted that the approaching peril is Socialism, and this being true he is unconsciously making the path of the Church in

this country a very hard one by perpetually standing up as an advocate of property rights in an hour which finds more than one hundred Socialist dailies and weeklies declaring that the Catholic Church is the deliberate friend of capital and capitalists and the foe of labour and common humanity. The Saturday utterances of the Archbishop, if correctly quoted, are scarcely of a character to inspire American toilers with a pronounced love for the Church. His words would actually seem to prove the Socialists' assertion."

The editor goes on to quote the words of a "scholarly and wide-awake priest who contributes regularly to 'The Catholic Columbian' under the *nom de guerre* of R. C. Gleaner" to this effect:

"A well-informed mechanic, whose life is strictly in harmony with the laws of the Church and whose faith is not impaired by any modern spirit, whose avocation calls him into various parts of this country, told me some months ago that a weapon used by many a shrewd Socialist to convert Catholic men to their ism is this: that the Church demands more of their earnings than even public taxes. It is a foxy weapon and in many places is used to advantage: especially in those places where prudence has not been exercised in church finances. I am not going beyond the bounds of plain statement, when I put in print, what he who runs may read, that there is a growing complaint among our people, the bulk of whom earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, that the demands of the Church upon their purses are very heavy and frequent. While our people are always ready to make sacrifices and have done so in the past, the tendency to build expensive churches and costly school-buildings has reached a point where, if those in authority do not call a halt the people will.

"I know (and I am ready to receive it) the outcry this will raise. I am not an alarmist, but I am putting down in plain black and white what I have picked up in knocking about this world for a good many years in a good many quarters from a good many people, lay and clerical. Rivalry and prudence have not always balanced on many occasions, and only the other day I heard an old pastor, whose step is commencing to lag and whose hair is fast turning gray, ejaculate in no spirit of complaint, but in a spirit of patience tried to the limit—'For 32 years I have been paying debts, which, God help us, I did not contract.'"

HOW ADAM BECAME RICH.

In which year it happened I cannot exactly recollect, but seeing my memory serves me well, and that I always used to know of things even if they occurred many years before, I am compelled to believe that very many years must have passed since the story I am about to relate to you took place.

A big ship, with a great number of passengers, was overtaken by a hurricane and driven with frightful velocity from her course. The air was so thick and the wind blew so terribly that even the captain himself could not possibly tell in what direction they were driving, or where they would probably land. After having been thus driven for several days the people on the ship were suddenly swept overboard by a terrific shock caused by contact with a rock on which the ship had struck with great force. The only survivors of the accident were a mother and her four children, who were very ill, and whom she was nursing in one of the cabins of the ship. When the mother heard the terrible noise made by the impact she understood what had happened, and, taking her children with her, went on deck. Imagine her feelings when she looked around and saw no living person. There were several corpses floating in the water. But she was a very clever woman, and did not lose her wits. She managed to get a small boat, but big enough for them all, as she thought she would soon see land near—seeing that rocks in the sea usually suggest land to be not very far off. How great was her joy when the storm calmed down, the sun began to shine, everything began to brighten up, and she could easily distinguish a shore not more than half a mile away. She put all her four children into the boat, and although they made way very slowly, yet within a few hours she safely reached the shore of a fertile and beautiful island.

Some food that the mother had been prudent enough to take with her from the wrecked ship lasted for more than a fortnight, and when they had eaten everything the mother rowed in the boat to the wreck and brought back all the provisions she could find on the ship. Thus she provided her children and herself with food enough to last for a very long time.

But through the fright and a cold which she had caught during the disaster, she soon became very ill, and died after a few days, leaving her four sons ; the eldest, Adam. only a boy of twelve.

The mother, seeing her death approaching, put all the food where the children could easily take it when they wanted it. When it rained they used to find shelter under some large trees ; for, I had quite forgotten to tell you, that this island had many very high trees, which during the summer grew very tasty fruit.

When the food that was left by their mother began to become scarce, Adam, who was a very bad boy, thought that if he took a great part of the food and hid it somewhere he would have it for himself for another time. This he did ; hiding more than a half of the food their mother had left for them all. He took it away one night when his brothers were sleeping, and concealed it in a place where nobody could find it.

His brothers, being younger and innocent, did not notice what Adam had done. They ate as long as there was anything left to eat ; but, although so young, they very soon experienced the pangs of hunger when they had finished the old food.

Adam was not starving. He went every night to the place where he had hidden the food he had stolen, and ate as much as he pleased.

One day Adam began to think seriously, not about his starving brothers but about himself. "What shall I do when I have eaten all the food I have hidden there behind the bushes?" he asked himself. This thought gave him no rest until he had found some way out, and then he seemed very happy. He climbed up one of the trees, although it was not at all easy, and dropped some of the splendid fruit they bore, so that his brothers could also refresh themselves. When he had done so for several days, his brothers, who were much weakened through hunger, became stronger, and then he did not do this any more, but told them to climb up the trees themselves, while he would gather the fruit for them.

But he did now the same as before. More than half of the fruit that his brothers picked he put aside every day, and the part that was left they all had between them.

But the winter came, and the trees which had borne such beautiful fruit in the summer were bare, and it was very cold indeed. And the brothers, except Adam, were starving once more, and thinking that they would have to die because they could find nothing to eat. They all became thin, except Adam, who grew fatter day by day.

Once, on a very frosty, wintry day, Adam said to his brothers : "You beggars"—you see, he did not call them brothers any more—"why are you lying here idle? Do you think that food will fly into your open mouths? I know it is very difficult to find anything now ; but, you know, I am a good-hearted man, and if you will do for me what I shall ask you, I shall give you food, so that you will not have to starve."

"It is very cold," he continued, "and if you will break some of the long branches off those trees, make the ground here nice and even, and put those branches very close to each other deep in the earth, so that they will form together a kind of wall, and

then make a roof to it—in other words, build up for me a nice, big house, I will, as I have already told you before, give you food and you will not be compelled to starve.”

As you may imagine, they were all three very hungry, and thought Adam an exceedingly good man for making such a kind offer. They called him a gentleman, and at once started to work. The work, especially in the biting frost, was very hard, but they did it because they preferred it to starving. They worked in this way for more than a month, from morn till night, until a beautiful big house, with nice rooms, and every imaginable comfort stood ready to receive Adam as the proprietor.

When this work was done, Adam lived like a lord, and so he was called by his own brothers, but his poor brothers were not even permitted to sleep under the roof of the house, and they had to suffer terribly from the severe cold that came as the winter advanced. But much worse than the cold was the hunger, because they could do no more work, and therefore did not get any more food from their master, Lord Adam. They came begging every day, asking him to give them work and pay them with food.

Many a week had passed, and Adam was again thinking what to do, and again a soft smile could be seen on his usually very hard face. He called his brothers together, and told them to build three other little cottages. They worked again, and Adam gave them food again, and these small houses were very soon ready. Lord Adam permitted them to live in these houses, under the condition that they would pay him during the coming summer with a part of the food that they would be able then to gather from the trees.

Another month they spent in making big and strong fences around Adam's house. Then, at last, the long-expected summer came along, and the trees began to be once more overloaded with fruit. The summer brought beautiful days, a deep blue sky, with a bright sun whose golden rays were reflected in the majestic sea. But only Adam could enjoy the weather, for his poor brothers had to work hard all the day, and to give Adam more than two-thirds of the produce in payment of rent for the winter and the summer.

While they were working by the sweat of their brows, Lord Adam was thoroughly enjoying the beautiful summer days, and storing up in his big house the food for the coming winter that was paid to him as rent. And when the summer passed away and the frosty winter came, and with the cold the trees became bare again, the poor men had often to starve, and thought themselves happy when they could get to work for Adam, whom they had long, long ago forgotten to consider as their brother—nay, they believed him to be their master, and adored and worshipped him, who had robbed them of all the pleasures of their life, for Adam was rich, very rich indeed.

NICHOLAS HERZMARK.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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THE CO-PARTNERSHIP FRAUD.

The annual meeting of the Labour Co-Partnership Association once more calls attention to one of the subtle methods by which the capitalists, or the more astute among them, seek to disguise the class war and to disarm the working class. Among much that was trite and platitudinous in his presidential address, Mr. Balfour clearly stated the object of the movement in saying that they wished to "soften or obliterate the divisions between employer and employed." It is, of course, no question of removing those divisions or their causes—those are inherent in a system which sharply divides society into two classes, the propertied and the propertyless, master and slave, owner and owned, employer and employed. But those divisions may eventually lead to revolt on the part of the subject class unless they can be softened or bridged over by a seeming identity of interest, and co-partnership offers an excellent means for such softening and bridging over.

Mr. Balfour was willing to admit that the lot of the worker is not "all lavender." This is a notable admission in these days, when it appears to be universally supposed that all that a workman needs is work and plenty of it. Mr. Balfour, however, while he admits that a life of penury and toil has its drawbacks, and while he would have to admit that none of

his own class would be eager to share such a life, was anxious to show that it has its compensations, and that it might be made more agreeable if the workman were made to feel he had a greater interest in the industry in which he was engaged by the institution of co-partnership.

People talk of co-partnership, he said, "as if it was simply a movement to avoid contests between capital and labour, culminating occasionally in strikes, or as if, on the other hand, it was simply a movement to induce workmen to be more energetic and less wasteful in carrying out the work for which they are paid." Those, he thought, were most excellent objects, but he did not support the movement because it is immediately going to show results in the balance-sheets of employers or companies. He would recommend it on much profounder grounds. "In our ordinary speech," he said, "we lose a great deal by talking as if the labour of a man whose life is devoted to labour was in itself an evil, but which becomes tolerable because he is paid for his labour, and that the payment he receives for his labour can be used to amuse him, or support his family, or in some other way when the hours of labour are over. There is an element of truth in that, but I am quite certain that that element of truth is grossly exaggerated in ordinary speech." The art of life, he went on to suggest, is to make uninteresting parts into an interesting whole; and this, it appears, is to be accomplished by co-partnership!

Sir Christopher Furness, who followed Mr. Balfour, and who has just succeeded in imposing a system of co-partnership on the men employed by his company, made no attempt to follow the President in his dissertation on the loftier aims of the movement. He, on the contrary, was brutally frank. For him the object of co-partnership was industrial peace—the suppression of the right and the power to strike, and the prevention of strikes and lock-outs. It must have made the chairman, Mr. Shackleton, writhe in his seat, to hear

this braggart plutocrat boast of the army of 37,000 workpeople whom he and his company employed, who wasted the substance of the company and frittered away their own opportunities and their own wages by idle, vexatious and unnecessary strikes. Co-partnership, he declared, would have no reasonable chance in the great industrial concerns of this country unless the possibility of striking was entirely removed, and he made it clear that he supported co-partnership solely on the ground that he believed it would achieve that object and make a strike impossible.

