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AT THE NEW CENTURY.

Now for a moment let us stay the fight,

The clash of weapons and the trumpet blast,
To look behind, where, like a summer night,

Looms the clear welkin of th' empyreal past.

See, where the trees obscure the gentle light And merge their shadows in a line of gloom, Some shivering cypresses, in mean affright, Conceal the outlines of a warrior's tomb.

A soothing stillness now pervades the air,
And guards the slumbers of the silent throng;
And yet the breezes seem sometimes to bear
Faint echoes of a fighter's battle-song.

Above, the stars gleam down from heaven's floor Upon the sleeping vale and silent hill; They are the noble dead, who evermore Shall give us hope and bid us labour still.

The silent stream that, mute, for ever flows
Along its course with one relentless pace
To that eternity from which it grows,
Brings us a beacon in its star-lit face.

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Now from the camp-fire comes a calling blast, Rising and falling, like some distant chime, Sounding a requiem for the mighty Past, Linked to the Future by the stream of time.

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Haply the storm shall hide the gleaming skies,
The livid lightnings split the lowering cloud,
The raging billows in their might arise,
And thunders roar defiance, stern and proud.

Then, when thy comrade looks with frenzied gaze, If thou hast nobly filled thy little part, One trembling star shall send its timid rays And light the pathway of a wearied heart.

ERN. T. COOMBE.



FREDERICK KNEE.

THE

SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XVI.—FREDERICK KNEE.

Our comrade Knee was born at Frome, on June 16, 1868. His parents were both weavers—the one in woollen, the other in silk. His forefathers had been sturdy Radicals and strong Nonconformists for generations.

At the age of eight our comrade unfortunately met with an accident, getting his jaw smashed by the hind hoof of a horse, the effect of which he feels even now. He received a fairly good education at the British School at Frome, and says he owes a debt of gratitude for the thorough, if restricted, education he there obtained. Having passed the sixth standard at the age of 13, he left school and started as a reading boy at Butler and Tanner's, a large book and magazine printers at Frome, and was subsequently apprenticed to the composing department.

At 16 he began to take interest in social and other questions, and from that time on became increasingly busy in temperance, Sunday-school, and other religious and political work. In 1888 he was fortunate enough to read Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth" for debating purposes, and became an ardent Socialist. At the end of that year he began to assist in reporting for the Somerset and Wilts Journal, the local Liberal paper, which post he continued in for two years.

In December, 1890, he came to London, where in the leisure spared from the printing office, he early threw himself into the Socialist movement. He first joined the Chelsea S.D.F., and soon became secretary of the School Board Election Committee in November, 1891, and some time later became secretary of the branch. He helped John Kent to found the Social-Democratic Party in the Regent Street Polytechnic Parliament, and the two were

jointly responsible for the most drastic Eight Hours Bill that ever saw the light. Strange to relate, he says, it passed. Afterwards he held office in the Independent Radical Ministry who accepted the Socialist programme, and on being driven from office took revenge on two successive Ministries in the same session. From playing at public work he took to public work in earnest. In December, 1894, he contested South Park Ward for the Wimbledon Urban District Council, receiving 83 votes, being fourth on the list of eight candidates. Another unsuccessful struggle was for the Guardians for South Wimbledon, when, against a compromising combination, he in April (1896) polled 426 votes, and was only about 200 behind. A more regrettable struggle took place the following year for the South Park Ward (District Council), when he fought a three-cornered fight with an estate agent and a former comrade.

Our comrade is not unknown in his own trade, for he is "Father" of the second largest "chapel" attached to the London Society of Compositors, and has been elected to the Executive of his society for two years, 1898-1900; and in March, 1900, was also elected as one of its representatives to the London Trades Council.

In September, 1898, he convened the meeting of trade society delegates which formed the Workmen's Housing Council, of which he was installed secretary. In that capacity he carried out a roving commission of worrying everybody who could help on housing. Cabinet Ministers, Opposition Leaders, common or garden M.P.'s, County Councillors, parsons, vestrymen, and lately Borough Councillors, have all been gone for by our indefatigable comrade Knee. He was mainly the author of the Housing Bill introduced by Steadman last Session into the House of Commons, and endorsed by the Huddersfield Trades Union Congress. In August he started the Housing Journal, which is steadily increasing in circulation.

Our comrade is a convinced adherent of Social-Democracy, and holds that it alone will solve all economic and industrial and social evils which afflict the present capitalist society.

On his own subject he favours municipal enterprise for solving the housing problem. He is keen on the financial side of the housing question, and during his housing propaganda our comrade has often come into conflict with the land reformers. While admitting that individual property in land is an evil, he fails to see how the principle of empowering the State to take over the land and letting it out again to capitalists can bring about a cure for every social ill.

Our comrade says jocularly that though he is little he has a large family.

At the recent Borough election at Battersea our comrade was defeated, but was subsequently elected as an alderman, a position which we have confidence he will worthily fill with distinction and honour to the cause of Social-Democracy which he loves so well.

A BUNDLE OF FALLACIES.

In one of Æsop's fables it is related how in a congress of mice it was decided that the best way of averting the danger of capture by the cat was to hang a bell round the cat's neck as a warning of its approach. question then was to decide who should be the plucky mouse to bell the cat. Now this fable will bear more than one application. There are some who plume themselves on hunting up some personal squabble to be made or some personal nastiness to be said, and doing it or saying it, and consider this a heroic form of cat-belling. But it may be pointed out that every old washerwoman (i.e., the typical old washerwoman-no disrespect to the calling or to woman-in-general) is fertile in this particular quality of heroism, and in fact that anybody who likes making himself a fussy and cantankerous nuisance can practice belling the cat after this fashion; in other words, can always persuade himself that something nasty has to be said or done, and say or do it. The English Socialist movement has already suffered too much from this form of cat-belling at the hands of irrepressible busy-But there is another and more useful way of belling the cat, although it makes no claim to heroics. This is to expose the fallacies and misuse of language which often serve as argument with those who discuss Socialism and the public questions arising out of it, both from a friendly and hostile point of view. In this way the jingle of the fallacy may be distinguished as it is coming along, and the forewarned become forearmed against it.

(1) First of all let us consider the "question-begging appellative" or phrase with which it is sought to damage a principle with which you disagree by calling it a "fad." Now the word "fad" means, according to Webster. "a hobby, freak, or whim," and is connected with the old word to "faddle" meaning to "fondle," or to "play with." A fad, therefore, really connotes a small or comparatively unimportant matter which engrosses a large, or at least unusual, share of attention. From this it has readily come to mean something to which an exaggerated estimate of importance is attached. But the word has now got to be divested of all meaning whatever by being applied as a term of abuse to any doctrine or principle the user of it dislikes or finds inconvenient. For instance, to take an extreme case. we have heard Socialism itself, and Atheism and Catholicism respectively termed "fads." Now, it is perfectly admissible to maintain that these things are all or severally either wrong or right, but in no case, whatever can they be "fads." Whether they be right or wrong, true or false, they are too comprehensive, and involve too vast issues for either them or their opposites ever to be legitimately designated as "fads." An opinion zealously held may be utterly and preposterously absurd without being a "fad." On the other hand another opinion may be perfectly sound and

- yet a fad. Where a man devotes his whole energies to (say) anti-vaccination, and by his words or acts gives it to be understood that the entire future of the world's history depends on whether the laws as to compulsory vaccination are repealed or not, he may justly be styled a "faddist," and anti-vaccination a "fad," and this quite irrespectively of whether we regard his views on the subject as in themselves well or ill founded.
- (2) Let us take another fallacy, this time traceable to a confusion of ideas, viz., the outery against compelling a man to sever his connection with a party or organisation after he has (conscientiously, if you will) ceased tohold the principles for which it exists, or even after he has actively opposed Herr Eduard Bernstein was allowed to remain in the German Social-Democratic Party after he had denounced every Social-Democratic doctrine in turn and championed every move of capitalism in extremis, simply because the German Social-Democrats feared the cry of "heresyhunter," with allusions to the Inquisition, being raised against them by the bourgeois press. The doctrine of toleration was thus stretched to the insane point that a man must be tolerated in an organisation the principles of which he is opposing lest those who turned him out should be accused of following the practice of the Christian Church. But, as a matter of fact, the odium attached to the heresy-hunting of the Church has its reason of being, not in the mere fact that men pronounced to be out of accord with the dogmas of the Christian Church were expelled or excommunicated from it, which was a perfectly logical and just proceeding, but in that this expulsion was made to involve pains and penalties at the hand of the "secular arm." It is on the latter fact alone that the eternal infamy of the Christian Church, in its dealings with heretics, lies. I would ask those who take the conventional view, by what conceivable right a man can consider himself as hardly done by when he is formally required to leave a body with whose principles he has proclaimed himself in disagreement? If he likes to pose as a martyr on account of being subject to this very logical and obvious proceeding, let him! And surely he is welcome to the "heartfelt sympathy" of all thecongenital idiots he can persuade to take his pretended view of the case.
- (3) We have all probably heard hard-put-to British champions argue, in the course of the present war, that because the Boers (as they express it), "stole the Transvaal from the natives" that, therefore, the British have a right to steal it from the Boers, not, bien entendu, to give it back to the natives, but to keep it for themselves. Now, without challenging the initial statement itself, utterly and absolutely false as it is, a moment's reflection shows the utter absurdity of the logic involved in the conclusion. I do not take refuge in the threadbare fallacy that "two blacks don't make a white," since, as I have before shown, they very often do, yet it is undeniable that for two blacks to make a white, i.e., for the second black to cancel the

^{*} Of course, there are cases in which it may be open to discussion whether a particular cause as advocated by a particular person may be justly termed a "fad" or not, but the general principle of what constitutes a fad is clear enough.

first, the two blacks must stand in a certain definite relation to one another. which is not the case here. But to make the absurdity at once obvious it is only necessary to state an example. A, a garroter, violently robs B, a peaceable wayfarer, of his watch. The counsel for the defence urges as a plea for acquital that the victim B (or to make the parallel more complete the victim's grandfather) had at some remote date acquired the watch by sharp practice, not from the garotter or anyone connected with the garotter, but from someone with whom the garotter has no concern whatever. I would ask the reader whether he thinks this beautiful and original defence would stand the prisoner in stead before an average British jury, or whether it would strike anyone as an extenuating circumstance for the judge to take into consideration in passing sentence? The best right to stolen property so long as the institution of private property exists, clearly rests with the original owner, but the theft from the actual possessor by a third party having no claim to it is quite as much a crime as was the original theft (if we assume the actual possessor to have obtained it by theft). Forcible or covert deprivation of an actual possessor of property held by him, however obtained, by a person who (ex hypothese) has no claim to that property, furnishes a complete case of the crime of theft. All else is purely irrelevant. this class of windy fallacy which, incredible as it may seem, actually imposes upon some bull-headed Britons.

(4) "He was only doing his duty" is a common form of fallacy when urged as an excuse for what would otherwise be admittedly crime and cruelty. Just as if the label "duty" can make a crime not a crime! "Duty" is only a relative expression, and the judge who gives effect to a bad or unjust law, the executioner who gives effect to the judge's sentence, the general who "carries through" military operations of an oppressive character with the object of crushing another people or stealing their territory, are one and all criminals as much deserving of punishment (if only the opportunity occurs of inflicting it on them) as the member of the "long firm" who, in accordance with the decisions of this organisation as to "ringing the changes" or "shoplifting," feels it his "duty" to obey; or the "partner" who feels it his "duty" to save the business with which he is connected from financial ruin, by committing a forgery. There may certainly be considerations which change the normal character of an act under special circumstances, making a "black" a "white"; but merely tacking on the epithet "duty" to a deed of blood committed by a judge, executive officer, or military commander is no more than a specious and impudent device designed to shield the iniquities of a governing class and its tools. The one justifiable act done by the reactionary Thermidorean party after the fall of Robespierre was the execution of Fouquier Tinville for "doing his duty" by obeying his superiors of the "Committee of Public Safety" in perpetrating the atrocious judicial murders of the "great terror." It suited the purpose of the reactionists to punish this particular bureaucratic criminal, but they did not see what a (for them) dangerous, though eminently just, precedent they were creating.

The fact is, of course, that the logic of conscience cannot sanction the thesis that social or official position makes an unethical act ethical or robs a

crime of its criminality. On the contrary, it may well even aggravate its moral heinousness by importing into it an element of hypocrisy and cowardice—hypocrisy as implied in the plea of "duty;" cowardice because the individual usually acts in conscious immunity from the natural or legal dangers to himself otherwise attending the act. The British officer in Africa can pillage and murder without fear of the police.

(5) We come now to the favourite distinction between (justifiable) sentiment and sentimentalism. Wherein lies this distinction? Most people assume that it is to be found in quantity; to wit, that sentimentalism is simply an excess of sentiment in other people over themselves. requires very little reflection to show that this is too personal and subjective to furnish a valid test of the distinction. If even it be extended so as to mean the average sentiment of one's day and generation, this also will not hold water, for the reason that it entirely ignores the evolutionary or dynamic element in the notion, assuming it to have a fixed value, rather than, like everything else mental and physical, to be in a state of continual progress and change. Mediæval or even seventeenth century sentiment would undoubtedly have voted opposition to rack and thumbscrew as gross sentimentalism, just as an influential section of public opinion to-day votes opposition to gallows and lash to be pernicious sentimentalism, and cannot conceive that a time will come when public opinion will view these institutions with as great abhorrence as modern public opinion does rack or thumbscrew.

I assume all along the validity of the distinction, i.e., that the distinction But if the distinction between sentiment and sentimentality or sentimentalism be real and cannot consistently be reduced to a question of mere quantity, wherein does it lie? The answer, I take it, is that it lies in the distribution of the sentiment. The tendency of progress is toward a raising of the standard of sentiment, an increase in its quantity, in its tending to spread over areas hitherto unoccupied by it, and it is impossible to place an effective limit and say to sentiment-i.e., to sympathy and revulsion at the idea of suffering-"Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," since such a limit would be purely arbitrary. But where the sentiment gets concentrated at one point in excess of another, other things being equal, there you have sentimentalism, not because of the absolute amount of the sentiment present, but of its distribution, i.e., of its relative amount as regards its objects. Let us take two illustrations. There are some people whose abhorrence of cruelty to animals coincides with a comparative indifference to cruel punishment of children, and still more to the torturing of convicts by treadmill and lash. Or again, they will shudder with indignant horror at the beating of a dog or the overworking of a horse, and yet will hear without wincing of the horrors of an insanitary factory, or of unwholesome manufactures. I once knew a lady who, while violently opposing vivisection of animals was prepared to allow its practice, if necessary in the interests of science, on criminals of a certain order. Now here, I conceive, we have clearly the right to describe such sensitiveness towards

animal suffering as sentimentalism, not because it is necessarily excessive in itself, but because it is altogether out of proportion to the feeling for suffering in humans. Again, the feminist sentiment is almost pure sentimentalism, inasmuch as it is sentiment which, instead of being distributed over the whole of (at least) humankind, is congested on the female sex. If a man, driven mad by jealousy, or at his wit's end for fear of blackmail, exposure and ruin, murders his wife or mistress, scarce a voice will be raised against his being hanged, nay, the general verdict will be "Serve the brute right!" But on the occasion of Mary Ansell deliberately murdering her sister, by means of poison transmitted through the post, for the sake of her sister's insurance money; or (if possible, still worse) on that of Louisa Masset butchering with the greatest brutality, in cold blood, her little five-year-old son, in order to disembarrass herself of the expense of his maintenance, we have superhuman efforts to obtain a reprieve backed by much pathetic talk about "the poor girl!" This is true sentimentalism. By all means oppose capital punishment as much as you will, but spare a little of the sentiment you so lavishly expend over the "poor girl" for the other, the "poor fellow," who, we may imagine, just as little enjoys being hanged.

(6) There is a familiar form of fallacy which consists in attempting to smuggle in a doctrine or policy under cover of a recognised principle on the basis of a superficial appearance of such a doctrine or policy being involved in the principle in question, when it is in reality in no way connected with it. An instance of this occurs to me in connection with the woman-The possession of the franchise by women may be suffrage agitation. for aught I care a postulate of eternal justice descending straight from heaven upon men, or it may be a subtle scheme to confound progress emanating direct from the bottomless pit. All I am here concerned to show is, that one argument ad hominem often used by women's rights advocates is a delusive fallacy. It is commonly represented that the political democrat or the Social-Democrat must necessarily, if he be consistent, be an advocate of woman's suffrage. Now I submit that whether right or wrong in itself, woman suffrage is in no way whatever necessarily involved in a (political) democratic or Social-Democratic programme. Democracy, whether political or whether Socialistic, is only necessarily concerned with the abolition of class-restrictions and distinctions, in the one case political, in the other economic and social as well. This has always been the meaning of democracy up till quite recently. But now, a new question, that of sex, is sought to be introduced. It is pretended that the principle of equality involved in the democratic idea necessarily includes the acceptance of a particular version of sex-equality. Now, sex-equality may be a very good thing, but I insist that it has absolutely no connection with democracy, which has always referred to class-distinction and in no way to sex-distinction. And hence a man may be a perfectly sound political democrat or Socialist and yet a vehement opponent of the extension of the franchise to women as well as certain other claims advanced by woman's rights advocates. Class distinctions

are exclusively based on political, social, and economic conditions, whereas sex distinctions, as such, are based on organic or biological differences. The workman has essentially the same bodily and mental organism as his employer, but there is an essential difference between his bodily and mental organism and that of his wife. The problems raised by the sex-question may be correctly answered by the demands of woman's rights advocates or they may not; but, in any case, the question of sex equality differs in kind from that of class-equality, and cannot be logically deduced from the latter. The two things stand on a different footing, whatever the view we may take of them.

(7) We come finally to an important, because so very common, fallacy; but as it is one which I have more than once dealt with elsewhere it need not detain us long. I refer to the saying that "two blacks don't make a white." It is, of course, true that two actions each divorced from its surroundings and both from each other do not affect each other—an obvious and harmless proposition enough. But in the concrete moral world furnished us by this vale of tears, things are presented in mutual connection and not in isolated abstraction as "metaphysical entities." Viewed, then, as a part of the real world of human conduct, we find that two "blacks" very often do "make a white"—i.e., that in a world where actions possess in practice no absolute value, but are conditioned by one another, one of two actions, either of which when taken per se would be reprehensible, becomes just and right. Viewed as part of a connected whole, the second action, conditioned as it is by the first, loses its abstract character of wrongness or "blackness," and by the very fact of its conditioning or connection becomes "white," that is, justified. Of course, this obvious truth is recognised and acted on every day by persons who dispute it, when it suits their purpose, in controversy. As I have before pointed out, the whole theory of criminal law is based on its recognition. Yet there is no argument supposed to be so crushing to an opponent as flinging this utterly threadbare fallacy at his head.

We have now considered seven well-marked and popular fallacies. They do not by any means exhaust the number of fallacious tags of which the controversialist in straits stoops to avail himself, but they may serve sufficiently well as specimens.

E. Belfort Bax.

The proposals of the Italian Socialist deputies in respect to the inspection and regulation of factories has forced the Government to action. Afraid of the Socialists getting too much credit for this, the Government have now presented a Bill. It proposes to prohibit child labour under the age of 9, and 13 if employed below the surface in mines. Night work is also forbidden for children under 15 years of age. Children must not work more than eight hours if under 12 or more than 11 if under 15. Women must not work at night if under 21; they must not work below the surface in mines, nor more than 12 hours a day. If a women is over 21 then she enjoys all the blessings of making her own bargain with the employer, but she must not work for 28 days after child-birth. This proposed law, though meagre, is an improvement on the present condition of things.

SOCIAL EQUALITY.

The phrase "Social Equality" readily recalls to us the great French Revolution, so closely connected is the term with that stormy event. Those three inspiriting watchwords, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," stirred the souls of men as no other cry has since done. They symbolised the aspirations and ideals of some of the greatest social and political enthusiasts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One hundred and thirty years have now elapsed since Rousseau wrote his famous essay espousing equality, and more than a century has passed since the great historic Revolution lit up a continent with its fiery flame, yet we still lack political liberty, social equality, and human fraternity. The French, in their struggle for freedom, failed to see that the abolition of their feudal bonds only prepared the way for the shackles of "liberty of contract"—liberty to become wage-slaves to a capitalist class instead of remaining feudal labourers tied to the soil under the autocracy of landowners.

The French Revolutionists generally never dreamed that when they had overthrown the power of the seigneur that the capitalist would enslave them. True, a few of the more advanced thinkers saw the evil looming in the future, but they were as John the Baptist, crying in the wilderness, and were, like him, beheaded, as men who worked for evil.

Social inequality has its origin, as Rousseau dimly perceived, in the appropriation of other men's labour without giving an equivalent return; and if we trace the origin of individual property as opposed to social ownership we trace the origin of social inequality. The question of property at once brings us to the material basis of society, or the production and distribution of wealth, in contradistinction to an imaginable natural law of differentiation in the abilities of individual members of society, or in the growth of an ethical spirit in a community.

It is curious to see how prominent literary men fail to appreciate the material basis underlying social equality, even when the facts are staring them in the face, and they are persuaded of the evils of commercialism. The late Matthew Arnold, an able essayist, and one destitute of the ordinary bourgeois prejudices, when dealing with the subject of social equality, at first leads one to think, in one of his essays, that he was making straight for solving, on the material basis of economics, the problem of social inequality; but his lack of appreciation of the economic forces at work in society apparently obscured his vision, and led him astray.

"The equality exhibited by the French people,' he writes of the time of the great French Revolution, "had its origin in the social life (in the spirit of society) of that period. It was not the spirit of philanthropy which mainly impelled the French to that revolution, neither was it the spirit of

envy, neither was it the love of abstract ideas, though all these did something towards it, but what did most was the spirit of society."

Now, when Matthew Arnold tells us that the French desire for equality did not arise out of any idea of philanthropy, or envy, or abstract ideas, he naturally leads us to expect that he attributes it to some very palpable origin, but instead of producing concrete facts we find him taking refuge in an abstract phrase like the "spirit of society."

To tell us that a certain historical event arises out of the "spirit" of society does not enlighten us very much; in fact, it does not even shed so much light on the subject as his category of negations. When he tells us social equality is neither due to philanthropy, nor envy, nor the love of abstract ideas, we get a little forward, for we may fairly assume that sentiment, in the protean form of "philanthropy," passion in the form of "envy," and philosophical thought in the shape of "abstract ideas," are not to be counted as responsible factors making for social equality.

The phrase, "spirit of society," used by Matthew Arnold, appears to be one of those vague popular terms used so often for literary purposes and, we regret to say, for covering general ignorance. Under such a phrase may be grouped innumerable forces, and until Mr. Arnold or his friends throw further light upon it, it to us can have no definite meaning.

Now, if equality has neither its origin in a sentimental nor in an intellectual force in human nature, as Arnold would have us believe by his negations, then we are driven to look for another force, and in the absence of any stated material factor by Arnold, we have the liberty of considering whether the economic forces governing society do not control the "spirit of society," and become the factor which makes for the humanisation or brutalisation of man.

Man's historical development shows us that it is only as he gains power over the forces of nature that he acquires new social attributes and rises in the scale as a civilised being. Arnold partly recognised this, and even went so far as to say that man's civilisation, or humanisation, increased with his powers over wealth and became arrested as his means of livelihood became precarious, which is practically a full acceptance of the dictum of Karl Marx, that "in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

At the time of Louis XIV. the old forms of feudal production were passing away, and the new form of capitalist industry, which was taking its place, was fast augmenting the wealth of Europe, thereby enabling a luxurious court at Paris to indulge in great extravagance and vice. While the presence of concentrated wealth in France gave rise to a profligate class it also created a demand for men of artistic abilities, of learning, and of culture whose services were requisitioned if only for the purpose of ostentation, or as a pretence of refinement to act as a cloak to vice. The impetus

given to the cultivation of the fine arts, to literature and manners due to the existence of a wealthy leisure class, also enabled an educated minority to voice the wrongs of the multitude who existed in direst poverty side by side with the luxurious wealthy. The advocacy of the cause of the oppressed by this educated (if not cultured) class caused Matthew Arnold—in common with others—to imagine that the desire for equality arose out of some "spirit" or ethicism which existed in that society, derived from a supernatural or ultra-rational source, as individual fancy might dictate, instead of attributing it to economic forces. If he had stopped to inquire into those economic forces so strongly evidenced at the time probably he would have given a tangible form to his "spirit of society."

The cry heard at the great French Revolution was really not so much for equality, as Jean Rousseau taught and Matthew Arnold assumed, as it was for Liberty—liberty for all to work on the land and exchange without restriction the produce of the individual labourer, and liberty on the part of the manufacturer to employ labour.

Rousseau, to his credit, recognised that inequality was due to convention—meaning by that term artificial laws created by society. Unfortunately he, or rather his followers, tried to reconstruct a new society on the basis of the absolute natural right of the individual. According to him, they all had individually a right to the land or to anything the land produces. Men were born free and politically equal, and they individually entered into a contract with society for reciprocal rights. That contract could be broken, and the individual return to a free state of nature. Property being inimical to this doctrine of the return to nature, therefore fell under the ban of Rousseau.

Unfortunately, Rousseau's Liberty of Contract left the field open for the firm establishment of the capitalist system and all its consequent inequalities.

Rousseau has been criticised and severely handled on the impracticability and foolishness of his views, and he, in common with Robespierre, has been made a Socialist bogey. In the eyes of the ordinary doctrinaire the sin of commission which is unpardonable in Rousseau is his declaration that social inequality is created by society, and is entirely of an artificial character.

Though Rousseau might have been, as Professor Beesly has recently stated of him, "an ignoramus so far as scientific knowledge was concerned," he was quite right in his contention that social inequality was an artificial creation of society and fraught with evil. History teaches us that the class which controls the means of industry dominates the destiny of those which it chooses to employ.

Unfortunately for the theory that natural ability is the basis of social inequality it is the men of ability who are low down in the social scale. Painters, artists, scholars, writers, mechanicians, inventors and skilled artisans do not rank so high as wealthy shopkeepers, contractors (either

honest or corrupt), money-lenders, bankers, stockbrokers, brewers, and the bourgeois class generally, who are generally recognised as only being mediocre in intelligence. The latter, in their turn, are not the social equals of the landed aristocracy, who as descendants of a line of wealthy ancestors, take precedence of mushroom millionaires.

When we come to examine the virtues of the aristocracy at the top of the social scale we find that the so-called "upper ten" have but few talents, and Professor Huxley is so appalled by their barrenness of natural ability that he is fain to wish for some social gravitative force which will permit of the ludicrously incapable aristocrats finding their way to a lower rung of the social ladder. But this wail of Huxley's falls on deaf ears. Wealth is the basis of all social rank, and natural ability has to remain subordinate to it. For instance, soldiering is one of the professions in which natural ability should ever be at the top. It is, however, nursed by the aristocracy, the consequence being that one outside the aristocratic circle has but a remote chance of promotion.

Intellectuals, destitute of riches, are not recognised as the social equals of aristocrats, though the latter may be, commonly speaking, as stupid as owls.

Though society is graded into classes according to the amount of wealth which each class can command, the professorial apologists never defend them on the basis of riches. That would be a task which would too unduly tax their powers of sophistry. They are quite willing to argue that the exploiters are more capable than the exploited, as the latter with them can be entirely disregarded, but they do not see their way to urge that a man with an income of ten thousand per year is ten times more capable than the man with a thousand a year, because it would appear too farcical. The latter-day professors, therefore, take quite another line of argument, falling back on natural science to justify social anomalies.

Social inequality, say they, arises from the primary law of conflict which by means of competition finds its expression in natural selection. The rich are rich and the poor are poor in accordance with natural law. Underlying all the arguments of this school of economists and sociologists is the idea that competitive conflict is necessary to human progress, and must always exist even as the law of gravitation. This view drives them to the assumption that reform in the future rests on the lines of a refined competition between an increasing number of producers owning their own means of production. The pursuit of this idea has given birth to the phrase "Equality of opportunity." "Equality of opportunity," however, is a vague term and may be equally used by Social-Democrats and profit-mongers. Benjamin Kidd, in his book on "Social Evolution," uses it in the latter sense, though he apparently has disguised it so skilfully that he has succeeded in deceiving such a thinker as Russel Wallace.

Small capitals (which equality of opportunity under capitalism implies) are, of necessity, destined to disappear before large capitals, in conformity

with the law of competition. Trusts will never succumb to the wiles of the small capitalists, however much they may invoke the legislature to protect and save them from their own Frankenstein of competition and natural selection.

Competition or conflict is not essential, however, to progress, but, on the contrary, is directly inimical to it. Man has progressed despite conflict—not by reason of it. Because conflict has been a factor attending animal life and human progress it does not prove that it must for ever accompany it. A carnivorous animal may secure the greatest tension of its muscles in mortal combat with its quarry and thus ensure its necessary development of muscle, but that does not also prove the necessity for man to enter into mortal conflict with his fellows that he may gain the highest tension of his muscles and thus secure their highest development in his struggle for natural existence. He can improve his physical strength in the gymnasium in concert with his fellows. And the same argument applies to every activity that man possesses. Sympathetic co-operation is the law of human progress, not competitive conflict.

It is becoming plainer and plainer even to the most superficial observer that the acquisition of wealth in the hands of the various classes is responsible for social inequality.

The money phase through which all commodities have to pass is a source of strength to the present system inasmuch as it hides the real relations between employer and employee. Money, however much it may seem to be a disturber of the social relations of a community, is, notwithstanding, a great leveller. Its growth as a social force freed the serf from the thraldom of his lord, and so it will ultimately free the wage-earner from the capitalist exploiter. Society is now rapidly appraising the social distinction of class by the size of its money-bag. Evidence is already everywhere apparent that the landocracy is being overweighted by the moneyocracy. The reign of money will comparatively speaking be shortlived, for it must cease when it has reached a certain point of accumulation and becomes openly antagonistic to the welfare of the community. A generation or so may pass away before the end is reached, but economic forces are at work which will not permit much longer of its postponement. With the evolution of these economic forces will come the class-consciousness of the workers and the realisation of Social Equality.

A. P. HAZELL.

THE name of British commanders in South Africa is legion, but a general not much talked of in the past has just come prominently to the front—General Miscalculation, to wit.—South African News.

In Finland one newspaper published at Wasa has been suppressed, and another published at Tavastchus has been suspended for three months. At Podolski, in Southern Russia, the police arrested over 180 persons, most of them being Jews. They were Socialists and have been imprisoned and will doubtless be sent to Siberia.

THE APOLOGY OF OPPORTUNISM.

WITH very much of Mr. Ellam's contribution to the December issue of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT I am in entire agreement. It should, however, I think, have been more happily called the "Apology of Opportunism" than "The Logic of Our Opposition to the War." Broadly speaking, his argument may be divided into two main parts. One part supplies what I may fairly appropriate as the logical and necessary explanation and endors ement of my affirmative answer to the question, "Was the War Inevitable?" The other part contains an ingenious though unsuccessful attempt to escape from the conclusion of his own argument, under cover of a cloud of hysterical dust, the elements of which are a pious horror of what he proclaims to be a "helpless fatalism," and an altogether unjust and ridiculous announcement that determinists are the conductors of human thought into some "unknowable no-where-world of metaphysics," "beyond all cognisance,"—a "hole," which will demonstrate the "unattainableness of absolute finality."

I cannot conceive of absolute finality. I know nothing about the nowhere world of metaphysics. I am a "gross" materialist, and because my chief concern, like that of my critic, is with facts and tendencies, I consider it altogether unnecessary to even postulate that unknown quantity, which Ellam—unwittingly, I think—calls the initiatory power.

I am accused of imagining that my determinism provides me with finality. I imagine no such thing. I simply accept without qualification, or reservation, the maxim that, in Ellam's own words, "the transition from capitalism to collectivism is as inevitable, in the order of social evolution, as the transition from feudalism to capitalism.' I also accept, unreservedly, the fact, which no scientific mind could reject, that the present is precisely the sum total effect of all past causation; and that the future, whatever it may bring, turns upon the initiative of the present. To use a familiar figure of speech, the present is the child of the past, and the parent of the future. I am also at one with my critic when he asserts that the "motives governing individuals are determined by their environment, and by the various influences which have gone to mould their characters and predilections," and it is precisely on that account that I refuse to endorse and support the general attitude of British Socialists towards the persons who, I believe, have been chiefly instrumental in hatching the aggressive capitalist diplomacy which culminated in the present South African war.

Mr. Ellam affects to realise the abstract principle underlying the activities of men, and apologises for ignoring that principle by pleading that the majority of those around us cannot appreciate beyond its concrete application. Contrast this timidity—this playing to the gallery—this degradation of principle—with the following quotation from the author's preface to "Das Capital":—"Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws, not only independent of human will, con-

sciousness and intelligence, but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness, and intelligence. In the history of civilisation. the conscious element plays a part so subordinate . . . that a critical inquiry whose subject-matter is civilisation, can less than anything else have for its basis any form of, or any result of, consciousness." Marx's analysis of capitalist production, &c., demonstrating as it does the presence of economic laws and tendencies, "working with iron necessity towards inevitable results," may by Mr. Ellam be regarded as the result of "the most ineffective waste of time and energy conceivable." I am content to regard it, not as the passport or conveyance of society from capitalism to Socialism, but as an investigation into the law of social phenomena, enabling those who understand it to prepare for the inevitable death-pang and birth-pang which accompanies the procession of events, i.e., the progress of society from capitalism to Socialism. Such preparation is a sure panacea for the hysterical sentiment—sometimes called enthusiasm which, born of a false conception of man's place in the economy of nature, endows him with attributes which he does not possess, and swears at large. because he does not use them.

"Man has a certain control over the future." But man, whether he exercises that control by the propaganda of deed or thought, whether he stimulates, directs, modifies, or obstructs, does and thinks, stimulates, directs, modifies or obstructs, not as he freely wills, but as he must. In a word, the measure of his capacity and inclination to act or think is precisely the measure of the influence of that environment and various influences which have created and moulded his physical and mental constitution. Socialists, I believe, conscious or otherwise of its significance, will agree that this is so. Mirabile dictu, most Socialists, Ellam included, in the next breath will deny and proclaim against the unadulterated application of the theory, or, it may be, apply it as a sort of conscience salve, carefully concealed and labelled as "a few distinct references to the predominant material factor" amongst a perfect flood of impossible hypotheses, suited to the tastes and prejudices of "the majority of those around." Mr. Ellam states that man's control over the future is "conditioned in many ways." In how many ways, might I ask, is it not conditioned ?

The Socialist movement—and I mean by this that part of society which is conscious of the movement and line of material development not less than those forces which are commonly called blind forces—contains and supplies the disintegrating factors which will, in due season, witness the product of disintegration, i.e., the Socialist State. But there is no outside influence or force either stimulating or retarding the rate of revolutionary progress. Every form of human activity, philosophical, religious, political, social or anti-social, even my critic's perverted notions about what he calls a "helpless fatalism," are explainable in terms of applied science, and, as such, take their place in the orderly and natural process of material phenomena.

Mr. Ellam has discovered by a process of investigation which I trust he made plain to the readers of the Ethical World that "this war became

inevitable from the day on which gold was discovered in any quantity in the Transvaal"! Momentous discovery! Fateful day! A very Dies Irae!

Let us accept the statement that the South African war became inevitable after, and on account of, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal. I assume that the chain of intermediate phenomena connecting the discovery of gold and the present crisis is understood, and I ask how in the name of reason, and in the light of that phenomena, you can persist infiguratively, and sometimes otherwise—cursing the formal political reflection of the material development you profess to understand? I have been taught to believe that the political and religious institutions of any given historical epoch invariably correspond to and reflect the material conditions. which obtain in that epoch, i.e., that these institutions reflect the degree and extent of man's consciousness of his relation to his surroundings. Accepting that theory I am prepared to see capitalism reflected, and in fact do see it reflected, in religion and politics to-day. If capitalism extends its ramifications in unexpected directions, I may confess my ignorance of its extensive properties, but I do not say that such extension could have been prevented. The discovery of gold in South Africa bears exactly the same relatedness to the present war as antecedent causes bear to the discovery of gold. Therefore, I say-the chain of phenomena being, within my knowledge, unbroken and continuous—the war was inevitable.

But my friend Ellam has tasted blood, and he demands a victim. The discoverer of gold is beyond his reach, but Chamberlain is not, and, armed with a consciousness which is the peculiar property of a free-willed "disintegrating factor," he belabours this political puppet and instrument of eternal law with a fury which is only limited by the confines of a vocabulary, the upper register of which is Capital and the lower x, the unknown quantity. And Chamberlain wonders what he means! Presently, however, he overhears "a few distinct references" to gold and capitalism, and he knows then that he is bearing the burden of the ages—the consequence of that decree of fate which attributed to gold an intrinsic value, and which determined that Feudalism, Capitalism, Socialism should follow each other in orderly procession.

There is one sense in which determinism can truly be said to suggest finality. Minds long accustomed to, and dwarfed by, the confines of the prison-house of conventional error, invariably picture existence beyond their ken as a final "hole." The conventional economist pictures in gloomy colours the chaos of the, to him, impossible Socialist State. And in exactly the same way Mr. Ellam finds a suggestion of finality in my assertion that

all phenomena is governed by that sovereign law, necessity.

Men are not yet conscious of that law. That is why they invent hells, torture criminals, and ignore the inexorable law of heredity. All these things they do, in order to protect that disorderly figment of imagination

-the possession of self-existent individual free will.

Liberal statesmen, aye, and Socialist statesmen, Bryces, Laboucheres, Stanhopes, Steads, and Lloyd-Georges, refuse to accept the statement that the war was inevitable. They base their argument on the grounds that wise diplomacy, and a moral Colonial Secretary, would have avoided war. In doing this they show that they base their pleas, not merely on an unknown quantity, but actually upon a non-existent quantity. Theirs is the real, helpless, Fatalism.

Thomas Kennedy.

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

It may be said that the party for which the present writer claims the right to speak—tho body of avowed and active Socialists—is not yet in this country so powerful as it ought to be. At the same time we believe the explanation of this fact will encourage and cheer true and patient Socialists to continue and redouble their efforts. We believe that the attitude towards Socialist propaganda, adopted by many educated men who would otherwise be with us, may be summed up in this fashion: Why work and struggle for that which must of necessity evolve itself from our present political and economical conditions? The current has for a long time been carrying the conditions of capitalist society swiftly towards the triumph of Socialism, and never has the tide been so powerful as now; why, then, tug and strain at the oar? Eat, drink, and be merry; we shall reach the haven safely and smoothly in due season. Now, this counsel is doubtless very seductive; men do not as a rule require much persuasion to induce them to sit still and do nothing; and this will doubtless explain the apathy of many.

But those sturdier spirits that desire the complete emancipation of the people from bourgeois class rule see that it is not all smooth sailing; they descry certain rocks and shoals ahead; they know that the boat is encumbered and weighed down with much useless and troublesome lumber—aristocratic and capitalist withal; and full well they ken the ignorance and the miserable condition of many of the passengers. No! there is no valid reason why the propaganda should be relaxed, and there is every reason why it should be strengthened and extended. We are now not so long a way off of the triumph of the modern Socialist principles; but there is still a great amount of propaganda work to be done. As long as Parliament is only composed of a majority of bigots, pensioners, lawyers, and thick-headed country "gentlemen," whilst their national disgrace is still upon the English working classes, let it not be said that we have no work before us. And there is force on our side.

The greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation. How does this agree with the greatest number being the property of the rich, bondsmen at the tender mercy of their owners, the land and money lords?

We have it ever dinned into our ears that this country is "over-populated" when millions of acres capable of cultivation are abandoned to waste; that Labour has been guilty of the sin of "over-production" when millions of men, women, and children are destitute of the necessities of life; and that money is "over-abundant" when millions of pockets are penniless. Who are most to blame for all this? The majority who allow it, or the minority who have led the majority as easily by the nose as asses

are led, and persuaded them to quietly submit to this most degrading state of affairs?

There can be but one reply—that is, the majority are alone to blame! The trade unionists, they fight for high wages, but concur in measures that keep them low; while the co-operator strives to save some 10 per cent. of his income by purchasing his tea, coffee, and sugar at a store, and allows the Legislature to tax him some 50 per cent. on these necessities of life! Both strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Let the international workingmen's movement take their proper place, and come to the front in thousands, and speak out sufficiently plain and strong to be clearly understood, once for all, that physical force is on their side, and with that force they will attach their terrible signature as protest against the violated laws of nature!

The fate of a few thousand drones on one side against millions of industrious men on the other will not long be doubtful. Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just. To aid the political and economical revolution is our aim and duty. We dare do all that becomes men, and they that do less are not men. Let us put by talking, and act. It must never be forgotten that physical force supports all government, that authority is founded on opinion, and that general opinion must prevail—even if it is to cut off the heads of misrulers; and that this strength only

wants to be invoked to lay prostrate all usurious dominion over us.

In conclusion, I would quote our great friend Karl Marx's writing in the Inaugural Address of the International Workingmen's Association,

1864:-

"The emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means, not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule."

Long live real freedom, justice, and brotherhood.

FREDERICK LESSNER.

HOOLIGANISM.

MR. J. TREVARTHEN (of Farm School Hill), in the January Nineteenth

Century, writes on the above subject as follows :-

This term, used by the contemporary press, has been explained to be derived from the blundering of a policeman in describing a gang of juvenile delinquents and their leader (Hooley's gang), and is now accepted as a convenient nickname for rowdyism and ruffianism of youths and young men.
... It is feared that the name has given a sort of romantic halo, of the "penny dreadful" type, to a class which is somewhat sensitive to such unwholesome influence.

But the thing is not new, the tendency to periodical panics seeming to be a result of the keen competition of our "organs of public opinion." Gangs of young roughs and thieves are no new thing in London and other large towns. They constituted a feature of low society well known to the authorities, who have successfully dealt with them in the past as well as in more recent days. The writer, in his 40 years' experience as Secretary of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School, remembers many such gangs being broken up, and even such uncompromising material trained into respectable citizens.

The first serious attempt to deal with this class of neglected and there-

fore dangerous juvenile delinquents was made by the Philanthropic Society in 1788, the society being incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1806 and the Dalston Refuge founded in the same year.

Parliament has not altogether ignored the question. Mr. Pitt brought in a Bill in 1793 to provide a kind of industrial school for poor children, but it did not command national support. In 1811 and 1817 a Parliamentary inquiry condemned the imprisonment of young children. A Royal Commission followed in 1834, and in 1837 a Commission reported in favour of more summary treatment of children for the safety of the kingdom.

The Pankhurst Penitentiary, a State experiment, failed after 15 years' trial.

As the result of a conference held in Birmingham, of which Mr. Adderly (now Lord Norton) and Lord Houghton were the promoters, a Committee of the House reported strongly in favour of establishing reformatory schools; and in 1854 the first Act in their behalf was passed. The Industrial Schools Act followed it in 1857.

The writer claims that, as a result of the establishment of those schools, the commitments of young offenders has considerably diminished. In 1856 they reached the maximum of 13,981 commitments of children under 17, of whom 1,990 were under 12 years of age. By 1860 the number had fallen to 8,029, while in 1887 there were only 4,924; notwithstanding the increase of population the number in 1897 was only 1,688.

After giving some interesting statistics showing the results of the working of the industrial schools and reformatories, Mr. Trevarthen traverses the current opinion that hooligans are the lads discharged from the reformatories, and that reformatories are hooligan factories. He proves that very few boys discharged from reformatories return to the unsatisfactory habit of idleness and dishonesty which characterised the hooligan species. He claims, on the contrary, that immense benefits are conferred on those who come under the wholesome discipline of the schools.

"The real source of the present hooliganism is that magistrates do not make sufficient use of industrial schools and reformatories in dealing with juvenile offenders. If these schools had been taken more advantage of by magistrates and police authorities this scare would never have appeared, for these institutions would have prevented or cured most of the mischief. . . . If hooliganism is to be successfully dealt with, not only must the full benefit of the existing law be brought to bear upon the rising generation of such a type, but it is neccessary to grapple with those who are older in disorder and crime. It has been urged that power should be given to commit lads to suitable selected schools up to 18 years of age, and detain them till 21. We are told on good authority that one-third of all burglars are boys from 16 to 21, that the proportion of criminals from 16 to 21 is increasing and is higher than any other age, being a fifth of the total. While one-fourth of all convictions for larceny are against juveniles under 16, 20 per cent. of crimes against morals are committed by those under 21. Why not include these cases in reformatory work? Surely the 'sooner the better' when a remedy can be provided for an admitted evil."

The writer goes on to say that truant schools, industrial schools and reformatory schools, augmented by arrangements for lads of 18, would, if generously used, soon prevent and cure most of the lamentable results of bad homes, bad company, and the wretched social conditions which menace the well-being and comfort of the rising generation.

EXPLODED FALLACIES CONCERNING THE POYERTY PROBLEM.

THE following article by our comrade Spargo appeared in the Barry Dock News in reply to an article by Lady Cook reproaching the poor with their poverty. We are sorry not to be able to give a summary of Lady Cook's article, but the following exhaustive reply to it gives a fairly accurate idea of its purport:—

The co-existence, side by side, of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, is the greatest problem of the age. The terrible contrasts seen on every hand proclaim aloud that in spite of all our much-vaunted "Progress," we have not yet learned how to live well. Our civilisation is thus far a failure. England is a wonderful country. We boast the fact that we are the wealthiest nation of Europe, owning one-fourth of the total wealth with only one-ninth of the population. We are indeed rich beyond all power of realisation. But this is the tragic paradox—we are a nation of poor people. The statistics of pauperism, though they form no true measure of the actual poverty existing, are appalling. Two out of every seven persons, or if we exclude the well-to-do and count only the workers, two out of every five persons, above 65 years of age are paupers. In London ten per cent. of the people die in the workhouse, and no less than thirty-five per cent. receive poor law relief, of whom twenty-three per cent. receive it indoors.

It is a terrible picture, yet, as I have said, it does not give anything like a true view of the actual extent of poverty. Outside the pauper circle there is a great deal of the worst kind of poverty. The fact is, as Mr. J. A. Hobson puts it in his work on "Problems of Poverty," only "three out of every ten persons in the richest country of Europe belong to a class which is able to live in decent comfort the other seven are of necessity confined to a standard of life, little, if at all, above the line of bare necessities." Mr Frederic Harrison stated at the Industrial Remuneration Conference some years ago "that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of a week have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in houses that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin frem destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism."

It is an accepted truth of political economy that "All wealth is produced by labour applied to natural objects," which are not wealth but contain the elements of wealth. But the picture which Mr. Harrison has drawn is only true of the "wealth producers"—only the wealth producer is poor. Here again the tragic paradox is seen!

When we remember that the annual wealth of the country amounts to nearly £172 per family for the entire population, the fact that poverty is not an inevitable condition of life is manifest. Why, then, are the many poor? Lady Cook like many others shrieks "Because they are intemperate and thriftless"; then adds "And because of over-population."

Everyone agrees that it is deplorable that so vast a sum as one hundred and fifty millions sterling per annum should be spent in intoxicating liquors in these islands. Every sane person must agree too that the stigma of being the "most drunken nation in Europe" which rests upon us is very saddening. But when we are told that intemperance is the sole or even the preponderating cause of poverty, we may be pardoned if, in spite of the cheap sneers and vulgar wit of Lady Cook we agree to differ. Lady Cook quotes with approval Mr. Whittaker's statements upon the drink bill of 1875, in which he estimated "the money spent directly in purchasing drink, and the loss and cost directly and indirectly caused by that expenditure" to mean a waste of "about £270,000,000 per year." Lady Cook adds: "During the 22 years that have elapsed this amount has been greatly increased." As a matter of fact the drink bill has increased by about £10,000,000, but taking into account the growth of the population and regarding only the per capita expenditure, we find that whereas in 1875 it was £1 7s. 3d. per head, in 1898 it was £3 16s. 10½d.

If drink were the primary cause of poverty, England, being at any rate one of the most intemperate nations in Europe, if not the most intemperate, would be one of the most poor, if not the poorest, yet, as we have seen, in spite of our intemperance we are by far the richest nation in Europe. Properly understood, that fact alone furnishes a complete and irrefutable answer to Lady Cook's pet theory! Again, taking those nations in which the people are, from religious and other reasons, more temperate and thrifty than in England, we do not find a higher standard of life prevailing. Spaniards, the Italians, the Jews, the Hindoos and the Turks are all, from various causes, Arugal and temperate people, yet their standard of living is not higher, but lower, than ours. That is to say, they are poorer. Charles Booth, the eminent authority upon the condition of the poor of London, cannot be accused of having any bias towards that Socialism against which Lady Cook hurls the puny force of her vulgar rhetoric. Mr. Booth, in the most elaborate analysis that has ever yet been made, has given to the world a mass of evidence which I commend to the careful study of Lady Cook. In his book, "Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," Mr. Booth gives the causes of pauperism in the Stepney and St. Pancras divisions of London, as arrived at by a most searching analysis, as follows:-

In Stepney.					In St. Pancras.				
Drink				er cent.	Drink			21.9	per cent.
Sickness			26.7	,,,	Sickness			20 7	"
Old Age			32.8	12	Old Age			23.4	23

Whitechapel, notorious as the poorest district of London, he found to be the most sober, and at the outside, whether as a direct or indirect cause, he does not think that intemperance enters into more than 25 per cent. of the cases of pauperism throughout London. Some years ago "General" Booth, of the Salvation Army, declared that "nine-tenths" of the poverty of the people was due to intemperance. But the figures published in 1892 by "Commissioner" Cadman of those who passed through the Salvation Army shelters—the "submerged tenth"—must have given the "General" a shock. Mr. Cadman took a census, the report of which appeared in the Daily Chronicle of October 28, 1892. The results were given as follows:—

Depression	of I	rade	 	 55.8	er cent.
DRINK AND			 	 26.6	,,
Ill-health			 	 116	,,
Old Age			 	 5.8	,,

Depression in trade figures even amongst the lowest class as the cause of more than twice the poverty caused by drink and gambling combined. What now becomes of the report of the committee of the "Convocation of Canterbury " of 1869, with its absurd "average of 75 per cent." ! No one accustomed to scientific research would give such evidence the slightest It lacks all the qualities of scientific evidence. No one doubts for a moment that the average poor law guardian or workhouse master, like the average man in the street, will ascribe the prevalent poverty to the thriftlessness and intemperance of the people. That is a common notion. I was recently in a West of England workhouse with a friend of mine who is a poor law guardian. One poor old man, who had been a labourer at the princely wage of 16s. per week, told me with much emotion that had he been "careful and kept from the drink," he would not have "been so badly off." Yet he had reared a family of four girls, and kept his little home together on sixteen shillings a week! Drink the cause of his poverty, forsooth! Had he never spent a single penny in beer or tobacco (his sole "luxuries") he must always have been "poor." The Board of Trade returns give the average wages of the agricultural workers as between 13s and 14s. a week, and the average of the manual workers, including the higher paid artisan and the "unskilled" labourer is certainly not more than 21s. Will Lady Cook be good enough to tell us how, in the wider sense, anything but poverty is possible for the wage-earning population? How can a man, be he ever so industrious, keep himself and those dependent on him from poverty on 21s. a week? Even if they persevere in normal times, what else but hunger and pauperisation can follow a month's sickness or unemployment of the bread-winner? Eighty per cent of our adult paupers are agricultural labourers, women workers, and "unskilled" What else, indeed, can we expect? But these, whilst they furnish the bulk of our paupers, do not spend so much upon drink as do the better paid artisans. In the great mining and manufacturing centres there are more drunkards than in the rural agricultural districts, but there are less paupers. Grouping the counties under three heads-agricultural, mining, and manufacturing, we find the following results:-

Group.	D	ensity o	f Po	pulation.	Pa	upers per 1,000.
Agricultural	 245	persons	per	square mile		6.03
Manufacturing	 1,143	,,	٠,,	,,		5.22
Mining	 460	,,	,,	,,		3 83

Similar results are obtained if we take the figures of insanity contained in the report of the Lunacy Commissioners.

Another fact of some importance in this connection is that in those years when there is most poverty, there is most depression in trade, as evidenced by a larger percentage of unemployed workers. But there is no increase in the drink bill to account for the increased poverty; on the contrary, there is, generally, a substantial decrease! From 1840 to 1845 was a time of great depression. 1844 was probably the year of the greatest depression.* For that year the drink bill per head was only £2 $16s.9\frac{1}{2}d.$, having steadily declined from £3 8s. 4d. in 1837 (the earliest year for which I have the figures). In more recent years we find the same thing. In 1886 and 1887 the percentage of unemployed was largely

^{*} Read Fredriech Engels' "Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844."

increased, as a reference to the Board of Trade returns will show. The number of paupers increased but there was a substantial decrease in the drink bill! The well-tc-do classes certainly spend more, proportionately to their number, on intoxicants than the worker, and can afford to do so. young idler will spend more in a single night's carouse than the weekly wage of the average working-man. This is a notorious fact. Yet, except in very rare cases, poverty does not result from his extravagance. At least not poverty in the ordinary sense of the word. It may be, indeed, that a wealthy man will spend a larger proportion of his income on drink than does the common drunkard, and yet he does not become "poor." For example, if a working man earning £100 a year (only a few do, of course) spends £50 in drink, he will be as poor as the unskilled labourer who only earns 18s, or 20s, a week. An unwise expenditure of half his wages—and it matters not whether it be on drink or anything else-makes him a poor man. But the rich man, with an income of £1,000 a year, may squander in the same way half of his income and remain well-to-do. Finally, then, the question must resolve itself into a problem, not so much of unwise expenditure, as of unequal distribution.

The annual wealth of this country is estimated at £1,350,000,000, and statisticians are agreed that its division is somewhat as follows:—

Landlord	•••	 	£220,000,000
Capitalist (i.e., "interest")		 	270,000,000
Mercantile and Professional			360,000,000

making a total for the rich class, estimated at one-third of the population, of £850,000,000. The other twc-thirds—the workers—get in wages only £500,000,000, or £350,000,000 less than the smaller number. These figures are scarcely intelligible to the ordinary worker, so I will quote a simple illustration from Mr. Kenworthy's "Anatomy of Misery," recently reviewed in these columns. He says: "If we divide £100 among three men in these proportions we give £64 to one mar, and divide £36 between the other two. Another analysis shows that one-half the income goes to one-tenth of the population. If we divide £100 among ten persons in this proportion we give £50 to one and an average of £5 11s. odd to each of the other nine."

The drink trade employs, it is estimated, directly and indirectly, some 2,000,000 persons. But if it did not employ a single bottle-washer or barmaid, and if every penny of the £150,000,000 were spent by the workers—the idlers spending nothing—the drink traffic would still be less a cause of poverty than landlordism.

I do not propose to pursue the argument further in this paper, but I may be permitted to point out that the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, of which Lord Aberdare was chairman, reported in 1895: "We are confirmed in our view by the evidence we have received that . . . as regards the great bulk of the working classes, during their lives, they are fairly provident, fairly thrifty, fairly industrious, and fairly temperate." Mr. Chamberlain and others reported: "We also agree that the imputation that old age pauperism is mainly due to drink, idleness, improvidence, and the like abuses applies to but a very small proportion of the working population."

Mr. Chaplin's Committee, which was appointed to enquire into the "best means of improving the condition of the aged and deserving poor," reported on the question thus:—"Cases are too often found in which poor and aged people, whose conduct and whose whole career has been blameless,

industrious, and deserving, find themselves from no fault of their own, at the end of a long and meritorious life, with nothing but the workhouse or inadequate outdoor relief as the refuge for their declining years." Lady Cook's contentions can scarcely be described in polite language, and I am not anxious to emulate her in the use of language which does not merit that

description.

Considerations of space, and the fact that the heresy is not nearly so widespread, lead me to devote much less attention to the equally false and long-exploded idea that over-population is a primary cause of poverty. With the self-assurance of a veritable oracle Lady Cook repeats the wellknown Malthusian formula, and then says, with a tone of despair, "And yet we are gravely told by some who rush into print that over-population is not a cause of poverty." It would be very much more to the point if Lady Cook, instead of contenting herself with a vague speculation as to the population three centuries hence, would condescend to show us how overpopulation causes poverty in England to-day. Is Great Britain overpopulated! That is the only question which is pertinent to our present enquiry. That the population may increase to such an extent as to render existence for large numbers quite impossible, may be conceded for the moment. The remote possibility of such happening does not, however explain the present existence of the poverty problem, or, for that matter, anything else. We have in these islands an estimated population of 38,000,000 persons, the majority of whom are poor. Are the majority poor because 38,000,000 is too large a population? The population was much smaller in 1840-45 than in 1890-95. Ought we not to be in a worse condition then in the lastnamed years than we were 50 years before? Surely that is the obvious answer! Yet we know that in 1810-45 we were not so well off as in Again, why does Lady Cook not show to us that in those 1890-1895. countries where the population is diminishing those remaining are For her purpose Ireland should be an admirable example. benefited? During 50 years the population of Ireland has diminished by quite 50 per cent, and is still diminishing. Ought not the condition of the remaining population to be considerably improved? Surely Lady Cook's argument means that or nothing! Here are some startling figures which prove that the tide of emigration—the chief cause of depopulation in Ireland—has not ceased by any means. According to Mr. Thomas Lough, M.P., in 1898 the emigrants numbered 32,241, and in 1899 the number had risen to 41,232, whilst for this year, if we estimate the last two months on last year's basis, the total will be (about) 47,600. The following table gives the population of Ireland at four periods during the past twenty years :-

Year.			•	Population.
1881	 	 		 5,145,770
1891	 	 		 4,681,248
1895	 	 		 4,574,764
1900	 	 •••		 4,500,761

Thus, in the periods named, whilst the population of England has been steadily increasing, the population of Ireland has quite as steadily decreased. But, alas, for Lady Cook's Malthusian shibboleth, in England pauperism has lessened, whilst in Ireland it has increased. Here are the figures for Ireland:

	T	otal Number	of	Per 1,000 of
Year.		Paupers.		Population.
1897	 	459,268	• • •	 100.9
1898	 • • • •	526,056	• • • •	 115.78
1899	 	570,192	•••	 125.79

In England, with an increased population, pauperism in thirty years has decreased one-half.* In Ireland with a tremendous decrease in the population, pauperism has nearly doubled. I know of nothing more con-

clusive upon this question.

In France a similar thing is seen. There, too, a dwindling population has an increasing pauper class. If we take the United States of America we shall find ample evidence of the falsity of the contention of our Malthusian friends. In the census returns just published we find that side by side with an anormous increase in the population, the wealth of the States has increased to an unparalleled extent. The increase in wealth during the past ten years amounts to no less a sum than 25,000,000,000 dollars—£5,000,000,000. With its enormously increased population ought not the

contrary to be the case ? I look to Lady Cook for answer?

Of our own country I will only offer one further observation. The amount of wealth produced per head per annum has doubled in the present century. That also is a decidedly awkward fact for Lady Cook. As I have before shown, the annual wealth of the nation is equal to an income of £172 for each family, and that with a host of parasites, who do no useful labour. Even Lady Cook, I presume, would not contend that "overpopulation" produces millionaires. Yet side by side with the shamefully destitute we have the shamefully rich. If a man beginning with the creation of Adam (adopting for our purpose the Biblical reckoning) had put in some safe place a pound—the average worker's full wage—every week until now he would not yet have amassed anything like half-a-million sterling. Yet a Whitechapel Jew named "Isaacs," who earns a meagre living as an "old clo" man, in a few years is known to the world as "Mr. Barney Barnato," a multi-millionaire!

There are some other points in Lady Cook's paper which might be touched upon did time and space permit. If her Ladyship cares to defend her position, I shall be pleased to return the compliment. I imagine, however, that it were far wiser to ask her first to learn the elements of a science which she professes to teach, but with which she is obviously unacquainted.

J. SPARGO.

AMERICA'S SMAIL MERCHANT MARINF.

THE American newspapers are fond of printing glowing descriptions of our unprecedented export trade, descriptions bristling with figures to show that the United States is elbowing the other nations out of the world's markets. In contrast with these evidences of commercial and industrial prosperity, the size of our merchant marine (as disclosed by the report of Eugene Tyler Chamberlain, United States Commissioner of Navigation, just issued) cuts a rather sorry figure. Although the past fiscal year has been the most prosperous period known to American shipping for a considerable time, our total tonnage is still 374,974 tons less than in 1861. In that year our tonnege was 5,539,813 tons, and was larger than Great Britain's and nearly equalled the British empire's. British shipping now amounts to 14,261,000 gross tons—ours amounts to 5,164,839. When the part of our tonnage that is used in the foreign trade is examined separately, a still more surprising fact appears. Our tonnage in the foreign trade last year was only 816,795 tons, only nine per cent. of our exports and imports. A century ago, in fact, American shipping registered for foreign trade was 669,921 tons, while

^{*} That is per 1,000 of the population.

this tonnage now in the thirteen original States amounts to 482,907 tons. For serious competition with foreign nations in the ocean-carrying trade, we are practically restricted to ninety-seven registered steamships of over 1,000 tons, aggregating 260,325 tons. There are single foreign steamship corporations that own greater tonnage. As regards American shipbuilding, the commissioner shows that our entire construction of ships for foreign trade in the last ten years is not much more than half of Great Britain's output of 1,340,000 tons during the single year 1899. The main reason for this state of affairs, he says, is that the cost of shipbuilding in England is much less than here, and wages on the British ships are twenty-five per cent. lower than on the American. A freight steamship carrying 5,000 tons cargo now costs \$275,000 in the United States, compared with \$214,000 in Great Britain.—Literary Digest, New York, December 1.

LABOUR AT THE CENTURY END

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century the general conditions of working class life and labour were about as desperate as they could be. The capitalist system of production, distribution and exchange had already reached considerable dimensions, and was quickly spreading itself over the various parts of the country, where domestic industries were being gradually superseded by the factory system, and the economic condition of the people was so low that the capitalist preferred to send the goods produced in the factory to foreign markets to be sold or exchanged, rather than raise the economic status of the people at home, whose poverty and wretchedness gravitated between periods of long hours, low wages, and a reckless disregard of life when at work, and of "over-production" when markets could not be found for the products of labour. The most trustworthy evidence indeed exists to prove that the early quarter of the century was one of unmitigated misery so far as the great body of the people was concerned, and one of great and ever-expanding power and prosperity on the part of the capitalists. It was during the first half of the century that the great fortunes of Lancashire millionaires were made; and when the advent of the locomotive revolutionised the means of transit; when the postal telegraph accomplished in an hour what had formerly taken months; and the steamship supplanted the sailing vessel, the internationalisation of trade made Britain the mistress of the seas, and, surrendering her native agricultural labours in favour of the factory system, Britain became the workshop of the world, and held that doubtful honour until the industrial evolution of America, Germany, France, Russia, Austria and other nations set them all in competition with one another for the available trade of the world.

At the beginning of the century there was no factory legislation, and no such thing as public education, notwithstanding the heroic efforts made by such men as Robert Owen and Lord Shaftesbury to rouse the moral sense of the nation against the horrible sweating system which was then the distinguishing feature of British industry, and as the result of which men died off like rotten sheep, women and children waded through "the hell of the deep sunk mines," dragging coal waggons like beasts of burden, and so brutal had the men become that murders in the pits were ignored, and the most atrocious of crimes were all prevalent. All these evils came in with the capitalist competitive system, which had superseded the less vicious and less turbulent mediævalism, with the benevolent despotism of the aristocracy of blood. The result was a series of riots culminating in the

Chartist agitation and the Reform Bill of 1832, and that final supremacy of the middle classes which has existed unto this day. But the middle classes represent capitalism, not labour; and despite a number of enactments extending the franchise, and a host of Factory Acts, with the institution of the Labour Department, and an army of Government inspectors, the industrial advance made throughout the century has not materially altered the position of the worker, who, but for the existence of the trade unions and of the co-operative movement, would find himself in as wretched a position as did his fellows at the beginning of the capitalist régime. The most powerful unions have been able to demand an irreducible minimum wage for their members, and a maximum working week, while recent legislation has enforced sanitary regulations, and the greater protection of the life and limb of the wage worker; but progress, it must be acknowledged, has, notwithstanding the tremendous scientific discoveries of the century, been dead slow in this direction. If it is just and equitable that a powerfully organised body of workers should be able to demand a living wage and the best existing conditions of labour, it is surely equally just that those whose work is equally indispensable should be guaranteed a minimum wage commensurate to the actual value of their work, to the standard of our civilisation and with the economic resources of the nation. Is this to be determined by free unrestricted competition, or by the free unrestrained co-operation advocated by Robert Owen? Is it to be got by competitive individualism, or by co-operation or collectivism? Who can tell what any individual's worth is to the nation or to the race? What individual of outstanding eminence ever grudged the best effort of his life to advance the commonweal? We have here a short balance-sheet of the nation's capacity to do justice to labour, which even the most practical-minded man will not be able to evade

According to accredited statisticians, the total annual income of Great Britain entirely extracted from the workers' labour is seventeen hundred millions sterling; although, by the monstrous absurdity of our fiscal system, there is only one hundred and thirty millions of money in the country at any time, the rest of the transactions being carried on by bills of exchange, cheques, and so forth:—

INCOME.	Expenditure.
Total annual revenue	Rent £275,000,000
derived from the	Interest 340,000,000
labour of the	Profits and salaries 435,000,000
workers £1,700,000,000	Wages of Labour 650,000,000
Total £1,700,000,000	Total £1,700,000,000

About 1 per cent. of this total is expended in charities including endowments and Bible societies, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on poor law relief.

One ray of hope at least illumines the gloom. The people are growing in intelligence and in power. Persistent demands are being made for social, industrial, and economic legislation, which even the governing classes not only admit to be necessary, but recognise as inevitable, if civilisation is to continue. The operation of these very forces which have quickened the industrial pace has led to the exclusion of thousands from employment; and the fact that over two millions of the veterans of industry are in a state of destitution has forced the question of old age pensions into the arena of practical politics. For years it has been urged that the school age of young people should be extended, and that greater facilities should be provided for

technical—which practically means industrial—education. With the extremely old and young outside the competitive industrial arena, much of the more vicious elements of competition would be minimised. A maximum working week, a minimum wage for adult labour, and the providing of employment for all able and willing to work, would not only lay the basis of an industrial commonwealth, but remove the bulk of existing poverty, and raise the nation not only to a nobler sense of its duty, but to a state of economic stability which is clearly impossible of attainment under the present haphazard, unscientific, and totally inhuman system.

G. M. K., in the Scottish Co-operator, December 28, 1900.

SOME BOER CHARACTERISTICS.

MR BASIL WILLIAMS (sometime gunner in the C.I.V. Battery) contributes an interesting article on the above subject to the *Monthly Review* for

January. We here give the leading features :-

There appears to be a certain amount of misconception in England as to the character of the Boers, due no doubt to the unfortunate habit of some opponents of the war of depreciating the characteristics of Englishmen and exalting the Boer character at their expense. . . . The supporters of the national policy are inclined to attach undue importance to stories told to the discredit of the Boers and to convince themselves that our enemies are undeserving of consideration. It may be remarked that the advocates of the Boer cause in England would gain a more patient hearing for some of the really valuable suggestions they may have to make as to our treatment of the Boers, if they would not discredit their cause by their inability to see that Englishmen are not necessarily inferior to other nations. It is often the case with nations as with individuals who quarrel, that neither side can be said to be absolutely in the wrong; in fact, that both are in the This is especially the case in this war. We know we were right in waging this war; but the Dutch were equally right. It is true we are convinced that the form of Government which we offer to South Africa is better than any which the Dutch could give, but we respect, or ought to respect, the Dutch the more for being quite unable to accept this at present. Now in England there is still a section of the British public, not so large perhaps as at the beginning of the war, who believe that the Boers can hardly be reckoned as civilised enemies.

The writer here enumerates the usual charges of treachery and lack of honour brought against the Boers by a certain section of the press. He

continues:

Now, though these opinions are undoubtedly held in England, they are not those of the men who have been out in South Africa fighting the Boers

and coming into contact with them.

First, as to their treatment of prisoners, I constantly came across menwho had been prisoners in the hands of the Boers at various times, and I think I may say that my informants were representative of all classes of soldiers. Their unanimity as to their treatment was extraordinary. Not a single prisoner I ever met had a complaint to make about the way he had been treated. They stated that sometimes they were not sufficiently fed, but they always added that they fared as well as the Boers themselves. A story is told of an officer, one of De Wet's prisoners, who complained to the

Commandant that they were being almost starved. "Yes, I know," said De Wet, "we have been running it rather fine, but I intend to capture one of your convoys in a day or two, and then we all shall have a better all awance."