This must have been good hearing for the trade unionists present, and for those who have fallen into Sir Christopher's trap, seeing how clearly the trade unions generally recognise the vital importance of the principle of the right to strike, and how strenuously they have fought to maintain that right. Yet, Sir Christopher is perfectly correct in his view of the advantages of co-partnership to his class. Properly applied, as Sir George Livesey discovered, it makes strikes impossible and trade unionism futile. Under co-partnership every workman becomes a shareholder in the concern. Generally he acquires the shares by way of bonus on extra energy or diligence, or in return for deduction from his wages. Once a shareholder, his interests, he feels, are bound up with those of his employers. Like Desdemona, he henceforth "sees before him a divided duty"—that which he owes to himself as co-partner in the business, and that which he owes to himself as workman, and the former—seeing that his employment, his very existence, depends upon the good-will of his employers—his co-partners—generally outweighs the latter. Thus, no matter how rigorous may become the conditions of his employment, no matter how exigent may be their demands, he must submit, he dare not revolt or strike. He is absolutely chained for life, or as long as the firm—of which he is a co-partner—can make a profit by employing him. When a term comes to that possibility, as come it must, he is turned adrift, just

as though he were not a co-partner at all. His co-partnership will not help him, except that, of course, he will be entitled to the dividend or interest on his share, or to the purchase price with which his co-partners, or anyone else, may choose to buy him out.

It may be that a frugal, industrious workman in favourable circumstances would acquire as much as a hundred pounds worth of stock in the firm in which he was employed. At 5 per cent.—the Furness co-partnership, I think, guarantees 4—that would bring him five pounds a year, or, say, a couple of shillings a week. Yet, for the sake of this 5 per cent. as co-partner, the fortunate workman would have to acquiesce in a reduction of 10 per cent. or more in wages if a fall in profits gave any excuse for such reduction. As a co-partner, he would be a capitalist concerned in conserving the profits of his firm, even though, as a workman, he was condemned to go short of food in order to safeguard his interests as capitalist! It is a splendid method for binding the workman to the capitalist with hooks of steel, this blessed co-partnership!

The idea which appears to have been in Mr. Balfour's mind, that co-partnership goes to the root of the existing industrial antagonism, or offers any solution to the social problem has, of course, absolutely no foundation. While strikes and lock-outs, as any other form of war and waste, are bad in themselves, they are essential to present-day economic conditions. It is only by all kinds of most woeful waste that the industrial machine is kept going. If it should be successfully adopted, and there is no reason why it should not be, Labour co-partnership will only serve to intensify labour, increase productivity and the consequent production of wealth, widen the disproportion between the wealth which labour produces and that which it receives, and immensely add to the numbers of the unemployed and to all the evils unemployment involves. That is why Labour co-partnership is a fraud upon the workers.

H. QUELCH.

AS A HINDU SEES "SOUL-AFFINITY" IN AMERICA.

To a foreigner in America, the most conspicuous word in use in the country is "soul-affinity." The term is constantly employed in common parlance. It boldly stands out in current literature. The daily newspapers frequently comment editorially on the institution and print elaborate feature articles, caricatures and portraits regarding it. The central figure of many a novel recently published is an affinity. The American man and woman are increasingly becoming dissatisfied with matrimony and are more and more beginning to cherish "soul-affinity" as an idyllic state.

Throughout the United States are scattered soul-affinity centres—"colonies," as they are familiarly called. A visit to one or more of these settlements, once made, is never forgotten and continues to form a characteristic reminiscence.

While engaged in studying sociological conditions in an American metropolis, a casual acquaintance suggested to the writer a visit to one of these colonies where none save "soul-affinities" dwell. The settlement was distant an hour's journey on the railway from the city. My acquaintance had taken the precaution to telegraph the head of the colony in advance of our arrival, and when we reached our destination a surry awaited us to take us to the headquarters.

The driver of the vehicle was a cross between a blonde and a brunette, with large hazel eyes and a slender but exquisitely-chiselled form, Grecian in its outline. When we had clambered into our seats, soft like a lullaby droned the young woman driver: "So!

Ho ! Then ! To the ' Home,' dearies—well, take your time, if that be your sweet will. You know what to do better than I. Fast—or slow—go, as the spirit moves you." In response to this appeal, the horses trotted onward with a rapid pace, despite the fact that the roads were muddy and in a bad state of repair. At one point the mud was so deep that the broad-backed, comfortable-looking farm horses refused to pull. The fair driver, with whose bonnetless head the wind was playing mad pranks over and over droned the formula in sing-song manner to incite the team to a fresh spurt.

We must have driven fully a mile and a half when we arrived at the settlement. It was dusk time. Dark shadows were deepening and creeping in. Hemmed by oak and hickory trees on the south and east, with a beautiful lake fronting the north and west, loomed a house, its magnitude and dimensions half-hidden by the faint winter twilight. The light was not strong enough to show the perspective ; but so far as the eye could see, a beautiful panorama spread before our vision. From where we alighted, only a wee bit of the lake was visible. The trees intercepted the outlook. Yellowed leaves intermingled with patches of dun, frosted grass. The trees were full of little fissures and crevices, for it was early in the year and not a vestige of green was observable on their brown trunks and bare branches.

Our fair guide conducted us into the house through the main entrance. In the interior decorations of this temple of " spontaneous love," a subtle undertone, subconscious in its effect but nevertheless forceful, appealed to the emotions. Through shuttered windows the light stole faintly, weirdly, suggesting mysteries. It was a ghostly light, so soft, so indistinct, so mellow, that it tempted the traveller to remain here in this lotus-land and dream life away in the arms of an " affinity." The walls were tinted with rich, warm colours. The furnishings were of the most

expensive character and up-to-date in every detail. Throughout the house, steam heat, gas light and hot and cold running water were available night and day.

When we arrived, the colony was gathered about the table partaking of the evening meal. The dining hall was on the main floor, and had an immense bay window and an old-fashioned fireplace. The chief point of attraction in this room was the beautiful mosaic floor, in which red and white tiles, artistically blended, produced an enchanting effect. Everyone, without exception, belonging to the "Home" was at the supper table. The meal over, one or two filed into the "smoking den" on the second floor. This was a capacious, well-ventilated room. Others, clad in loose, flowing garments, reclined on long, narrow couches in the corridors.

I observed that the head of the colony was held in a worshipful attitude by the men and women around him. The words he pronounced were listened to in silent adoration. His presence appeared to send forth a magnetism that enslaved the people that had gathered around him, and enthralled them. I could fairly see the inmates of the colony in a bowing posture at his feet. Men as well as women had the same infatuation.

My impression of the place when I first went there was that the "spirit moved" the inmates to do what they pleased—in any manner and at any time they wished to. I was not there long when I discovered that this idea was merely a drag-net thrown out to attract converts to the outre cult—a blind to dupe outsiders. Every morning the men and women gathered around the "Central Figure" and he apportioned to them the various household and farm tasks—which they faithfully carried out during the day. The orders were given in a sweet, gentle manner which took the sting out of them. It was plain, however, that if the "spirit" moved at all, it moved this "Central Figure," which, in turn, influenced the others. It appeared to

me to be the old, old story of a shrewd, cunning person hoodwinking persons in the name of God.

This became more apparent as the days went by. I slowly learned that he was the pivotal point of the place. All the women in the household were "passionately" in love with him. There was a good deal of bickering, jealousy and heart-burning which formed the undertow of life at the "Home." It was well glossed over—so that no stranger could even suspect that it lurked there. The whole place appeared to me in the light of a harem, so common in the Orient, with one essential difference. Morality is largely a matter of miles. Polygamy is legal in Asia; illegal in America. Who would dream of the existence of a place in the very heart of Christendom where, around a single male magnet, six female affinities were tenaciously hanging, engaged in a fight to supplant each other in his "affections."

After I had resided in the colony for several weeks the solution of this problem came to my mind. I had grown intimately acquainted with every male member of the "Home," and carefully studied their individual characters. All of them seemed to me to be mediocre men, with strong, supple bodies, but uncultivated, unrestrained minds. Some of them had lived in the city; one or two, I learned, had spent all their lives in large towns. But they were chasing after the simple life. They had voluntarily shorn themselves of refined tastes. They had adopted the uncouth ways of farmer-folk—coarse talk, rough dress and a devil-may-care mode of life. They were not unintelligent. Rather, they were half-intelligent. Their minds were not blanks. They were filled with undefined, muddled pictures. They were prejudiced in favour of some things—against others—not open to receive impressions regarding any subject. As I lived there I realised that these men had a great repugnance for talk of the outside world. They read nothing but stories in cheap, trashy magazines or dime novels.

Their minds impressed me as being like a sheet of paper on which a baby has wielded with untrained hand, a pen, "as the spirit moved it."

No wonder then that the female members of the colony, with the exception of two, doted on the person who founded the cult. One of these exceptions was his own sister, who was the mother of a boy and a girl by two different members of the colony who, one after the other, had won their way into her affections. The other was the mother of the woman who had driven the writer from the *dépôt* to the "Home," and who was looked up to by the other members of the cult as queen of the soul-affinity lodge.

My impression of "affinity," up to this time, was that it belonged not to the sensuous, and that "soul affinities" were much superior to ordinary human beings—not influenced by such a petty passion as jealousy. But, at this settlement the truth came home to me that human nature, after all, is like an "old dog." It takes time to learn new tricks, to change old habits—especially habits of thinking. These women at the "Home" might have said: "The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak."

To return to the thread of the narrative—what was in the man that infatuated other men and women? As the days passed by this question became more and more interesting. In the group there was a woman whom everybody addressed as "Kate." She was well-advanced in years. Her hair, originally chestnut-coloured, was streaked with silver. Her face was faded and her cheeks somewhat wrinkled, but her figure reminded one of the heaving and hissing of the sea when the Northern winds in their majestic fury churn the waters. This woman possessed considerable versatility, an extraordinary wit, a rare presence, and, her interest once evoked, was a brilliant conversationalist. She had been an osteopathic practitioner and had graduated from a University. She had been a professor of Latin and Literature in a

Western College. I asked her, one day, point-blank, what, in the head of the colony, most appealed to her. "His cosmic consciousness," was her immediate rejoinder. When pressed to explain what this phrase signified, all she could say in elucidation was that he knew more about "Cosmic Consciousness" than Dr. Maurice Bucke, the author of a famous book by that name. This fine specimen of womanhood had left her position, friends, admirers and a large and paying professional practice and transferred herself and her property to a man in whom something elusive, unexplainable, enslaved her.

I plied my questions to the other "affinities," but met with no better success. They talked as if they were in a glamour—like unto a person who, under a strong hypnotic spell, eats a raw potato and, unaware of the laughter of the public, gleefully—and one may say, gratuitously—retails the information that he is relishing a finely-flavoured apple.

The only explanation that appears feasible is that the abnormal restrictions placed upon woman in America, as elsewhere, warp her character, stifling expression here and inducing an hysterical tendency there. She is at once half-starved and over-stimulated. Liberty is becoming the slogan of these unfortunate creatures. The search for liberty is luring many women—and many men—into leading lives of license and promiscuity and is producing tragic results. Liberty, it may be pleaded, cannot be had without this price. To witness the pitfalls into which men and women in quest of liberty find themselves hurled, causes a thinker to soliloquise: "Maybe, 'tis true. And pity 'tis, 'tis true."

I have talked with scores of votaries of "soul-affinity" and found that their effort is for liberty, but the weight of heredity holds them down. Their endeavours appear frenzied—and, in the last analysis, prove impotent. They seem unfit for the struggle. The influence of their ancestry and of the environment

in which they have grown to manhood and womanhood, is like a huge mill-stone fastened to their necks, making their frantic efforts to swim against the tide of public opinion unavailing and disastrous.

In practice, "soul-affinity" is so barren that I know of numerous men and women who even believe in *invisible* mates. The desire to materialise an "astral affinity" is apt to make a woman "see things." It is positively dangerous. She is liable to say things she would not dream of saying if she had her mental balance. She is in danger of a nervous breakdown. When the fevered brain reaches a certain temperature it makes the woman compromise herself by word and action.

There is something ineffably sad about the believer in an "invisible affinity." Her step is airy, but not with the spring of health. Her cheeks have a hectic hue that reminds one of a person in the early stages of tuberculosis. In her eye there is a twinkle—that should not be seen outside the institutions where the insane are cared for. Her talk is of the hereafter, and, as a natural consequence, her children are ragged and filthy. Her rooms—for hardly ever does such a character have a home of her own—are constantly in disorder—her here and now are consigned to the domain of negligence.

I used to consider her a pest. That, however, was unjust on my part. I have as much right to call the irresponsible a plague. A woman of this calibre is too much exposed to the wiles and guiles of the unscrupulous to merit being reproached or spoken of lightly. Her heart is like a rubber band. She attempts to expand it to the utmost. She does this until she hears a snap and beholds, in agony, that the "band" has broken. Sometimes she checks herself in time—her heart is not broken—but it is terribly lacerated. In healing it is apt to develop "proud-flesh." Drugs and drinks she applies as salves, but they prove ineffectual. She turns in the impotence

of her rage, to some "wise man in the East." He appears, at first sight, god-like, loving, gentle. He pretends he would much rather have nothing to do with the woman—"The world, you know, is so funny; it sees smoke where exists no fire." The woman begs, beseeches, pleads. The Oriental "Mahatma" reluctantly gives in. He condescendingly promises to give her "thrills"—by holding her hands and looking into her eyes—somewhat after the fashion of static electric treatments, I fancy—and then charges her \$2 a "sitting" for each and every "thrill."

To a matter-of-fact man, such a proceeding strongly smacks of the ludicrous. But nothing that has anything to do with the breaking up of a home or of a heart seems funny to those immediately concerned.

At one of the places where "love finds spontaneous expression" lives a woman who stands before me in memory as I write this. Hardly 25, her almond-shaped eyes of uncertain colour, her cheeks of a fine texture wherein the alabaster and the rose have been artistically blended, her tall, graceful form, symmetrical in proportion and perfect in contour, her delicately chiselled nose and chin, her thinly-lined brows and her alluring forehead with its gentle slopes vanishing in soft curls of brownish-black hair, with her peculiar smile and the intelligent though somewhat mischievous twinkle in her eye, form an ensemble that is rarely seen. The daughter of a Methodist minister, readings of Byron, Browning, Shelley and Whitman, at the dawn of puberty, perturbed her consciousness. At this stage a young man with a short and slim physique suggestive of a panther and with a brain to match it, appeared on the scene. Of a persuasive address, he prevailed upon the girl, just budding into womanhood, to abandon her parents. To a "soul-affinity" colony the two repaired and were admitted.

When I last saw her she was sitting on the green grass, vacantly looking into a stagnant pond. I

noticed that the light had gone out of her eyes. Her smile was soul-less ; her talk mediocre and tinged, in a measure, with cynicism ; her trust in human nature all shattered. The young man who beguiled her out of the home of her childhood sat not many feet away, with his right arm around the waist of a coarse-featured, coarse-mannered woman of forty-five — his new "affinity," talking simultaneously with his mouth, eyes, and disengaged hand. I took in the whole situation at a glance. At first I was inclined to pooh-pooh "soul-affinity" and consider it a great comedy. But when my eyes met those of the love-lorn lass, I did not need the assistance of Röntgen rays to read what was passing in her mind. The ludicrous in my nature that, a moment before, had bubbled up and whose froth had mounted to my very lips, suddenly subsided. The recollection of that panorama, so long as it lasts—and there is no danger of its ever being effaced—would never permit me to look upon "soul-affinity" as a comic proposition.

SAINT NIHAL SING (of India).

SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUALISM.

An inquiry into and examination of the premises and position of the so-called individualist is at this time pre-eminently desirable, and would, we think, not only prove interesting but also of value to the Socialist propagandist. The individualist and the Socialist hold views and conceptions of humanity and society that are irreconcilable, and as widely divergent as the two poles, and each, consequently, employs methods of reforming or revolutionising society that are antagonistic and contradictory. The Socialist position, based as it is upon social ownership, and social instead of individual activity, has but to be mentioned to wring from the individualist the responsive cry of impracticability. "It's impossible," he says, "and contrary to human nature." Then what is the cause, and whence the source of such responses? They arise from the before-mentioned conception of things. The individualist position has been well stated as follows: "The individual is the creative cause of social conditions, governments, institutions and social changes; we will never have perfect institutions until we have perfect men; systems follow, they do not go in advance of men; Socialism is impossible, because it proposes to perfect men by first perfecting governments and institutions whereas it should seek to perfect governments and institutions by first perfecting men." That, we contend, is a fair, though perhaps not comprehensive, statement of the argument of our opponents, and we are bound to admit that, superficially, it is very attractive, and one which the Socialist convert who is yet but a sentimental Utopian individualist will find very difficult of repudiation, if, in fact, he is not admonished and overwhelmed. A study of the two

attitudes, therefore, is essential. That the statement given above rests upon a sandy foundation is easily demonstrable. To show that it is contrary to all history and experience, is equally facile. We are told by the individualist that Socialism is impossible because it presupposes the extinction of selfishness and the dominance of altruism, a spirit of concession and self-sacrifice, and, by the presentation of statements such as these, we are forced to the conclusion (admitted by some of our opponents) that man's inherent tendency is not for good but for evil.

The individualist, therefore, has no faith in the human nature he so glibly talks of; and yet, in substantiation of our own theses, we cannot be amazed thereat, for it must be remembered that, after all, this seemingly slavish apotheosis of the individual, and this unfounded belief in man's inherent qualities and propensities, can but be expected from individuals who have lived in a society which has, up to the present time, regarded the preacher and the teacher as the only creative element in society. The existence to-day of the temperance reformer and the parson provides ample confirmation of the theories stated for individualism. Changes in individuals and in societies are by them erroneously attributed to the spread of ideas emanating from the minds of individuals or sects, while the real driving force, the dominating factor—namely, the state of the economic conditions—is discarded, or, rather, never even taken into consideration. Retaining his belief in the powers of appeal to and by the individual, and in the viewpoint that the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought in men's minds, the individualist recites stale nursery stories of how George Washington freed the country, and how, also, in America Abraham Lincoln freed the black slaves, whereas the facts clearly show that the causes behind the emancipation of the negroes were fundamentally economic. The conclusions of our best historians totally harmonise with the view that the discovery of America by

Columbus was directly in the line of economic causation, and people of intelligence deny the fairy story usually adduced in this connection. Cannibalism ended when it was seen to be of economic advantage to enslave rather than eat the captives, and so also did chattel slavery cease as a result of changed economic conditions.

It is this regard for, and consideration of, the individual as the unit in society which has to be set against the consideration of society as the unit and the cause of life. It is from these bases that the respective adherents commence. Evil conditions and bad surroundings are by the individualist directly attributable to the inherent and unavoidable defects in human nature, and he therefore seeks to palliate by appeal to the individual. The Socialist, realising that human beings are, and can only be accordingly as the social, economic and industrial conditions determine, directs his energies to limiting, curtailing and modifying those conditions. The one is merely a reform, whilst the other, aiming as it does at the complete upheaval of existing society, is essentially a revolution. All history goes to show that the constant changes which have taken place in men and in societies have been but the reflection of the altered economic conditions. The individual has been, and is, moulded from the outside, and when the individualist speaks of the impossibility of Socialism, because it means an alteration in human nature, when he avers that systems follow and do not go in advance of men, he exhibits an unpardonable disregard of facts. More than this, he is unscientific. Science is conclusive in its illustrations that when an organism fails to adapt itself to surrounding conditions it must inevitably perish. It is the same with man and with societies, and if we are to "alter human nature," then the only way is by altering those dominative economic conditions and circumstances we have referred to.

Let us briefly consider what is this "human nature" about which our critics have so much to say. Every

different civilisation and social order has reflected in its people its own particular type and quality of human nature, but throughout history there have always been discernible certain characteristic qualities common to all systems of society. The following apposite quotation by a writer on this subject splendidly amplifies this :—

The two recognisable properties of “human nature” that persevere from the lowest to the highest development, and under all conditions, are :

(1) That men will struggle to the utmost under any given condition to live, and

(2) That man will conform his nature to any condition that is not absolutely destructive in order to live.

These facts can be verified by a perusal and study of the evolution and constitution of previous social conditions, and such a study also clearly shows the individual to be but the reflex and the result of these altered civilisations ; and therefore the generalisations of the individualist are, by the facts of history, ignominiously refuted and disproved. The Socialist's position is based upon and backed up by both science and history. It is too late in the day for the individualist to say that, after all, it is a matter of opinion. Socialism depends upon nothing so flimsy or versatile, but is capable and ready to take its trial before time's unerring tribunal, fully confident that by virtue of its belief in human nature, and recognition of past experience and existing facts, it can triumphantly withstand the most astute cross-examination, and always depend upon the support of those ubiquitous witnesses, history and science. To charge Socialism with leaving out of reckoning human nature is surely the height of folly, for by its doctrine of social transformation by revolution and determination to destroy such a set of conditions as make it impossible for the highest and noblest traits in humanity to operate and function, it is the only movement or institution which stands to vitally affect human nature. Socialism is more than a political movement. It is, in addition, a scientific

analysis of the social structure, and it is open to all who care to make this analysis to see laid bare the commonly accepted fallacies that great men, individuals, through the power of their personality, are the root causes of economic changes and the propellers of the human race. They may then agree with Dietzgen "that human salvation depends upon material work and not on theological moonshine, and that Socialists, therefore, look for salvation not so much to religious or ethical preaching as to the organic growth of social development."