A sergeant of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, who had been released from captivity, had nothing but praise for his captors, and the story of his capture shows considerable mitigation of the horrors of war. This Canadian was riding along when he found his path blocked by an armed Boer; he drew his revolver to have a shot at him, but as he was pointing his horse stumbled and threw him. For the moment he was stunned, and the next thing he was aware of was that the Boer was helping him to his feet, saying goodhumouredly, "Don't try and kill me, I don't want to kill you, but to give you a hand up." After this the Boer asked, "Have you had any breakfast?" "No." "Well, here is something to eat," and he pulled a dough cake from his pocket. Of course there were sometimes rough specimens in the Boer ranks who attempted to treat them with brutality, but such were the exception, and were never countenanced by their fellows. This account is typical of many received from prisoners of the Boers, and they all unite in testifying that even in the most trying circumstances they were always treated as an honourable foe expects to be treated. This testimony is the more remarkable from a Canadian, as at one time it was said that the Boers showed particular animosity against Colonial prisoners.

Here is an account of the state of things at Waterval, when the prisoners were relieved by the English, which proves that the Boers did not behave like tyrants but were even on amicable terms with their prisoners. The "Tommy" who related his experiences told with great humour of the alarm exhibited by their Boer guards when they heard that the British were in Pretoria, and of their naïveté in consulting him as to what they had better do.

"The corporal of the guard, old Ginger we called 'im, 'cos he 'ad red 'air—'e wos a good sort 'e wos—comes up to me and sez, 'Look 'ere, Bill, what the 'ell am I to do?—('e talked good English, 'e did)—I went the round, just now and found one of my sentries 'ad done a bunk, so I puts on the next man and now 'e's gone and done a bunk too, ——him.' 'Well,' sez I, 'if I was you I'd go round to the guard tent and put the first man you find on guard.' 'What good would that do?' sez 'e, 'e'd only scoot like the others.' 'Well,' sez I, 'I don't see what the 'ell you are to do, unless you goes on yourself'—and 'e went. 'E was a good chap, was Old Ginger."

In my opinion, our men who were taken prisoners were treated as well as we treat the Boer prisoners; that is, very well.

a very complete estimate of the Boer character. But I was lucky enough to have some chances of forming a partial one. While searching for provisions or forage in the Free State I found that there were men on the farms who had fought against us and were proud of the fact. But they seemed to bear no malice, and when asked if they had any grudge against us would give such answers as: "No, we know when we are beaten and accept the inevitable," or 'No; you have only been doing your duty, just as we were doing ours."... In many farms no males were left except

^{*} To reproduce the story exactly, the reader should supply the soldiers' perpetual "epithetonornans" between each substantive and adjective.

very old men and young boys; in these the women generally received us with more sullen looks, but the extraordinary hospitality and courtesy of the Boers almost always caused them to unbend before the interview was We rarely left a farm, even when we had been conducting somewhat forced sales for the battery, without having coffee or a piece of bread or milk, all luxuries in that stricken country, offered us by women who were weeping for a husband or brother, killed or prisoner . . . The result of our visit to these farms was certainly to increase our respect for the people Both men and women, though feeling their defeat keenly, were dignified and courteous, receiving soldiers, their enemies, as if they were guests. We saw a good number of Boer prisoners, as we were part of the force which escorted about 1,500 of them from Fouriesberg to Winberg. None were in uniform, but were dressed rather like poorer English farmers. They were of all ages; boys of 12 or 14, men in the prime of life, and grey beards fighting for their grandchildren. On the whole they took their adversity well, seeming to bear us no malice, but to regard us as honourable foes, a feeling which we reciprocated. We found no confirmation in them of the popular opinion about the Boer distaste for water. But their most striking characteristic was their genuine piety. . . . Hypocrisy I have heard it called by some of the English settlers in South Africa. Hypocrites the Boers certainly are not any more than were our Puritans. Hospitable they certainly are, and proud of their country in a way which wins the sympathy of those who are no less proud and willing to fight for theirs.

As to white flag incidents, there have no doubt been cases of the misuse of the flag, but they are by no means so numerous nor so flagrant as they are believed to be in England. In the first place a battle extends over miles of country, and a signal displayed in one corner of the field of battle is not necessarily a signal that the whole army wish to surrender. In the second place, it does sometimes happen—and there are even said to have been parallel cases in the British army—that of a band of fighters, one, more chicken-hearted than the rest, will put up his handkerchief, and that his comrades refuse to acknowledge this isolated confession of defeat. This cannot be called deliberate treachery.

Mr. Williams criticises the farm-burning policy rather severely and considers that it is more calculated to prolong the war than to end it; he concludes with expressing his opinion that, "The Boers are a people far more likely to settle down peaceably in the end if they have been thoroughly beaten by us in fair fight than if they are driven to desperation by such extreme measures as farm-burning. They are a people proud, and of a tenacious memory, and an injustice rankles with them far more than defeat in fair fight. The inhabitants of the Orange Free State and Transvaal are better disposed to us and respect us more just because they have been well beaten by us (?) than the disaffected Dutch in Cape Colony, who have a vague sense of grievance against us and have not fought us."

THE authorities in Berlin have sent circulars to all the local governments in the German Empire asking for information as to the number of meetings held by the Socialists. It must be very interesting reading. We hope that the statistics will eventually be published.

As winter that wanes to the spring-time we hope and desire; As metal made fit for the craftsman, well purged in the fire; As a brooklet that widens at last to an arm of the sea, Is the march of democracy.

For the snow, and the frost, and the rain bring blossoms to prime; And a metal had need to be tough for a work that's sublime; And joined by a myriad bright brothers undreamt of, must be A river that rolls to the sea.

Hurrah, for the leaves of our blossom, yet tender and small! Hurrah, the good work in the smithy that weldeth us all! Hurrah, for the rivulets flashing in hurry and glee To be one in the glorious sea!

We greet you, fair century, yet virgin and unpossest; From the grandeur and glory about us we reach to the best, Surpassing the glory and grandeur of all that we see-The people triumphant and free!

G. W. S.

THE MAISON DU PEUPLE IN BRUSSELS.

THE

SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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THE MAISON DU PEUPLE IN BRUSSELS.

The centre of activities, the focus of mutual interests, the living, animating symbol of Democracy and of Collectivism in nearly every town and village in Belgium, is the Maison du Peuple, whether it be the modest hired and adapted house of half-a-dozen rooms, such as one finds in country and outlying districts, or whether it be the modern building of appropriate design and construction, such as the Vooruit, in Ghent, or the Brussels Maison du Peuple, the photograph of which is reproduced in the present number of the Social Democrat. The internal work and organisation, the exterior propaganda and the well-being and recreative possibilities of this People's Home or Hostel, form the articulate self-expression of the Belgian Workman's Party, and are the result of a welding together of the forces of co-operation (used as a means and not as an end), of trades unionism, and of collectivism, which latter, in continental countries, is taught as an economic and scientific reconstruction of society, and not as an indefinite collection of emotional aspirations and beliefs.

The experimental ventures of the Workman's Party in Brussels in securing, through co-operation, a sound financial basis for propaganda were humble, for they commenced in 1880 with a capital of 600 francs (£24), and with a membership of 88 families. Its first meetings were held in a cellar, and its first attempt at productive co-operation was the hiring of an oven at 30 francs a month, in which bread was baked and was afterwards distributed at a price which only allowed a profit of two centimes, or less than a farthing, on every loaf sold. Nineteen years afterwards the half-yearly output of loaves was 4,994,850, out of which 22,153 loaves were distributed amongst the families of members where there was illness.

A focus or centre having once been secured, and an administrative council formed, the material or trading side, and the propaganda or intellectual and spiritual side, went on steadily hand in hand, till it was decided in 1898 that the Workman's Party in Brussels was justified in building suitable and convenient premises for itself, to be the outward and visible sign of its prosperity and growth. The design was entrusted to one of the leading architects of the town, who was so evidently in sympathy with the feeling and work he had to express that when he was asked if he were not intending to have " Maison du Peuple " writ large on the façade of the building replied, "Do you write 'Church' on the buildings that express your religious aspirations? No, you build them so beautifully and so expressively that they interpret to all comers the meaning of the edifice; and in the same way I hope to work out my design for the People's Home that all may understand and read the symbol aright, and that the people when they come across it may recognise it at once as being the expression of their needs and aspirations."

Everything within and without the building speaks of light, strength, suitability and cleanliness. A very lofty café, lighted by electricity, and capable of holding close on a thousand people, shares the ground floor with the various trading departments; on the first floor, and approached by iron staircases, are the administrative departments, and halls of various sizes for public meetings, trade union meetings, and social gatherings. On the roof is a large theatre and concert hall, holding over 2,000, with an outside promenade and refreshment rooms. Iron, cement and glass are largely employed in the construction of the building, and the architect has relied for decoration more on line and form than on colour, with a result that makes for dignity and simplicity rather than for show and glitter.

Of the advantages of membership in this collectivist co-operative we may judge from extracts from the pamphlets of a Belgian writer, Zeo, on this subject. He writes: "In order to become a member of the Maison du Peuple, the name and address, accompanied by a payment of 25 centimes (23d.) must be sent into the administration, in exchange for which a pass-book and a share (the rest of which is paid up in instalments) is received. Every three or six months bonuses on purchases are paid in the form of tickets which can be exchanged for clothing or boots. Each member pays 1d. a week, in exchange for which he has the right to the services of a doctor and to medicine free during a year, and six loaves of bread a week during six weeks. In the case of the death of a member the family receives 10 francs. Since 1892 the Ghent Co-operative has instituted a pension fund for its aged members. All those who buy goods to the amount of £6 a year exclusive of bread, and who have been members for 20 years, can receive a pension at the age of 60. Women have a right to bread and groceries for a week after their confinement. Besides this, libraries and educational advantages are provided by the larger Maisons du Peuple for the benefit of their members."

We also have on Zeo's authority the facts that these larger Maisons du

Peuple have brought down the price of bread to such an extent that many of the smaller bakers have disappeared; that at Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and Liège they regulate the bread market; that their products are subjected to rigorous analysis and criticism; that they have introduced in their establishments an eight hours day worked on the system of three shifts; that their staff participate in the profits of the undertaking; that they have encouraged the organisation of their staff, which, as a union, discusses, examines and proposes measures likely to be of benefit to the working of the undertaking; that they are able to subsidise the workers during strikes and to help forward educational and social ideals in the interests of the workers.

Zeo further gives a list of the conditions necessary to success in similar undertakings, and it may be of interest to reproduce them for the benefit of English comrades. They might, he says, be called the commandments of collectivist co-operation:

- 1. Sell only for ready money.
- 2. Do not sell at the lowest rates, but sell only goods of the best quality.
 - 3. Adhere to the federation of co-operative societies.
 - 4. Allow employees, managers, and staff a share in the profits.
 - 5. Distribute the profits according to the amount of purchases.
 - 6. Give all one's custom to the co-operative trading centre.
- 7. Interest the co-operators, especially the women, in the management of the business, and in social questions, and instruct them.
- 8. Exercise a serious control over the business through the intermediary of a commission, of a trusted administrative council, and by the aid of a clear and simple form of book-keeping.

This practical set of rules are of value as coming from the secretary of the Federated Societies of Belgian Co-operatives, and that their application has contributed largely to the success of the collectivist co-operators in Belgium no one can doubt who has visited the Maisons du Peuple in Brussels and other centres, and who has studied their administration and watched the results of their political and social propaganda.

D. B. M.

Our Dutch comrades are preparing themselves for the great struggle next June, when the general elections will take place. The Liberals are sparing no means in trying to capture the three Social Democratic seats in Enschedee, Veendam and Tietjerksteradeel, but the Socialist representatives for these districts, Van Kol, Schaper and Troelstra, will also spare no effort to hold their position—most likely with success. It is thought that the chief feature of the election will be a revision of the Constitution, in order to extend the franchise. The Extreme Left fraction of the Liberal Party agrees with this point, but the Moderates and some of the Radicals believe that social legislation is more urgent than electoral reform.

DEMOCRACY.

In the course of an address which I recently delivered on "Socialism in the Nineteenth Century" I pointed out, incidentally, that mere democratic forms, universal suffrage, one man one vote, abolition of the House of Lords, second ballot, payment of members, and all the rest of what we generally mean when we speak of complete democracy, might, quite conceivably, hinder rather than help social, and even, in a sense, political, progress under existing conditions. The democratisation of our political constitution, therefore, no matter how desirable in theory, might easily prove worse than a despotism unless accompanied by thorough social education. This view I have held for fully thirty years—from the time, indeed, when I first had the opportunity of studying the action of what was assumed to be thorough-going democracy in the United States of America; and all my experience since in this country has confirmed me in that opinion. Democracy without education is a reactionary force in modern times.

No sooner had I delivered myself of this statement, however, than I; was challenged upon it by a Radical of the old school, who said that this was only another form of the Conservative argument against the extension of the suffrage at all. That, in fact, Tories always argue that the right to vote on important matters of State ought not to be granted to the ignorant; and my friend the Radical was, so he averred, surprised to hear a Social-Democrat, with a whole series of democratic proposals set forth in the S.D.F. programme, reason in the same sense as reactionists. I confess that this attack had very little, if any, effect upon me. I have no regard for democracy, either with a big or little "d," merely as democracy, any more than I have for Home Rule merely as Home Rule, or for female suffrage merely as female suffrage. They are all only means to an end, that end being the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the whole people. quote Bakounine, I hold that anything which tends to bring about that condition of things called Socialism is justifiable, anything which retards its accomplishment is unjustifiable. I am no believer in "inherent rights" which involve inevitable wrongs, and I do not even discuss these questions from the "wrong" or "right" point of view at all. My anxiety as a Social-Democrat is to educate the whole people as speedily as possible to a conception of what is going on around them, in order that they may conseiously dominate the entire social development and control the powers of creating wealth which now, in the hands of the monopolising minority, enslave them. If the enfranchisement of a mass of deteriorated, uneducated voters will tend to throw back this essential education, then I am not in favour of such enfranchisement, of such "democracy," however convinced I may be of the truth that the whole of the adult population will take an active and intelligent part in the administration of Socialism when Social-Democracy itself is constituted.

If, however, anyone could thoroughly convince me (seeing education must inevitably come, in the first instance, from above, that is to say, from those who are already themselves educated) that we should make more progress in educating the people to Socialism under a capable Cæsar than we should with a fully-enfranchised democracy—then I am a Cæsarist for the time being, always provided the capable Cæsar presents himself. In truth, when the late Robert Lowe, who thought proper to degrade himself into Lord Sherbrooke, said, after Disraeli's Reform Bill, of which he was the most vigorous opponent, "Now we have to educate our masters," he delivered himself of something much better than a mere sarcasm. governing classes have taken good care to keep the mass of their countrymen ignorant, in order the better to retain them in subjection and to prevent them from ever becoming masters. And then those two great examples of cynicism and cowardice in high place, Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery, read us philosophical lectures on the advantage of the nation possessing that complete education which, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Acland and Sir John Gorst, they themselves have prevented the people from getting, for fear that, learning even a little, it should learn enough to oust them. Hence our education is all behindhand, and the physical development of thousands upon thousands of the workers is becoming worse and worse.

Sad as it may be, there is the fact. We are all democrats. Yet we know quite well that if all adult Englishmen had an equal vote, leaving women for the time being out of the account, we might be landed in a worse position than we are in to-day. Certain it is that the poorest voters are precisely those who are most indifferent to the welfare of themselves and their children when it comes to voting. Certain it is, also, that, apathetic as they are in relation to their own business, they are easily cajoled and bribed into supporting a policy which is ruinous to others. Thus democracy, so far as we have tried it in Great Britain, has meant a triumph not only for Conservatism but for reaction, and reaction quite as much among those who proclaim themselves in favour of progress as with those who openly declare they fear for their own sakes to trust the people. Consequently, I, for one, do not hesitate to say that I am not going a single step out of my way to obtain changes in a democratic direction, or to agitate for complete political reorganisation, except side by side with continuous social education and transformation.

We are all of us, in fact, in a vicious circle, whatever views we may hold theoretically. If we do not institute and organise a democracy then there is no force behind us wherewith to compel the dominant minority to surrender even a portion of their plunder, or to grant genuine education to the people. Should we establish such a democracy, with an ignorant people, we run the risk of mob rule at home and abroad of the worst and most unmanageable kind. Now ignorance, thorough-going slum-dweller's ignorance, doesn't even know that it is ignorance, any more than it recognises that those who

are thus ignorant and hopeless are economically and socially oppressed. There is little or nothing left to appeal to in thousands upon thousands of our city population. Yet these are and must be a great part of the new democracy, from whose mental incapacity and physical decrepitude the renovation of England is, it would seem, to come. But this is manifestly absurd. Ignorant and apathetic citizens and voters are not democrats in any true sense of the word at all, still less are they class-conscious Social-Democrats. To make them either, their physical surroundings, their food, their air, their housing, their clothing must first be completely changed and then they must receive a sound education in every sense. Only in this way can democracy become worthy of the name.

But this, once more, shows that mere political cries are utterly useless, misleading, and even directly harmful. "Let us take that which divides us the least and work at it" is what the advocates of democracy for its own sake constantly cry, entirely regardless of consequences. Democracy is their "blessed word," as Bax would say. For my part, however, after twenty years of continuous work among the mass of the people, I am more convinced than I was to start with that mere political reorganisation, divorced from social, mental and moral reorganisation, is the most contemptible charlatanry; though I am quite aware that good men are led away by it.

What, then, should Social-Democrats do as against this pseudo-democratic political movement, if movement it is, which to my eye has all the appearance of well-meant time-marking? We can do no more than we have been doing, only we must do it still more vigorously and on a wider scale. Unquestionably, the results of the feeble compromise known as the Education Act of 1870 have been most disappointing. Mr. W. E. Forster deliberately sold the interests of the children of the English people for a whole. generation, in order to gain purely political ends. It is easy to overrate the value of mere instruction in any case. But our Board School instruction is the worst of its kind. Snippety half-knowledge, combined with weakly physique, is even harder to deal with than downright ignorance, coupled with bodily vigour. The class war has been systematically waged in this country by the dominant classes at the cost of the present and future wellbeing of the mass of the population. And the mass of the population has hitherto been entirely unable to comprehend that there is any class war at all. An unpromising situation indeed! But to shut our eyes to the truth does not make the matter any better. In the course of the past twenty years of assiduous propaganda we have taught a certain proportion of our countrymen and countrywomen to look facts in the face and to translate them correctly. Even that proportion, though small, would have much greater influence than it has if all were combined and disciplined in one solid organisation. We have, in fact, a genuine democracy, as far as it goes, which will form the nucleus for the more complete democracy, the ordered Social-Democracy, of the near future. What renders our task more difficult, however, is that we have not only to prepare for that future, but, at the same time, to remedy the damnable inheritance handed down to us from the

past. To do this effectively, it is absolutely essential that we should keep our revolutionary ideal, arising out of the inevitable economic and material development of the period, steadily before ourselves and those whom we are trying under the most discouraging circumstances to persuade.

Nor also should we fail to recognise continuously the drawbacks of an inchoate and half-developed democracy, such as alone we can hope to obtain under existing conditions. The observation that democracies prefer persons to principles is older than Aristotle. But this preference is apt to take odd shapes, and a democracy which is jealous of any individual who rises above its own average of mediocrity to-day will prostrate itself in the most servile manner before a personality who controls and dominates it to-morrow. Moreover, the cheap press has introduced into all modern democracies educated or uneducated, many of the characteristics of a mob. Unthinking. hysterical action at critical periods threatens to become as common with nations as it was formerly with metropolitan crowds, from the times of Athens, Rome and Alexandria down to our own day. Let us ever remember, therefore, that there is nothing more sacred in a democracy than there is in a majority. Both the one and the other are merely convenient methods for avoiding personal or civil strife. A democracy, then, is only useful as expressing and enforcing legitimate class aspirations; until classes cease to exist, having been absorbed in a thorough organisation of the whole community in co-operation with other communities. "Vox populi, vox dei" is old nonsense, none the better for being old.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN AUSTRIA.

The following table shows the result of the elections to the Reichsrath in Austria; the figures in parentheses show the number in the late Parliament:—

German Progressists	 35	(36)	Italians	•••		19	(5)
German Democrats	 49	(41)	Roumanians		•••	5	(5)
German Nationalists	 21	(8)	Slovenes	•••	•••	16	(17)
Anti-Semites	 21	(27)	Croats		-4	9	(9)
Liberal Germans	 3	(9)	Servians >			2	(2)
Catholic Democrats	 23	(27)	Constitutional .	Agra	rians	30	(28)
Young Czechs	 53	(61)	Centre		•••	6	(6)
Agrarian Czechs	 6	(0,1)	Moderate Agran	ians		3	(2)
Socialist Czechs	 4	(0)	Socialists		•••	10	(15)
Moderate Poles	 60	(55)	Savages (i.e.,	Ind	epen-		
Democrat Poles	 9	(8)	dents)		• • • • •	9	(20)
Ruthenes	 11	(9)					

The above gives a good idea of the complexity and confusion of parties. Imagine a Parliament here with half-a-dozen Home Rule parties! The remedy is obvious, that Austria is a geographical expression, and wants splitting up into several States.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FINALITY.

I am by no means averse to the alternative title suggested by my friend Kennedy to my last article in reply to him. "The discretion that waits upon opportunity" is one of the attributes of the wise, though, it is true, opportunism can be carried to unwise extremes. This by the way.

Before I proceed to an examination of the points whereon we differ, I must correct a slight error that Kennedy has fallen into with respect to my reference to the "no-where world of metaphysics." The sentence in which it occurs was intended to define the position of such of us as take a materialist view of history and human nature, together with a protest against the claim to finality set up by some materialists. But, it appears, I was mistaken in supposing that Kennedy occupied this extreme and, as might be easily demonstrated, untenable position. Nevertheless, finality or no finality, he has put himself into a "hole" from which there is no escape, as I will presently show.

The principal difference between Kennedy and myself is whether any useful purpose can be served by active opposition to the policies of those who, by their lack of wise diplomacy and moral sense, led this country into what were virtual acts of aggression provoking retaliation in the shape of President Kruger's "ultimatum." The pointing out of this unwisdom, and the denunciation of the parties responsible, is an offence against the lofty principles of Kennedy's determinist philosophy. He, therefore, characterises it as an unworthy "playing to the gallery," as a "degradation of principle." And against me he misquotes Marx. This is all very well in its way; but he forgets that we are obliged to take men, as well as things, as they are, not as they might or ought to be. Socialism is, before everything, a proletarian movement, and it appeals specially to the class-consciousness of the proletaire. But the facts with respect to the proletaire are as I said; the vast majority of them are only able to understand Socialism so far as it is simplified to their comprehension. One does not address a class of elementary students (I will not say children) in the terminology of advanced science easily understandable by graduates and savants only. How "timidity" comes to be involved it is not easy to see. Kennedy must be perfectly well aware that a very large percentage of avowed Socialists, even, are unacquainted with the doctrine of Marx except as it has been presented to them in a simplified How many members of our (and the I.L.P.) branches have made a careful study of "Das Kapital" for themselves? With still greater force does this question apply to the vast majority of the wage-working populalation whose class-consciousness is as yet dormant. I said Kennedy misquotes Marx. The passage he gives is itself a citation from a writer in the St. Petersburg European Messenger whose opinion is contrasted with those of other critics as showing how little the method employed in "Das Kapital" has been understood. The sentences quoted by Kennedy are not

those of Marx, but one of Marx's critics. It is, however, open to objection only as Kennedy uses it, as Marx versus myself, and, therefore, likely to mislead some of our readers. On the contrary, I find in the author's preface to the first edition the following, which bears out my contention as to the utility and necessity of personalities for the purposes of elucidation, illustration and the emphasis of argument :-" To prevent possible misunderstanding, a word. I paint the capitalist and the landlord in no sense couleur de rose. But here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class relations and class interests." These are Marx's own words. Kennedy will recollect, or may verify by reference, the description of Destutt de Tracy as a "fish-blooded bourgeois doctrinaire"; of the Earl of Shaftesbury held up to contempt as "this low church pope," "this head of English pietists" who "pockets a great part of the miserable wages of the labourers under the pretext of house-rent"; of the Duchess of Sutherland and her "land-clearing"; of Edmund Burke as an "execrable political cantmonger," " sycophant," "an out-and-out vulgar bourgeois." And so forth. All of which is quite as much in order as our denunciations of Chamberlain, et hoc genus omne, in similar terms. One does not ignore an abstract principle whilst pointing to its concrete application; on the contrary, the latter is usually the most convincing proof of the existence and reality of the former. Given a phenomenon, we search for its cause. If we have no phenomenon, we do not usually waste time in theorising as to the potential causes likely to produce one. We have before us examples In describing these examples we use terms of moral perversion. applicable to them. But such terms are not abuse, they are mere statements of fact. If I call a particularly mean swindler a rascal; a perverter of the truth, a liar; a betrayer of his own word and the national honour, a scoundrel; a "hooligan," or a persecutor of helpless women and children, a brutal ruffian; an appropriator of other peoples' goods, a thief; or an unskilled or senseless person, a blunderer or a fool, it does not follow that I am "belabouring them with fury." simply means that I attach to each a correct appellative. In this respect Kennedy is hypercritical, not to say absurdly finical. So with the causes of the war. Unable to do otherwise than accept my statement as to the immediate cause, he indulges in a cheap sneer which I consider somewhat unworthy of him, especially after he has censured me (with others) for appealing, as he says, to "the tastes and prejudices" of "those around." It would appear, however, that Kennedy himself has not entirely escaped from the thraldom of prejudice. The remote causes of the war, which indeed we might trace back to geological times, are unessential to the enquiry. The immediate cause is both obvious and cogent. Had we possessed wise diplomatists in those entrusted with the delicate adjustment of the economic forces without the Transvaal to the economic conditions within, and had our Colonial Secretary been a highly moral type (even from a conventional point of view), the extension of capitalism might have been effected by the orderly processes of economic development and political action, that is,

without war. A careful examination of the economic conditions of the South African Republics and our adjacent colonies, and the political movements attendant upon them, should convince Kennedy that this possibility of peaceful solution existed up to the last stroke of the clock which decided the first action of the Boer forces. the quantity, wisdom and morality, which should have gone to avert the final catastrophe was, as Kennedy says, "non-existent," though it was not "unknown," as he further avers. The elements required to preserve peace being absent, war followed as a matter of course. But this does not make the war the more reputable, nor the shortcomings and perversities of those who precipitated it any the less deserving of censure. In general condemnation of the moral turpitude involved I am happy to be in agreement with the gentlemen Kennedy names. But, according to Kennedy, we are not to be allowed to censure anybody for his actions, no matter what they may be. Even the criminal obeys his dominant impulse; he acts, "not as he freely wills, but as he must." A very happy doctrine, one would think, for the criminal classes, providing as it does every justification for perverted courses, and cancelling altogether the sense of moral responsibility. The judge may not tell the cowardly ruffian before him what he really is in the eyes of all honest men, and the doubt arises how far he is justified in committing him to prison! Into what sort of a cul de sac would Kennedy have us follow him? Taking him in the precise and logical meaning of his own words, and assuming that he means exactly what he says, then we are to abstain from denouncing the war in the terms it deserves, and from describing the characters of those who have brought it about in the only way they can be described, on account of the causes which have rendered the former unavoidable whilst determining the latter. We must regard them both, not only with philosophic calm, but assure everybody that they are inevitable in the very nature of things, thus running dangerously near becoming apologists for capitalism itself. corollary to this doctrine carries further. us general actions and expressed opinions in opposition to the war and its authors are as inevitable as our opponents' antagonism to us, and it is curious that Kennedy should fail to perceive that they are a necessary and indispensable part of the process of action and reaction that will go on to the decomposition of the capitalist system and the establishment of Collectivism. By the same reasoning, as Chamberlain and Milner could not help the war, we could not help assailing them, Kennedy could not help criticising us, and I could not help replying to Kennedy. And so the circle is complete! Kennedy has achieved "finality" with a vengeance. has dropped again into his "hole," And all because he does not take into account the factor in social evolution which I describe as an "unknown quantity," but which he does not consider it necessary to postulate. We are at one with respect to causality in matter, and the physical limitations of intellectual activity. But we disagree, and this is the vital point, as to the source of these activities. Kennedy would, doubtless, maintain that mind is a manifestation of matter only—a product of the physical organisation.

Such is the "gross" materialist position. Though this view may account for a very large number of psychical phenomena, including dreams and a certain class of illusions, it provides no adequate explanation of the faculty of abstract thought, or of will and its influence over one's own actions and the actions of others, an influence very often exerted in opposition to merely physical desires, impulses and emotions. Neither does it help us to an understanding of those higher ideals of progressive civilisation which eventually produce social conditions very different from the Though differing somewhat from the "gross" materialist maintaining conception in that these (purely mental) phenomena. resulting necessitate the postulation or "unknown" quantity, I do not thereby commit myself to the "no-where world," since this quantity can only be considered in its definite physical relations. What it may be in the aggregate, or apart from these relations, we have no means of knowing, since it would involve a conception of infinity impossible to the finite comprehension. the individual (man) we call it mind as distinct from body. And this is what I mean by the "initiatory power," which we may liken, by analogy, to a musician whose control over his instrument is only limited by the range and capacity of the latter. In this view, that mind is, in itself, the principle from which alone consciousness can be derived, we are able to verifiy our own powers and to justify our efforts in striving against reactionary processes, and in stimulating progressive tendencies calculated to produce better conditions for ourselves and for society at large. does not permit of further enlargement of the question thus raised, which might, indeed, be discussed indefinitely owing to the scantiness of the data at our disposal. Mental science is as yet in its infancy, and has, unfortunately, been discredited by the rash assumptions of the metaphysicians, and, worse still, by the absurd and unfounded dogmas of the theologians. Hence it is impossible to do more than suggest that the "gross" materialist, in considering the factors that determine conduct, appears to leave out the most important, or at best gives to it but a feeble explanation as a product of the brain and nervous system only-a very "god from the machine." If one should really succeed in convincing himself that his mind is merely the product of his physical constitution, and can only operate obediently to the dictates of the latter, then his condition must eventually be one of complete mental atrophy. That my friend has not yet arrived at this stage is fully proved by the vigour and acuteness with which he endeavours to persuade me that I am not responsible for my own performance in thought, word, or action, yet finding fault with me all the time because I think and write, not as I will, but as I must.

JOHN E. ELLAM.

THE Belgique Militaire, a Belgian bourgeois military paper, has issued a vigorous protest against the authorities, who lately called out the Garde Civic for service during the dockers' strike.

THOUGHTS ON RESPONSIBILITY.

It is always pleasing to see a theory drawn out to its strict logical conclusion. This makes Mr. Themas Kennedy's article in last month's Social-Democrat very agreeable reading, even though, in his zeal for determinism or fatalism, it lands him in a queer position as to the basis of ethics.

Take his argument and reduce it to form :-

- 1. All human animals are merely sentient automata, whose actions, in given surroundings and circumstances, are determined for them by a series of events over which they have no control.
- 2. Therefore, no human animal is really responsible for any action at any time. He is simply impelled thereto by long anterior, predisposing causes which he does not even know.
- 3. Consequently we have no right to hold him morally responsible, or to denounce him, for anything he does. E.g.: The war in South Africa was "inevitable." Consequently it is foolish or even wrong to denounce Joseph Chamberlain as an agent in bringing it about.
- 4. Carry this a step farther. The man who deliberately, by lying and pretended goodwill, betrays his country or his friend to the enemy, the keeper of a brothel or the souteneur who lives on the wages of a prostitute, the rake who outrages boys and girls, is by this reasoning no more deserving of personal reprobation than the engine-driver who saves a train of passengers at the cost of his life, the sailor who swims ashere with a rope from a sinking ship, the nurse or the doctor who serves on a plague hulk when all the rest have fled, is worthy of personal honour. There is, in short, no ethic at all, either personal or social, either individualist or altruist, either introspective or other. We all do what we are obliged to do, and vice and virtue, honour and dishonour, nobility and meanness, have no longer any significance whatever.

Now this, if the truth and the whole truth, would have to be accepted, as we are compelled to accept other truths, however unpalatable. But is it the whole truth? Granted that men are sentient automata, and that mind is only a function of matter, it still remains true that, as we gain in perception of what our automatic nature is capable of, we obtain control over our own automatism; and mind, though emanating from and conditioned by matter, reacts on matter, modifies, affects and even revolutionises matter, when once mind has been developed and has become, within limits, a law unto itself. To say that Mr. Chamberlain could not avoid making those truculent speeches and working up his Titus Oates figment of a "plot" on the part of the Boers at the crisis of the South African difficulty is, in effect, to state that a man who loses his temper at a dinner-table argument

"cannot avoid" breaking his neighbour's head with a water-bottle, because he thinks proper to enforce his contentions in that way. This is not the truth, nor anything approaching to the truth. Human society, in the course of the long millions of years which man has taken to develop on this planet, has slowly groped its way, with many backslidings on the upward path, to a higher and ever higher ethic of individual and social conduct. The man who, throwing aside the self-control, or secial-control, thus obtained for him by the unconscious and conscious strivings upward of our race, allows himself—for this personal permission to oneself to "let go" is quite possible—to fall back into the stage of barbarism and brutality, is more than half a beast, who, to that extent, deliberately chooses to be a beast. I, for one, therefore, refuse to relieve Mr. Chamberlain of his personal responsibility—shared of course by all the Cabinet—in bringing about a war which itself I deny to have been inevitable.

Slavery, feudalism, capitalism have been necessary and inevitable stages in the growth of our race. That is so, no doubt. But does Mr. Kennedy therefore contend that the Roman slave-owners, men and women, who caused slaves to be tortured in order to gratify their lust; or the feudal nobles who slaughtered peasants in order to wash their feet in the blood, or shot thatchers in order to enjoy seeing them roll down off the roof; or the capitalists of modern England who yesterday overworked and flogged children of tender age, and to-day have poisoned men and women in order to increase their gains, incurred no responsibility? I say they did. For in each case they outraged the ethics of their time. On the other hand, Iroquois, or Sioux, or Apache, ready to slaughter or to be slaughtered, to torture or to be tortured, had no better ethic to be guided by and could not be accounted responsible.

H. M. Hyndman.

THERE is now living at Brussels a Polish painter, A. Sochaczewski. He is working at a panorama which depicts the sufferings of the Poles in Siberia. He himself has been an exile in Siberia. In 1863, when he was a student at Warsaw, he was arrested in his bed, taken to a fortress and put in chains. He stayed there for a year and was then sentenced by a court-martial to death. The Czar graciously commuted the sentence to banishment and hard labour. He was taken to Siberia and set to work at the salt mines on Lake Barkal, near Irkinsk. He gives a terrible account of the sufferings undergone by the exiles; the gaolers spare neither age nor sex, and the edict forbidding the use of the knout is a dead letter in Siberia. After being there for nearly 30 years he was pardoned, and since then he has lived in France and Belgium. If the authorities allow the panorama to be exhibited it will be a good object-lesson. Doubtless we shall feel much indignation at this treatment of Poles; perhaps one day a Dutch painter will exhibit in Russia a panorama showing the farm-burning in the Transvaal.

"A BUNDLE OF FALLACIES."

In the January number of the Social-Democrat Mr. Belfort Bax presents its readers with what he is pleased to name "A Bundle of Fallacies," and my attention has been called to one item in the bundle which seems to have got in through some misapprehension on the part of the writer, as it ought surely to belong to someone else's bundle, and not to that of a logical and consistent member of the S.D.F.

Mr. Bax seems to wish to prove that women suffrage (or to use a term which seems less open to misunderstanding, adult suffrage) "is in no way whatever necessarily involved in a political democratic or Social-Democratic programme." I have read and re-read carefully the reasons adduced by Mr. Belfort Bax in refutation of the supposed fallacy involved in the belief that adult suffrage, which would include adult women voters, is a necessary part of a democratic programme—and I must confess my failure to follow his line of argument. No one in their senses doubts that "sex distinctions as such are based on organic or biological differences" (though we might have wished he had said and biological differences), but what has that scientific and biological fact to do with the political function of recording a vote? Again, we will all admit with Mr. Belfort Bax "that the workman has essentially the same bodily and mental organism as his employer" when that employer is a man; but Mr. Belfort Bax seems to assume that all employers like all political voters are males, and this I must remind him has yet to be proved. He writes vaguely of "problems raised by the sex question," but what have these problems got to do with adult suffrage? They are problems which will resolve themselves evolutionally after the great economic revolution has been accomplished to which all Socialists look forward; and Mr. Belfort Bax will only complicate matters in the minds of those he is wishing to instruct by mixing up such problems with the exercise of the functions of a citizen. Sex has no more to do with the exercise of the suffrage than it has to do with the infelicitously chosen parallel of the writer-the exercise of the functions of employer and of employed. If Demos means anything, it means the men and women of a country as humans and citizens, and has nothing to do with their relations as husbands and wives or as parents and children. This clears the ground of all "sex problems" and "women questions" when democracy is under consideration, and justifies the resolution lately passed at the International Socialist Congress in Paris placing adult suffrage on the international programme.

Emile Vandervelde, when writing last year in the *Peupls*, stated that when the resolution was passed an English delegate near him remarked, "We are asking for women suffrage, but, for the love of heaven, let us hope they will not give it us; it would throw our ideas back for half a

century." I do not believe this is the spirit of English Social-Democracy, though it may be the spirit of one or two members whose minds are incapable of studying a question historically and judging it fairly. That Vandervelde and his colleagues are more open-minded and more truly democratic we see by the active political propaganda which is being carried on in Belgium amongst working women—a propaganda which is already strengthening the hands of Socialism in that country, and will every year strengthen it more and more. No movement of the present day can be vitally effective if women lag behind, and it has been abundantly proved after each extension of the franchise that a sense of political responsibility and the exercise of that franchise are to be numbered amongst the best educative forces.

No doubt, as Mr. Belfort Bax sapiently remarks, "sex-equality differs in mind from that of class equality, and cannot be logically deduced from the latter," but it might be useful if he would explain how he proposes giving class equality to the male sex without extending it to the female sex. It would be awkward surely after belted dukes and earls had settled down into plain citizens, and when Tom, Dick and Harry shared with them that title, and all the privileges which citizenship under collectivism would offer, if duchesses and countesses were still to flourish in the land, and trample on the aspirations towards equality of Mrs. Tom, Dick and Harry.

Individual members of the S.D.F. are, of course, free to hold individual opinions as to the meaning and scope of democracy; but the International Socialist movement, as a logical and integral movement, interprets democracy rightly as referring to the people, irrespective of sex, just as education is given irrespective of sex, as taxation is applied irrespective of sex, and as the civil and criminal law is enforced irrespective of sex. The exercise of the franchise is not a right of citizenship, but one of its functions; and the citizen who fails, either through negligence or through enforced disability to record a vote for the legislation of his or her choice fails in a public duty.

Women, says Emile Vandevelde, must awake to political life, and that awakening must come through Socialist propaganda. "How does it come to pass," he asks, pertinently, "that all reactionaries combat women suffrage, while all Socialists agree at least in principle in demanding it?" And he concludes: "Let the apprehensions, therefore, of our adversaries dissipate those of our friends, and let the timid and hesitating, who would still keep one half of humanity outside of our struggles and of our hopes, remember the strong and just saying of Bebel: 'No great movement has ever been accomplished in the world without women having played in it an heroic rôle as combatants and as martyrs."

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

THE trade unions in Antwerp, on the initiation of the Printers' Union, held a conference with the object of persuading the Town and County Councils to make grants to the unions for the support of their unemployed members. In Ghent and Liège these grants are already given.

CLASS WAR AND ETHICS.

BY DR. FOERSTER AND KARL KAUTSKY.

[Translator's Note.—I give here a translation from the Neue Zeit, January 5 and 12, for English comrades, of the reply of Dr. Foerster to the article of Karl Kautsky (a translation of which was published under the same title as this article in the December issue of the Social-Demogram) with a counter reply of Karl Kautsky to the reply of Dr. Foerster.—J. B. Askew.]

In Number VIII. of this paper (Neue Zeit.—Trans.) Herr Kautsky has criticised exhaustively an article of mine on "Social Democracy and Ethics" (in Sociale Praxis, No. 4). I may be allowed some words in reply—

especially as I have been misunderstood on certain points.

I have called attention to some disquieting beginnings of political corruption which had manifested themselves with the entry of labour majorities into an English town council, and had even given occasion to a conference of Socialist labour representatives to set the theme, "The Difficulties of a Labour Majority," down among the subjects to be discussed. My English correspondent is at the same time of the same opinion as John Burns, that this kind of development can only be avoided by placing the struggle of the workers for emancipation in due time on a wider moral basis. That implies, that it is not only expressly recognised that the fighting class has a moral obligation over against the other classes, but in the concrete that this is put into practice in the conduct of the fight. I do not understand how Herr Kautsky can ask in the face of that whether "these gentlemen know nothing" of the unmentionable sacrifices which the individual members of the proletariat have made, not from selfish interest, but as a sacrifice to their class—whether that is no ethic. As if English labour leaders had no knowledge of these facts. No one denies that the selfsacrifice of the worker for the sake of his class is an ethical factor. Just as little as one would deny that self-sacrifice for the sake of one's own country was an ethical factor, and that it had inspired many men to the heights of altruism. But will not one be obliged to state that ethical culture can only fully develop itself so long as this feeling does not stop short at the frontier? And will one not also, in the social sphere, only be able to rely on the scrupulousness and unselfishness of an individual or a group so long as these forces are not only efficacious within the sphere of definite solidarity of interests, but also where these interests come in collision with other interests—and especially then? One observes, further, that the strength and certainty of the social point of view even within the sphere of definite solidarity of interest is in great danger if the moral obligation only extends to members of this community. Just as every act of unscrupulousness in international relations tends to weaken moral obligations within the nation, so will also every fighting class find that it loosens its own moral cohesion so soon as it, in its dealings with the outer world, repudiates generosity and self-control and allows the anti-social instincts of its members a free hand, so long as these do not turn themselves against their own group, but even promise to obtain momentary advantages. And, be it remarked, we are concerned here with the smallest beginnings, not with great acts of ruffianism or breaches of the law. It is the faithlessness and injustice in small matters from which grow the faithlessness and injustice in the big. If Burns and Sanders speak out against the simple preaching of the class war, they do not do so because any great abuses are to the fore. But they do so because they see that the simple class-war man only too quickly falls, as against other classes, into a mood of odious and contemptible injustice and lack of honesty which disintegrates his social feeling and becomes a danger for the whole social development, if this class-war man, filled with antipathy and class egoism, forces his way into the government of the community and acquires power over those whom he hitherto has judged inconsistently and unjustly. Or shall we say: When God gives an appointment he gives all the requisite impartiality, untrammelled by prejudice or interest? Impartiality must be learnt and practised; it does not come to the worker simply because it stands in his party programme in the declaration: The emancipation of the workers means the emancipation of the whole human race. Not by calls on the future, but by concrete practice in the present, it must be proved whether our social conceptions rise above the class interests and therewith are really capable of emancipating.

Social-Democracy has certainly in itself the spiritual means to such a high and consistent conception of justice. It represents the idea that society has not the right to treat the criminal simply from the standpoint of a passionate and angry self-defence, but that it is its duty, through the whole method of treatment, to call forth the sleeping social forces, and therewith to win the criminal back to society (naturally leaving on one side all means of social prevention). Why, then, do Social-Democrats not apply this point of view to the fighting of anti-social stubbornness in bourgeois society? Why do they remain, on this question, on the level of the bludgeon and abusing policy? Why do they allow themselves to judge and talk in a manner which is a blow in the face to all consistency in social

thought? C'est le ton qui fait la musique.

Do they believe that they will be able to train the worker as bearer of human solidarity if he, on the great stage of party agitation, so often sees the old primitive instincts win the victory over generosity and self-

discipline?

Always and ever again are ethics accused of wishing to cripple and dispirit the worker in his fight for his rights. I know no such ethic. I might even say that ethics are the science of "resistance to evil." Certainly such a science will now and then restrain the fighter. But only when the means he adopts are in opposition to the final aim of the fight, and if he forgets that reaction against the anti-social can only lead to a permanent success if it free itself from anti-social elements, and remains in touch with the incorruptible communal spirit which alone can carry the frame of the future. Social-Democrats can organise the workers, and resist insolence, even without speaking in the name of "class-consciousness," since such organisation will even serve other classes, and bring them the moral help which lies in the building up of new social foundations of human solidarity. Why should this always remain bound up in the similes and pictures and allegories of the class war, which, moreover, give a very incomplete idea of social development, since a great deal more than the mere overcoming and smashing up of opponents takes place here? Science requires exact ideas; but how can the Socialist science allow a word cumbered with so many military and primitive ideas as "war" to stand in that manner in the middle of their social theory? The

word appeals to all the anti-democratic instincts in men, to the desire to overpower and attack, and therefore ought to be excluded from the "jargon" of a civilising movement.

By the way, I am not arguing against an occasional use of a pictorial phrase, but certainly against this excessive accentuation of "war" in opposition to agreement and mutual help, because by this very means the thought is encouraged among the thoughtless that the moral decadence of the bourgeoisie is an advantage for the workers and that every earnest endeavour towards the social education of the upper classes is actually "helping the

enemy."

The deepening of the moral impulse in the workers will even be of advantage to their emancipation, since the more the dissatisfaction of the workers with the existing order takes root in deep moral needs, so the more irresistibly will they press forward if the prick of hunger is not the only driving force. We need a new Lassalle who will fight the "damned contentedness" (Verdammte Bedürfnisslosigkeit) of the workers also on the plane of moral humanity, and along with the higher needs awake a stronger impulse towards emancipation. It is not ethics which lull the worker to sleep, but the lack of the ethical note in the propaganda that allows him to bear and endure much which would drive men of a finer moral feeling beside themselves.

Yet, a word about the English worker. Herr Kautsky is surprised that I warn the German workers to profit by the English example. But the English worker lacks the great idealism which comes to the German worker out of the utopianism so calumniated by the bourgeois economists and prevents him sinking into profit-seeking. The English worker has been fed with ethics from Carlyle, Ruskin, Kingsley, &c. What use has that been to him? The matter does not stand thus. Carlyle preached ethics to the propertied, but had no point of contact with the labour movement. Ruskin's influence was on the æsthetic side; on ethics, on the class war, he has never written; lastly, Kingsley has no more influence on the modern, non-Christian industrial class. Only in the co-operative movement is ethics preached—and there with great success; indeed, the ethical idealism of the British co-operator it is which has first aroused wider circles of English workers to the idea of Socialism. As far as Herr Kautsky's remark is concerned, that Socialist "Utopianism" would have kept the English worker from the attempts described, it will be a blow to him to learn that the majority in question in West Ham was a thoroughly basis Socialist standing on of the class group the (See Economic Review, No. 1, 1900). So that therefore it was actually reserved to the Socialist class-war theory to introduce the first fiasco of a genuine social communal administration. And who, indeed, can then really deny that from the standpoint of psychology and social psychology a causal connection exists! This Socialist theory of a class war is certainly a theory of the isolation of the working class from spiritual and moral community with the other classes. (Is it not continually taught that there is no ethic standing higher than the class war?) Whence then, in a given historical moment, shall a working class "enlightened" in this way suddenly acquire a sense of moral obligation over against the other classes? No, Herr Kautsky, you make too light of the matter. I am by no means one of those bourgeois economists who fail to recognise the ideal and the "Final aim" as the inspiration of the social movement, but I miss just the making

^{*} Italics are mine.—Trans.

of this "final aim" fruitful for every day, for the personal life, for the desire of men for an inward renewal. But there is the question. The modern Socialist is afraid to complete his propaganda and his whole action in the sense of his final aim, because the brutal suppression and outlawry of the Bismarckian era have made a deep impression on our social movement and made every reformer believe that moderation and generosity are weakness and helplessness. Why then does the *Vorwaerts* write a leading article on the Chinese question under the heading "The Helplessness of Might"?

Kautsky gives some examples to show that the class war in other places has guarded itself better. First, in the Belgian co-operative societies. This example does not apply, since it concerns itself with institutions for the profit of the party. But has not France had a certain unassailable success in Socialist communal administration? Certainly. But in France the working class is not nearly so strongly organised as in England, and therefore such isolated Socialist representatives have a very delicate and dangerous position, and therefore do their best. But in England communal Socialism is an expression of the real strength of the English organised worker. There they can let themselves go earlier. And, besides, the problem is in England much more complicated and at the same time much more expressive for the coming difficulties of democratic control. It is that the communal representatives are not the actual guilty parties, but the organised employees of the municipal trading concerns who use their political power over the community to obtain extra advantages. It would be an advantage if these things gave occasion to timely thought on the part of the German workers instead of waiting until it is too late.

of the German workers instead of waiting until it is too late.

Finally, a word about "preaching." "As if preaching were able to create moral forces, which only can arise from the sum total of the processes of social life." I ask Herr Kautsky: Are the moral living forces in the German Labour movement sprung from the sum total of processes, without preaching? Is not the whole activity of the Social-Democracy for decades an organised preaching for the awakening of class consciousness? And how does Herr Kautsky know that the new ethic, the longing for a wider basis for the feeling of solidarity, for a greater consistency in the social thought, for a closer connection of the individual standard of life with the social ideal, does not arise from the depths of economic necessity?

I gladly rectify an error. Mr. Sanders is not a member of the Independent Labour Party, but, all the same, a Socialist and for ten years the right-hand man of John Burns. He has, therefore, the right to be listened to by the German workers. He has no intention of advising the workers to join the ethical movement. But every labour organisation might well be more than hitherto a labour organisation. Not to weaken, but to strengthen. That is what is in my innermost heart; and every experienced trade unionist will admit me to be right there.

KAUTSKY'S REPLY.

Dr. Foerster's reply brings out no new facts. As far as the phenomenon is concerned which induced him to his philippic against the class war, he can only repeat the assertion that it "introduces the first fasco of a genuine social communal administration," without explaining clearly in what this fasco consisted and on what ground it so particularly had its cause in the theory of the class war. But Dr. Foerster will, perhaps, allow me to remain a little sceptical in regard to what are simple assertions of his on English

affairs. What guarantee have I that Dr. Foerster has not made just as much of a mistake in regard to West Ham as in regard to Mr. Sanders ! What I have learnt in the course of a decade about the difficulties of "Labour majorities" was of quite another character to the revelations of Dr. Foerster. According to that, the difficulties mostly came from the lack of strength and means which stood at the disposal of the "Labour majority," and from the capitalist nature of the State, but not from the lack of ethic in the municipal The London municipal administration is extremely limited, and in all its reforms dependent on Parliament. But this is-thanks to the famous policy of the English workers-entirely in the hands of the capitalists, who take care that capitalist interests in London shall not suffer even to the smallest extent. Hence, despite the famous English Municipal Socialism, London is still always given up to a band of monopolists, who exploit their position in the most shameless manner. Not only the gasworks, but also the water supply, even the very markets - are in possession of private people and companies, and the Parliament of would-be social reformers—i.e., the English Parliament—watches tenderly over their interests, and has hitherto rejected all proposals which aimed at an alteration in this scandalous state of affairs. Thus the market right in Covent Garden, the central vegetable market, belongs to the Duke of Bedford, who draws therefrom yearly an income of £30,000. The eight water companies, who provide London with water, drew already in 1893 from their privilege £1,000,000 profit. In return they deliver insanitary water in such insufficient quantities that nearly every year a water famine breaks out. The water rate which each house has to pay them is not measured according to the amount of water delivered, but according to the amount of the ground rent. As this rises unceasingly, the water rate rises even when the amount of water delivered sinks. A house which in 1851 paid £8 water rate must now pay £22 for it. But in vain did the London County Council seek to become master of the monopolists, to buy them out, to communalise the water supply. Not in vain do Parliament and the Government swarm with shareholders and directors of the London water companies. The Liberals are only to be distinguished from the Conservatives in that these latter reject the proposals of the "Labour majority" without any more ado, while the former promise to do what they can, only to bury the reform proposals in a Commission.

Of this nature are the difficulties of a London "Labour majority" which I know. They come not from too much, but from too little class war and class consciousness. These difficulties could only be overcome through

overcoming the opponents of Socialism.

What does Dr. Foerster on the contrary want from us? We shall awake the slumbering social forces (in the capitalist), so that the criminal may be known to society, and in this manner the "anti-social stubbornness" be conquered. We are to bring to the capitalists "understanding and help," "moral help," and take in hand the "social education of the upper classes."

If Dr. Foerster considers this method so fruitful, no one will prevent his applying it. He may, therefore, turn to the shareholders of the London waterworks, bring them that moral help which they urgently need, and seek for an understanding with them, and in this fashion get rid of one of the greatest hindrances to a London labour majority. If he succeeds I will ask him to apply the same recipe to our coal monopolists, and declare the class war to be a pitiable mistake. As long as he, however, does not achieve it, he must not take it amiss from me if I declare his and Mr. Sauders' moral

indignation over the immorality of the class war as empty bubbles, which

dissolve on the first contact with reality.

Dr. Foerster has not once made the attempt to prove that the class war was not a necessity, or an indispensable lever for social development in a society based on class antagonisms. But has he proved the immorality

of this struggle?

Dr. Foerster declares it to be necessary that "one" should place the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes "in right time" on a "broader moral basis." "That implies, that it is not only expressly recognised that a fighting class has duties over against the other classes, but in the concrete that this is put into practice in the conduct of the fight." He also points out that ethical duties towards one's own nation do not exclude international duties. "Just as every act of unscrupulousness in international relations tends to weaken moral obligations within the nation," so will every class undergo moral decomposition which denies their moral obligations to the other classes.

This deduction of Dr. Foerster's has a very seductive appearance so long

as one does not examine it too closely.

That we have moral obligations not only to our own nation but at the same time to other nations no Social-Democrat will naturally deny. Dr. Foerster forgets one circumstance when he draws his conclusions from this as to the moral obligations of the proletariat over against the capitalist class: the essential condition of internationality is that the nations stand on an equal footing to each other. International solidarity is impossible where one nation oppresses and exploits the others. In any case, the overlordship of one nation over another is an appearance which is not necessarily bound up with the idea of nationality. other hand, oppression and exploitation are necessary ingredients of the capitalistic relations. But is the ethic of Dr. Foerster of such a nature that it allows moral obligations to spring from oppression and exploitation? If not, what talk can there possibly be of the moral obligations of the proletariat as class over against the capitalist class? The class is not to be confounded with the individual. Where proletariat and capitalist come together as individuals in general human relations to one another, the resulting moral obligations remain for them. If a manufacturer falls into the water, a passing worker will not stop to enquire what class the unfortunate being belongs to, but without further ado will help him. But in this case they do not stand over against each other as capitalist and worker. That has nothing to do with the moral obligation which the working class is said to have over against the capitalist class in the class war. Whether one acknowledges that or no, depends upon the standpoint taken by the observer.

From the bourgeois standpoint the capitalistic relation is necessary and indispensable for society. The subordination and exploitation of the worker is from this standpoint not only in the interest of the capitalist class, but in the interest of the entire community. Therefore, to submit himself to oppression and exploitation is not only a recognition of superior might on the part of the worker, but also a moral duty for the working class. The submissiveness and contentedness of the working classes are regarded in consequence as their greatest virtues.

The matter appears quite different from a Socialist proletarian point of view. From this the capitalist relation is superfluous, even detrimental for society. To oppose himself to the exploitation and oppression by capital, to work for the destruction of capitalist conditions, is not only demanded

in the particular interest of the proletariat, but in the common interest of society. To stir up revolt against the capitalist class, to destroy it where possible, will from this standpoint be regarded as a moral obligation of the proletariat. The submissiveness and the contentedness of the working classes become now a moral stain; they appear as the cowardly spirit of slaves and as lack of intelligence.

Only if Dr. Foerster places himself on the bourgeois standpoint can he show any moral obligations of the working class over against the capitalist

class.

But, argues Dr. Foerster, does not the criminal sin even more against society than the capitalist? And yet we recognise the moral obligations of society towards the criminal. Why not, then, towards the capitalist class?

Even here we find the confusion between individuals and classes. Certainly we recognise moral obligations even to the criminal. His life and his person is for us holy so far as necessity does not compel us to deal with him. But have we refused the same to the person of the capitalist? We do not, nevertheless, recognise the smallest moral obligation to the class of the criminal, far more do we feel the moral obligation to root out this class in that we abolish the social conditions in which it thrives.

The same applies to the class war against the capitalist class. we concerned with here? In the first place higher wages, shorter hours of labour, then with social reforms at the cost of the capitalist class. shall in all this the proletariat develop that "benevolent generosity and self discipline" which Dr. Foerster demands from him towards the possessing classes? Has it not much rather the moral duty towards society as towards itself to raise its share in the benefits of civilisation as much as possible, to increase his leisure, that means to increase the time which remains to him to cultivate himself and develop himself as a man? Certainly if a labour aristocracy endeavours to obtain a privileged position at the cost of the poorer sections of the community, that appears to us thoroughly unethical. We took for granted in our criticism of the Foerster article that he condemned the West Ham municipal employee from this standpoint. Now we find that we have thoroughly misunderstood him, that our first criticism does not fully apply to him, since his ethical indignation was concerned with the attempts of municipal employees to obtain extra privileges at the cost of the propertied classes. He demands the "benevolent generosity and discipline" of the workers over against people who look down on them from a far better position He condemns rises of wages at the cost of people who have greater unearned incomes than the wages-drawer gets from his pay, he condemns shortening of the hours of labour of hard-working people at the cost of people of whom a large proportion do not know what it means to work.

Frankly, I had not dreamt that the ethic of Dr. Foerster had such consequences. When it is attempted, in the place of the class war, to set the personal fight between the worker and capitalist, we will always accentuate the moral duties towards the person of the latter. Just as much must we do the same in the moment when the class war between proletariat and capitalist class arrives at its aim, where the victorious proletariat makes an end to the latter class by putting an end to private property in the means of social production. Then certainly will the working class take over moral obligations to those classes, who hitherto opposed them as the capitalist

class.

But in the case of the West Ham fiasco, we are not concerned with this consideration. There no one attempted the propaganda of deed, nor the expropriation of the expropriators; but, if I have rightly understood Dr.

Foerster, tried for increases of wages and shortening of the hours of labour, which were over the usual standard, and were inconvenient for the propertied classes. That may have been stupid and short-sighted when it made difficulties for the labour majority. But on that account to appeal to the "benevolent generosity" of the proletariat sounds comic. Or have I again misunderstood Dr. Foerster? I must allow that his method of thinking is so different to mine that I find it difficult to connect distinct ideas with his ethical expressions.

So I am quite in the dark what the "new Lassalle" is to do, who shall fight the "damned contentedness" of the working classes, and on the field of moral humanity and with higher needs also waken stronger impulses for emancipation. And just as much in the dark were to me his complaints over the lulling of the worker to sleep "through the lack of deeper ethical notes in the propaganda which induces him to bear and endure much which would drive a person with a finer ethical feeling beside

himself."

Is Dr. Foerster dissatisfied over the fact that the workers bear too much? Does he want them to get in a rage over the smallest grievance? But where then are the "generosity and self-discipline"; where the "agreement" and "mutual help"?

This contradiction would only then find a solution if Dr. Foerster were of opinion that in their own class struggles the workers shall apply restraint, but on the contrary shall get mad with rage whenever an injury happens to another class or individual which this latter is too cowardly to prevent.

In such cases the preparedness and the willingness to fight will freely be accounted unto the proletariat for a virtue from the same tongues which thundered against them—when they were employed in the proletariat class

interest—as objectionable brutality and baseness.

That the proletariat should use its might to represent only bourgeois interests and not its own were certainly the triumph of an ethic dominating the class antagonism. But to convert the proletariat to that is more than any Lassalle and Foerster together could do.

Overconding in the United States.—From a recent number of the Hammer and Pen, a New York paper, it appears that overcrowding exists to a very large extent in some of the boroughs forming part of Greater New York. Over 1,000,000 of the population of Manhattan and Broux live in 44,000 tenement houses, ranging from five to seven storeys in height, and sheltering on an average four families—exclusive of lodgers—on a floor. The average number of persons living in a tenement house is about 22.2, and the number keeps increasing. The population in some cases is as much as 1,744 to the acre, and in many cases there is great squalor. Nor can this be wondered at, when out of 1,588 rooms in one district 441 only get light and ventilation from other rooms. It is refreshing in one way to know that New York is so much like London, and it ought to make the Anglo-Saxon alliance a more cordial one.

AMERICA AS THE WORLD'S SEAT OF EMPIRE.

MR. BROOKS ADAMS, a well-known philosophic writer, son of the late Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, believes that most of the great catastrophes of history accompany the movement from point to point of the "international centre of empire and wealth." In a new book, entitled "America's Economic Supremacy," he traces the passing of the centre of empire from place to place, and finally locates it in America, where it has arrived since the Spanish-American war. This war, says Mr. Adams, is a link in a long chain of events, which, when complete, will show one of those memorable revolutions wherein civilisations pass from an old to a new condition of equilibrium. The battles of Manila and Santiago are to have as far-reaching effects as the battle of Waterloo, when the seat of empire passed from France to England, where it has remained until the closing years of the nineteenth century. The equilibrium established by Waterloo has been completely destroyed, and the march of empire has been westward from the British Isles and eastward across the Rhine.

The production of pig iron is the best illustration of this fact. In 1880, Great Britain produced 7,749,233 tons of pig iron. In 1897, she had added about a million tons more; while in 1880 the United States produced only about 3,840,000 tons, which in 1897 had grown to 9,807,123 tons, and for

the present year the estimates reach a million tons a month.

Wealth has, of course, followed industry. Ever since 1871, Germany has squeezed France, and the latter, to save herself from annihilation, has joined with Russia, lending the industries of that great empire two billions of dollars. Upon this impulsion the empire has solidified, and workshops and factories have sprung up on the Southern steppes, while Poland is becoming a manufacturing province. The Russian railway system is stretching toward Pekin, and its ultimate destination is Hankow, the rich central province of China. Much of the money borrowed from France by Russia has gone to Germany for machinery and cheap fabrics; but the seat of empire has been

steadily moving eastward.

England has lost the seat of empire gained from Waterloo because she has been unable for years to feed her population. For more than fifteen years the value of English experts has been steadily falling, while her imports have been growing by leaps and bounds. The difference between the two now is 20 per cent. adverse balance. The difference between exports and imports, and in favour of the latter, from 1891 to 1895, was the huge sum of \$800,000,000. England is therefore fast losing her foreign trade to America and other countries. This loss of foreign trade is naturally accompanied by a corresponding decline in incomes and deposits in savings-banks. Interest on money in London has declined since 1890, backruptcy has wiped out many debts, and there has been a heavy sale of foreign-specially American —securities since that date. But in spite of such sales, many millions of gold have been lately shipped to New York. Most significant of all, Sir James Westland, the Indian finance Minister, ascribes the crisis in Hindustan rather to the withdrawal of English funds than to the closing of the mints. It is therefore beyond question that Great Britain is not only expending her capital, but the flow of money is toward America, as the flow of French capital is across the Rhine. England, it is true, still enjoys a large surplus of capital, but the sources of its accumulation are not reassuring. of taxation which show the chief increase are the succession duties, which

depend on deaths rather than on any economic activity, and the excise, which shows that drinking has enormously increased among the people.

Turning from the economic to the military standpoint, Mr. Adams sees France fast on the decline, and being inevitably drawn into that vortex whose centre of empire is Eastern Asia, and whose trend is irrevocably hostile to England. There are now only two places in the world where the surplus food grown is great enough to supply England; one is on the shores of the Black Sea, by circumstances and sentiment for ever closed to England; the other is the great heart of the North American continent, which the United States could any day shut up by closing the St. Lawrence River. England is therefore vitally dependent upon America, and may be said to-day to be a fortified outpost of the Anglo-Saxon race on the one side, as Australia, the Philippines, Hongkong, and Hawaii are on the other, England's weakness in diplomacy in allowing Russia to take Port Arthur and Germany to seize Kiau-Chou is due to the fact of growing isolation. But if America is essential to England's existence, the latter is still essential to the welfare of America. She is our best and chiefest market, and her trade in the East, now the best trade she has, if it be lost to her, should come to us; otherwise this whole race will be badly crippled in its competition with the only other section of the human race that knows how to organise a permanent working modern society—the The battle is now on between these two great sections of men, with the Asiatic European coming by continental rail to the shores of conflict, and the Anglo-Saxon fortifying the islands of the "New Mediterranean Sea," in and around which the great battle, economic or military, or both, will be fought during the twentieth century.

Mr. Adams then draws attention to the long struggle in history between the maritime and unmaritime nations for the trade of the world. The current of this struggle runs East and West, not North and South, and as the West increases its capacity to consume the products of the East the maritime nations advance. The Spanish war was simply a battle of fierce competition, by which the West, the maritime nations, gained a point over their adversaries. It was a counter stroke to the taking of Port Arthur and

Northern China by Russia.

Mr. Adams says that the only set-back to America's complete economic supremacy in the twentieth century will be her failure to exploit the great Chinese market. If Russia seizes the rich central provinces of China, with their untold coal, iron, and other mineral products, and succeeds in holding them against her great Anglo-Saxon rivals, the West must fall back upon itself and its outward energy must in a large measure subside. No day will be so important to America as the day which decides the battle now going

on to get control of the markets of China.

But Mr. Adams has little or no faith in Russia's ability to compete with America in this great battle. In intelligence, ingenuity, initiative and mechanical skill, the Russians are more than a century behind the American people. The Russians invent little or nothing. Their manufactured products, especially their great staple products, cost twice as much as the same products do in America. Their railroads are vastly more expensive to handle. The great masses of the Empire are able to save nothing on account of ignorance, crude methods of labour, and the high taxes the Government is compelled to levy. Russia is constantly borrowing money, for her imperial treasury is hard put to it to make ends meet. In other words, Mr. Adams regards the whole Russian system as too corrupt and expensive and the Russian masses too stolidly ignorant to control the world's markets.

He concludes by saying that if America is forced back upon herself she will have to practise an economy of life that she does not now know, and that may threaten her very civilisation. The great Trusts will own the Government or the Government must own the Trusts.

-Literary Digest, New York, November 24.

STOCK-JOBBING.

Mr. Wilson, in the National Review of this month, discourses on "Stock-Jobbing," and analyses the Globe catastrophe, which recently was responsible for more than 30 members of the Stock Exchange being hammered in one Mr. Wilson condemns the promoter, Whitaker Wright, but he is forced to admit that Mr. Wright finds willing victims, who seem to enjoy being "financed" on a big scale. His remedy is to bring them under the Betting Laws. Says Mr. Wilson, "Stock-jobbing companies have to be strangled in the cradle if they are to be got rid of at all. Once organised and launched on their plunging career there is no stopping them until they reach the end of their tether. It is not the promoters and wirepullers alone that have to be restrained. They might soon be curbed were it not for the mob of speculative shareholders who rally round them and fight for them to the last ditch." Mr. Whitaker Wright would be a mere Mantalini were it not for his ten thousand and odd infatuated dupes. It would seem to be a hopeless as well as a thankless task to try and undeceive them. In vain are they reasoned with and shown that finance like that of the Globe Corporation does not give them even half the chance they would have at Monte Carlo. The country should either legalise public betting and State lotteries, or the Betting Laws should be brought to bear on a class of stockjobbing which can do more mischief in a day than all the race-courses in the kingdom do in a whole season.

EUROPEANS IN ASIA.

In an article on the "Influence of Europe on Asia," in the Contemporary Review, Meredith Townsend gives it as his opinion that the Asiatics will at some period, probably not long distant, throw out the white man, not because they are oppressors, not because they are inferiors, but because they are intruders whose ideas they neither accept nor can endure. Asia, arming itself with the rifle, relearning the use of mounted infantry, which Jenghis knew before the Boer did, and enforcing conscription laws, will stand on the defensive against Europe and become independent of Europe. "To the external world," says the writer, "one half of Asia appears to have become European. In reality, however, neither Russia nor Great Britain has as yet exercised any 'influence' upon the millions she has conquered. north the tribes are only held down by Russia, would rebel in a moment if they dared, and show no signs of accepting either her civilisation, her ideas, or her creed. In the south Great Britain has enforced a peace which has produced manifold blessings, but she has neither won nor converted any large section of her subject populations. There is no province, no tribe, no native organisation in India upon which, in the event of disaster, she could rely for aid. After nearly a century of clement government there are not ten thousand natives in India who, unpaid and uncoerced, would die in defence of British sovereignty."