It were as sane to preach a high standard of morals to the twentieth-century rack-renter as to ask the Esquimaux to abandon his furs and fatty foods and adopt the habits of the equatorial African. Each must adapt himself to outside circumstances, or perish, and for the individualist to preach honesty, the parson to preach purity, and the Quaker to advocate truthfulness to the present-day God-fearing grocer can be but a huge farce. The grocer, likewise, is but the reflection of an environment and a set of conditions which force him, say after regular and punctual attendance at church or chapel on Sunday, to dole out to his every customer adulterated articles of food for human consumption the whole of the week following. His honesty and truthfulness, then, are negligible quantities, and his purity, like that of his commodities, has been sacrificed on the altar of profit.

There is one other important misconception of which the individualist is guilty, and that is his absolute regard for the persistence of the individual element in future society. Here, again, our friends fail to notice the signs of the times. They fail to take cognisance of the fact that as man progressed from savagery to civilisation he became ever less centred in himself and ever more and more a social being. By his examination of history the Socialist has observed many drastic changes, all of which have to an extent affected conditions. But further than this, he has observed that the inevitable tendency is in the direction of social and

not individual effort. The trustification of industry, even though it be a social effort only as far as concerns our economic masters, the capitalists, comes about entirely through economic pressure. The same can be said of many other new phases of capitalistic co-operation. Individual competition is being eliminated. Great agglomerations of capital are coming together. Economic evolution doggedly keeps on, and those who cannot function in conformity therewith are irretrievably left. It now decrees that the capitalist must get bigger or "bust," and it is clearly obvious that no such decree comes from the individual, heavenly or otherwise, but is dictated by stress of circumstances.

We find, then, that the conclusions and assumptions of the individualist that "Socialism is contrary to human nature and is therefore impossible," are, when examined and contrasted with hard stubborn facts of history, impotent and worthless. The importance of the growing acceptance of the evolutionary outlook on humanity cannot possibly be over-estimated. That it is undoubtedly growing is a consolation which the scientist and the sociologist can mutually accept. Its growth can but sound the death-knell of that anarchic individualism, with its doctrine of desperation, its entire lack of faith in human nature and its sordid pessimism and perspective, and herald the advent of that social consciousness, the offspring of clear, conscientious thought and intelligent appreciation of the lessons of history and the demonstrations of science, which lead along the only rational highway to a proper understanding of the relationship between nature and the individual. The bread-and-butter question is the root question—it is the mightiest factor in the universe—the rapid outpourings and "superfluous rhetorical confectionery" of the so-called individualist to the contrary notwithstanding.

SAM. DAWSON

WHY NOT A CHANNEL TUNNEL ?

In considering the question of the advisability of constructing a tunnel under the Straits of Dover, one is immediately confronted with the difficult problem of the character of the dominant classes of the people of Great Britain. Excluding the Russian bureaucracy, there is not a more insolent and bigoted type to be found throughout civilisation. The conduct of our rulers during the last century, has shown this to be the case, but, for the benefit of any who may be inclined to doubt or to dispute the statement, it is suggested that they observe that the average Britisher is actually proud of his racial defects, calling them by such cant phrases as "British Pluck" and the like, and that he is unable to appreciate Mark Twain's gentle sarcasm that the British are foretold in holy writ by the words, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." That this difficulty will, however, be eventually overcome, the writer has no doubt.

At our advanced stage of civilisation it is a disgrace that two of the world's finest capitals, situate not 220 miles apart, should be separated by such an obstacle as the sea journey from Calais to Dover, which to many persons is prohibitory, and which makes the distance incapable of accomplishment in less than six and a half hours. Considered in the abstract, moreover, it would seem, at first sight, a matter for wonder that the tunnelling of the Channel has not yet been effected. But on closer examination the reason becomes clear. For some hundred and fifty years the civilised peoples of the whole world have been actuated

by the teaching of what is known as the "Manchester School"—"Let each struggle for himself, and let the Devil take the hindmost." And as a consequence of this there have been but very few State undertakings with regard to works of real benefit to mankind, the principal national achievements having been useless, nay, worse than useless construction of huge armies and navies. Thus, neither the French nor the British Government will attempt the tunnel—because there is no profit to be made.

Any member of the ruling classes of either country, if questioned as to the reasons for the absence of the tunnel in this year of grace 1908, will reply, and with truth, that there is no money to be gained with any degree of celerity from such a huge undertaking as its construction would involve; that the initial cost of blasting, and of trains, is too great for a private company to risk, and that the people of either shore are too short-sighted to vote the necessary capital to their respective governments. And, not content with these, he must add the absurd objection of a possible invasion. This last is a strong indictment of modern civilisation, and it will be again referred to at the end of this paper.

The remarks preceding and following the present paragraph were written away from books, and this paragraph will be their impartial judge as to the truth of the opinions expressed. In Harmsworth's *Encyclopædia* the following information will be found. The first man to suggest submarine travel between England and France was a certain M. Mathieu, who proposed to Napoleon I. to make a road under the English Channel, the traffic to be performed by horses; military affairs, however, rendered the idea barren. In 1867, William Low, an Englishman, also theorised on the subject. In 1872, a capitalist company was actually formed and called itself the "English Channel Tunnel Company." It commenced operations at both ends, and succeeded in making holes over a mile in length. The *Encyclopædia* adds,

" But English military authorities have stoutly opposed the tunnel, because it would make increased defensive precautions necessary, and Parliament has refused to sanction the scheme. "The Channel Tunnel Co.," together with the Paris Chamber of Commerce, have, however, again discussed the question, as late as 1904.

The British, as already hinted, bolster up their self-satisfaction in every way. In the yellow press, the music-halls, the churches, the public-houses, and at political gatherings there is an element, the description of which may best be expressed by the one word "jingoism." In practice they publicly flog editors whose opinions differ from their own ; they support the theft of whole countries belonging to weaker Powers—and then they shrink from the idea of a Channel Tunnel from fear of invasion !

It remains, therefore, for the non-ruling class, the proletariat of all nations, entirely to emancipate itself to the extinction of all others. That done, the Channel will be tunnelled as an incident among many to be accomplished by humanity for humanity's good.

EDWARD BRITTEN.

THE MONTH.

The Autumn Session certainly affords food for argument for anti-Parliamentarians. For all that it has accomplished in practical legislation—good, bad, or indifferent—it might just as well not have been held. The Licensing Bill, to carry which was the main reason for the Autumn Session, was unceremoniously thrown out by the Lords; and the supplementary measure, the Education Bill, which was to have settled the “religious” difficulty in elementary schools, had to be withdrawn. It has, indeed, been a barren session.

The Lords are certainly to be congratulated on throwing out the Licensing Bill; it would have been little short of infamous for a plutocratic legislative chamber like the House of Peers to pass a Bill the sole object of which was to curtail the liberty of working people to do what they like with their own leisure and their own earnings. It is precious little freedom the workman has. In most of his working hours he is a mere machine, a wage-slave, enslaved by the poverty which compels him to spend most of his time in ill-requited toil for the benefit of others. It is rather hard that he should not be free to enjoy in his own way the very limited leisure in which he has any freedom at all, and the scanty earnings won by his own toil.

There is every reason to fear, however, that it was not out of any regard for the liberty of the working-class, but rather concern for their own property which led the Peers to throw out the Licensing Bill. That does not lessen our gratification at the defeat of the Bill, but it relieves us of any sense of gratitude to the Peers. They objected to the clauses of the Bill which proposed to practically abolish the rights of property in licences in fourteen or twenty-one years. More logical than the Labour members of the House of Commons, they recognised that if this could be done with one

kind of property, which has been approved of for ages, as a legitimate form of investment and exploitation, there is no sound reason why it should not be done with any other kind of property. Hence their hostility to the Bill.

With regard to the sumptuary clauses, however—the reduction of the hours during which public-houses could be open, the increase from three to six miles of the distance from home at which a traveller could get a drink, the prohibition of the use of a public-house as a place of rest and refreshment, through the exclusion of women and children—all these measures, it is understood, many of the Lords who voted against the Bill would be prepared to support.

The provision for the exclusion of children from public-houses Lord Monkswell now proposes should be included in the Children's Bill. On this point, a letter in the "Times" recently put the case very well as follows: "Suppose parents, out with children, perhaps miles from home, desire refreshment, where are they to get it except at licensed houses, and what are they to do with the children while they are getting it? Do not the children need refreshment? They have mouths, and are, we suppose, hungry and thirsty at times. In licensed houses they can have food, tea, lemonade, beef-tea, etc. In case of bad weather, cold and rain, they require shelter. Where are they to go except to licensed houses? Can they go into an ironmonger's, a draper's, or any other shop? We think not. Where else but into licensed houses can they go for rest when tired, for lavatory accommodation, or shelter from the weather? This Bill makes it impossible for the workingman and his wife ever to take a day's holiday in the country or at the seaside with their children. The parents will even be unable to go together, they have no nurses to attend their offspring, and they cannot leave them alone at home."

These are points which evidently did not occur to the highly respectable members of the Labour Party who supported the Licensing Bill, and who will probably support this amendment to the Children's Bill. Such considerations are as little likely to affect them as the bourgeois framers of these puritanical proposals.

The Parliamentary Labour Party may, however, be led to reconsider their position with regard to this and other measures, by the

decision of the Appeal Court that it is illegal for trade union funds to be used to provide maintenance for Parliamentary representatives. If this decision is enforced it will compel the Labour Party to appeal to a wider circle than they have hitherto done, as they will have to depend for their support upon voluntary contributions.

We have always urged the trade unions to take political action, and had always supposed that a trade union could apply its funds to any purpose, not in itself illegal, to which the members had agreed, and which was provided for in its rules. And this has been practically universally held to be the case for many years. To read some of the nonsense which has been written on this subject since the decision was given, it might be supposed that the use of trade union funds for political purposes was entirely unknown until the Labour Party was formed. Instead of which, the miners' unions have paid their Parliamentary representatives for more than twenty years; and have, in some instances, subscribed heavily for the maintenance of Liberal party organisation in certain districts. It is only now that the Labour Party exists as a distinct group, and there is a fear of Labour members becoming entirely independent of the Liberal Party, that it is discovered to be illegal for unions to enforce payment from their members for political purposes.

In spite of these facts there appears to be a general consensus of opinion among legal authorities that the judges are right in their interpretation of the law. In that case the A.S.R.S. will be ill-advised to appeal to the House of Lords, as it is reported to intend doing. Nor would it be wise, we should imagine, for the Labour Party to seek to amend the law in order to be enabled to enforce political payments in a trade union. It would be far better for them to rely for their political funds upon the voluntary contributions of the members who are in sympathy with their work.

One good result of this line of action would be that there could no longer be a fictitious claim to representation on the part of the Labour Party. We are very often told that the members of the Labour Party are the "real" representatives of the working-class. They represent over a million of organised workers, whereas Social-Democrats have scarcely any right to speak at all, as they represent a mere handful. It is forgotten that the "mere handful" organised in the Social-Democratic Party, subscribe for specific political and

propagandist purposes, derive no material benefit whatsoever from their contributions, and are, in the majority of cases, also financial members of a trade union. On the other hand, the majority of the members of a trade union take no active interest in political action, they mainly merely acquiesce. The majority do not even vote for those whom they support with their contributions. If these contributions are to be entirely voluntary those who are in sympathy with Labour representation on a distinct class basis will alone subscribe, and they only will be the people represented, whether they form a majority or minority of the unions.