NATIONAL MILITARY REFORM.

In the Contemporary Review, Lieut.-Colonel Maude, under the above heading. writes on the national inefficiency of the English army. In his concluding remarks he advocates that volunteering should be combined with technical education and the University Extension Movement. He would overhaul the Board Schools, and would go so far as to feed the children at the ratepayers' expenses. The article, which is an able one, is written on very broad lines, but, of course, quite from the military standpoint. The author labours under no delusions as to the natural superiority of the Anglo-Saxon Unless they as children are well fed and well taught, and as adults are properly trained, they will have to succumb to those who secure such proper training. He complains bitterly of the bad raw material which the nation is now growing. Every year, he says, we enlist for the regulars close on 40,000 men; for the Militia and Yeomanry about the same number, and for the Volunteers some 50,000, while the Navy requires about 20,000 more—in all, not far short of 150,000 men. But one-half of the recruits for the Regular Forces are rejected at the medical inspection, and very many more would-be young soldiers never reach the doctor's hands at all. The total numbers thus rejected are not exactly known, but recruiting officers in the West Riding and in Lancashire state they often send away nine for every one they accept. Making every possible allowance for exaggeration, it seems safe to assume that our 40,000 accepted recruits represent 100,000 applicants. For the Militia, about 1 in 3 is rejected, and in the Volunteers 1 in 5; whilst the Navy, who in the first instance pick and choose, do not take more than 1 out of 2. It would thus appear that no less than 260,000 come forward for enlistment in the services. The number of Volunteers rejected for service in South Africa amounted to 75 per cent., and even reached higher figures.

The writer does not think that higher pay or compulsion would give the nation better men, as the fault lies in the nation itself, which fails to breed a suitable class of fighting men. This is why he favours free feeding. Says the writer: "When we adopted free education from the Germans we entirely overlooked the point that it was not conceded by the State on the Socialistic principle that A.'s children have a right to be educated at B.'s expense, but solely because educated men could be made into better soldiers than uneducated ones. Similarly I do not urge the feeding of school children at the expense of the ratepayers because their parents have any claim to be released from their responsibility, but simply because, as a measure of precaution both against competition and war, it is to the interest of the tax-payers to afford them every advantage so that they may grow into able-bodied men." The writer closes with the advice that it would be well for England, whilst it has yet time, to settle the question who is to be responsible for the feeding of the eight to ten millions of women and children dependent on the workmen who will certainly be thrown out of employment should France prove intractable at any time. Such a matter will have to be dealt with on broader lines than our present war funds.

EDMÉE.

M. Horteur, who started the Star and is also the editor of the National Review and of the Twentieth Century, was talking to me in his study and said to me, leaning back in his armchair:—

"My dear Marteau, I want a story for my special number of the Twentieth Century, about 300 lines for the January number. Something

good but rather aristocratic."

I answered that that kind of thing was hardly in my line, but I would write him a short story.

"I should like," he said, "you to call it 'A tale for the Rich."

"And I should prefer the title, 'A tale for the Poor.'"

"That is what I mean—a tale which shall make the rich pity the poor."
"But I do not like the rich to pity the poor."

"That is strange."

"No, it is not strange, it is scientific. I hold that the rich man's pity for the poor is offensive and contrary to human fraternity. If you want me to write for the rich I will say to them: 'Spare the poor your pity, they do not want it. Why not justice instead of pity. You owe them a great deal. Why do you not settle your account. It is not a question of charity but of economics. If what you give them only keeps them poor and keeps you rich that is an iniquitous gift and your tears will not make it just.' You must give back what you have taken. You give alms to avoid this. You give a little to keep a great deal, and then you think you are good. Thus did the tyrant of Samos* when he threw his ring into the sea, but the Gods would not accept the offering. A fisherman brought a fish to the tryant which had the ring in its belly, and Polycrates lost all his riches."

"You are joking."

"I am not joking. I want rich people to know that they are philanthropic on the cheap and generous at a small cost, and that they are laughing at their creditors. That is not the way to do business. This information may be useful to them."

"And you want to inculcate those ideas in the Twentieth Century?

Why, it would ruin my magazine. It will not do, my friend!"

"Why do you want the rich man to act towards the poor man in a different way than he acts towards the rich and the powerful? He pays them what he owes them; if he owes them nothing, he pays them nothing. That is honest. If the rich man wants to be just let him do the same for the poor. And do not tell me that the rich owe nothing to the poor. No rich man believes that. It is because he owes so much that he is uneasy. And he does not want the situation altered. He prefers to let things drift, though he knows what he ought to do. He does not quite know what he owes, and he pays a little now and then on account. That is called charity, and is much commended."

"But, my dear friend, you are talking nonsense. I am, perhaps, more a Socialist than you are. But I am a practical man. It is a good thing to do away with suffering, to prolong life, to try and do some good. If you do good, it is right. It is not much, but it is something. If the tale that

^{(*} See the well-known story of Polycrates in Herodotus, Book III.).—J. B.

I ask you to write only impresses, a hundred of my rich subscribers and if they give away money in charity, it will be so much to the good. That is

the way to render the condition of the poor more favourable.'

"Ought the condition of the poor to be made more favourable? Poverty is necessary for riches and riches are necessary for poverty. Those two evils are interdependent. You must not improve the condition of the poor; but you must suppress poverty. I do not want rich people to give alms; because their charity is tainted; because charity does good to him who gives and evil to him who receives, and because riches being hard and cruel, they must not appear to be gentle. Since you want me to write a story for the rich I shall tell them: Your poor are your dogs whom you feed so that they shall not bite you. Those who receive alms are like a pack of hounds barking at Socialists. The rich only give to those who ask. Workmen do not ask for anything and they receive nothing."

"But the orphans, the sick, the old ?"

"They have the right to live. For them I shall not ask for pity but for

justice."

"All that is theory. Let us come back to facts. You must write a little story for me about New Year's gifts and you can talk in it about Socialism. Socialism is the fashion, it is a fad. I am not talking, of course, of the Socialism of Guesde, or of that of Jaurès, but of a good kind of Socialism which men of the world are able to quote with effect against collectivism. So talk about young people. There will be illustrations, and only nice and pretty pictures are popular. Talk about a young girl, a charming young girl. It is not difficult."

" No, it is not difficult."

"Could you not introduce into your story a little chimney sweep?* I have an illustration already, a coloured picture representing a pretty young girl giving alms to a little chimney sweep on the steps of the Madeleine. I could use it. It is cold, it snows, the pretty young lady gives a copper to the young sweep. Do you see it?"

" I see it."

"You can enlarge on it."

"I shall do so. The young chimney sweep, full of gratitude, embraces the pretty girl, who is the daughter of the Count of Linotte. He kisses her and there is a black O on the lady's face. He loves her. Edmée (that is her name) is rather struck by his simple and ingenuous admiration. I think that is not a bad idea."

"Yes, you might make something of it."

"You encourage me to go on. Edmée, when she gets back to her father's house in the Boulevard Malesherbes, is reluctant for the first time in her life to wash; she would like to keep on her cheek the traces of the kiss which she has received. Meanwhile the little sweep has followed her and he stays in ecstasy under the windows of the charming young lady. How does that do?"

"Well, it is all right."

- "I go on. The next morning Edmée is asleep in her little white bed, and she sees the little sweep come down the chimney of her room. He rushes at the dear girl and kisses her with great ardour. I forgot to tell you that he is marvellously beautiful. The Countess of Linotte surprises him. She cries out, she calls. But the young sweep is so busy that he neither sees nor hears."
- * It must be remembered that in Paris the boys still go up and sweep the chimneys.—J. B.

" My dear Marteau-"

"It is as I say. The Count arrives. He is a true nobleman. He takes the little sweep by the seat of his trousers and throws him out of the window."

"My dear Marteau-

"I am cutting it short. Nine months afterwards the little sweep marries the noble young lady, and it was only just in time. Such are the consequences of charity."

"My dear Marteau, you have been getting at me quite long enough."

"Not at all. I finish. Having married Mlle. de Linotte the little sweep was made a Count by the Pope, and was ruined on the turf. He is now a sweep in the Rue de la Gaîté at Montparnasse. His wife keeps the shop and sells stoves at 18 francs, payable in eight months."

"My dear Marteau, it is not funny."

"Take care, my dear Horteur. What I have told you is really the plot of 'La Chute d'un Ange' of Lamartine, and of 'Eloa' of A. de Vigny. And after all it is much better than your little maudlin stories which make people think that they are very good when they are not good at all, that they do good when they do no good, that they are benevolent while it is the most difficult thing in the world. My tale is very moral. And it is optimistic and finishes well. For Edmée finds happiness in the Rue de la Gaîté while she had sought in vain for it in amusements and parties, and would not have found it if she had married a diplomatist or an officer. My dear friend, will you take 'Edmée or a Deed of Charity' for the Twentieth Century?"

"You seem to ask the question quite seriously."

"I certainly do. If you will not take it I will publish it somewhere else."

"Where?"

"In a middle-class paper."

"I do not believe it."

"You will see."

Anatole France, in the Figure.

Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.



A RECENT ELECTION ADDRESS.

To the air of "Scots Wha Hae" (been Liberals).

Sots by brutal instincts led,
To paint the Transvaal bloody red,
And strew the veldt with maimed and dead,
On to Victory!

Now's the day, and now's the hour, To lead the Jingoes back to power, Though routed Rads upon us glower, What for them care we?

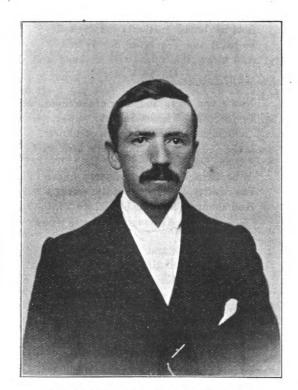
Who though he's but a sorry knave
The Union Jack will wildly wave
And shout he'll never be a slave
Although a helot he.

Who for Bobs and martial law,
Will not lift a dirty paw
To smite old Kruger on the jaw,
Let him turn and flee.

By the Empire's woes and pains,
By Judas's ill-gotten gains,
By your plenteous lack of brains,
Take the time from me.

Play the Empire game down low, And scent pro-Boers where'er you go, Do anything to smash the foe,! And grab his L.S.D.

A. M. B.



ARTHUR T. GRINDLEY.

THE

SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XVII.-A. T. GRINDLEY.

"One man in his time plays many parte." Comrade Arthur T. Grindley, though only young—having in fact been born on January 30, 1873—has gone through a few of the "parts," some of which it is not likely he will ever play again. He has been in turn missionary collector, Sunday-school teacher, chapel organist, Band-of-Hope secretary, Methodist local preacher, then unattached Socialist, and finally a Social-Democrat. The changes are not inconsistent one with another, and if the first four are grouped together (they were to a large extent simultaneous), then each of the succeeding three marks a distinct advance in thought and action over its predecessor. Indeed up to the time of becoming a local preacher, at the age of nineteen, he had, to use his own words, "been content to allow his pastors and masters to do his thinking for him; but he then commenced to do his own, with results which have proved eminently satisfactory."

He was born in North Shropshire, and his first impressions on the subject of modern education were received in a Board School at a mining village in North Wales. Of such education as he received he made the best use, and was nearly always at the head of his class. After leaving school at the age of thirteen he was prevented from falling into the hands of that agent who provides "mischief still for idle hands to do," by an engagement—presumably as "general" assistant—at a general shop in a country hamlet. Here he spent over seven years, and then passed into the Civil Service.

His occupation is that of an Inland Revenue officer, upon which work he entered in September, 1894, having been a successful competitor at the examination held in May of the same year to fill 70 vacancies. For the first four years he had a somewhat roving life, being sent to Liverpool, Campbelltown, Hull, other parts of Yorkshire, Dudley, and Shrewsbury, and finally he was sent to Plymouth in April, 1899, where he will remain for a few years at least. During the four years of his ramblings he lived for short periods in about thirty different towns and villages, and he values the opportunities thus afforded him of observing the habits and customs of people widely differing in temperament. At Campbelltown he joined a literary debating class. Among the members were two or three ardent Socialists, who, whatever the topic of the evening, usually worked it around to the subject of Socialism. He thus began to take a little interest in the subject, the interest being greatly increased when at the close of the session 1894-5 one of these Socialists presented each member of the class with a copy of "Merrie England." It was then that his faith in the Liberalism in which he had been reared received its first rude shocks-shocks, in fact, from which it never recovered. In the following winter, 1895-6, he was again sent to Campbelltown, and by that time he had well advanced in a socialistic direction. He again joined the debating class, and at an impromptu Parliamentary election held by the society during this session he stood as a Socialist candidate. He had a straight fight with a Tory whom he defeated by a majority of eight out of a total poll of 26. This result was rather remarkable, because Grindley is not a great orator, whereas his opponent was a solicitor, to whom speaking was an easy task. Grindley is of opinion that the voting could scarcely have been done conscientiously, as the majority of these present were non-Socialists; and he thinks many of them must have voted for him in consideration of the fact that he was the only Englishman present.

Owing to the brevity of his visits to most of the places to which he was sent, as well as to the fact that in many of them there was no Socialist organisation, our comrade remained unattached until he was sent to Saltash, near Plymouth, in October, 1898. Believing that he was to remain in that neighbourhood for some time, he had a note inserted in the *Clarion* asking any Socialists in the district to communicate with him, as he would like to join some organisation.

At that time there was a movement on foot to resuscitate the Plymouth branch of the S.D.F., which up to then had been small in number, so Grindley received several replies to his inquiry. The result was a general conference of Socialists, which was held on February 8, 1899, when he, together with about 30 others of the unattached, decided to join the branch. Since then he has ever evinced the keenest interest in the work of the branch and the organisation.

Later in the year he mysteriously disappeared from Plymouth. Rumour had it that he had gone to Yorkshire. However, about a fortnight later he returned, and then the secret leaked out. He was accompanied by a woman

who has done much to assist the social work of the branch; and the chairs of comrade and Mrs. Grindley are rarely vacant at the weekly meetings.

The work, however, in which he has shone has been in connection with the Housing Association, which was brought into existence by the branch. In February, 1900, the Plymouth Town Council decided to offer for sale certain land which had been acquired for the purpose of erecting houses for the working classes. The day following the Council's decision the branch met, and naturally raised a protest against such a retrograde proceeding. In order to make the protest more effective, it was proposed to call a conference of various bodies to consider the general question of the housing of the people, and, if possible, to form an association whose special duty should be to watch the interests of the people as regards housing. arrangements for the Conference were placed in the hands of a committee of three members, of whom Grindley was one. He was responsible for the suggestion that, instead of confining the conference solely to working-class organisations, as was at first proposed, certain public men who were known to favour the idea should be invited. A few town councillors, clergy, and others who were supposed to take an interest in the subject were therefore bidden, and the conference was made thoroughly representative. March 13, 1900, the branch gave up its usual weekly meeting in order that the room might be available for the housing discussion. There were about 70 people present - mostly working men - and the conference was a success. Those present constituted themselves, by resolution, a housing association, and Grindley was elected secretary.

Since then the association has done something towards rousing a somewhat apathetic public on the housing question. It has held public meetings; it has doubled its membership; it prepared a list of questions in October last for municipal candidates both in Plymouth and Devonport, and their replies were publicly announced at a meeting held just before the November elections. It has forwarded resolutions to Parliament urging the necessity for improved legislation; and it has in hand the preparation of a pamphlet dealing specially with the local position as regards housing. For the purpose of obtaining information for this pamphlet comrade Grindley has, with other S.D.F. members, made personal enquiries in the slum districts of Plymouth, and he has more of this work in store. The Three Towns Association for the better housing of the working classes is a very mixed affair, and includes men and women who on many subjects are diametrically opposed to one another, but who are agreed as to the necessity for the municipalities to take up the housing question.

Outside the association Grindley's attitude to many of its members is one of hostility, but his energetic work in connection therewith has, at any rate, won him the respect of his opponents.

In October last the branch discussed various methods of propaganda for the ensuing winter, and it was agreed that one of the best ways to propagate our principles was to fight an election. The School Board was decided on, as that would give the branch some idea of its strength in the town. The local political wirepullers appeared to be much pained at the thought of a contest, as it appears that a compromise had practically been arranged.

We were somewhat amused at the remark in a local paper that a contest seemed inevitable as "neither of the political parties would take Mr. Grindley with his programme under its wing." Of course, all other parties were absolutely ignored, and the branch pursued its own course, holding firmly to the principles of Social-Democracy. Grindley's programme was out early, and included State maintenance, secular education, and the other well-known S.D.F. items.

He was in the field long before any other candidate, and it was no doubt owing to the progress which the branch had made with its arrangements that Grindley was allowed to walk in without a fight. However much the Liberals and Tories may have wished to avoid a contest on the ground of economy, it is hardly conceivable that they would have allowed an S.D.F. member to go in unopposed unless he had stood a fair chance of success.

This, then, is our first local representative. We believe that he has lurking regrets that he was not returned by popular vote; but we must be satisfied with the confident knowledge that during the next three years he will do all in his power to realise better conditions for the little ones and to develop a higher education. At the expiration of that time we must give him another comrade as colleague.

Grindley himself is still a student. He is greatly interested in Ruskin Hall and his small amount of spare time is devoted to the sociology course in connection therewith. He believes that no education can be complete which does not give the workers a proper conception of the rights and duties of each member of the social organism, and that our educational system cannot in any sense be regarded as perfect until each individual is thoroughly grounded in social evolution.

Grindley is a fine fellow, a good athlete, a great walker, and a hard worker. He has the confidence of the Plymouth comrades, and we hope his new work on the School Board will meet with success.

G. H. M.

The returns of the latest census taken in Germany show that there are now 32 towns with a population of over 100,000, as against 27 at the date of the previous census in 1895. Berlin has a population of 1,884,345, as against 1,677,304; Hamburg has increased from 625,552 to 704,669; Munich from 407,307 to 498,503; Leipsic from 399,963 to 455,120; and Breslau from 373 169 to 422,415. Dresden and Cologne have between 300,000 and 400,000 inhabitants, and the seven towns with over 200,000 inhabitants are Frankfurt-on-Main, Nuremberg, Hanover, Dusseldorf, Stettin, Madgeburg, and Chemnitz, while 18 towns have between 100,000 and 200,000 inhabitants.

WOMAN—HER QUALITY, ENVIRONMET AND POSSIBILITY.

Women bear the heaviest burdens. Socialism will lift the load; Socialism will drive poverty forever away from the hearthstone of the nation. The Socialist Republic will protect motherhood.

There are two distinct types of women—women of the heart and women of the intellect. There are many of the former and few of the latter. The world's history shines with the names of the Portia and Hypatia type, whose intellectual greatness is accompanied by chaste and affectionate hearts, and, too, the pages of history are black with the ambitious villainies concocted in the sharp brains of the Lady Macbeths and the Catherine De Medicis—women who have burnt up, with the fire of intellectual passion, the waters of mercy which ever floods the heart of the true woman.

There are few women of commanding greatness, few who stand at a mental elevation high enough to gain a vision of the new and necessary fraternal relationships which alone will support an environment that will admit of the future advance of the race, while the great multitude of women ever dwell in the world of personal relationship, in the realm of the heart's emotion; live lives which are expressed through those they love rather than in their own individuality. We have Miranda and Ophelia, Florence Nightingale and Joan of Arc; thousands of women who take the vows of complete self-abnegation in the service of God and man, and millions upon millions of every-day mothers whose self-sacrifice keeps the heart of the race mellow with the sunshine of human affections and whose faith keeps the needle of the mind ever turned to the polar star of hope.

The highest type of intellectual women are never at heart's ease outside an environment which gives them free and equal opportunities with man. Their quality they know to be unlike that of men, but it is not less in power, while all lesser lights among intellectual women with clamour and with clangour will keep up the din until their just claims are granted.

The sisters will pray and bind up the wounds of a broken and bleeding humanity. The mothers will work and scrub that their children may receive an education befitting the sons of freemen. Daughters will put away love at their own hearthsides to earn the bread and butter for their old mothers and fathers. Poverty, dependent poverty, is a grievous load to bear. It is a beast irritated with hunger, physical, mental, moral and spiritual; it festers with crimes so vile that they may not be mentioned. The fangs of this beast strike deep in the flesh of women delicately reared, its vice-like claws clutch sturdier women, who are scratched and torn, if perchance they are so fortunate as to make their escape. Social poverty is a blasphemy to the Most High God.

No, variety is not dependent upon the differing degrees of ugliness at the lower rungs of the ladder shading off up to beauty, which at the tip top is most beautiful. It is not good, better, best that necessarily defines differing environments, either personal or national. There is a profounder reason for differences than such shallow argument can furnish. The grass and the mountains are different, but how beautiful are the rich meadows threaded with silver streams; how glorious the mountain tops bathed in the colours of the setting sun. Beauty is natural. It may take up its universal abode with man.

Here are two women, one a blonde and the other a brunette. Each in comparison with her own type stands at the head of her class. We must agree they are each in degree as beautiful one as the other. We make choice not of degree, but of quality. Just so with intellectual attainment: one may be as high in knowledge as another, but the line of demonstration is different. We have a great Marx and a great Newton. Here are two elegant and substantial tables; one design is carved in oak and another design is wrought in mahogany; preference is decided simply upon taste.

My plea to the women of my country is for the free use of wealth. I would have useful things beautiful that the beautiful home and the glorious nation may aid in perfecting these human temples which we bear, that they may in turn become the fitter dwelling-place and instrument of the mind and heart.

Wealth, economic-wealth, is made by human hands. The work-a-day women, as wife and mother, as shop girl and factory hand, stand turning the wheels of industry through the long hours of the day, the long month in the year, and the long, long years of the lifetime—with stifled pride and quivering heart, generation after generation go down to their graves the drudges of the privileged few.

To these women I appeal—Give us, oh! give us, your aid! Make wealth common, make leisure abundant, make beauty as boundless as nature herself. You who have nothing may give all; you who are lowly may lift all to high degree; you who are ignorant may pour out wisdom and flood the bestial, arrogant rich and the miserable, vicious poor with the waters of life.

Yours is the power. By throwing your burden of poverty to the winged winds you may bring degraded women back to paths of virtue, make chaste the relations of husband and wife, erect altars of love and service at the hearthside, make the school the practice temple of knowledge, raise the American nation to its promise of fraternal power, fulfill the compact signed in the cabin of the "Mayflower."

Woman is the receptive force, man is the projective force. Put it this way, if you will: woman is the negative pole of action, while man is the positive pole of action. It is every-day knowledge that action and reaction are equal. Electricians know that the negative current must be able to uphold the positive; that is to say, it supports a projective action stronger than its own. The strength of the negative pole is in its impact, while volition is the strength of the positive current. The equal power of the

negative pole lies in its ability to bear, not to carry. The negative current is equal in force, but different in action, in quality.

Women have the task of sustaining and conserving the energies of the race. If she will not protect and cherish the unborn babe beneath her heart it must perish. No man on earth has the power to perform that beautiful and holy mission.

Women alone have the power to hold the advance made in this our beloved country. If she will not arise to meet the great occasion demanded by the highest level of citizenship we must perish as a nation!

Ye who are a-weary and heavy laden may protect the nation, may elevate the race. But how?

Before we ask how, we must ask why. If women are equal to, though unlike, men, why is her economic position at a lower level than his? I shall assume an agreement upon this point, that it is because her right to citizenship is as yet but partially established. I shall assume that women and men, too, will assent that men have no power to give women the right to citizenship, that that right was conferred by the Almighty Power along with life itself. Men have, then, simply the power to withhold her opportunity of voting, and that power only, until such time as she, together with the most progressive and enlightened men, assert her rights practically at the polls.

Our ground has now become more difficult. If woman's economic position is inferior to man's because she may not exercise her right of suffrage, what is the reason of the awful chasm between the economic standing of man to man? We must look behind the power of political equality. We are thus brought face to face with the economic inequalities, not alone between men and men, but between class and class. We are now confronted with the Labour question per se. Why are a few persons rich and the great multitude of mankind poor? Though men for the same work are better paid than women, we must lose sight, in great part, of the woman question. At this point the woman question has melted into the more important labour question; into the question of poverty versus plenty; drudgery versus freedom; into the question of Socialism versus capitalism.

Now that our ground is cleared the task is simpler, but still it is more complex than when dealing only with that struggle between workmen and their economic masters, the capitalists. We have to meet and solve the problem of the dependent poverty of wives and mothers. These women are not wage workers. Surely Socialism were no solution of the question of poverty and slavery if the mothers of the race are still to remain dependent upon the pleasure of their domestic lords for their bread and butter. So long as mothers cringe so long will slaves be born.

Boston, U.S.A.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

(To be continued)

GENERAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

It is more than probable, my dear readers, that this simple question, "What is Socialism"? would embarrass you a little, and that not two of your answers would be alike. This, however, is not at all surprising, when we consider the diversity of definitions given by the most eminent authors who have seriously studied the subject.

In an article published in 1897, in the Revue de l'Humanite Nouvelle, M. Hamon has collected a certain number of these definitions, a few of which we reproduce here:—

Socialism: The economic philosophy of the suffering classes (Von Scheel); The substitution of the conscious to the "unconscious development of humanity (Karl Marx); The synthetic object of all the progressive activities of militant humanity (Benoit Malan); Is the substitution of common, public, or collective property to private property (Woolsey); Is a system which subordinates political reforms to social reforms (Littre); Every partisan of the progressive substitution of social proprietorship is a Socialist (Millerand).

The diversity of these definitions is not difficult to explain. In all times, the evolution of societies has been submitted to the influence of different factors, the relative importance of which has changed with the epochs, but has never ceased to exist in some degree or other. It is customary to class these factors under the three heads of economic factors, political factors, and ethical factors. In the past, when nations lived in isolation, and industries varied little from century to century, the $r\hat{o}le$ of the economic factors was certainly less important than in our times, in which the scientific and industrial discoveries have revolutionised our life. And this, no doubt, explains the fact that the study of economic laws begins with the scientific and industrial movement which made its appearance towards the end of the eighteenth century.

No one would dream to-day of denying the importance of the economic factors on the development of social life. There are, nevertheless, thinkers who are persuaded that the political factors, including laws and institutions, have a superior influence on the happiness of the peoples to that of the others, and that, in order to change the destinies of a nation, it is sufficient to modify its political organisation. For others, on the contrary, the future of a people depends less on its institutions than on the national character, or the character of the race, which should be acted upon if it is desired to direct the evolution of the nation.

The influence of the ethical factors, ideas, beliefs, customs, have undergone, with time, a parallel transformation to that of the economic factors, but in an inverse sense. Dominated formerly by their habits of absolute religious submission, men have become more obedient to economic neces-

sities. It remains quite certain, however, that the future of the peoples depends to a great extent on their mental state, or their activity.

So, it may be seen, from how many different points of view the question of social evolution may be examined, and we thus understand the difference existing between the various definitions of Socialism. This difference arises from the point of view from which the different authors we have quoted have approached the subject, and we may conclude from the very fact of this diversity, that none of the definitions given are absolutely general, since none of them take into account all the circumstances which influence the development of social life.

As Jaurès has recently shown, the evolution of societies, which after all is only a necessary consequence of the evolution of human thought, is submitted to laws which are quite as fixed and quite as inevitable as those which govern the evolution of the material world. The complexity of the essential and accessory factors which come into play sufficiently explain the difficulty which exists of discovering the fundamental laws. They are, however, none the less in existence, and it will be only when they shall be known and when reforms shall be directed in accordance with them that real and lasting progress will be realised.

Jaurès, whose competence in educational matters is as indisputable as is his knowledge of social science, concluded his discourse by showing that it is only by the diffusion of education that the above aim will be attained.

However, the need of instruction, evident as it seems, is not admitted by everybody, and we have, not unfrequently, heard people having the best intentions, express their scorn for what they call, disdainfully, latitudinarianism. For them, outside the political propaganda, no salvation! What a mistake, a mistake that is obvious, even when one looks at the question from a much lower point of view, and when one considers only the immediate result.

The recent elections have shown, once more, how large is the number of people who do not vote simply from inertia, because they do not realise the power put in their hands by their ballot paper, or, rather, the power which would soon be that of democracy, if the right of vote was exercised and intelligently exercised by all who possess it. It is clear that this electoral abstention, especially frequent amongst the working classes, is a loss of force which it is indispensable to remedy. For that, it is necessary to impress on all the importance of the electorate, and also—the vote being a double-edged weapon—it is necessary to put the elector in condition to form an opinion by himself.

Is that aim to be attained by political propaganda only? Is it thus that you will enable the elector to see clearly his way in the midst of the contradictory affirmations which are poured in on him in time of election? Is it thus that you will guard him against the fallacious promises of unscrupulous politicians, who, the day after the polling, would not even deign to look at him? Is it thus that you will succeed in introducing into

^{*} Address given at Lyons, and reviewed in Justice, November, 1900.

the Councils of the nation a greater number of representatives of the people, with sufficient knowledge to work usefully in view of the welfare of the proletariat? Do elections refer to political matters only, and are industrial, commercial, hygienic questions of so little importance as to be ignored? Are electors to accept ready-made opinions on such subjects? If so, they are as exposed to be deceived by your adversaries, as to be convinced by your simple affirmation. How do you propose to give your candidates a sufficient insight on the questions concerning the amelioration of the conditions of the working classes? Does political propaganda answer these necessities?

No, it is only by a constant struggle against ignorance, that this aim will be attained, and if an additional proof of that fact were necessary, it would be found in the obstinacy with which the diffusion of instruction is fought against by that fraction of society which sees in the enlightening of the people the peril of to-morrow. We must work incessantly to increase the number of schools, to enlarge the programmes, to perfect the methods of teaching; in so doing we shall assure to the future generations the advantages of which their elders have been deprived. But that is not enough; we must also think of those who have passed school-time. Evening classes are certainly very good institutions; however, they do not answer all the necessities, and we believe a good deal may be done by lectures in clubs or branches, as well as through the medium of the Liberal press.

Let those who know give here and there one hour of their time to those who know less; let democratic papers be so directed that every reader might say, after perusal of any one of them, "I have learned something I did not know." Such a programme appears very simple; its execution, however, is rendered extremely difficult, by the indifference of some, by the spirit of negation and criticism of others, by those personal rivalries, which end in destroying the strongest social organisations, and especially by the attraction of those barren and useless discussions in which so many people seem to take the greatest pleasure.

At a time when active effort is an absolute necessity, we forget ourselves too much in endless and empty polemics, not remembering that it is exactly thus that perished many civilisations of the past, when their natural defenders gave up struggle and effort. "Thus ended Athens and Rome; thus ended Byzantium, the heir of all the dreams and all the discoveries of humanity, all the treasures of art and thought that had accumulated since the beginning of the world. The historians relate that when the Sultan Mahomet appeared before the great city, its inhabitants, occupied in subtle theological discussions, and in perpetual rivalries, took little trouble to defend it. Thus the representative of a new faith triumphed easily over such adversaries. When he had entered the famous capital, the last refuge of the lights of the old world, his soldiers promptly deprived of their heads the more noisy of these babblers and reduced the others to servitude."

Let us strive not to forget the lessons of history; let us not waste our time in useless recriminations, but let every one of us contribute, in his

^{*} G. le Bon, "Psychologie du Socialisme" (Paris).

sphere, however modest it may be, to the study of the problems with which the sphinx confronts us and which we must answer under pain of being devoured by her.

To sum up, we may resume our opinion on the means of arriving at the realisation of the Socialist ideal in these few words: Educate the masses, increase their knowledge, enlarge their ideas, make them understand that Socialism is not synonymous with "class hatred," that discussion does not consist of flinging torrents of disagreeable epithets at the heads of our opponents, but of convincing them by logical arguments. Mr. Headingley terminated an excellent article published in Justice a few weeks ago with these words: "Take a rough, uncouth fellow, and convert him into a nature's true gentleman, and you may do as much for Socialism as by . delivering the most eloquent exposition of the theory of surplus-value." We are entirely in agreement with him, and will content ourselves with adding that, if while this transformation is being effected the attention which it deserves is given to intellectual culture an invaluable service is rendered, not only to the man, or to a particular group, but to the whole of society. It is with the view of contributing a part, modest as it may be, towards the execution of the above programme that we propose to give a series of articles on the relations between general and social science.

As we have already said, and as we shall soon show, these relations are much more important than they seem at first, and if they sometimes escape observation it is usually because some aspects of the question have been neglected.

Let us take one example from amongst thousands. There are few questions which have given rise to more discussion than that of drunkenness. Some see there the root of all evils; others shrug their shoulders when they are spoken to about the nefarious influence of that vice. It is evidently a question of point of view. Certainly, it is sad to observe the suffering brought upon innocent victims through the drunken habits of a paterfamilias. On the other hand, the time wasted, the health compromised, constitute a real loss for society. Nevertheless, if the consequences of the abuse of drink stopped there, we could, to a certain extent, agree with one of our friends, an excellent Socialist, who stated that it would be absurd to attribute to drunkenness any importance whatever and to see in it a danger for the future. But such is not the case; our friend has not examined all the phases of the subject, as he himself admitted later on, with his usual good grace.

Let us push our investigations further. One of the most eminent representatives of French science, Professor Magnan, who has given many years to the study of the question, has been able to show, with the greatest certainty, that out of 100 children born epileptic, or idiots, 70 have been conceived during the drunkenness of the father. Is it admissible that those who have, apparently, escaped from the direct influence, are absolutely normal, and that they do not bear in their organism a blemish which they may transmit to their posterity? Is that not a danger for the future of the

race, and is it still possible, in face of that fact, to deny the social peril involved in the development of drunkenness?

There are many other examples of the near relationship existing between social and general science. We think the one given above sufficient to justify the study we propose to begin in the following number of this review. If we can interest some of our readers, and if we have the good fortune to be instrumental in enlarging the field of knowledge of a few of them, we shall be amply rewarded. We know perfectly well the objection which will be brought forward by some of those who do not share our opinion; they will simply deny the facts. That is not difficult, and everybody can afford such a cheap process of discussion. Moreover, is it not the fashion, nowadays, to ignore progress; and is it not very smart to disdainfully allude to the "bankruptcy of science"?