It will be found, we imagine, that a much larger number will subscribe than might at first be anticipated. The present Labour Party is much more the result of a movement of the rank and file than any similar formation in the past has been.

While we think the Labour Party would get more from voluntary contributions than might be expected; it is quite certain that the unions will at once cease paying the levies as at present arranged. In this connection there is one aspect of the subject which has not, we think, been generally noticed, namely, the assistance given to candidates in municipal elections, and also the payment made for time lost by Labour men in serving on municipal and local governing bodies. We have knowledge of two union executives who have already sent round notices to their branch secretaries stopping immediately all payments for these purposes. One case is rather amusing. The levy had only just recently been increased, and the new rules been printed and sent out for circulation, but now these have been hastily withdrawn.

Another good result of the present situation is that the Labour members are likely to drop that hostility to payment of members and of official election expenses which most of them appear to manifest. So long as they were sure of getting payment from the unions they preferred that there should be no State subvention which would make it possible for poorer and less fortunately placed men than themselves to be elected.

One of the most important events of recent times was the Conference held on Unemployment at the Guildhall on December 4

and 5 under the auspices of the National "Right to Work" Council. It was specially significant by reason of its representative character, and the comprehensive nature of the resolutions adopted. The three hundred delegates were mainly representative of municipal bodies, and the resolutions, if practically applied, would go far towards the complete reorganisation of industry.

Some of our friends deprecate the agitation and organisation of the unemployed. They are, however, mistaken in their notion of what this latter means. We do not mean the organisation of the unemployed into battalions of "hunger marchers," or anything of that sort. What we have in view is the organisation of the *labour* of the unemployed on useful productive work, with the best appliances on a national scale, and a co-operative basis, in order that they may be self-supporting and be removed from the competitive labour market altogether.

If that were done there can be no question that it would strike at the very foundations of the capitalist system and pave the way to a complete social revolution.

THE PEASANTS OF FRANCE.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR THE SLAVES OF THE LAND?

Those who do not leave the towns, or whose lives are passed in such rural districts as are traversed by the various means of communication, have no idea that there are parts of France where the peasant world vegetates, agonises and dies under the most deplorable social conditions.

In Brittany as in Cantal, in Lozère as in Creuse, in the Ardèche as in the Landes, thousands and thousands of farmers, metayers, small proprietors and country workmen are banned by civilisation.

One must have traversed Morbihan, Finistère and Cantal as I have been doing lately, to have any idea of the misery of the peasants.

Lost in the bush-wood, in the midst of bracken, broom and half-grown oaks which cover a rugged soil, the Breton peasant inhabits a miserable little hut where people and animals dwell side by side. Not only does the stable open into the house, but only a simple barrier separates the pigs and cows from the inhabitants; and while the former are enjoying themselves at the trough and at the manger, the others are eating in common with wooden spoons, a sort of tainted pap made of fried black corn, water and salt.

It is easy to understand the hygiene—there is none. The floor is the beaten earth; there is a bad smell from animal excrements; a window, not bigger than a human hand, illuminates the interior; a rude wooden table scarcely planed, and some rough wooden seats, form the whole furniture. To warm themselves, the family crowd together in the wide chimney-corner, where some large logs of oak are smouldering, unless an armful of dried bracken is flaming there, while the sea-wind moans lugubriously across the neighbouring heath.

Fertile land is only represented there by little squares of earth the size of a pocket-handkerchief, enclosed by ditches, barriers and hedges crowned by tops of underwood.

In fact, primitive conditions, as prehistoric and out of date as possible; one might believe oneself to be still in the stone age. Practically mere beasts of traction, with the cow which provides the milk. Everywhere there is black misery! Black as the bread of the country! Black as the rocks on which some attenuated flocks are looking for some non-existent grass.

In Cantal, that cultivated and elevated province, the same conditions. In company with Tourtoulon, I visited the department in every direction, from Champagnac to Mauriac, from Mauriac to Aurillac, from Aurillac to Murat, from Murat to Saint-Flour, from Saint-Flour to Massiac. I mounted the black marble plateaux where antique villages are perched. I traversed the mountains which

shut in the valleys of Lioran and l'Allagnon ; I followed the course of the Ceze and the plough-furrows of the pasture land dominated by the Plomb du Cantal, the Puy du Grion, the Puy Mary, the Puy Chavaroché, the Puy Niolent, etc. I went into the huts where the shepherds, far from all their fellow-men, live at a height of 1,200 to 1,600 metres, in the midst of their herds of cows and pigs—and everywhere in all these different surroundings, I found the same sadness engendered by suffering.

The Cantaliens seem to me to be even more miserable than the Bretons. The latter still can on certain days of the week, Sunday for instance, meet all together at the market-town in order to drink the traditional bowl of cider. Their means of communication being more numerous and less difficult than those of central Masif, allow of these weekly reunions.

But for the Cantal shepherd it is useless to think of anything of the sort. Exiled during six months of the year in his mountain habitation he is tied and bound there, and must devote all his time to his flock, of which one hears the bells dying away among the mountains, and to the manufacture of cheese, the only source of the country's revenue.

The hut is constructed of stone and is generally surrounded by pine forests. Built against the side of some mound of earth it is covered with enormous slabs of slate in order that the tempest which blows, or the snow which drifts in winter, should not carry away or destroy its roof. There is no window, the light and air enter by the door when it is opened.

On a basalt pavement enormous wooden basins, into which the milk is poured daily, stand in rows. Beside the press, which is covered with blocks of granite, is the pressed cheese, and a little further off are piled up the bundles of hay, all ready for the cattle. In a corner is an enormous block of stone which serves as a table, and on it is a loaf of bread as black as soot and as hard as flint.

It is there, isolated from all humanity, that the shepherd drags out his scarcely human existence, badly nourished, covered with rags, a greasy old hat on his head and rustic sabots on his feet. . . .

And then to think that the riches created by the work and by the exploitation of these men go into the pockets of the proprietor who, possessing land from the value of a hundred thousand to seven hundred thousand francs, lives fatly on the misery of those who occupy these huts lost in the chaos of the mountains !

The Socialist gospel is not heard in vain in these remote districts of France. The exploited and oppressed peasants understand, like their brothers in the towns, the need of a social transformation, and though the bourgeoisie may still dominate these poor people with all its political power and all its economic force, the labouring masses will shake off the yoke beneath which they are bent and will become masters of their own destiny.

Nothing will stop them. COMPÈRE-MOREL in "l'Humanité."

MILITARY REFORM.

METHOD OF WORKING.

Among the great reforms which demand the immediate and decisive action of the Socialist party, one of the most important, one of those expected most impatiently by the whole of France, and I must add, one of the most Socialistic, is, without doubt, military reform.

This is not only because the present professional army constitutes a constant danger by reason of the spirit of its regulations and its system of organisation, but for the sake of the Republic itself it is necessary that it should be transformed from top to bottom.

It is not only because it is, in the hands of the privileged classes and the reactionary Government which represents them, a formidable instrument for the brutal oppression and degradation of the people. It is at the same time and above all because, while it is a menace to the Republic as well as to the people, it only very inadequately fulfils the essential purpose of national defence.

The enemy of the Republic, the enemy of the people, how should it be capable of developing to their fullest extent the defensive forces of the nation whose historic and organic reason for existence is the total emancipation of the people through the Republic?

In this fundamental contradiction lies all the weakness of our present military organisation.

In the narrow limits of the professional army of former times, in the barracks where neither the most legitimate aspirations of youth nor the new conditions of positive warfare are recognised, with superannuated maniacal, dogmatic rules, irreconcilably opposed to all science and progress, all the vigour, all the daring, all the warlike qualities of forty generations of citizens have been crushed in an epoch when the actual struggle demands on the contrary that all the enthusiasm, all the initiative, all the capability of the awakened nation should be available—when the evolution of industrial and social science gives the greatest value to the personal qualities and initiative of the individual in combat.

Outside the nation there has been created a close corporation bound neither morally nor materially to the nation, condemned to live in and by itself . . . and yet it is hoped on the great day of mobilisation, that out of this narrow organisation, which during half a century of peace has denied, disintegrated, and outraged all the energies of the people, the armed nation can be made. What folly and illusion!

There is a great work, therefore, demanded of the whole proletariat, and the Socialist Party by which it is represented.

Behind, there as elsewhere, lies the sterile agitation and the formulæ of violence, which have no other effect than to consolidate the pretorian edifice!

The present army must disappear, first of all because it deceives the country, because it does not give it the external security that it needs, because it discourages its moral powers and squanders its material forces.

If the Socialist Party would kill militarism and arm the people it must fight it on its own ground, and formulate to the country the proposal of a new army which would really be the armed people.

The Socialist Party alone is qualified thoroughly to carry out this reform, according to the ideas discussed at Toulouse. For, if the great Radical Party has just now a very fine idea as to the necessity of a military transformation, it dreads such transformation by reason of its class interests. The Socialist Party alone is capable of rallying the whole democracy, both peasants and industrialists, round this important reform; and I would add that it will know how to bring it to a successful issue, and make it practical, because it possesses in an incomparable degree the instinct and knowledge of social evolution in all its forms, and because military evolution—which our high authorities do not doubt—is intimately related to the economic, scientific, and political evolution of the country.

On the other hand, the propagandists of the arming of the people will be able to count upon the long experience of twenty to thirty generations of citizens who have received the professional pretorian military education, and whose good sense has been able to appreciate the errors and brutalities to which they themselves had been subjected.

And let no one say that to prepare the arming of the people is at the same time to prepare war. It is only pretorian armies which prepare war. Armed nations ensure peace.

A great nation of forty million inhabitants, marching towards liberty, which desires peace, and which in consequence would know how to arm and to oppose all its moral and material forces against war, would be invincible, so obviously invincible that no one would even dare to dream of attacking it.

Finally, the great example that France would set the world by herself destroying the professional pretorian organisation bequeathed to her by the past, in order to create an army for territorial defence

properly so-called, to whom any doubtful adventures would be rendered impossible; this great example would have immediate international results, and would inevitably act upon the hotbeds of militarism abroad.

The first step towards general disarmament is the arming of the people. It would be the end of the intense irritations and the violent hatred between the nations; it would mean force being mistress of itself instead of provocation erected into a permanent institution; force at the service of social justice under the control and in the hands of the whole people.

Such is the task to which we invite all our comrades. Our method of working will be as follows:—

1. To define modern warfare, and to show it as it really is before the eyes of the public, and to remind them of the essential points in which it differs from the pretorian warfare of the past.
2. To study the organ of warfare which corresponds best to this real and scientific conception of war, and to point out the organic weakness of the present army.
3. To investigate practical methods immediately applicable to the transformation of the army without endangering the security of the country.

MODERN WARFARE.

Nations can become masters of their political as well as of their military destinies. The great warlike revolution of the nineteenth century is the logical consequence of the awakening of the popular conscience.

The defensive power of a people is in proportion to their strength of life and interior organisation, and no imperial genius could withstand a great nation self-conscious and organised, determined to live and to conquer.

But the people, when invading the battlefield, only modify their aspect in proportion to their emancipating will. They only increase their warlike strength; they only transform the conditions of the fight in the same limits in which they are capable of crushing tyranny at home: they can only develop by conquest of social justice and the patriotic sentiment—in one word, they can only realise, in the economic struggle and in the intellectual transformation, the rational equilibrium and the better growth of human activity.

The freeing and the growth of military institutions demand, therefore, the same work of transformation, the same effort of persistent and enlightened will, as the freeing of all social institutions.

When universal suffrage was decreed it did not constitute at once political liberty in its entirety. Frenchmen have only been conquering it gradually for a century.

In the same way, the right of insurrection, triumphantly proclaimed some times, has been stifled by militarism; but through the

successive modifications of warlike institutions this right alone causes these institutions to tend with mathematical precision toward the armed nation.

The armed nation is a real and permanent affirmation of the taking by the people of brute force; it realises at once the union of force and right, and a complete expansion of war institutions. This enables us to say that there is no real and permanent military force for a nation outside the general tendency of its evolution, and of the ideal which it tries to attain. For this evolution produces, on the one hand, those great revolutionary crises which mark the successive stages of social conquest, and, on the other hand, those outside struggles which affirm the rights of nations and of races. A victory is a revolution both in its origin, in its ends, in its methods, and in its forms; it is the triumphant revolt of the future over the past, the violent explosion of popular force, always changing, always growing.

The victory of the republican armies was one over the metaphysic of the 18th century, so was the Prussian war of freedom over the Napoleonic régime, as well as the German victory over the enfeebled French militarism—and all these victories may be considered to be revolutions. Victory is inseparable from evolution. In great national wars it is always men of advanced opinions who organise the collective forces and so bring about the victory.

It is, therefore, seen that war must depend absolutely on social evolution. It takes different forms and characteristics according to the degree of initiative and of audacity, or of torpidity and cowardice of the popular classes. The limits of its destructive power are conditioned by those whose aim it is to limit at home the work of justice, and of reason. This law of constant co-relation allows us to determine exactly the form of the military institutions of a free people. When we finally analyse the scientific and industrial revolution which has shown itself by large concentrations of men and of matter, and by the growth of a vast system of production and of exchange, we come to a cellular and organic revolution the laws of which are only seen by believers in science and in progress.

The social cell has undergone an evolutionary crisis, the increase of men and of warlike material corresponds to an analogous generative work. The military cell has entered into a new phase of transformation and of maturity, and just as reactionaries try to fetter us in the social forms of the past so do military reactionaries endeavour to bind us down in the narrow ideals of the old army. But they will fail, for these old worn-out organisms are out of date; they have no power, and barely live.

As the nation is making war against war, it must find new forces for the organisation and the struggle.

Commandant H. ROSSEL, in the "Aurélienité."

THE REVIEWS.

UNEMPLOYMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

Mr. Ellis Barker discusses the above in the current "Fortnightly Review." He says:—

At the present moment the question how to help the unemployed is on everybody's lips. It is generally agreed upon that unemployment is a grave social disease, that prevention is better than cure, that temporary assistance to the unemployed, in whatever form it is given, is not a remedy, but at best a very unsatisfactory palliative. If we wish to find a cure for unemployment we must study it in the same manner in which doctors study a disease.

Unfortunately, opinions differ as to the prevalence and extent of unemployment in this country. Some say that unemployment is an unavoidable evil, which is common to all industrial nations, and which afflicts Great Britain less than any other country. Others assert that unemployment is more severe and more widespread in Great Britain than in any other industrial State. In order to arrive at a correct diagnosis of British unemployment, we must first of all solve the question whether Great Britain suffers from unemployment in a mild or in a malignant and acute form. Therefore we must compare unemployment in Great Britain with unemployment in Germany and the United States, countries which, by the magnitude and the high development of their industries, can alone be compared with Great Britain.

PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG TRADE UNIONISTS.

Years.					In Germany per cent.	In Great Britain per cent.
1903	...	...	...	...	2.7	5.1
1904	...	...	...	...	2.1	6.5
1905	...	...	...	...	1.6	5.4
1906	...	...	...	...	1.1	4.1
1907	...	...	...	...	1.5	4.2
Jan. to June, 1908	...	...	...	...	2.8	7.4
July	...	...	...	...	2.7	8.3
August	...	...	...	...	2.7	8.9
September	...	...	...	...	2.7	9.4

It will be observed that during the period 1903-1908—the official German unemployment statistics were first issued in 1903—unemployment among trade unionists was, as a rule, from three to four times as large in Great Britain as it was in Germany.

The comparative tables given in the foregoing pages as to unemployment among German and British trade unionists . . . point unmistakably to the fact that employment is, as a rule, very considerably better in Germany than in Great Britain, and that, consequently, unemployment is less prevalent in the former than in the latter country. They point to the fact that, in consequence of better employment, the great mass of the working population is considerably better off in Germany than in Great Britain. The greater prosperity of the German working masses is eloquently proclaimed by the German Savings Bank statistics.

Let us now compare unemployment in Great Britain with unemployment in the United States:—

Unemployment in New York State.— Idle last day of March.			Unemployment in Great Britain.
Year.	Number.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1904 ...	103,995	27.2	6.5
1905 ...	54,916	15.1	5.4
1906 ...	37,237	9.9	4.1
1907 ...	77,270	19.1	4.2
1908 ...	138,131	35.7	7.4

The foregoing table shows that unemployment among trade unionists is habitually from two to six times as large in New York as it is in Great Britain. . . .

In the United States there are almost 20,000,000 wage-earners. The foregoing statistics relate only to from 150,000 to 400,000 workers, or from 1 to 2 per cent. of the whole wage-earning population. . . . It is worth noting that among the trade unionists who report on unemployment to the Labour Department of New York State, the workers engaged in the building trade and the clothing trade, two trades which are essentially seasonal trades, form by far the largest contingents.

Of late we have frequently been told that unemployment and consequent distress are very great in Germany and the United States. It is quite true that the United States and Germany have been, and still are, passing through an industrial crisis, accompanied

by a considerable amount of unemployment. It is true that in these two countries a great reaction has taken place; a reaction which was only to be expected after the prolonged and unprecedented boom which preceded it. However, there is a material difference between unemployment in the United States and Germany and unemployment in Great Britain. In Germany and the United States, full employment is the rule; in Great Britain it is the exception. In the United States and in Germany unemployment is usually unknown; in Great Britain it is permanent and it varies only in degree. Pathologically considered, the United States and Germany suffer at present from unemployment in an acute form, whilst Great Britain suffers from chronic and malignant unemployment which is constantly increasing, and which has lately become very acute. The fragmentary employment statistics relating to the United States are not a sufficient criterion to decide whether at the present moment unemployment is greater in America or in Great Britain, but the comprehensive employment statistics of Germany suffice to show that unemployment in that country is trifling if compared with unemployment in Great Britain, and that it is less severe at the present moment of acute unemployment in Germany than it is in Great Britain during times when unemployment is considered to be normal.



WOMEN WORKERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

B. Bagshawe writes on the above in the current issue of "World's Work." He says:—

English women have not advanced as far or as rapidly in the diversity or the multiplicity of their occupations as their American sisters, but of late years they have made rapid strides in many of the higher professions formerly reserved for men. Their influence has become more widely felt in circles where they were erstwhile entirely overlooked, and their footing has been made firm where it was until the last few years uncertain. The Government, seeing the valuable work women were doing in the unpaid departments of public life, in missions, in rescue work, in schools and in other directions, has found it advisable to call in their aid, an increasing number of women now being employed as sanitary inspectors and health visitors, as inspectors of factories, schools and workshops, work in which their tact and other qualifications make them specially fitted. These women inspectors are as yet few for the needs of the work they are doing, but their number is increasing. To check the abuses against which the public have called out in no uncertain terms, many London hospitals are now employing women as hospital almoners, and thus a new field of work, exercising a wide sphere of influence, has been opened to them. They have

come well to the fore in science, many having distinguished themselves in this direction, especially in research work, and some have entered the ranks of architects, a profession in which there was much need of women's services, for, being more in the home than men, they are better able to see the inconveniences of many existing household arrangements, and thus can suggest improvements which add to comfort and save labour. In the medical world much progress has been made; the lady doctor, who was not long ago a rarity, has now become a recognised institution, there being in London alone 92 practitioners, while in the United Kingdom there are at present close upon 600. It was only 26 years ago, in 1882, that women were first permitted to obtain medical degrees from the University of London, but several ladies are now possessed of the gold medal and other coveted marks of distinction.

. . . . Women are "specialising" more and more: the danger at present seems to be that in trying to advance too rapidly they overwork and break down in health.

SOME FIGURES FOR LONDON.

The female population in 1901 was 2,394,456; of this number 470,088 were under ten years of age, and 1,205,037 were unoccupied, making the percentage of female workers 31.63 per cent, or the comparatively small number of 719,331.

In spite of the reported dearth of domestic servants, nearly half this number, i.e., 328,337, are employed in a domestic capacity, or are domestic servants, laundry workers, charwomen or caretakers, the indoor servant representing 73.8 of this number.

The making and selling of dresses, hats, and other articles of apparel occupies 156,050 women, or 21.7 per cent. of the total occupied women.

Next in order of numbers come the 52,952 women engaged in professional occupations. A little more than a third or 38.4 per cent. of these are engaged in teaching in High Schools, Elementary schools or private families. Medical occupations engage 31.7 per cent., this heading including the lady doctor, the chemist, and something like 16,000 nurses, midwives, hospital nurses and private sick nurses. Art, music and the drama 21.6 per cent., 5,525 being musicians, teachers of music, and singers, 2,011 being actresses, and the remainder painters, engravers, sculptors, architects or photographers. 1.8 per cent. are found under the title of authors, editors, journalists, reporters and shorthand writers (not including business clerks), .3 per cent. are law clerks. The heading "Exhibition and Games," including professional acrobats, swimmers, tennis players, etc., engages .4 per cent., and the remainder are missionaries, nuns and workers of similar capacities.

Of the 20,285 women engaged in commercial life, 19,097 are clerks, the increase in the number of lady clerks in the decade from 1891 to 1901 being 181 per cent. This increase is seen chiefly in London, for over the whole of England and Wales (including

London) it is only .27 per cent. In professional occupations the increase in London is .2 per cent., and .12 per cent. over the whole country. The heading "Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages," includes the telegraph and telephone service, services which occupy the majority of the women referred to.

STATISTICS FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

The proportion of women engaged in a domestic capacity is smaller for the whole of England and Wales than for London, the proportion being about a third instead of nearly one-half. Of this number 45,711 are working in hotels, and 1,285,072 in other domestic capacities. The average wage, excluding board, lodging and allowances, is said to be £17 16s. per annum in London, and £15 10s. per annum in country districts.