We shall not waste our time in answering these unsupported allegations; the evidence of their absurdity will soon appear. In the meantime, let us guard ourselves against that fashionable scepticism; thus we shall avoid the snare laid by those who have every interest in preventing the emancipation of the working classes, and who, for that purpose, fight with all their might against the diffusion of instruction.

Dr. Zed.

A POPULAR university has been established at Leghorn, Italy. The programme is good, and much is done for the people, but, as the local Socialist paper says, to be successful they should be allowed to have some voice in the management of the institution.

STATISTICS OF LYNCHING.—For some years the Chicago Tribune has made a specialty of lynching statistics, and every January it gives a summary of that class of crime for the twelve months. The figures show that the victim of mob justice north or south is almost invariably a black man. Of the 115 persons unlawfully executed in 1900, 107 were negroes, and of the total number of lynchings all but eight took place in the south. Louisiana and Mississippi led with 20 each; Georgia had 16; Florida, nine; Alabama, eight; Tennessee, seven; Arkansas and Virginia, six each. Indiana, Kansas, and Colorado are the northern States that indulged in lynch law last year. In Indiana three coloured men, one of them innocent, were lynched; in Colorado, two coloured men and one white man suffered the penalty, one of the coloured men being tortured in the most fiendish manner. Kansas chose two white men as its victims. These instances serve to show that latitude has little to do with the lynching spirit. Possibly there would be almost as many lynchings in the north as there are in the south if the north had as large a negro population. The occurrences in Indiana and Colorado admonish us at least to assume no superior virtue in that regard. In 16 years 2,583 persons have been lynched in the United States, an average of 161 a year. The number in 1900 was considerably below the average, but it was somewhat in excess of the record for 1899, a fact which weakens the inference that lynching is on the decline.—Minneapolis (Minn.) Times.

POLITICAL DETERMINISM.

THE method of criticism adopted by Mr. Ellam in this controversy has been exposed. After a bare statement of his opinion "that mind is, in itself, the principle from which alone consciousness can be derived" he naively asserts that "space does not permit of further enlargement of the question thus raised, which might, indeed, be discussed indefinitely, owing to the scantiness of the data at our disposal." May we not infer that the indefinite nature of his lengthy contributions to recent issues of the Social-Democrat is explained by the scantiness of the data at his disposal?

He assures himself that I have landed myself in a hole. Whether he is right or not does not greatly concern me. If the "strictly logical conclusion" which Mr. Hyndman credits me with having reached, in proving my affirmation that the South African war was inevitable, is a "hole"—it is well. Let it be broad enough and deep enough. I am content. If it is not a hole—well also. I have indeed a suspicion, which I may not positively state, that my position is no hole, and that if there be within the cosmic scheme, that which can truly be called a hole, that hole has an intimate and immediate relation to Mr. Ellam's share of the "unknown quantity." This by the way, as Mr. Ellam would say.

A quotation from Marx, which I inserted in my last article, I described as taken "from the author's preface to 'Capital.' " I quoted it in order to present, in concise form, the method which Marx adopted in his great work. Evidently Mr. Ellam's interpretation of Marx's method is not mine. not, however, entitled on that account, to say, as he does twice, that I misquoted. A child would see that the quotation was not originally coined by Marx, written as it is in the third person. If Mr. Ellam has ever troubled himself to read the context from which the quotation was drawn, he must know that it forms part of what Marx called his best answer to the writer in the European Messenger of St. Petersburg, who criticised his method, and that the said writer was thus, by Marx, hoist with his own petard. Knowing this, Mr. Ellam might have avoided exposing the desperate straits to which he has been reduced. As an answer to the words I cited, he triumphantly quotes Marx to show that individuals are dealt with by him (Marx) in so far as they are the personifications or embodiments of class relations and class interests. I cannot think that it was entirely the exigencies of space which made him shun the sentence immediately following that which he quotes, in which Marx says: " My standpoint from which the evolution of the formation of Society is viewed as a process of natural history, can, less than any other, make the individual responsible for relations, whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them."

Mr. Ellam asserts that "a careful examination of the economic condition of the South African Republics, and our adjacent colonies, should convince us that the possibility of a peaceful solution existed up to the last stroke of the clock, which decided the first action of the Boer forces." I am not convinced. Marvellous, isn't it? Or is it merely that I am hypercritical—or finical? Or is it because I received an impression from reading an article in the Social-Democrat of December last, written by Mr. Ellam, which gravely informed readers that "war became inevitable from the day on which gold was discovered in any quantity in the Transvaal"? Is Mr. Ellam a perverter of the truth, or is he simply a betrayer of his own word? Perhaps he is neither. He may be the discoverer of a real Boer plot, and he may be ready to show an astonished world that the Boers have been mobilising ever since gold was discovered in any quantity in the Transvaal.

Before I leave trivialities, might I be permitted to notice Mr. Ellam's "unknown quantity," which he evidently makes the basis of his argument. He says "the quantity—wisdom and morality—whibh should have gone to avert the final catastrophe (war) was, as Kennedy says, non-existent," but he adds, "it was not unknown." How much, might I ask, does Mr. Ellam know about, and what does he expect to receive from, that which is non-existent? I have all along been endeavouring to show that the South African war was inevitable, just because the wisdom and morality which should have gone to avert war were absent. Readers will note the issue.

The fatal error which both Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Ellam make in their endeavour to controvert my conclusion is that they judge it from a purely ethical standpoint. They appear to assume that I am seeking to justify, on moral lines, the acts of aggression on the part of Britain which culminated in the present war. They also assume that the only methodical and effective protest which can be lodged against these acts of aggression must take the form of a denunciation of the political instruments—personalities—through which Britain's policy was expressed. Both assumptions are absolutely without foundation. If I felt myself constrained to arbitrate on the merits of the case, as it stands. morally, between Boer and Briton, I should, without the slightest hesitation, pronounce in favour of the former. In analysing the material development and extension of capitalism, however, I dismiss idealism, and look for an explanation of material phenomena, not amongst the treacherous quicksands of ethics, but in the world of material actualities. I look for the determining factor, evidences of which are to be found in concentrated form in political institutions, and having found it, and traced its effects, I am enabled to define the law which controls the varied manifestations of social life. object is not to establish moral relations, but to demonstrate facts. Recognising what Marx called the "fluid movement," or evolutionary development of social life, which is materially created and sustained, I see at once the transient nature of the present, and, if my inquiry be accurate enough, the tendency of the movement and its consummation. It ill becomes the physician to turn pale and act hysterically at the sight of blood. Similarly, when diagnosing the disease which to-day afflicts the social organism, and prescribing a cure, the scientific economist should understand and expect the successive phases which will be manifested as the disease progresses. The domination of capital involves war. War is the symptom of a social disease.

Human society can no more arbitrarily arrest or retard the evolution of events than can the individual divest himself or herself of those peculiar physical and mental traits, which constitute individuality. Consciously or unconsciously it is borne along. The history of mankind is the history of human adaptation to the variety of conditions, incidental to ceaseless development. Physical science does not attempt a definition of the essential cause or source of human activity. That cause may be god or devil, masculine or feminine, conscious or unconscious. We may affirm, however, the universality of law, the continuity of existence within all conceivable limits of time and space, and the absolute impossibility of escape, socially or individually, from the operations and consequences of material development.

I have described the attitude of Socialists generally, towards the South African war, as unpractical sentimentalism. I do not mean thereby to disparage healthy sentiment. I simply wish to point out that the method of criticism generally adopted by Socialists, in this case has been entirely different from that adopted in connection with any other phase of capitalist expansion or exploitation. They have stood for the independence of two petty States while affirming the inter-dependence of all States, and they have accused individuals of the crime of submission to forces which they know The Socialist movement is the movement of material govern society. forces, the timeous expression of which will be the death-knell of capitalism. Surely they must see the futility of merely moralising on the operation of forces, which admittedly dominate Society, and which will be expressed in human relations, in spite of all the moral maxims and sentimental protests which can be brought against them. An attempt to prevent the extension of the influence of capital in South Africa, is, in my opinion, as logical and useful as the attempt of the foolish persons who try to prevent the development of the huge industrial combinations and trusts which are the inevitable product of capitalist commerce.

It may, of course, be urged, as Mr. Ellam does, that the war presents an object-lesson upon which we must insist in order to arouse a consciousness of the iniquities of capitalism. If that is the only reason that can be offered, then I must say that the sense of perspective of those who select such an object-lesson has suffered somehow, and that the real reason why the war has engaged so much attention must be sought elsewhere. Have we no war at home? Is it only on the South African veldt that we can find helpless women and children? What about China's open door, through which the murderous herdes of Christendom are streaming? What about India's starving millions?

Looking backward, we are all inclined to linger when we see, or think we see, the glorious chance which some fool missed, the supreme opportunity

when some timid soul failed to rise, the fatal moment when the hopes of a million hearts were chilled. And we sigh, and sigh, and think—what might have been. Something, someone, drags us back from dreamland, and bids us look at what is, and to think of what will be. We do well who listen.

In a former article, I asked Mr. Ellam to define exactly in how many ways man's control over the future is not conditioned by material development. He has evaded my question. Mr. Hyndman comes to his rescue and offers the suggestion—it is nothing more—that when once mind has been developed it becomes, "within limits, a law unto itself." I ask again, within what limits does mind express itself in such ways as would justify our saying that it (mind) is a law unto itself. I leave the question with Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Ellam, and merely tell them not to be unduly depressed if they fail to discover—a non-existent quantity. I caution them, too, against the danger of hugging a delusion, in order to protect an imaginary basis of ethics.

Thomas Kennedy.

FREE WILL OR FATALISM.

I HAVE been greatly interested in the discussion between Mr. Ellam and Mr. Kennedy, on the logic of our opposition to the war, but notice one jarring element which it seems next to impossible to keep out of any really serious argument, and that is the habit of trying to get the best of your opponent, even at the expense of befogging the general readers. And in no subject is this more easy of performance than on the question of free will, evolution, and fatalism. Now to come to the point. Does a belief in the evolution of society entail a belief that a certain course of events arising from certain causes are inevitable, viz., capitalism to Social-Democracy, and that all we can do is to prepare for the inevitable?—a fatalism which one is led to infer is upheld by Mr. Kennedy in his article, call it by what name he likes. But, honestly speaking, I really think that if the truth could be sifted out, both Mr. Ellam, Mr. Kennedy, and myself, along with most evolutionary Socialists, hold the same opinions on this question, which I will try to make as clear as possible in as few words as I can. We are all agreed about the main principle of evolution, as to cause and effect, heredity, &c., but we seem to lose sight of that important phase of evolution brought out so beautifully by Darwin in his "Origin of Species," where he shows that the variations brought about by the combinations of heredity with environment, absolutely exclude fatalism from the workings of evolution, and that this principle of variation is the same in the combination or juxtaposition of the individual with the community, and the combination of the heredity of a nation with its environment composed of other nations and civilisations.

Thus the idea becomes plausible that a nation may not necessarily pass from capitalism to Social-Democracy, but may develop into a collectivism as bad as the coming slavery predicted by Herbert Spancer, or even degenerate into a worse condition of things like the empire of old, for, as Thorold Rogers proved, you cannot kick or starve a people into a higher civilisation either by revolution or any other means. Now observe, all this may be true and may have been in the mind of Karl Marx when he wrote the following quotation given by Mr. Kennedy: "In the history of civilisation. the conscious element plays a part so subordinate, that a critical enquiry whose subject matter is civilisation can less than anything else have for its basis any form of, or any result of consciousness." Karl Marx only shows the small part played by consciousness compared with the other forces at work in the evolution of society. But we also recognise this equally as much; it should therefore only tend to stimulate us to more strenuous efforts to impress this small force of consciousness on the trend of economic laws, and to that end divert them into the desired direction, which we believe should be Social-Democracy. This law of evolution relating to variation also shows, to my mind, that persons are doing right or wrong as they impress their consciousness in aid of this idea or in opposition thereto, and that it is thus legitimate to apportion a certain amount of blame or praise to individuals in respect of their conduct in relation to the future and to one another. There are many obvious inferences to be drawn from this standpoint about other important subjects besides this war in Africa, the interesting study of which I will leave for the present, and shall be satisfied if I have shown that there is a rational medium in evolution between the pure individualistic tendencies on the one hand and fatalism on the other. to which some Socialists have a leaning.

R. WALKINGTON (Leeds).

P.S.—Knowing the importance of clear definition, I give my definition of consciousness to be the sum total of the combined results of inherited tendencies in collision with ever-changing surroundings acting on the man through his nervous system.—R. W.

In Belgium a proposal in favour of granting an amnesty to men who have been convicted of offences against labour laws has been introduced. These men have not only served their period of imprisonment, but at present are permanently disfranchised.

ONE of the writers of *Le Peuple* recently made a propagandist tour through the provinces of East and West Flanders, which are mainly agricultural. The agricultural labourers receive 6d. a day and their food, such as it is, and some weavers get from 10 to 12 francs (8s. to 10s. a week) without food.

SOCIALISM, SCIENCE AND MORAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It is almost inconceivable that a single mind, however gigantic, could give to the world a philosophy so comprehensive as to form an absolute and final test of truth. We may assume that no such philosophy exists. No thinking man will chain his mind to a single set of ideas. Some of us have learned that it is not good to fetter our souls to a system of religion. We do not believe that any authoritative creed can equal the value of our own thought, and even if our thinking leads to error, it is better to err in honesty and freedom than be right in mental slavery. But men are not only slaves to religious ideas. The yoke of doctrine encumbers the neck even of the social reformer and retards progress in politics, morals and economics. This fact is illustrated very clearly in the attitude of scientific Socialism to ethical teaching.

The Marxist Socialist points out the line upon which economic progress has consistently travelled since primeval times, and how little moral considerations have influenced that progress. He argues that in the main, the morality, religion, art and literature of a people are the reflex of their economic This may be true as a matter of historical fact, but progress itself is human as well as economic, and the materialism of a section of the Socialist Party may, after all, be due to a false distinction between the growth of systems and the growth of men. The relations between man and circumstance are necessarily reciprocal, though not always in the same measure; but when a Ruskin or a Tolstoy seeks to identify moral considerations with industrial economics the Marxist assumes an altogether one-sided relationship. This assumption denies the very name and meaning of Social-Democracy. If we are but creatures, and not creators, of circumstance, what becomes of the ideal of humanity controlling its own industrial life and destiny? If Democracy means anything at all it means the ascendancy of mind over matter, and social freedom, to be complete, demands the highest order of personal life. Every step in the march of Democracy requires a larger conception of individual duties and social responsibilities.

Materialism means decay. Scientific Socialism owes its virility to forces that have saturated the movement through and through in spite of its own supposed materialist basis. Men accept Socialism for the most part, not because of its historical sanction, but because it embodies the principle of social righteousness; and even the most rigid do not, in practical advocacy, allow their materialist prejudices to swamp altogether the appeal of their cause to the human heart and soul.

The value of science in application to social problems is not in dispute. All that is urged is that, with the development of the moral sense of the people, economic questions become, not less scientific, but more and more moral questions, and that the part of the moralist in human progress becomes

more and more important. The realisation of complete democracy—the rule of the people in economics no less than in politics—will assert the supremacy of moral and intellectual force over blind economic force. The fallacy of materialist Socialism is in the idea that such supremacy would be in opposition to the evolutionary process. By careful and continued selection flowers of rare beauty are produced, but the process of selection is not contrary to natural laws. Their exquisite bloom and colour represents natural evolution assisted by human thought and skill none the less natural and evolutionary. Similarly, in considering the forces that work in and behind the development of society, it is desirable to bear in mind that the moral sense is one of them, and one that, however feeble and ineffective in the light of historical analysis, grows with the growth of the human mind and is as natural and as much a product of evolution as Social-Democracy itself.

F. Montague.

ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND THE CENTURY.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL, in the Fortnightly Review, deals with the above subject in a far more generous spirit than is usual with Unionists. He says that the present moment is a fitting one to ask the English people what they really think, at the bottom of their hearts, about the Irish question. A great problem awaits solution in South Africa, and lessons may be drawn from the government of Ireland that may assist statesmen to avoid wrong doing and to do the right under the Southern Cross.

With the best will in the world, England has failed signally to find its way to the heart of Ireland. It has destroyed the Parliament of the country, it has established the Legislative Union. We have redressed grievances . . . but still five-sixths of the representatives of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament are fiercely hostile to England and to English interests throughout the world. The allegiance of the Irish people is an unwilling allegiance.

Let us see how the ledger account between England and Ireland really stands. The Irish Parliament was abolished, and the union carried by unblushing bribery and corruption, with the English garrison in Ireland. Union means rent and the right to oppress. The writer goes on to enumerate a number of Irish wrongs, and says that the Irish Land Question is the blackest fact in the whole of the relations between the two countries. Mr. Russell goes on to describe the progress and development of the Land League, which, he tells us, compelled the late Mr. Gladstone to pass the Land Act of 1881. An interesting resumé of the Irish political movement during the last 20 years follows. The writer, while declaring in favour of the union, commends the following policy to the English people. First of all, let the Government of Ireland be broad based upon the people's will. There is one supreme thing alone to be done. There is a noxious weed which, planted by England, poisons the whole life of Ireland, that is the land system of the country. To settle the Irish land question is to buy out the fee-simple of Irish disaffection. Let the government be a popular government, abolish the sham court at Dublin with all its hypocrisies and snobbery. Govern Ireland as England and Scotland are governed.

IN MEMORIAM-PHILIP D. ARMOUR.

HOW HE MADE HIS SEVENTY MILLIONS.

THE following article is taken from "Packingtown," by A. M. Simons, of Chicago:—

Perhaps there is no one feature of the "Windy City" of which its ruling class are so proud as the Union Stock Yards and Packing Houses. Perhaps it is because, from start to finish, they are more nearly typical of the system in which they exist than anything else in the great city. From the general air of hoggishness that pervades everything, from the general manager's offices down to the pens beneath the buildings, and up to the smoke that hangs over it all, the whole thing is purely capitalistic. In fact, it is safe to say that in the entire world there is not another so perfect example of the capitalistic system in all its purity (or impurity, rather) as is

furnished by the group of industries under consideration.

So it has become one of the "sights of the town," and no visitor thinks his tour of the "World's Fair" City complete until he has been piloted through the mazes of "Packingtown," and seen the wondrous machinery that whirls the animal along in his transforming journey from the pen to the barrel. He gazes in amazement at the contrivances of iron and steel, whose variety, intricacy, and human skill are only equalled in marvellousness by the uniformity, simplicity and mechanicalness of their flesh and blood competitors. The interest and admiration of the visitors is divided between the iron and steel expression of human intelligence that follows all the curves of a hog's anatomy to remove the bristles, and the flesh and blood mechanism that removes all the meat from the bone with a single stroke of the knife. He is led into the great cooling rooms, and gazes on acres of freezing hogs in course of preparation for journeys of perhaps half-way round the world, and he is asked to admire the perfect machinery that carries the carcass along through all these various processes, with never a break or a slip. But his attention is never called to the gangs of workmen with bare arms rushing at headlorg speed from this frigid atmosphere to the torrid heat of the "killing floor." Neither is he told that from the time he enters the confines of the "Yards" until he leaves his every movement is noted by paid spies who dog his footsteps or note his presence as he passes their designated station. In fact, there are many things not on exhibition for the casual visitor, or pointed out by the affable, uniformed guide who leads the way. It is the purpose of this paper to take the visitor a little behind the scenes, and point out some of the conditions that attach to this splendid development of capitalism.

As was stated above, the industry as a whole is probably the best example of an industry that has completed the process of capitalistic evolution to be found in the world. The process of consolidation has about run its course. All competing butchers were long ago destroyed, save in a few out-of-the-way places, where their competition is unfelt. The process by which this was carried out is familiar to the residents of almost every little city or town in this country. At the beginning there are several

little competing butchers. Everything is going on lovely, with all the wastes and weaknesses of competition. Some fine morning one of the butchers, generally the strongest financially in the place, is approached by an affable stranger, who introduces himself as a representative of Swift's or Armour's packing house, and makes a flattering offer to the proprietor of the shop if he will handle their meats instead of his own. If he accepts, he is immediately enabled to undersell all his previous competitors, and for a time he thinks he has stumbled upon a Klondyke. The consumers of the town are also elated, for they can now get better meats than ever before at much lower prices, and they are apt to grow a little bitter toward their fellow-townsmen who had "been cheating them all these years." Finally, one by one these competitors disappear, and the victorious butcher becomes of great importance in his little circle, and a great admirer of Armour and But one day there comes a change. The hitherto affable agent Swift. suddenly becomes stern. The wholesale price of meat is raised, the margin of profit is wiped out, and the independent merchant becomes a commission agent for the great Chicago packing houss. The price of meat goes up again and everything is lovely—for the packer. If the local butchers object, they are helpless—their slaughter-houses are dismantled and out of repair, and their trade scattered, and, besides, there is before them the certainty that no matter how successful they might be for a short time, there is nothing before them but absolute ruin as soon as they grow large enough to again attract the attention of the Chicago packers. Thousands of men have been thus robbed of a life-long trade experience and had the inexorable law of monopoly, "Thou shalt not produce," read to them. So far there has been no talk of "compensation" to those who had their property "confiscated."

Within the last few months another phase has been developed along this In revenge for anti-butterine legislation by the farmers and provision dealers, the packers are said to have informed these farmers and dealers that they would be taught a lesson. So, just at present, they are involuntarily attending the school of capitalistic political economy. The packers have simply gone into the provision business. One of the floors of a great packing house has been fitted up for the slaughter of chickens, geese, turkeys, The same wholesale methods with mechanical appliances that have wiped out competitors in other lines are being applied here. The markets are being manipulated and the whole complex machinery of subsidiary plants and sub-agencies are being utilised for the destruction of those parties who had not yet learned that legislatures are sacred to the use of BIG capitalists. Butter and eggs are being handled in the provision depôts throughout the country, and it is but a short step to add a general grocery line, and then the retail grocery trade (the classical example in bourgeois political economy of an industry with "diminishing" or "continuous returns," and hence incapable of monopoly) will be brought under uniform and economical control and a great army of small merchants be sent to join

the proletariat.

It is noticeable that all these branch establishments are built along the line that separates the cattle-raising district from the great consuming public. Railroad rates are then so arranged that the cost of bringing LIVE STOCK to these particular points is very low, but from there on to the east the rates are practically prohibitory on live cattle, while the rate on DRESSED BEEF suddenly drops. Lest this situation might be taken advantage of by small firms located at these points, a heavy rebate is given on all private cars, a rebate so heavy that, according to an instance cited by Judge Schoonmaker in a paper before the third annual convention of railroad

commissioners, the "cars were paid for and a margin in two years, and thereafter an income of upwards of \$100,000 a year was insured on an investment fully repaid or in effect on no investment whatever." This was on an original investment in rolling stock of only \$156,500, which of course, is a very small sum compared with what many of the great packers have

invested in this way.

There are two separate forms of industry carried on at the Yards, or rather two branches of the one work performed by different industrial organisations. There is the transportation and yarding business upon the one hand, and the slaughtering and packing upon the other. The former business is carried on by a corporation formerly known as the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company. The stock of this company is owned by the ten largest railroads running into the Yards. A short time ago this company was reorganised under the name of the Chicago Junction Railway Company. Shortly after this an election was held by the stockholders, and who should appear as president but Chauncey M. Depew. This, of course, indicated that the Vanderbilt interests were now in control and marked another stage in the concentration of wealth, and one more illustration of the closeness with which the interests of plutocracy are united.

Now, if there is one point on which the Vanderbilts are strong, it is on the "economical management" of their industries. So there was a great shaking up at the Yards. Old and trusted employees were discharged to give place to younger men, and the pressure of work on those retained increased until the services of many of the most faithful employees were dispensed with entirely, and they were forced to take their places with the army of men who were begging for a chance to sweep floors or shovel dirt.

All this in the time of prosperity of March and April, 1899.

Throughout the entire packing industry, under those conditions, it was not long until "free competition" had run its course and given way to monopoly. All the savings of "monopoly management" began to appear. "Bye products" were utilised down to the minutest degrees. Bones, teeth, hair, blood, hoofs, horns-all were found to be of value when existing in such large quantities, until it became a standing joke at the Yards to be told to each new visitor by the grinning guide that "everything is saved but the squeal, and they are building a machine now to can that for Fourth of July celebrations." In the utilisation of such products, subsidiary industries grew up, marking another stage in industrial development. Soap and glue factories, bone mill, laboratories for meat extracts, tanneries, fertiliser mills, felt works and brush manufactories arose. With perfect control of the raw product, exceptional facilities for marketing, favourable terms with railroads and the advertising furnished by already well-known names, the process of crushing out competitors proves a short one. In many of these lines the packers held a monopoly from the first, in others they soon attained it, in a few the struggle is still going on. Only a short time ago (April, 1899) Armour was able to dictate the terms upon which the glue trust should be formed, and the other industries named will soon come beneath his rule.

Leaving now the general survey and coming back to "Packingtown," let us look for a time at the conditions immediately surrounding this gigantic expression of modern commercialism. The allied industries here located employ between 25,000 and 35,000 men, women and children, supporting a population of between 125,000 and 175,000 people. This makes it the largest industrial community in the world, the Krupp gun works at Essen, Germany, coming second, but far behind, with about 16,000 employees. Under what

condition do these people live who prepare the meat for the world? We have seen how all things worked, as time went or, to the advantage of those who owned these mammoth, complex butcher shops and the tools that are within them; how is it with those who operate them, and who produce this mighty mass of food? Have they shared in the economies of production -in the savings of combination, in the benefits of improved machinery? Where and how do they live, what manner of homes have they, and what are the conditions under which they work? These are questions that the casual visitor seldom asks and the answers to which are never volunteered. Yet the most hurried visitor cannot fail to have one of the conditions of life in the yards thrust upon him at every point as his nostrils are assailed by the horrible penetrating stench that pervades everything and lingers for hours after a return to a more salubrious atmosphere. Occasionally this stench leaves its accustomed haunts and wanders away on the southern zephyrs to the aristocratic North Side, and the Health Commissioner becomes suddenly and deeply interested in the welfare, not of the thousands of labourers who live and eat and drink and sleep in its very midst, but of the few wealthy individuals residing from three to ten miles away. In all the discussions that have appeared in the public press, I have yet to see one word of the horrible, continuous sufferings of the host of workers who are forced to spend their entire lives in the very heart of the abuse, while columns are written deploring the temporary inconvenience of those who live for brief periods miles away, and to whom a few stray whiffs are wafted before they can escape to their summer vacations.

Great volumes of smoke roll from the forest of chimneys at all hours of the day and drift down over the helpless neighbourhhood like a deep, black curtain that fain would hide the suffering and misery it aggravates. The foul packing house sewage, too horribly offensive in its putrid rottenness for further exploitation even by monopolistic greed, is spewed forth in a multitude of arteries of filth into a branch of the Chicago river at one corner of the Yards, where it rises to the top and spreads out in a nameless, indescribable cake of festering foulness and disease-breeding stench. On the banks of this sluiceway of nastiness are several acres of bristles scraped from the backs of innumerable hogs and spread out to allow the still clinging animal matter to rot away before they are made up into brushes. Great gangs of labourers with forks and rakes spend the long summer days in turning and tossing these into long winrows until the whole scene becomes a ghastly,

tantalising mockery of a mammoth hay field in harvest time.

As if local conditions could not furnish horrors enough, other neighbourhoods and the municipality must lend a hand by leaving the streets unpaved, unsewered and uncleaned, until the sides of the highways are festering pools of slime. That language contains no words strong enough to exaggerate this condition is illustrated by the fact that on Lincoln Street in mid-summer, a child of a labourer fell into this awful mixture and sank beneath the surface to a horrible death, and was not discovered until some hours afterwards. It may seem as if the height had now been reached, but the climax is yet to come. Not content with the negative abuse of neglect to remove evils, capitalism must add positive ones of its own devising. a city garbage dump was established in the midst of this neighbourhood where the refuse of the wealthy residents of Michigan Avenue, Hyde Park and Kenwood was taken from their back doors and dumped by the hundreds of wagon loads each day at the front doors of the long-suffering labourers of the stock yards. When a protest was made and an injunction sought against the contractors, who were by such action guilty of a criminal act, according

to the laws of the State, the city attorney, supposed to be a paid servant of the people, appeared to defend them, and added insult to injury by pleading the great number of nuisances already existing in the neighbourhood as an excuse for locating another in the same locality. Is it any wonder that this particular section of the stock-yards community, known as "Back of the Yards," has the highest death rate of any place of the city of Chicago—so high that on one street the death rate of children under six years actually exceeds the birth rate, and that there were 19 deaths in the last three years from consumption in three blocks. Complaint after complaint regarding these conditions have been made to the health department. Who should care? They are only labourers! The owners but all in vain. live far away from any danger. When, as a last resort, Mayor Harrison was visited, and he was asked if he would do something in this matter, he summed the whole situation of class rule and capitalist exploitation up in the one sentence of his reply: "So far as the business interests of Chicago will let me." There you have it. So long as "business interests" rule in this country, a labourer's life or that of his family counts for nothing in the balance against cent. per cent. profit.

So far we have spoken only of the condition outside the buildings—of the surroundings of the labourers' homes. The question arises as to the conditions within the buildings. Does the guide point out all the interesting features within the houses themselves? Does he take his party into the damp packing cellars, where from three to ten years ordinarily marks the limits of a man's working life before it breaks him down with rheumatism and sends his wife and children into the fierce labour struggle or makes of him a supplicant for charity? Does he call attention to the gangs of men in the "ham-houses" working with bare arms in the semi-poisonous saltpetre that causes great festering sores to come out on their hands and arms. Does he tell about the poison-infested air and general surroundings which make the slightest scratch a menace to life through blood-poisoning, as local infection of wounds is commonly termed? The writer knows from personal experience in numberless cases that a trifling prick, a scratch or a bruise, is enough to lay a man up for weeks and

imperil the life of the person injured.

The visitor's attention is also carefully diverted from any notice of unguarded and defectively dangerous machinery that is on every hand—death traps for the helpless workers who dare not complain. In one establishment a long line of rendering vats, with their tops just on a level with the floor, yawn wide open in a steam-laden atmosphere for the unwary victims. No less than three persons among the acquaintances of the writer have fallen to an awful death in these vats within the last two years. A single elevator killed one man and rendered another a helpless cripple within the space of six weeks, and from all I could learn to the contrary, is still running in its dangerous condition.

(To be continued.)

We believe in the materialist conception of history. We believe in the theory of value and of surplus value as expounded by Karl Marx. We believe in the class struggle and in the historic mission of the working class to overthrow capitalist society and establish the communist or Socialist state.—Advance, San Francisco.

GOETHE AND THE PROLETARIAT.

[This is part of an address given by Dr. Ingwer at Rudolfsheimer in Austria on January 8, 1901, which appeared in the Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung.]

A friend said to me a few days ago, "You are going to lecture on Goethe, how can you, a Socialist, say anything in favour of Goethe the aristocrat?" There is something, after all, in this frame of mind. It seems strange, at first sight, that Social Democratic workmen should wish to honour a man who was an official and the friend of princes and crowned heads, that those who are in need of anything should praise a man who was in the enjoyment of every luxury. But this apparent paradox is easily explained when it is remembered that workmen recognise that Goethe was the greatest genius who up to this time has ever lived. Workmen look on all men as their brothers whatever may be their nationality or creed, and they recognise that J. W. Goethe was not a poet or a thinker of one country or of one class, but that his genius embraced all nations, all conditions of men and all Social-Democrats labour so that culture may no longer be the creeds. privilege of the few, but of all men, and they honour in Goethe the man who was the great apostle of enlightenment.

We hear that the Greeks praised Homer because he not only created their gods but their language, that they honoured Sophocles for his immortal dramas, that they revered Plato for his philosophical masterpieces, and that the Italians look on Dante as the creator of their language. For the same reasons we revere Goethe for having made the German language what it now is and for having secured for it its present proud position. When Goethe was born the German language was crude and void. The nobles and learned men were ashamed of speaking or writing it, and used only French or Italian. Klopstock did in reality nothing, and even Lessing could only write prose, for in verse he was not poetical. Goethe first hewed a masterpiece from the rough, uncut marble, and Schiller followed in his footsteps. We have to thank Goethe for encouraging Schlegel to undertake his masterly translation of Shakespeare, and it is due to him that German philosophers were no longer ashamed of writing in their mother tongue. If you want to realise this, read a few pages of Kant, who wrote before Goethe had taught his countrymen how to use their language, and then compare the Konigsberg philosopher's prose with that of Schopenhauer or Nietzsche, those classics of German philosophy who were not ashamed to own that Goethe was their master.

In the short time at my disposal I cannot treat of Goethe as a poet. To do that I should not have too much time if I gave a whole course of lectures. It is a disgrace to our bourgeois Government that there is no chair in our Austrian University in which Goethe might be properly interpreted. We have recently put up a monument to him in Vienna, but a man is really hououred if we spread his influence and make known his works. Marble is dead, but words are alive.

I will only say that of all poets Goethe is the greatest lyrist of all times and of all nations. He has in "Werther" and in the "Eclectical Affinities" written the best German novels, he has written in "Hermann

and Dorothea" the best German epic, and in the immortal "Faust" he has written a drama which has only been excelled by those of Shakespeare.

But we must not only praise Goethe as creator of the German language and as prince of poets. Goethe is also great as a thinker, he had the true gift of prophecy which was not surpassed. He was a seer and a prophet. He pointed out the way along which modern science would develop and which it has taken. He was the father of the monist philosophy, and though we honour C. Darwin as one of the greatest thinkers of humanity yet we cannot forget that Goethe was a precursor of Darwin. This is especially shown in his work on the "Metamorphoses of Plants," in which he shows how great changes take place, and this was the first step to Darwinism.

All that Goethe wrote is worthy of consideration, and he attained the highest point which man can attain. There are really four great factors in the culture of the world—the Greeks, the Germans, the Renaissance and though this sounds strange now-a-days - the Jews. Goethe assimilated from the Greeks their love of beauty and of sculpture, from the Germans the noble purity of character and the earnest poetic feeling. He has said so himself: "From my father I received my form and the earnestness of life; from my dear mother my joyful nature and my love of romance." received from the Renaissance the great world-ideas and the deep knowledge of art which makes that marvellous epoch memorable in the history of culture. From the Jews he received the peaceful, sure and weighty thoughts that impel man to reject unnecessary words and to hold on to the central idea. The Jew, Baruch Spinoza, is the favourite philosopher of Goethe. He tells us in his autobiography what a powerful influence Spinoza had on him and how his writings influenced his whole life. From Spinoza he learnt the truths of monism. Spinoza taught him that soul and body are not two substances, but one, that there is no body without soul and no soul without body. The influence of this philosophy on Goethe is specially seen in "Faust."