The workers and dealers in dress are pretty evenly distributed throughout the country, a very large percentage living in their own homes. Their earnings are various, as this heading includes the women who do piecework for starvation wages, a proportion of the 450,000 (rough estimate) female shop assistants employed in the drapery and other stores, as well as independent dressmakers, their assistants and paid apprentices.

The textile workers are found chiefly in Lancashire, Cheshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, London and Leicestershire. The conditions of employment and the wages earned vary almost with each employer, but the average wage is probably from about 8s. to 10s. a week.

The heading "Food, Tobacco, Drink and Lodging" covers such a diversity of occupations that it is not possible to give any accurate details. In London in 1901 there were 7,211 unmarried and 421 married barmaids. In England and Wales the numbers were 26,235 and 1,472 respectively. This heading also includes the large number of waitresses in tea shops and restaurants. The women engaged in public-houses and hotels usually sleep on the premises, board and lodging being given in part payment of wages, the latter largely supplemented by tips.



DANGER IN INDIA.

Sir Edmund C. Cox (late Deputy-Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Presidency), writes the following, under the above heading, in the December "Nineteenth Century and After":—

It is always advisable to look facts in the face. To cry peace when there is no peace may be easy; but to do so is as futile as to plough the sand of the seashore. India is seething with sedition. That, in plain English, is the gist of the matter. In Indian

phraseology the voice of patriotism is abroad. Whatever there may be in a name, the facts in the rock-bed are identical. Indians (we may no longer speak of them as natives of India), so far as they possess an articulate voice, are tired of us, and desire to be done with us once for all. Minor grievances, be their sum and substance what they may, go for nothing; they merely fringe on this one and only cry, India for the Indians. Mr. Tilak, the spokesman of Western India, whose sympathy with bombs has led to his involuntary journey to the salubrious climate of Burmah, has stated in his writings and public speeches over and over again that nothing but complete independence will satisfy the aspirations of his countrymen. Self-government in the sense in which it is possessed by Australia, Canada and South Africa is a step which would meet with his august approval, always provided that it is recognised as a step and nothing more. And the fact must be grasped and admitted that this is the keynote of the situation. To the educated and patriotic Indian it is a matter of supreme indifference whether British administration in India is good, bad, or indifferent. It is sufficient to learn that it is foreign, and, in logical conclusion, must be got rid of. If bombs can hasten the process, by all means use bombs.

But let it not be supposed that the Indian, to whom we refer, will admit that there is anything good in British rule. If we are to believe all that he will tell us, the tyranny perpetrated from day to day by the Government and its servants, exceeds anything that can be conceived of existing in Russia. As compared with a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief Commissioner of to-day, Jenghiz Khan and Nadu Shah were ministering angels. Through the medium of the native press, the speeches of itinerant political agitators who traverse the length and breadth of the land, the circulation of leaflets, public and private meetings, and private correspondence from one end of the country to the other, it is impressed upon all concerned, or not concerned, that the British Government of India consists of men devoid of human feelings, destitute of conscience, honour, or morality, whose sole object is to wring the uttermost farthing from the most oppressed and miserable people in the world. It matters not what the Government does. Whatever it does—or, for the matter of that, leaves undone—it is always imbued with the most sinister of motives; and the cloven hoof is invariably discernible, be the action or inaction ostensibly ever so innocent. . . . Credulous, illogical, suspicious to a degree, the Indian is not unnaturally convinced that as the Government seldom, if ever, takes any steps to contradict these statements, to disprove these slanders, they must be true. . . .

And so goes on the work of exciting discontent and raising feelings of disaffection against the Government. It is not a difficult task to persuade a peasantry that Government, who is the landlord, is taking from them three or four times the rent to which it has any just claim. . . . For us the one fact that is patent, indisputable, and must be looked in the face is this, that sedition, discontent,

agitation—call it what you will—is not confined to the educated classes, but is surging over the whole of India, from Lahore to Rangoon, and Delhi to Tuticorin.



THE GERMAN ŒDIPUS.

Sidney Low writes under the above heading on the present situation in Germany. After referring to "the Kaiser's too-famous conversation in the 'Daily Telegraph'" as being "like a ray from an arc lamp suddenly turned upon a dark corner," he goes on to say:—

The "Kaiser Crisis" is not merely personal. It began that way; it rapidly developed into a question of political reconstruction. . . . It is as if the majority of Germans had become conscious for the first time of the full meaning of that monarchical absolutism round which the Empire has been built. They begin to understand, as perhaps they never did before, the significance and consequence of personal government. . . .

Young Germany flatters itself that it is building upon the British model. When the great new birth came after the French war, Germany hoped that it was shaking off the old traditions which had too long kept it weak and divided, and breathed into its lungs deep draughts of salt with the sea-wind. "Go to!" said its teachers. "Away with your dreamers, your poets, your hair-splitting metaphysicians, your philosophers, maun-dering in their garrets over the Absolute and Infinite. Let Fichte and Hegel rest on the shelves. Enough of them for the present. Be even as these Anglo-Saxons are: practical, effective, resolute; grow rich, grow strong, let the great hammers clang and the spindles rattle; let us go forth into the outer world, and remember that for us too 'Die Zukunft liegt auf dem Wasser.'" So it was. The Germans have made themselves our rivals, the most formidable we ever had. But it was a rivalry that had its roots in admiration.

But there is ambition, undoubtedly, and there is anxiety. These are the two passions which just now reign in the Teutonic breast. The restlessness, the malaise of Germany are due to these conflicting emotions. On the one hand, she is obsessed by a fervour of aspiration, of material progress, by a youthful eagerness to stretch the mighty limbs she has clothed in steel, and to find vent for the energies of the seething brain. To every nation, as to every man, there comes from time to time this yearning for self-realisation through action, the "Will to Power" of that new philosophy which

has succeeded the old idealism. We, too, say the Teutons, will have our share of the wealth, of splendour, of expansion, and none—not England nor another—shall hold us back.

But it is an error to suppose that it is sheer and mere “masterfulness” which animates the movement. Germany, like *Œdipus*, has to solve the riddle that the Sphinx of Destiny has set before her. She lies under an urgent necessity to expand, to find new outlets for her trade and her population, if she is to live comfortably, or if she is to live at all. . . . The annual increase of the German population is over 800,000; twenty millions (half the number of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom) have been added since 1875. Germany, like ourselves, is approaching the insular condition; she can no longer find food for her people without buying it abroad. Soon it will be necessary to fill half her mouths with alien corn. And this is a country with little wealth of natural products, with no superfluity of coal or mineral ores. She must somehow manufacture and sell at a profit sufficient wares to pay for the people’s food; or she must find means of employing these people, their muscle, brains and capital, beyond her boundaries.

INTERESTING EXTRACTS.

BERNARD SHAW'S "DOCTOR'S DILEMMA."

This has just been played for the first time in Berlin. The "Vorwaerts" reviews it as follows: One might take it very easily and say: This time Shaw is mocking at the medical world in all its different shades, from the conceited scientist who experiments with human life, to the charlatan and the ignorant practitioner. One might add: Of course the satirist here again lets his well-known moral paradoxes glisten, as, for instance, that so-called decent honest people in the best society may with all their morality still be scoundrels, "canaille," or, at the least, absurd bourgeoisie without any sense of the higher things of life, while the despised "immoralist," and poor devil who is apparently infected with every sort of vice, may in reality be the higher, more valuable and nobler man. Thirdly: Shaw brings a special judgment on the most celebrated of the "licensed murderers," the highly respectable Colenso, by doing him out of the fruits of a well thought-out murder, and by letting the despised rascal triumph over him even after death. But with all this one would not get to the bottom of the piece. For Shaw would take it as the greatest irony, were one to take the other side, which appears to have his sympathy, too seriously. Here all is flowing differently and nowhere can the poor listener find solid ground beneath his feet. Of course, the dialogue lets fly sparks of wit and devilry; of course, a superior and paradoxical intellect speaks all through, but the game goes too far, so far that it has caused the character-drawing and the building-up of a creditable drama to fall short. In the end we only hear Shaw mocking and see his fingers directing the marionettes, where we should like to see human beings.

Colenso, an honoured scientist (do not ask how or why), has discovered a new cure for tuberculosis. Ten persons can enjoy this blessing in his sanatorium. One room is still free. Shall he give it to an honest, poor colleague, or to a "reprobate" genius of an artist, whose sweetheart Jennifer pleads for him with all the enthusiasm of deep passion? The great man gives the artist over to certain death by leaving him to the care of one of his colleagues, a known charlatan. Why? Because he wishes to free the woman, who clings to the artist in blind love, from him whom he considers

a moral horror. For the "talented beast" despises the usual morals of the possessing class, is a bigamist, an opponent of vaccination (only think !), and declares himself a disciple of Shaw, who is here represented as the advanced man of to-day. That the beautiful Jennifer should fall to his own share, seems to the conceited Colenso a matter of course. As a matter of course, however, he does not get her, but Jennifer—O irony !—marries another. And the world-famed man who has killed her lover—but all *that* she would have forgiven him—has, at the end, to put up with her telling him that he is much too old and quite uninteresting to her. So the murder was really useless. And the dead artist whom Shaw lets triumph, even in death, over the whole lot of doctors and celebrities, as a higher being, continues to dominate the living ; Jenny sets up a glorified ideal of him, and finds, where others saw only a rascal, a greatness which must be honoured.

The difficult task of the actors was to give life and warmth to the Shaw spirit while still letting it have full play, and they did their best to do so. If they did not quite succeed it was not their fault.



"THE DIARY OF A LOST ONE."

This has lately appeared in an English translation, and the personality of its author, Frau Margarete Böhme, and of the heroine of the book, the unfortunate Thymian, have just formed the central point of a trial before the Court of Justice in Berlin. In No. 6 of an educational paper called "Schulblatt für die Provinz Brandenburg," edited by the Privy Councillor for Education, Schumann, in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, there appeared, under the title "Poisonous Plants," an article by a teacher named Hedwig Wagner, dealing with the "Diary of a Lost One." The article contained a sharp condemnatory criticism of the book, which, according to the writer of the article, breathed out from beginning to end decay and moral corruption, and being so widely read, chiefly by people incapable of forming a judgment, formed a grave danger. But the article dealt also with the person of Frau Margarete Böhme, alluding to her as a "former colleague" of Thymian, and as sharing the latter's ideas. It went on to say that Frau Böhme was now supposed to be separated from her husband, and living with her little daughter, letting herself be called "gnädige Frau," and writing novels. Another similar attack occurs in another part of the article. Frau Böhme therefore brought a libel action against Privy Councillor Schumann and Frl. Wagner. The Court in Charlottenburg condemned both to a fine of 30 marks. The Court expressed its full conviction that the accused had only acted from praiseworthy, noble motives, and had opposed the book especially in the interests of the young ; but they had exceeded their legitimate function, and had by their attacks on the authoress injured her, and made themselves liable. Both sides appealed against this judgment. Coun-

cillor Schumann has died in the interim, so that the case was this time only directed against Frl. Wagner, who is 72 years old, pensioned off, and seriously ill. The Court of Appeal decided that the first judgment must be sustained.