But Goethe is dear to Socialists for another reason. Many important Socialist ideas, which now prevail throughout the whole of the proletariat, are to be found in "Wilhelm Meister." He has depicted in this book many phases of a Socialistic society. Here he writes against a standing army and claims work for all. Here he shows that a man should be rewarded for what he does. He also says that reverence is not necessarily to be shown to superiors in rank, but that those who are worthy of reverence should receive it. All men are equal, and the worker with his hands is the brother of the worker with his brains. Goethe shows much sorrow because every blossom does not bring forward fruit, and that thousands of beautiful blossoms are destroyed by frost of need and want.

Let me, in conclusion, to show the importance of Goethe, illustrate my remarks by a parable. You know that learned men are in doubt now whether Homer ever lived or, if he did, whether the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey" were written by him. Many professors now assert that the whole Greek people for many generations worked at these poems. If through some barbaric invasion all records of European history were to be destroyed, I can imagine some learned man of another continent coming across the works of Goethe and saying: "It is impossible that one man could have thought and written all this; the works of Goethe are really the contribution of the German race to

the culture of the world."

LOOTING IN CHINA.

MR. JOHN MACDONNELL has an interesting article on the above subject in the current number of the *Contemporary Review*, in which he severely criticises the doings of the Allied forces in China.

After a few general observations, he says: These remarks lead up to a conclusion. I submit for consideration, not a remedy, but some proposals for diminishing an evil which International Law, International Convention, the Army Act and the King's regulations fail to prevent. The writer considers that it is not the war in South Africa but the conduct of the European forces now in China, which is the real anti-climax to the Conference at the Hague, and especially the plundering they permitted or carried out in Pekin and the neighbourhood of that capital.

It must be remembered that China took part in the Peace Conference and was a party to several of the Conventions. Yang-Yu, the Chinese representative, was invited to bind his country to the new European code of laws and customs of war, which was intended to make pillage impossible.

In the history of the relations of Europeans to Chinese, the latest chapter is among the ugliest. At Pekin, Tientsin, and elsewhere, things were done which do not permit Christian nations to reproach the Sultan with the cruelties wrought by his troops in Armenia. There is a consensus of evidence that parts of those towns were for days given over to plunder. Silks and furs were looted, houses were broken open, shops pillaged, women outraged. It all reads like some description from a saga of some Viking's piratical expedition. "Then King Olaf ransacked the slain and remained there some days to divide the booty." And all this took place in a country where no state of war existed, much of it after the Legations had been found to be safe. The goods seized were not the goods of Boxers. The plunder was not solely the work of privates; officers took their share of the loot and organised the sale of it. The British are now offering for sale three gods weighing two tons each, smaller gods being sold daily.

These outrages are a repetition, with some aggravating circumstances, of those committed by the British and French forces at Pekin in 1860.

Each nation appears to be alive to the shortcomings of others, and blind to its own. Probably each loots in its own way, ourselves, as is becoming in a commercial nation, being the more methodical.

The writer gives many useful facts concerning the pillage that took place in India during the wars of conquest. It would seem that much of it was due to the unfair way in which prize-money was distributed among the troops. It is pointed out that both the Declaration of Brussels and the Hague Convention clearly prohibit pillage, Article 47, the Hague Convention, stating "pillage is absolutely prohibited."

The theory is all that can be desired. And yet, when dealing with Oriental nations, the old outrages are repeated.

The writer concludes by saying that, unless the conditions of the Hague Conference be carried out, International Law will remain only a record of good intentions and pious wishes, far in advance of actual practice. How far in advance the miserable events in Cnina show.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE VENDOME COLUMN.

In view of the anniversary of the Paris Commune, the following document, which is the agreement for pulling down the Vendome Column, will doubtless be of interest. Much that is false has been written about the Commune. It has been strongly condemned for pulling down the Vendome Column, but perhaps if the candid reader will carefully look through the following he will see that there is a good deal to be said on the other side.

Agreement between the Commune of Paris and Citizen Iribe, civil engineer and member of the Paris Positivist Club:—

Having read the decree of April 12, "the Commune of Paris, considering that the imperial column of the Place Vendome is a symbol of barbarism, of brute force, and of false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international law, a standing insult by the conquerors to the conquered, a perpetual slight to fraternity—one of the three great principles of the French Republic—decrees that the column of the Place Vendome shall be destroyed."

Citizen Iribe agrees to pull down on May 5 next—anniversary of the death of Napoleon the First—the said Column, that is to say, to bring it on to the ground with the statue which crowns it, but the pedestal will be destroyed by the Commune of Paris.

He will receive the sum of 28,000 francs (£1,120) in gold immediately after the fall of the Column.

He will not be answerable for any damage done to the Column, but he undertakes that none of the neighbouring buildings shall sustain damage. He will be responsible for any damage done and will pay compensation to any third party for damage done, if any.

On the other hand the Commune of Paris agrees to do all in its power to accomplish the desired end.

The Citizen Iribe undertakes this work for the following reasons:-

It is the duty of every citizen, especially in politics, to subordinate his personal action to the general good of the society in which he lives and to do his best for the public welfare.

Now, Napoleon Bonaparte, actuated by interest and private ambition, without being compelled to do so by birth, did all he could to obtain control of public affairs in France, and made use of all kinds of intrigues for this purpose.

He made use of the great powers that he had acquired by his military prestige and by the needs of a political situation which demanded a certain amount of centralisation to subvert the Revolution from whence he sprang, and to make it take a course contrary to its principles and its aim.

For the Republic was, after a period of five centuries of preparation, going to institute a social system in which theology was to be replaced by science and military activity by industry and by peace, or in other words society was to be reorganised without God or king. But the Empire, on the other hand, trying to go back to the past, succeeded for the time by means of the most terrible despotism which has ever been the scourge of humanity, in restoring temporarily the theological and military system.

And by this cruel system, which outraged the natural laws of human development, which tends towards the rational and peaceful direction of society, he threatened to dissolve the kernel of civilisation in the West which had been formed since the time of Charlemagne by the free co-operation of the nations of France, of Italy, of Spain, of England and of Germany, and that, by a just retaliation, he nearly twice brought about the ruin of France and would thus have destroyed the Republic of the West.

Moreover, these awful catastrophes are the real cause of our present disasters, which have been brought about by a second Bonaparte and could not have been perpetrated by a man who unworthily is called the Great. For, though he was ambitious, yet his intellect, except in warlike matters, was very narrow. His character was wanting in a moral basis, as he depended solely on his military power and his consequent political omnipotence. He, both in his public and in his private life, was wanting in dignity, and with a proud cynicism he openly flouted all social and moral laws, thus making crime in all its aspects an object of respect and worship.

Therefore, it may be said that Napoleon the First used all his intelligence and all power that he acquired to try and distort the progress of civilisation, to destroy the Occidental Republic, to ruin and enslave the French nation, which had acclaimed him too generously, and that he was one of the cruellest enemies of the human race, that he is not worthy, especially in France, of any respect or any social commemoration.

For these reasons, which are taken exclusively from proved historical facts, and are based on the most vigorous political deductions established since 1842 by A. Comte, the founder of Positivism, the Citizen Iribe, who otherwise would not personally have cared to have undertaken the destruction of a public monument, agrees on the above-mentioned conditions to carry out the judgment already pronounced by history and now decreed by the Commune of Paris against Napoleon the First.

Done in duplicate at the Hotel de Ville, May 1, 1871.

-Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN NEW ZEALAND.—On the first day of every month the old age pensioners who reside within the district which the Act lays down for the officials of the Christchurch Post Office to attend to have to appear at the Chamber of Commerce to receive their pensions, in amounts as set forth in the certificates they have received in the Magistrate's Court, after proof given and received. The paying of these pensions is an interesting sight. The function is discharged in a great room of the Chamber. Three tellers, at tables marked with large printed letters "A to H," "I to P," and "Q to Z," receive certificates from pensioners in the alphabetical order of these letters, make the necessary verification of them, and the pensioners pass on to another table where the cashier pays over the money. There are about 500 of these pensioners in the district, and monthly about £700 is paid out them. A little inquiry elicits the fact that the recipients look upon the pension as one of the greatest benefits it could have entered into the mind of man to bestow upon the aged poor.—Canterbury Times.

DEATH FROM COLD.

PLACE - - - A house in a Parisian suburb.

An Inspector: Are you the concierge (porter) of this house?

Porter: Yes, sir.

Inspector: You keep your house very badly.

Porter: I? What have I done? Look at the stairs. They are the cleanest in the street.

Inspector: 1 am not speaking about the stairs. I am speaking about the lodgers. Some of them have been frozen to death.

Porter: Frozen to death here! You are jesting, sir.

Inspector: No. Look at this letter which came to the office three days ago: "If you do not come quick to our assistance we shall be found frozen to death." We did not believe at the office that such a thing could occur. It is possible to die of hunger, but not of cold. Yet we always do our duty. Due notice was taken of the letter, for here I am making enquiries.

Porter: You astonish me, sir. Who sent the letter? Inspector: A certain M. Gerard who is said to live here.

Porter: That is so. He lives with his wife in one room on the sixth floor.

Inspector: Well, is he dead or not?

Porter: Why, I saw them both yesterday evening.

Inspector: Ah! I thought so.

Porter: But I have not seen them to-day. That is strange, for they

come down every morning to buy provisions.

Inspector: Now, these people write and say, "We are dying with the cold," and two days afterwards they are still alive. Please tell them not to do it again.

Porter: But won't you go upstairs?

Inspector: Well, I do not mind if I do. I will say a few words to them.

(They go up and knock. No answer. The door is broken open, and the two old people are seen to be dead; they have poisoned themselves by burning charcoal. The brazier still smoulders.)

Porter: They are dead. (She bursts into tears.)

Inspector: It is suffocating in this room. (He opens the window.) I will draw up my report. (He writes in his note-book.) Mr. and Mrs. Gerard have not died through cold, but through heat. This clearly shows that death by cold is a myth, which, though often explained, is yet started periodically by Socialist newspapers, who criticise unfairly the administration of the Poor Law.

-From the French (translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

A SONG OF HOPE.

Let us sing a merry song,
For the sun is on the seas,
There's freshness in the breeze;
The little birds are carolling the whole day long,
And the air is filled with their tuneful song.
So let us sing a merry song.

Let us sing a merry song,
For the sunlight glows and gleams;
Love shines in golden dreams,
And love is still so sweet to the sad old earth,
And there's still a little room for happiness and mirth.
So let us sing a merry song.

Let us sing a merry song,

For a glorious hope is growing,

A swelling tide is flowing,

A worthy cause is prospering o'er land and sea,

And a day is slowly dawning that shall set the toilers free.

So let us sing a merry song.

Let us sing a merry song,

For the gospel we are spreading,

The path of light we're treading,

The glowing hope that pulses in the heart of everyone,

And the years when sordid want shall be unknown beneath
the sun,

For the hour that's surely coming when the peoples claim their own,

When Liberty and Justice shall rule in every zone. So let us sing a merry song.

E. T. CLARKE.



MARTHA KRANTZ

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

Vol. V., No. 4. APRIL, 1901.

A HEROIC BOER WOMAN SOLDIER.

MRS. MARTHA KRANTZ, 26 years old, wife of Commandant Paul Krantz, of the German Army Corps, serving in the Boer army in South Africe, is a niece of General Louis Botha, Commandant General of the Boer forces. The child of intensely religious and stern Puritanical parents, who were living 25 miles north of Pretoris, she is one of the Boer women who fought in the battles of Modderspruit, Ladysmith, Spion Kop and Biggarsberg.

Whether in the field on the firing line, serving guns, or in the trenches, she ever gave splendid evidences of possessing cool nerve of a high order, and her heroic deed on that never-to-be-forgotten day at Spion Kop, when she ran the gauntlet of the terrible British fire and brought a gun into action just in time to turn the tide of battle, places her on the list of the heroines of the Nineteenth Century. While on that day with a small escort she was charging through the fire zone, the fire seemed by common consent to be entirely suspended on the Boer lines, and all eyes were strained in the direction of the little band rushing through shot and shell, now enveloped in a cloud of green vapour from a monstrous lyddite shell, and again disappearing from view by the red dust thrown up by common shot. And when the column eventually shot out a roar of cheering broke forth along the line of those brave patriots in front.

At Ladysmith her gallantry was equally conspicuous. It was there she earned the name of "Mrs. Commandant Krantz." As tender-hearted as she is brave, she was kind to friend and foe alike, and after the battle of Spion Kop she quickly laid down her rifle and helped to nurse the wounded—both Boer and British. A scrutiny of this handsome face, with its clean cut features, compressed lips and eager penetrating eyes, will at once convey to the mind the indomitable spirit which lies hidden under the apparently cool exterior. It will at the same time give a representative example of the type of the heroic Boer women struggling with their fathers and brothers in arm for liberty and justice.

OUTRAGED FEMINISM.

In an article in the January issue of the Social-Democrat I pointed out what I deemed a fallacious argument commonly employed by woman suffrage advocates. No attack was made on the principle of woman suffrage as such, which so far as concerned my contention, might, in itself, have been absolutely unimpeachable. I merely criticised a particular demagogic form of appeal sometimes used by its supporters. Nevertheless, the mere fact of having laid a critical hand on any argument that had ever been employed in the sacred cause-of Feminism, seems to have been enough to raise a hornet's nest about my ears.

What I stigmatised as a fallacy, and that it is a fallacy I am still prepared to maintain, was the assertion of a necessary logical connection between woman suffrage and "democracy," either political or Socialistic. "Democracy" has always meant the abolition of class-distinctionspolitical or economic or both-but until within the last few years has never been twisted into meaning the confusion of the social spheres of the sexes or the admission of the female sex to political functions. Modern democracy, which took its rise as one of the phases of the bourgeois revolt against feudalism and the absolutist bureaucracy that followed on feudalism, which again was one of the conditions of the rise of modern nationalities, was naturally at first patriotic and national. During the French Revolution the instinct of Internationalism sporadically asserted itself in democracy, and grew in the subsequent decades till Marx demonstrated the bankruptcy of nationalism and the essentiality, logically, economically, and ethically, of Internationalism as a basis for the realisation of modern Social-Democracy, which he expressed in the well-known formula. Thenceforward Social-Democracy, at least, became definitely internationalist, since the fall of class-barriers was seen to be inextricably bound up with the fall of race-barriers equally—at least so far as the progressive races are concerned. One can easily show that Social-Democracy involves many other points of belief and political practice, but the logical necessity for democracy of the general admission of women, as such, to political power has never been attempted to be shown. Destruction of class and of race-barriers does not necessarily carry with it the destruction of sex-distinctions as such, since, as I have pointed out, in sex you have to do with an organic difference, not with an economic difference, as with classes, or with a mere difference of political, linguistic, and other tradition, as with more or less allied races. This organic difference goes to the root of the physiological structure of each. Such a physiological difference takes the question out of the sphere of class and race, and places it in quite a different category, requiring to be dealt with by different arguments. Up till recently the presumption of the general unsuitability of women for the exercise of political power has been tacitly or avowedly admitted.*

Now, it is clearly admissible to attempt to rebut this presumption, to show it to be unfounded and to prove the complete capacity of "Woman" (blessed be her name!) to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm of human affairs, and the advantage to progress of her doing so; in other words, to show that woman's suffrage and democracy are inextricably bound up together. But as yet I have seen no serious attempt to do this, although I have known of many endeavours to "rush" the position by sentimental appeals, fallacious statements, flimsy rhetorical apologies for argument, followed by sorry struggles to retreat from objectors under cover of feeble The fact is the majority of democrats and Socialists are consciously or unconsciously not quite sincere on this question. They do not take it altogether seriously. Indeed, I sometimes wonder whether, when two male woman's suffrage democrats meet each other in private they keep their countenances, or whether their interview doesn't resemble that of Cicero's two augurs. I am persuaded there are a vast number of male Socialists who, like our friend in Paris whose remark to Vandervelde is quoted by Mrs. Montefiore, simply do lip-homage to the feminist movement, and who regard anyone who takes them seriously as an amusingly naïve fool. I know this to be the case with some. However, for my part, I cannot help regarding their playing with fire to be as dangerous politically as it is unworthy otherwise. man who regards feminism as wholly or in part injurious to progress ought, in my opinion, not only in common honesty, but as a duty to his party, to say so undeterred by the abuse or sneers of the shrieking brotherhood and sisterhood.

Be it remembered in the case of the suffrage the question is not of social or economical justice, but of the effect of the exercise of political power by a biologically new element. This may be all right; it may be, as I heard a very superior idolatress of her sex say some years ago, that the mere political enfranchisement of women will solve the whole social problem. I am unable to believe so myself, but still "one never can tell." All I say is, no serious attempt as yet has been made to rebut the presumption against the desirability of women being indiscriminately endowed with political power as things stand at present. Let us take Mrs. Montefiore's article in the February Social-Democrat. Instead of setting herself to the task of pointing out the fallacy of the assumption by which women are regarded as (in the bulk) unfitted to exercise political power, she thinks it necessary to quibble about a phrase of mine in which I alluded to the fact that the difference between two men, one in the position of employer and the other

^{*} If we assume a period in early society, of female domination, of the *Mutterrecht*, as having been general, my contention is only strengthened, since the presumption is obvious that female dominance fell and was superseded by male through the inability of the former to adequately fulfil its functions—by the survival of the fittest in social evolution, in short. This, however, is too big a subject to enter upon in detail here and now, and hence I only allude to it in passing.

of workman, was of a totally distinct nature to that between the workman and his wife, and hence the demand for political equality in the latter case could not be placed on the same footing as in the former. Were not a lady in question, I should be inclined to quote in full Hamlet's observation anent the grave-diggers. However, in dealing with this question, I promise Mrs. Montefiore "to speak by the card" in future, even at the risk of making my article resemble in prolix pedantry an auctioneer's catalogue or a house-lease of a generation ago. Mrs. Montefiore thinks sex has nothing to do with the exercise of the suffrage. She may be right, but as it stands her assertion is a mere begging of the question. The suffrage means the exercise of political power, and there are a good many benighted individuals, some of them not quite so incapable of studying questions historically, either, who think otherwise. I am accused of "sapiently" remarking that the question of "sex-equality differs in mind from that of class-equality." (What I wrote was, of course, in kind, but I assume "mind" to be a misprint). Thereupon Mrs. Montefiore thinks "it might be useful" if I would "explain" how I propose "giving class-equality to the male sex without extending it to the female sex," and waxes funny over "duchesses and countesses flourishing in the land." Now, I submit that it would not be at all useful for me to waste words over a piece of nonsense, the product of Mrs. Montefiore's imagination. which she foists upon me but which I venture to assert no possible twisting of my words could have suggested to an unbiassed reader. Perhaps Mrs. Montefiore will not take it amiss if I suggest that such controversial tricks, such cheap pieces of Effect-hascherei, as that of the paragraph in question are unworthy of a woman capable of writing some of the articles I have seen over her name.

The whole of the genuine argument (as opposed to jokes and quibbles) to be found in the article under discussion is contained in the two last para-Mrs. Montefiore finds that the suffrage ought to be given irrespective of sex just as "education is given irrespective of sex, as taxation is applied irrespective of sex, and as the civil and criminal law is enforced irrespective of sex." As regards this I would point out that, as a rule, the question of sex enters very largely into education. I am not discussing whether it ought to or not, but as a matter of fact it does. The number of girls or women who follow the same course of education (other than elementary) as men is a mere handful. That taxation is applied irrespective of sex is nothing to the point, since taxation is based on property rather than on the person. This argument, therefore, is only good for those who would base the franchise on a property rather than a personal qualification, which I presume not to be the case with Mrs. Montefiore. The civil and criminal law is enforced irrespective of sex! Is it? If my fair disputant will procure the pamphlet, "The Legal Subjection of Men," published some five years ago by the Twentieth Century Press, the statements of law as well as the facts contained in which have never been refuted, or even if she will endeavour to put away prejudice and study impartially for herself any considerable file of "cases" in which women are concerned, she will hardly venture to repeat such a

statement. Women, thinks Mrs. Montefiore, with Vandervelde, "must awake to political life" through Socialism. With all my heart! But I would point out that there are many indirect means by which women who have the grit in them, can even now influence political life, without the concession of the franchise to women in general. As to its having been "abundantly proved" that every extension of the franchise has been followed by "a sense of responsibility" in those to whom it has been extended, that is only true if Mrs. Montefiore takes the bourgeois view that "a sense of responsibility" is shown by the reactionary character of the vote given. If so, she might certainly cite the British workman-elector as a convincing instance in point. I am aware that this has been triumphantly put forward by the Liberal-capitalist press, but to hear a Socialist quote it with admiration is new.

Mrs. Montefiore thinks Vandervelde "pertinently" asks "How it comes to pass that all reactionaries combat woman suffrage?" Now, I should have said the question had precisely the "pertinency" of the celebrated query addressed by Charles II, to the Royal Society, "Why a dead fish weighed more than a living one ?" the fact being, of course, that if there is one question on which reactionaries are not unanimous it is just this one. Again, you find such revolutionary persons as Mr. Balfour, Mr. Haldane, Lord Grey, and Mr. Woodall on the suffrage side, and such hard-baked reactionaries as Mr. Labouchere in the opposition. That all Socialists agree, even in principle, in demanding the suffrage for women is not even now true, although many have allowed themselves to be "rushed" by sentiment and clamour into nominally giving in their adhesion to the proposal. There are of course, some stupid reactionaries who will oppose any change merely because it is a change; but there are plenty of shrewder and cleverer men in the reactionary camp who are quite alive to the fact that reaction has, in all probability, a good deal more to gain than to lose by this particular change. In fact, as I have elsewhere pointed out, the peculiarity of the whole feminist movement which shows its absolutely unique character is that it entirely crosses all the lines which otherwise mark party divisions, and which are all based directly or indirectly on economical or class distinctions. You will find the most brutal advocate of strike-breaking and coercive legislation oftentimes weep tears of blood over the cruel oppression his imagination sees women groaning under at the hand of the wicked ogre-man. Lastly, if it be true, as Bebel has it, that no great movement has ever been accomplished without women playing a part in it, it must be remembered that women have hitherto not had the political franchise, as a rule. What more conclusive argument, therefore, can you wish for in proof of the fact already referred to, that the franchise is not necessary to enable really capable and devoted women to exercise an influence on the course of public life? Q.E.D.

I have dealt at length with Mrs. Montefiore's article because it is a good specimen (i.e., a favourable specimen)—since it contains at least two paragraphs of something like argument—of feminist if not of feminine logic. The contention in my article on "fallacies" remains unshaken by anything

she has said. The advocacy of woman suffrage, as of feminism generally, is not logically involved in the democratic or Socialist position—at least, that it is so is, up to date, a mere assumption unsupported by any argument that will hold water for a single instant. The burden of proof, at least, lies with those who make the affirmative proposition. Up to the present time the whole feminist position has been smuggled through democracy and Socialism by dint of shrieky assumptions and fatuous jokes. That woman suffrage may be an admirable thing I have not denied. All I have contended and do contend is, that it has never yet been shown that it is necessarily involved in political democracy or Social-Democracy at the present time.

E. BELFORT BAX.

P.S.—A reference has been made by our comrade Askew in Justice to myself, or others who may disapprove of woman suffrage, in connection with his specially retained brief (as it seems) to white wash the German Party for its cowardly conduct in not expelling Bernstein. This is surely very weak. Every member of a party must logically be bound by the fundamental principles on which the party is based, but every member is not bound personally to accept every "plank" in the party programme for the year, which has been passed probably by a majority vote, and hence which he and others of the minority may be expected only to acquiesce in as a matter of form and "under protest."

A Workman's Budget. - We are all familiar with the man who is never tired of proclaiming that the life of the workman is much better than that of other members of the community. This person always, however, takes care not to bring up his children as workmen. With reference to this question, Mr. A. Morrison, the well-known novelist, who knows his East End very well, publishes an interesting article in the Cornhill for April. He estimates that a workman earns on an average 30s. a week, though he also truly says that few workmen can be sure of working 52 weeks a year. He estimates the rent that he would have to pay at 7s. a week, but we think experience would show that this is under-estimated. Then he gives the prices paid for various articles of food. Mr. Morrison allows 2s. 9d. a week for beer and tobacco, and finally there is a surplus of 1s. 3d. a week. Nothing, however, is allowed for expenses of travelling, and nothing for amusement. Assuming, however, that the man never spends anything and works all through the year, and is never ill, yet what possibility is there of such a man making any provision for his old age? Articles such as these throw a lurid light on the problem and show clearly how unbearable life is for the mass of the toilers. And yet we talk about our imperial race, and our mission, even sometimes we imagine we have a commission from the Almighty to reform the world.

WOMAN—HER QUALITY, ENVIRONMENT AND POSSIBILITY.

II.

FIRST, however, let me get at the reason for poverty. A vast multitude of women earn their own living, and, though they are poor, they are not dependent. As wage-workers, women hold the same relationship to their We now arrive at the common ground upon which the masters as do men. Labour question rests. We must go down still deeper, and ask a question fraught with the most intense interest to women—one that in blindness she has agonised over; in every waking hour it has been present with her. long dread hours of the night it has haunted her; sleeping or waking, working or idling, talking or silent, smiling or weeping, under its pressure she has lifted herself to sublime courage, and, alas, she has sunk into the slime of the pit, to which the bottom of pollution has not yet been found. As the greatest is from the least, so is the pure joy of motherhood from the debauch of that holy heritage. May there be an abundance for all! Will nature supply the human race with only enough natural materials to keep the few, the very few, in luxury, while the great multitude are ever at the door of starvation ?

Is it true that society must for ever press upon the limit of the food supply? Is nature a niggard? Perish the thought; its ignorance has already doomed many of the race to present damnation, black as hell itself!

The false Malthusian doctrine, driving the poor and proud to despair, has led to the adoption of preventive checks and the ghoulish crime of abortion. So criminal is it to obscure the true reason for poverty, that of man's inhumanity to man, in the gathering of profits, that Nature, our beautiful, bountiful, powerful mother, is deemed a skinflint. The hellish stream of poisoned argument permeates even our institutions of medical science.

America has, from a Philadelphia professor, a proposition to emasculate working men by law! The ingenuity of modern wickedness has already outstripped that of the dark ages.

No! Nature's bounty is our sufficiency! Texas has, to-day, virgin soil almost equal to the area of our 13 original States. The great delta of the Mississippi River and its valley are hardly opened up to agriculture. Kansas and Montana, which did not, ten years ago, produce a single apple now equal the supply of all the other States in the Union. Intensive farming is a well established fact.

In manufacture greater and still greater economy in the use of raw materials is constantly taking place. It is common to discover in the refuse of an industry the material for by-products as valuable as that of the original enterprise itself. In a word, our resources are boundless. This must be so; there is never any more nor ever any less physical substance. It changes its form subject to its inherent law. Call it the power of God or what you will.

The knowledge that man may use physical substances (which can never be destroyed and which can never be separated from natural forces) according to his own designs, and that as he attains to higher and yet higher knowledge new sources of wealth and new uses for wealth are increasingly discovered and appropriated, gives us freedom from fear and care upon the score that nature is unable or unwilling to sustain and to advance mankind in economic comfort and elegance. Consider the lilies! Shall not man clothe himself in virgin purity and spotless beauty? And women love beauty so well.

I need but to remind you that much labour-power is running to waste. Many of the rich will not work, while many of the poor cannot find a master to buy their labour. The number of useless labourers, servants who care for luxuriant poodle-loving women and horse-loving men, the military, lawyers, clerks and lackeys of the lower order who defend the spoils of private property and the assumptions of the privileged aristocracy, form indeed a vast army. But that phase is the negative side of the subject only. The positive view, the correct line of demonstration if we would know our possible greatness, lies in the fact of the superior power of social production over the individual production of primitive days.

More and more wealth is being produced with less and less labour. The new force, the social-force, is now generally introduced in the labour-process. Extend the co-operation of workers and elevate the speed of the labour-saving machinery, that is to say, perfect the combination of capitals. Extend the trust. This in a negative manner the Republicans are doing. They are using the social-power, which is economic and political, to perfect and consolidate the industrial organisations on a national scale. Turn the tables! Lend a hand, ye work-weary women! Put a positive shoulder to the wheel!

As men and women attain a higher degree of power and knowledge, broader fields of action are opened up to them. As impersonal feeling and social interests claim more attention, the mere pleasures of physical sex sensation are replaced by scientific and artistic employments, which are necessarily social in their scope. Under such an environment fewer children are born, but they are of a higher type. How many mothers now bewail their fate, having more babies tugging at their skirts than can be given a mother's love and care? This is a fate set up by man, not imposed by nature,

Wage-slavery. What is it? To the aristocrat it is the unquestioned relation of the inferior to the superior, as natural as that water flows down hill. Their argument has the same ground, or rather lack of ground, as that of an old Yankee who, in abolition days, said, "A nigger no business to be a nigger, if he don't want to be a slave."

Workmen are simply beasts of burden, to be given a "full dinner pail" when times are prosperous; when times are not prosperous, they are to be

kept as quiet as possible by threadbare and immoral precepts; that method failing, in the last resort the order is given, "Shoot to kill."

To those who hold the Socialist philosophy and especially to such of them as have the Socialist science (the knowledge of the natural laws which govern wealth production and the development of the industrial organism) to sustain and elevate their humane sentiment, the wages system appears in its true colours; its garb is besmeared with blood and sweat. Its body is scarred with the accumulation of centuries of struggle to free human beings from the oppression and tyranny of human beings.

Capital is surely some commodities and some money which are of service in producing new wealth. A textile mill, its machinery, the raw cotton, and some money to pay the "hands" with, everybody knows to be capital. And it is as clear as noonday that if the girls who are employed in the factory did not make profits for the corporation the mill would shut down. It is also clear that if the money were locked up in the mill and the key thrown away that no new wealth would be produced; and if the doors were not opened for a hundred years everyone will agree that the mill, the machinery and the raw materials would be good for nothing. This is only another way of saying that if wage slaves did not use a rich man's capital it would perish. Of course the mill, the machinery, the cotton, &c., must be paid for at the market price. So, too, must the labour-power of those lovely girls whom one may see in the still cold hours of the morning stream in at the gateway of a Fall River mill.

What determines prices? What fixes the price of labour-power? To be sure the cost of producing pieces of wealth determines their value. Just the same law controls the price of labour-power as controls the price of cotton, corn, iron, boots, hats, railroads, steamships or anything else. Every manufacturer knows that the prices of his commodities are determined by the cost of production; by the added values of all the various kinds of merchandise which go into the process of modern manufacture. But labour-power is inside those "factory hands," cotton is a thing! Great God! you don't mean to class men and women and things all together as commodities, do you? Yes! therein lies the curse of the relationship of economic class to economic class; the gulf is wide as hell from heaven between those who have capital and those who have no capital.

The fact that some persons must be economically classed as things, while others may play the part of human beings, is the proof of wage-slavery. When a girl sells her labour-power she, herself, must take it to the mill; she delivers her commodity according to the time for which she has sold it. It is evident, past contradiction, that she sells herself (her life) along with her labour-power, by the day, week, month or year.

The superintendent, who is but an upper-class wage-slave, can estimate the cost of producing cotton cloth. He learns the price of all the commodities used in its production, labour included. In the same manner, by the same process, may we know the price of labour, by its cost of production.

Slaves were sold at the cost of breeding, just as horses were and are. The labour of women may be bought in this epoch of industrial development, of themselves, even though it be of equal value with the labour of men, at a lower price because, though free women are better able to protect themselves than chattel slaves, they are less able to protect themselves than men with the kingly power of the ballot in their hands.

Society demands an economic recognition of the cost of its energy in elevating its members to civic equality. It costs more labour and a higher grade of labour to rear, educate, and train children to do some kinds of work than it does to do other kinds of work; and enough food, shelter and clothing must be given to allow the different sets of labourers to live a longer or shorter time as is needed to acquire the skill necessary to the craft. A very low grade of living is allowed the textile worker. It is not the work done which is paid for. The wage is simply the amount of provender allowed the beast of burden. All the new value created by the labourers in storing up their labour-power in the cotton cloth (or in anything else) is kept by the corporation, save enough wage in return to sustain the life of the workers at their accustomed level.

This is the inexorable law of the wages system, that differing kinds of labour (more or less difficult) will be paid a wage only sufficient for that labour to be reproduced by society for the "labour market." The price of the labour of weaving, pattern-making, superintending, clerking, teaching of any degree or kind will be fixed under the capitalist system of producing wealth at the cost of its reproduction.

Pig-iron, potatoes, gold, dwellings and all other merchandise are paid for under this economic law. Ask Niagara to flood back its waters. It were as senseless as to command justice under wage-slavery.

In a rude way I have answered, Why? So long as a few persons are allowed by the vast majority to retain private control over social capital, so long will women weep without being comforted. In the dead, dark stillness of the night over their own hard, self-made, fate and over the weary burden of poverty which they, not knowing, aid in strapping on the tender backs of their children, will mothers weep.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

To be continued.

The Workmen's Secretarial Office at Nuremberg, Bavaria, has just published its annual report. This is the oldest institution of the kind, as it was founded in 1894, and it has rendered great services to the proletariat. In 1900 its officials replied to no less than 15,444 questions. It has an income of £600, which is made up from individual subscriptions of ‡d. a week per member. "Many a mickle makes a muckle."

DETERMINIST SOPHISTRY.

Were it not that Mr. Thomas Kennedy has thought fit to misrepresent my meaning, and also to endeavour to score a point by the exercise of a sophistry worthy of a Calvinist divine, I should not have pursued this discussion further; for when one of the parties grows irascible it is always well to conclude the argument.