THE COLONIAL QUESTION IN BELGIUM.

The following is an interview between Vandervelde and Sorgue :—

Vandervelde : " You know that though, like my comrades, I have condemned the abuses and the crimes of capitalist colonisation, yet, as for nearly forty years the Congo was, de facto, a Belgian possession, I thought that it was better for us to assume the Government rather than to allow the present state of things to go on. Under that system King Leopold was absolute, and he could go on getting rich at the expense of the natives, and continue to permit the good name of Belgium being wronged.

" Therefore, I thought that we should abstain from voting on the question. But the Government, by compelling our country to take over the colony on certain terms, which were highly onerous to our country, compelled me to vote against them. To-day, however, the vote has been taken ; the independent State has ceased to exist, and Belgium has to govern the Congo."

Sorgue : " In these circumstances what do you think Socialists should do ? "

Vandervelde : Some of our friends think we need take no notice of what has been done, that whatever is spent in the colony will prevent us spending money at home, and that, therefore, we must not only vote against the Budget but also against any proposal which, though it might be good for the colony, would cost money. But I think, on the contrary, and so I believe do many Socialists, that we cannot thus ignore the interests of the natives of the Congo or of Europeans who are its servants."

Sorgue : " What about money to be voted ? "

Vandervelde : " Suppose it is a question of voting money for hospitals or to allow Europeans to return after two years instead of three years' service, I do not think we should refuse to vote the money. We must demand the abolition of forced labour and of the compulsory bringing in of rubber. If we refuse to do this we become the unconscious allies of King Leopold and of all those who wish to perpetuate the existing horrors. If Socialists do this they would soon be compelled to be on the side of the oppressors."

Sorgue : " Where is the money to come from ? "

Vandervelde : " I know that it is said that we cannot then spend money in Belgium, but people speak as if there was no means of obtaining money, as if they believed in the old ' wage theory.' But suppose that, in ten years, we spent £4,000,000 on the Congo. Why,

we spent that this year for new railway material and it did not ruin us, and I am sure that we shall get the money back, and if new taxes were levied that might enable us to turn the Government out."

Sorgue: "Do you think that there will be an agreement?"

Vandervelde: "I am quite sure there will be; we shall be agreed. We shall vote against the Congo Budget as we do against the State Budget. But we shall ask for reforms for the Congo just as we do for the Belgian workers. In doing this we shall act in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Stuttgart Congress in 1907, which said that in all countries having colonies Socialists must demand reforms, must defend the natives against capitalist oppression, and free them from slavery."—From "L'Humanité."



"IS CAPITAL TOO COSTLY?"

Extracts from an article by Walter Jones (an engineering manufacturer) in a recent number of the "Magazine of Commerce":—

1.—In considering this great national problem, two questions arise: (1st) Does labour receive its fair remuneration or is it exploited in the interests of capital? (2nd) Is usury unjust? If not, to what extent is it justifiable?

2.—Thousands of acres of land are owned by privileged individuals who would find it impossible to produce a clear title.

3.—I know of one case where a debt of £16,000 incurred by a municipality 80 years ago is still unpaid although £64,000 has been paid in interest.

4.—What is needed is to educate the public and prove to them that wealth or capital obtained by exploitation is unjust, and to insist that it shall be penalised instead of flattered, and taxed in some relative proportion, instead of permitting it to exploit the people who produce it.

5.—The Premier Diamond Mines yesterday declared a dividend of 400 per cent., the second year in succession for 400 per cent. to be declared. The present valuation of the original £80,000 capital invested is now £5,532,000.—("Evening Standard and St. James's Gazette.") The increased value of capital invested = 6,815 per cent.

6.—A friend of mine assured me that four colliery owners employing 3,000 men paid nearly £200,000 wages per annum and cleared, in one year, £400,000 for themselves.

7.—These are not exceptional cases, they are quite common.

8.—Assuming that Adam was created 6,000 years ago and had received £3 per week and had not paid anything for lodgings and saved the whole lot, he would not be a millionaire to-day.

9.—Suppose a man started work at 20 years of age to earn a million pounds, he must save (exclusive of living expenses) £20,000 per year for 50 years, i.e., £66 per day for 300 days in each year. Is the labour of any man worth such sum?

THE CAPTURE OF THE REDOUBT.

An officer who was a friend of mine, and who died a few years ago in Greece, gave an account to me of his first experience under fire. Here is his story as I wrote it down soon afterwards:—

“I joined the regiment on September 4. The Colonel received me rather cavalierly at first, but having read a letter of recommendation from General B. he became more affable, and was even polite.

“He introduced me to my captain, who was just coming back from a reconnaissance. That officer, whom I had hardly time to know, was a tall man with a very hard face. He had risen from the ranks, and his voice, which was husky and feeble, was in strange contrast to his height. It was said this was due to a wound which he had received at Ilna. Hearing that I had left the Academy at Fontainebleau, he made a wry face and said: ‘My lieutenant died yesterday.’ I understood that he meant to say, ‘You must take his place and you are not equal to it.’ I was going to reply sarcastically, but refrained from doing so.

“The moon rose behind the redoubt of Cheverino, which was near our bivouac. She was big and red, as she generally is at her rising, but that evening she seemed extraordinarily large. For a moment the redoubt was seen on the dazzling disk of the moon; it looked like the cone of a volcano just before an eruption.

“An old soldier, near whom I was standing, noticed the colour of the moon. ‘She is very red,’ he said, ‘it is a sign we shall lose many men in taking that redoubt.’ I have always been superstitious, and that remark struck me. I lay down, but could not sleep. I rose, and walked for sometime looking at the long line of watch fires on the heights above Cheverino. When I thought that the fresh and piercing air of the night had sufficiently cooled my blood I came back to the fire. I folded my cloak round me, and shut my eyes, hoping not to re-open them till daybreak. But sleep would not come. My thoughts took a sad turn: I said to myself that I had not a single friend among the 100,000 men in the plain. If I were wounded I should be in a hospital, treated without care by ignorant surgeons. All that I had heard of surgical operations came into my mind. My heart beat violently and mechanically. I placed my handkerchief and pocket-book as a kind of cuirass over my heart. Fatigue

oppressed me, and though I was dozing at intervals, yet each moment a gloomy thought arose within me and awoke me with a start.

"Yet I did fall asleep, and the morning drum awoke me. We drew up, the roll-call was taken, then the guns were loaded, and we thought we should have a quiet day. About three o'clock an aide-de-camp came with an order. We advanced in skirmishing order, and in about twenty minutes we saw the advance guard of the Russians falling back towards the redoubt.

"A battery of artillery was on our right, and one on our left, but in front of us. They began to fire vigorously at the enemy, who replied eagerly, and soon the redoubt of Cheverino was obscured by dense clouds of smoke.

"Our regiment was behind a hill and hardly felt the effects of the Russian fire. Their guns were aimed at our artillery and the shots passed over our head, only occasionally were we struck by earth and stones.

"When the order to advance was given, my captain looked at me attentively, and I touched my moustache with indifference two or three times. Really, I was not afraid, and my only fear was that I might be thought to be afraid. Those inoffensive shots made me heroically calm, because my pride told me I was in danger. I was delighted at being so calm, and I felt how pleased I should be to talk about the capture of the redoubt of Cheverino in the drawing-room of Madame B. in the Rue de Provence.

"The Colonel passed in front of our company and spoke to me, saying, 'You will see some strange things!' I smiled in a martial way, brushing the sleeve of my coat, on which there was a little dust from a shot which had fallen 30 paces off.

"The Russians must have noticed that they were not doing enough execution, for they took to using shells, which were more effective. A portion of a shell took my shako off and killed a man near me.

" 'I compliment you,' said the captain to me as I had just picked up my shako, 'you are safe for to-day.' I put my shako on proudly and said as joyfully as I could, 'That is a strange way of forcing men to take their hats off.' This bad joke made a great effect. 'I congratulate you,' said the captain, 'you will not be wounded and you will have my company, for I feel sure that it is all over with me, for I have always been wounded when the officer near me has been hit by a spent ball.'

"In about half an hour the Russian fire diminished, and we started to march on the redoubt. Our regiment consisted of three battalions—one had to turn the redoubt; the others, in one of which I was, had to assault it.

"As we came out in the open we were greeted by a discharge of musketry which did not do much execution, and I could not help turning my head as the balls whistled by. 'After all,' I said to myself, 'a battle is nothing so terrible.'

"We advanced at a run, throwing out skirmishers; suddenly the Russians gave three cheers, then there was a dead silence. 'I do not like that,' said the captain, 'it will be bad for us.' I thought our men were too noisy, and I could not help comparing their tumultuous clamour with the solemn silence of the enemy.

"We soon came to the redoubt. The stakes had been shattered, and the earth scattered by our guns. The soldiers rushed on to the ruins, shouting, 'Long live the Emperor!' and made more noise than one would have expected, as they had already been shouting.

"I raised my eyes, and I never shall forget the sight I saw. The greater part of the smoke had lifted, and was just over the redoubt. Through a blue vapour we could see the Russian grenadiers, motionless as statues, with their muskets levelled at us. I seem to see again each soldier fixing us with his left eye, his right being against his uplifted musket. At each corner a gunner had a lighted torch near a gun. I shuddered, and I thought my last hour had come. 'Now the dance will begin,' said my captain, 'Good night.' These were the last words I heard him say.

"The drums beat on the redoubt, the muskets were lowered, I shut my eyes, and I heard a terrible crash, followed by cries and groans. I opened my eyes, wondering that I was still alive. The redoubt was again surrounded by smoke, and I had round me wounded and dead men. My captain was stretched at my feet; his head had been crushed by a cannon shot, and his brains and blood splashed over me. I and six men were all that was left of the company.

"After this carnage there was a lull. The Colonel rushed over the parapet sword in hand, crying, 'Long live the Emperor!' We all followed him—I do not remember what took place—we fought hand-in-hand—I know I struck, because my sword was all bloody. I heard a cry of victory, the smoke cleared, and I saw the redoubt covered with the dead and dying. There were about 200 men standing in French uniforms, some reloading their muskets, some wiping their bayonets. There were eleven Russian prisoners. The Colonel was on the ground bleeding from a wound in his throat. Some soldiers were raising him from the ground. I came near, 'Where is the senior captain?' he asked a sergeant. The man shrugged his shoulders in an expressive manner. 'And the senior lieutenant?' 'This gentleman who joined yesterday.' The Colonel smiled bitterly. 'Well, sir,' he said, 'you are in command, entrench yourself with these carts, for the enemy is very strong, but General C. will support you.' 'Colonel,' I said, 'are you seriously wounded?' 'I am done for, my good friend, but the redoubt is taken.'"

PROSPER MÉRIMÉE

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

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