The use made by Mr. Kennedy of Karl Marx's explanation of the method pursued by him (Marx) in "Capital" in order to justify his (Kennedy's) acquiescence in the South African war may, perhaps, not have been accurately described as a "misquotation." I will therefore correct myself and say "misuse of a quotation" instead. I trust Mr. Kennedy will accept my apology for having inadvertently caused him to write a lengthy paragraph otherwise unnecessary. This apology may be all the more acceptable to him when he discovers that he has, in thus writing, involved himself in the dilemma of making Marx appear self-contradictory, and further that he has failed to grasp the meaning of Marx's very plain words. Mr. Kennedy implies, throughout his whole argument, that we are not to deal with individuals even so far as they are embodiments of economic categories. This is the main point at issue in our discussion. But Marx does so deal. Nevertheless, Mr. Kennedy objects, and goes on to quote Marx in support of his objection. Let us examine the sentence which he gives as following that quoted by me in my last article, and see how far he is from understanding its implications. It is true that the individual is not responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, but he is responsible if he busies himself in making these relations worse in order to advance his own interests and the interests of his class at the expense of the rest of the community. Even under the capitalist code of morals this holds good, theoretically at least. If I am a capitalist, I am not personally to blame for the social relations which compel me to exploit my wage-workers. But should I endeavour to intensify these relations, utterly regardless of the welfare of my employees, in order to squeeze additional profit out of their very sweat and blood, I am fully deserving of the most unqualified censure and denunciation. Similarly, I may be a landowner, but that would not justify rack-Nor is the capitalist statesman justified in pursuing such policies and adopting such methods as we have witnessed in South Africa. But since Mr. Kennedy surrenders us the whole of the ethical side of the discussion. I think there is nothing more to be said on this score. his arguments I am content to leave as already agreed with (for I accept unreservedly his analysis of the economic bearings of the case), or as adequately replied to. I would, however, ask him one question-why should we concern ourselves either with the industrial war at home, the Christian hordes in China, or the victims of capitalist vampirism in India,

since our protests in these respects might quite as easily be shown, by his reasoning, to be "unpractical sentimentalism" as our attitude towards capitalist buccaneering in South Africa?

I next come to the misrepresentation, which Mr. Kennedy, no doubt, considers a very palpable hit. It is true that "war became inevitable from the day on which gold was discovered to any quantity in the Transvaal." It is also true that "the possibility of a peaceful solution existed." This paradox Mr. Kennedy has worked for all it was worth to him. But his efforts appear to me somewhat discreditable. I pass over his ill-natured insinuations with the remark that they are out of place in what should be a friendly discussion on matters of mutual interest. The solution of the ostensible political questions at issue between England and the Transvaal might, up to the time I mentioned, have been settled peaceably; but the ulterior motives which led to the raising of these questions by the capitalist wirepullers rendered such settlement impossible precisely because these motives were entirely detached from moral considerations. The wisdom which one usually supposes to accompany true statesmanship was likewise plentifully lacking throughout the whole of the Chamberlain negotiations. Does Mr. Kennedy understand my meaning now ! It is not my concern if, in endeavouring to get rid of moral responsibility, he has deleted the words "wisdom" and "morality" from his philosophical vocabulary, as he seems to do in describing them as "non-existent"; yet declaring in the very next breath that "the South African war was inevitable just because the wisdom and morality which should have gone to avert war were absent "-precisely the point I have endeavoured to establish. Why, then, all this cavilling on his Perhaps he merely wishes to entertain us with another exhibition of expert verbal jugglery. In which case I have nothing to do but admire his adroitness. I venture, however, to point out to him that I used the expression "unknown quantity" only in connection with mind in the aggregate. It is himself who changes the use and application of it. First, in charging us with basing our pleas " not merely on an unknown quantity but actually upon a non-existent quantity," the reference being to the quantity required to have averted war, in his January article, and secondly, in the article now under consideration.

Mr. Kennedy also makes a good deal of argumentative capital out of the view taken of mind as a cause and not an effect, a principle or factor in nature the properties of which are but little understood. He waxes scornful over the description of this factor as an "unknown quantity." But he need not do so since the basis of his own uncompromising materialism is quite as much an abstraction, a "non-existent something"—the atom. It was not my intention, since the discussion is not primarily one of mental science, to have said more on this point than was absolutely necessary to define my position as a dissenter from the determinist doctrine laid down by him, and its corollaries. Were we to follow it into this field, to which it naturally leads, I might present to Mr. Kennedy's consideration a number of mental phenomena which he would be compelled to admit necessitate some such postulation of mind as I have given, or else relinquish all attempt to account

for them. It could be shown conclusively that only by such a theory as I present can be provided an adequate explanation of these phenomena, precisely as the theory of the luminiferous ether is rendered imperative by the phenomena of light and heat, and yet this "elastic solid" is quite as much an unknown quantity as that to which he takes such exception. The question put to me, "to define exactly in how many ways men's control over the future is not conditioned by material developments," is an invitation to prove a negative, usually an unnecessary exercise. In as few words as possible, however, I will suggest a train of thought which may help to some solution of the problem. Man is conditioned, in the present, by the limitations of his physical constitution and by his social environment; he is unconditioned as regards ideation, aspiration and will. In his efforts to realise his aspiration he is clearly not conditioned by the material developments of the future which do not yet exist; he is, in short, master of his own destiny, if he will. Realisation of the power to will provides a consciousness of moral freedom.* Whether this realisation and consciousness be delusion or not, does not concern me-some philosophies, indeed, hold that material existence itself is delusion. All we require is an intellectual standard which shall be, as Mr. Hyndman puts it, "a law unto itself." That such a standard should be distasteful to Mr. Kennedy's desire to subordinate mind to matter is natural. I am content, however, to "hug" the idea since it enables me, as I have said, to verify my own powers and to justify my efforts towards collectivism and against capitalism-provided with a warranty which fatalist materialism cannot supply. Future material developments depend entirely upon whether our efforts are rightly directed or not. our business to understand the trend of social events, to place ourselves in line, as it were, with evolution, and so turn events to good account as they Thus man possesses a definitely unconditioned control over the future, and can make of evolution a process uniting the greatest efficiency with absolute social harmony and individual well-being. By exercising this control wrongly, or, following logically the determinist doctrine, by not exercising it at all, he will drift to the inevitable goal through ages of otherwise unnecessary wrong-doing, suffering and misery. At some future time I may give Mr. Kennedy an opportunity of controverting my views in these respects; here my chief concern is to correct the errors which he seeks to fasten upon me. JOHN E. ELLAM.

* John Stuart Mill, in his "System of Logic," Book VI., Chapter II. (Ot Liberty and Necessity) deals fully with the whole question. Readers cannot do better than consult this reference.

A COMMUNE in Dalmatia, Austria, where Italian is spoken, voted some money recently to erect a bust of Dante. But the Austrian Government has forbidden this to be done, as they consider that this is a political movement. And yet Dante died in the fourteenth century. This is only another instance of the Austrian idea of liberty.

GENERAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.—II.

(Continued from Page 78.)

THERE is a profound harmony between individual existence and social existence, and what is *truly* in conformity with the *summum* of physical or moral individual life is, for that very reason, useful to the community.

We propose to rely on that intimate correlation between two kinds of apparently different phenomena to try and bring some light into the study of social evolution; evolution which, as we said in our last article, is governed by laws as exact as those which rule the physical universe, but more difficult to understand because of the complexity introduced by the numerous factors influencing the development of such a delicate organisation as a society.

The future of an individual considered apart, by himself, depends on the manner in which he has been brought up, as much as on the character he has received from heredity.

The same remarks applying exactly to the future of a race, we are logically led to examine the social importance of education and heredity.

The problem thus approached, there is evidently no further need to ask the so often repeated question: What should be the object of education? Should that object be social or individual?

It should, of course, be both individual and social.

Education should consist in the research of proper means of reconciling the most intense conditions of individual life with the most extensive conditions of social life. It should help heredity where it tends to create a durable superiority, and to combat it where its tendency is to develop destructive causes.

Thus, education regarded from the social as well as from the individual point of view, must adopt the best methods in order to bring up the greatest number of individuals in good condition of health and endowed with physical and moral faculties, developed to the utmost, capable, in short, of contributing to the progress of their race, or rather to the progress of humanity.

Education should be directed in view of the progress of humanity. To direct it in an opposite direction, to look at it as the art of bringing up an individual by himself, isolated from his family and his race, and of obtaining from him all that he can yield, would be to act as a farmer who, without giving back to his field what he takes from it, expects, nevertheless, to have an abundant harvest year after year. The field would be quickly exhausted. So also will be a race which has been submitted to such a method of culture; with this difference, however, that the earth of the field still exists and is able to recover its fertility by being permitted to lie fallow for a time, while the exhausted race is doomed to a more or less rapid disappearance.

There is no doubt that a too prolonged nervous excitation in an individual will introduce into his posterity, in virtue of the physiological law governing the balancing of the organs, either a mental weakening or nervous disease, or some other pathological trouble, ultimately leading to sterility.

It is thus that the overheated existence characteristic of some social circles has the most deplorable consequences with regard to the race. It is also thus that some professions, and not those held in the least esteem, nor the least useful to the community, appear to have a similar influence.

Some have even gone so far as to say that all intellectual superiority in the struggle for life was a death warrant for the race, that progress is solely obtained through a sort of consumption of the individual and of the race who fight for it, and that to live the most unintellectually is the best condition to ensure the duration of a society.

What is the value of this theory? A good way of ascertaining the value of an argument is to generalise it and to examine the logical consequences that may be derived from the generalisation.

That process would, in the case under discussion, lead us to see the ideal of the human race in a purely animal and vegetative existence, a conclusion which is in absolute contradiction with the laws of nature, since it would bring about the atrophy of our cerebral functions. Such a conclusion could perhaps be accepted if our existence depended only on our physical faculties, our muscular strength, and even then it seems difficult to understand how we might hope to successfully avoid the dangers which threaten us, how we could expect not to succumb if we were not able to find sufficient means of defence in our intellectual faculties?

The peril mentioned above could only follow an irrational development of the human faculties, and the education of the race as a whole being so connected with individual education, we feel justified in regarding the latter as an important social factor, and in considering that education, if so directed as to over-excite the faculties of the child, and to make him (what has unfortunately often been attempted) a little phenomenon, is the best way to kill, in his blood and in his race, him who has been submitted to it. Therefore, is it not true to say that we prepare the future, to a certain extent, by the manner in which we bring up the present generation?

"Life is an incessant education. We have to learn everything, from the art of speaking to the manner of dying."* This long education, it must be admitted, frequently deviates from the right path when left to itself.

In most cases parents have not the least idea of the object of education, especially as regards very young children. To convince oneself on this point it suffices to examine the ideal generally proposed to children reared in their families, not to be noisy, not to put the fingers in the mouth, and, still less, in the nose, not to put out their tongues, not to help themselves at table or speak without permission, not to paddle in the water or soil their clothes; in a word, to behave themselves! Behave themselves! Poor children! Poor little marionettes, who are only allowed to move when their parents pull the string!

^{*} Gustave Flaubert.

What initiative is to be expected from beings on whom such ideas have been impressed, and sometimes forcibly impressed, from the most tender age?

How many people bring up their children to suit their own ends and not with a view to the future welfare of the children themselves? Such parents would be scandalised if anyone criticised their action. How many refuse to allow their daughter to marry, so as not to part with her, and have not the faintest idea that their conduct is in the last degree selfish?

There are others, who, with the best possible intentions, obtain results which are every whit as detestable. For example, the peasant-father who, having himself followed the arduous toil of the fields all his life, thinks it his duty to make his son, a young man in every way fitted for an active life in the open air, a clerk or shop assistant, whom consumption will claim as its victim through unaccustomed confinement in the vitiated atmosphere of a badly-ventilated office.

True education should be disinterested. Children should be brought up for themselves; they should also be brought up for the community to which they belong, for humanity.

If a further proof of the necessity of education was needed, it would be found in the observation of what is going on in the exterior world. That observation shows immediately that the more perfect and consequently the more complex is an organisation, the more difficult becomes its harmonious development.

In the inferior animal species, the education of the newly born does not take long; besides, what it has not been taught it will soon learn from life, and without great danger. Its instincts are simple enough to render a small number of experiences sufficient for its guidance. But the higher we rise in the scale of existence, the longer becomes this evolution, the more does the need of a true education impose itself, the more does the necessity of helping and guiding the youngest impress itself on the adults.

Thus, even amongst the animals we find a sort of primitive pedagogy, and we can, therefore, understand how Herbert Spencer has been able to consider education as a natural and inevitable consequence of evolution.

At that point we must examine a theory drawn from the very ideas of Spencer, by a philosophical school the members of which deny the utility of education, because they regard it as incompatible with the necessities of human evolution governed by heredity.

It is one of these exaggerations frequently met with when we review the development of human thought.

In the eighteenth century the importance of education was so overestimated that we see such eminent thinkers as Helvetius ingenuously wondering if all difference between men were not a simple consequence of a difference in the education they had received or the surroundings in which they had been brought up; and if it would not be possible to teach talent or genius as are taught chemistry or arithmetic. In our time, when heredity and evolution have been the subjects of serious study, many people have adopted, in the opposite direction, an opinion as absolute, and we believe as exaggerated, as that of Helvetius.

Numbers of scientists and philosophers are convinced of the helplessness of education, where it is a question of modifying in the individual the ancestral characters. According to them, one is born criminal as one is born poet; the whole moral destiny of the child, entirely contained in the mother's womb, implacably unfolds itself in a life the circumstances of which nothing can alter.

For them, individuals, showing, either physically or mentally, signs of degeneration, become uselsss to their race. They will not be long in passing through such a process and will descend the scale of life without any chance of ascending it again.

If we admit this thesis, we ought to accept its logical deductions, and regard physical degenerates or neuropaths of any kind, not only as useless, but as dangerous for posterity. We should then consider as righteous those wholesale proscriptions decreed by Spartan laws against families which had been declared "impure." It is, of course, not possible to deny facts, but is it because a family having an alcoholic ancestor, has given, in less than 75 years, 200 thieves or murderers, 288 cripples, idiots or lunatics, and 90 prostitutes—is it because the frequency of such cases is unfortunately too great, that we must write on the front of our social edifice the pessimist maxim, "Woe to the weak?"

Can modern science do no better than to endorse and even exceed Biblical maledictions, which, at least, extended but to the fifth generation?

We hope to show the contrary.

The investigation of the relative importance attributed by some thinkers to education, by others to heredity, dominates not only moral science, but also political science, which would be absolutely powerless if the effects of heredity were without remedy.

A society being but a federation of individuals, it is easy to understand that, in the actual problem, as well as in those of a similar kind which may be examined from the same double point of view, the study of the question in the case of the individual is a natural introduction to the more general and complete investigation, that of the social aspect of the case.

On the other hand, individual, and consequently social, psychology is so closely connected with nervous physiology that the considerable discoveries recently made in the latter science have partly transformed the conceptions which form the basis of the former.

To state but one example from amongst thousands, the study of suggestion has brought a new element into the examination of the above problem. The possibility of creating in the mind an artificial instinct capable of balancing, at least partially, existing tendencies, has naturally led to inquiries as to the possibility of realising, by purely moral and psychological means, the introduction of new sentiments physiologically obtained.

That example is enough to show how important, from the social point of view, is the study of the nervous system.

Therefore, we have thought proper to begin our modest contribution with the consideration of physiology necessary to the understanding of those psychological phenomena the *ensemble* of which constitute the highest manifestations of individual as well as of social life.

The question of the origin and of the nature of his feelings and of his ideas is one which, from the remotest ages, has excited the curiosity of man, and if it is true that the scientific theory of psychical phenomena is somewhat recent, the principle of the localisation of intellectual functions is almost as old as human thought itself.

As far back as the fifth century before our era, the Greeks had a clear enough conception of the connection existing between the brain and the organs of sense, and it is impossible not to see in the theory of the three souls or of the three cardinal functions of the soul, sketched by Pythagoras, and developed by Plato and Aristotle, a first essay towards the localisation of the highest psychical functions, and also a reaction against the anterior ideas which placed in thoracic or abdominal organs the seat of the will, the passions and the intellect.

That belief in a psychological rôle of the blood, the liver, the heart, &c., has not disappeared from the popular mind as rapidly as from science, and even in our time many circumstances bring to our mind its recollection. The double meaning of the word spleen has certainly no other origin than the idea of a correlation between the conditions of the organ and that of the state of mind which have been both so named.

Galien, of Pergamus, is the first who tried to rationally determine in the brain the seat of the intellectual functions, and he may justly be regarded as the originator of the doctrine of the cerebral localisations, which, transmitted from generation to generation under a form more and more systematic, took the character of a scientific truth, when, in 1861, the exact centre of a psychical function was, for the first time, determined in the brain.

We allude to the discovery of P. Broca, who found the centre of "articulated speaking" and explained the curious phenomena of aphasis.

That discovery, about which we shall give more information later, and many others which followed in the same direction, showed that the brain was no longer to be regarded as a single organ, as was thought by Flourens and Gratiolet, but as a federation of organs, the individuality and the diversity of which correspond with the heterogeneity and the independence of the cerebral functions.

It is no exaggeration to say, as we have already stated, that modern discoveries have placed at the basis of nervous physiology, and consequently

* It is true that the French colloquialism se dilater la rate (to dilate one's spleen), signifying to laugh heartily, to excessively enjoy oneself, suggests another interpretation which it is difficult to bring into agreement with the first one. Such anomalies are not scarce in popular beliefs.

of psychology, a new conception of the nature and the connection of those organs, the ultimate purpose of which is the intellect.

In the study we propose to make we shall follow a method somewhat different from the usual classical one, and we shall adopt in the examination of our subject a critical rather than a dogmatical point of view.

We shall review the historical development of the ideas and doctrines invented in the course of ages, for the interpretation of nervous phenomena, and we shall thus be led to the understanding of existing theories.

Before commencing our subject, let us observe that history is what remains of the activity exercised by some human races, to approach the truth, nearer and nearer, without ever attaining it. The conditions of a problem, however elementary it may be, change with the means of investigating it, and since these are constantly renewed and perfected, the results obtained by a generation are but an episode in the evolution of a science.

The doctrines and theories which we shall have to examine have been necessary, then—legitimate at their time; they have been accepted as true as long as they have reflected the state of mind which has created them, but we must remember that, as ancient hypotheses have made room for newer ones, there is little doubt that modern conceptions on the structure and working of the nervous system will have, at least, partially, the destiny of those which have reigned before.

That is a point we must not lose sight of, as do, too often, even the most eminent scientists. In fact, in every scientist there is an inventor, prisoner of his theory, his doctrine or his system; not only does the scientist hope to discover, but, when successful, he remains convinced. And yet, as history shows, if the problem be one, the solutions perpetually vary. Science is not—it becomes.

We apologise to our readers for so long an introduction. In the next issue we still begin to study the doctrines and theories which have, throughout the centuries, dominated nervous science, and which constitute what Gratiolet used to call the natural history of human thought.

DR. ZED.

(To be continued.)

A DISCIPLE OF TOLSTOY.—Tolstoy is never tired of denouncing militarism, and his remedy is that recruits should refuse to serve; not resist, but passively decline to bear arms. There is in Russia a sect which carries out these principles and a large number of its members have left their country and settled in Canada. But till now we had never heard of a similar case in France. But one has now arisen. A young Frenchman from an Eastern department was a Baptist—there are very few of this sect in France—and when he in 1897 had to do his military service, he refused to bear arms. He was brought before a court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He did them and again refused to do military duty. He was again sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but the Minister of War has now agreed to let him do his three years' service as a military clerk. This is a very effective protest against militarism, but is hardly likely to be generally adopted.

IN MEMORIAM-PHILIP D. ARMOUR.

(Continued from Page 86.)

HOW HE MADE HIS SEVENTY MILLIONS.

So slight is the value placed upon human life in the Yards that a death is scarcely noticed. During one period of great heat, when all deaths by sunstroke were supposed to be investigated by a coroner's jury and reported to the health department, a single surgeon, practising "back of the Yards," told me that he had attended three fatal cases of sunstroke in the Yards in one day, and not one of them had ever been reported to the coroner or health department, or even noticed in the Press. This brings me to a consideration of that inevitable accompaniment of modern capitalism in its most developed form—the "company doctor." Just as in its mechanical department, the packing houses use the very latest machinery; just as their organisation of labour is a little more perfect than is to be found almost anywhere else on earth, so even the details are worked out with fine touches elsewhere unequalled. The scheme of saddling the expense of a company doctor on to the employees through assessments from their wages is an old and clumsy The packers did not need any such subterfuge as an excuse for reducing wages. These were already at the subsistence point and could be reduced no lower. So the packers "charitably" paid for the company doctor out of their own (?) pocket. They selected a first-class surgeon and saw to it that he did his work well. But there are almost no damage suits in the Yards, and what there are, are generally lost. The expert witness is on the right side. But there is another way of settling damage suits that cannot be disposed of in this manner. The family is visited immediately after the husband or son has been murdered, and they are told, with all the skill of an expert lawyer, that the company is "so sorry," and that they are "anxious to do what they can."

They are always willing to pay a fair sum for funeral expenses, and then they come to the remaining members of the family and tell them that those who are wage workers shall never lack for work so long as the business runs. To a family that has lived for a lifetime with the haunting horror of "no work" ever before them, this offer of perpetual slavery seems like Paradise, and they accept the offer. For two years all goes well. At the expiration of that time the person employed is summarily discharged, sometimes with, and as often without, any excuse. The Illinois period of limitation for a damage suit is two years. I have known this to happen, not once or twice, but again and again, with a monotonous regularity that removed all possi-

bility of the discharge being due to inefficiency.

Here, as elsewhere, capitalism has invaded the home and dragged forth the mother and child to do its work while the father vainly walks the streets looking for a master. Notwithstanding many prosecutions during the past few years, large numbers of children are constantly employed. All statistics regarding these are valueless, as the dexterity with which children are whisked out of sight at the approach of an inspector is one of the standing jokes of the establishments, and anyone who has wandered through the mazes of "Packingtown" will understand how easy such concealment is.

The State factory inspector, in her report for 1895, says concerning the conditions under which these children are employed:—

"Some of the boys act as butchers, sticking sheep, lambs, and swine; others cut the hide from the quivering flesh of freshly-stunned cattle, still others sort entrails, pack meat, and make the tin cans in which the goods are shipped. In several places a boy has been found at work at a dangerous machine because the father had been disabled by it, and his keeping the place pending recovery depended upon the boy's doing the work during the father's absence."

These are the conditions under which the work is done, and the next question is, what is the return to the labourer for such work? How large a share of what he produces is he allowed to keep? It may be said, to begin with, that any exact statements as to wages as a whole are unattainable. No one who knows anything as to general conditions dares to talk, and to gain the information piecemeal from employees is a well-nigh impossible task. A residence of over three years "back of the Yards," with close observation and conversation with hundreds of workmen, and the examination of a large number of individual time-books, are, however, sufficient for some fairly accurate generalisations. Several years ago the packers saw that, by maintaining a capacity to their works far beyond the actual needs, it was possible to kill the entire daily shipments each day, and thus save the expense of storage and feeding. Thus it comes about that each establishment runs each day only until the receipts for that day are disposed of, and then shuts down until the next purchase. The result is that thousands of men must plod to their places each morning utterly ignorant as to whether they will work one hour, two hours, or sixteen. If one is missing from his position but a single moment when wanted someone is called in from the waiting army always clamouring at the doors for even his poor chance, and the place is lost. If, on the other hand, as often happens, he walks a weary distance only to find that the house will not run that day, no one compensates him for his time, or finds him other employment during his waiting hours. As wages are always by the hour, or piece, a multitude of families exist on from year to year, paying or dodging rent, buying or begging clothing, purchasing or picking coal, in a miserable monotonous holding of body and soul together on the shameful pittance of from \$2 to \$5 They are prevented from going elsewhere, even had they ambition enough to desire removal, by the impossibility upon the one hand of paying railroad fare, and on the other by the will-o'-the-wisp hope of better wages and "fuller time." How close the margin of existence always is to the subsistence point is shown by the fact that over 20 per cent. of the population are compelled to ask for charity at some time during each year.

Why, it may be asked at this point, do not the men have the courage to unite in trade unions and fight for better conditions? Not infrequently some "labour leader" comes among them and urges them to unite with high dues and no politics and call a strike. But the old employee only shakes his head. He may know nothing of the process and laws of social evolution, but he has seen the rise and fall of union after union in the Yards and has marked the failure of many a strike until he has come to realise that something has happened to the particular industry in which he is working that makes it well-nigh hopeless to combine for an economic fight against the employers. So it has come about that there are practically no unions in the Yards. Many reasons for this will doubless have occurred to the reader before this as we went along. Other reasons are not far to seek.

Trade distinctions have nearly all disappeared before the machine. Few places could not be filled at a moment's notice from the great army of unemployed ever present and growing larger each year. Under these conditions, which the Socialist will at once recognise as the typical marks of an advanced stage of industry, the pure and simple trade union is ridiculously helpless. One of the strongest trade unions in Chicago is the Carpenters' Union. Through a combination of unions, connection with the employers' association, and bourgeois political connection with the building commissioners, they are enabled to maintain a relatively high scale of wages. Only a few weeks ago they carried through a successful strike, by means of which their wages were raised to 40 cents an hour, with an eight hour day. In the Yards every carpenter works ten hours a day at 25 cents an hour, and never a question is asked as to union or scab.

Another phase of this question, to which reference was previously made, and whose significance the Socialist will also be quick to see, was illustrated a short time ago when there was a strike in a branch establishment in St. Joe. The Chicago house simply ran a few more hours each day, much to the gratification of their employees, who never dreamed that they were

" scabbing" on their St. Joe brethren.

The spy system previously referred to also stands in the way of any organisation of the workers. So thoroughly and systematically is this carried into every department that no widespread movement among the men is in any way possible without its details being known to the employers, which, with a union, would certainly mean its instant destruction. So thoroughly is the servitude of the labourers impressed upon them that they scarce dare have an opinion. During the last Presidential campaign the owners of the Yards decided that their interests were more intimately connected with those of one of the great capitalist parties than with the other, and so when a monster parade was being organised for that party, the employees were told to report as if for work and were then given canes and other marching paraphernalia and excused (?) to join the parade. When a petition was circulated asking the Health Department to abolish the smoke nuisance, not an employee dared to sign it, lest he lose the right to call a particular firm master, and hence lack the scanty means hitherto flung to him with which to keep body and soul together.

The meat to be trimmed comes out of a chute and passes along a trough where it is scrambled for, each one grabbing for the best pieces to trim. A very dexterous and fearless woman who is able to force her way to the front in the struggle for material, and then work with exceptional speed upon the best pieces thus obtained, often earns the munificent sum of \$1.25 a day. The women who are thus forced to engage in a hoggish fight for the chance to live are the mothers and wives and daughters and sisters of the labourers of

this grand and glorious country of the free.

This process of "speeding up" has been regularly and systematically carried out in every department, until an employee informed the writer a short time ago that he was now doing precisely twice as much as he was doing 15 years ago with exactly the same tools. That marvellous speed and dexterity so much admired by visitors, that transforms a piece of meat as it flies from hand to hand or moves rapidly along an overhanging track, is simply inhumanly hard work.

The task of superintendence has thus been reduced to a minimum. A mechanical "bess" has been evolved more merciless, were it possible, than the human counterpart. In such a machine-like, automatic intercompetitive community, with its hierarchy of superintendents, foremen, overseers and

bosses, it is hard to discover any essential social function for the owner. Everyone has heard the stories of the long hours that P. D. Armour works, but few are silly enough to believe that he does anything that he could not (were he less miserly) hire someone else to do equally well. No one supposes that when he takes his expected trip to Europe for his health this summer, while his labourers are murdered by the foul atmosphere of his packing-houses, that his establishment will shut down. Indeed no one who is at all familiar with the details of the management of a great packing-house dreams that if the owners were dead, imbeciles or infants, the life of a single hog would be saved or a pound of meat be missing from the markets of the world. As a matter of fact, some of the largest owners of the packing-houses are members of a European syndicate and never saw the factory in which their wealth is produced and know less of the processes by which it is done than the most ignorant members of the "cleaning gang."

What then do the owners do? In the answer to this question will be found the beginning of the explanation of the whole hideous mystery of suffering that we have been looking upon. We shall find that because they own these buildings, machinery, land, &c., they are able to say to great bodies of men: "Either you must work for us or you must perish from hunger and lack of work. But if you do work for us you must give up all you produce save enough to keep yourself and family alive and produce more workers for the coming years." In other words, ownership of the tools which men must have to live, means ownership of the men themselves. But this ownership can only be secured through the instrumentality of the Government. Therefore, the employers control the Government. This, then, is the function of the owners—to constitute a ruling class which shall

determine the laws that make the workers their slaves.

From beginning to end, the industry is organised, supervised, directed, controlled and operated by hired labourers. To be sure, wage differences still exist, and the head superintendent would probably arise in parvenu horror at being placed in the same economic class with the "hog driver" or the tender of a sausage machine. But these distinctions, like the earlierones between the trades, are fast fading away. The great Armour Institute and other similar institutions which the employers have philanthropically established to fill the market with educated skilled labour and thus force its wages down to the level received by the cheapest day labourer, is rapidly The same remorseless competition that settling that phase of the question. has crushed the humbler worker to the subsistence point has only been suspended in its operation upon the higher paid labourer because the supply of their labour was still somewhat limited. Yet even now the position occupied by these better-paid slaves is little better, save in wages, than that of those they so proudly order hither and thither. Their hours are as long, their work as wearisome. They are compelled in their turn to fawn and cringe before those who outrank them and are forced to trickery all manner of with their fellow-workmen of rank in order to retain their position and advance. Most important of all, they are carefully taught by a "public opinion" created by the capitalist class whom they serve, that they are infinitely superior to the poor devils whom they superintend. In every possible way this idea of class differences among the labourers is preached. The poorer paid labourers are constantly incited to hatred, in their turn, of those whom they look upon as petty tyrants. In this way each is deprived of its strongest ally. The cheaper paid labourer loses that leadership and intellectual guidance in his political efforts that he has in his everyday work. The superintendent loses

the tremendous numerical support that is absolutely necessary to make his efforts for betterment of any avail, and he becomes but a puppet in the hands of a class whose every interest is opposed to his own. Why can these workers never see that the question of voting is one with the question of their work and their wages—that the same organisation that makes the "Yards" the marvel of the world in its productive way, would, if used politically, make it the mightiest engine for the freeing of labour that this century has forged! In its every department these mammoth institutions are carried on by the workers. Still we are told that the co-operative commonwealth is impossible of realisation because the proletariat could never organise industry and there would be no incentive to make the "captains of industry" take the lead and organise labour.

Let us now once more take a wider outlook. The packing industry has now become international. The meats from these great institutions we have been studying are to be found in every country on the globe. The interests of the owners thus at once become wider than the bounds of "Packingtown." They become interested in international politics. They want "new markets." They need the national Government to accomplish their purposes. They become intensely patriotic. When the capitalist class of this country were arranging the war with Spain and it was necessary to inflame public opinion, in no place was there more "patriotism" to the square inch than in the Union Stock Yards and Packing Houses of Chicago. Every day there were a half-dozen "flag-raisings" with fierce patriotic effusions to the labourers, until the smoke-laden air was thickly dotted with the Stars and Stripes. It was a peculiar fact that over no establishment did it float higher and prouder than over those whose owners never set foot on American soil, but whose "patriotism" drew just as large dividends as the native product. But they received their reward. All the world knows now the story of the infamous part played in that disgraceful tragedy by the packers of Chicago-how they crowded the rendering vat and the soap factory to feed the poor fever-stricken fellows who were fighting to add more dollars to the already over-flowing coffers of their masters—the capitalists of America. Other ages and other lands have had their class of robber rulers who drove their slaves to fight that the master might receive the plunder, but it has remained for the diabolical genius of modern capitalism to devise ways and means by which the very fighting slaves themselves should render an income while they were shedding their blood for further giin.

All this mass of misery, outrage, plunder and oppression rests upon one corner stone, which, once destroyed, the whole edifice must tumble down. That corner stone is class rule by the owners of the instruments of production and distribution. Unless Swift and Swift's class had their Tom Careys and others of his kind to do their bidding these abuses could not exist. Pangerous machinery and long hours with child labour means that the capitalist class have through their political power cared for their interests by preventing new factory legislation or the enforcement of existing laws. Carey's vile tenements, the neglected streets, the foul gutters, the hair fields, the garbage dump, the over-hanging smoke, all are part and parcel of the same structure of which the getting of jobs at Swift's through Carey is a foundation. So long as the labourers of the Yards elect men to office whose interests are with their employers they only get what they have voted

for in the conditions in which they live and work.

How, then, shall they use their votes to save their lives and secure decent conditions to their families? Their very work points the way.

Just as their employers have found it to their interest to organise the workers into great bodies wholly opposed in interest to those for whom they work—just as they have wiped out trade and class distinctions among the workers, just so the workers must organise politically. They must organise in the interests of their class instead of that of their employers, wipe out the imaginary distinctions between the members of their own class that capitalism has long ago rendered meaningless, and rallying under the banner of Socialism demand that the workers themselves shall own the tools with which they work and the product they create. Just as their masters have reached out past the dividing lines of nations and wiped out all distinctions of country in one common league of plunder, so the workers must join hands across the narrow boundaries of race and nationality with their fellowworkers of the entire world in one common brotherhood of toil and suffering, marching on toward the time when labour shall rule and when to him that labours shall go the fruits of his labour.

THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE.

AN OPEN LETTER TO LORD SALISBURY.

THE author of "Drifting" (recently reviewed in the Social-Democrat) is responsible for an article in the *Contemporary Review* on the above subject. He writes as follows:—

MY LORD MARQUESS,

I address this open letter to you in your quality as Prime Minister of England. As such, you are responsible for the security of the Empire.

The hope has been expressed that the great lesson of the Transvaal Warhas been understood, that the thousands of lives and the scores of millions wantonly wasted through the ignorance, the indolence, and the irresponsibility of our ruling politicians, and through the ineptitude and perverseness of the departments which they are supposed to control, has not been wasted in vain. The hope has been expressed that the national humiliation . . . would make our politicians realise their responsibilities . . . and bring order, efficiency, and economy into the organisation of the defensive power of the Empire.

But, apparently, our ruling politicians mean to continue in their traditional policy of drifting, of negligence, of make-believe . . . deluding the nation, clinging to office, and eventually destroying the Empire.

Mr. Brodrick's speech (on Army Reform) was most satisfactory—from a politician's point of view. . . . Did he not succeed in lulling Parliament and

the country to sleep with the hope of real reforms?

More closely examined, it will be found that it is a curious mixture of flattery, superficiality, and misstatement . . . the information in it is of

the same value and quality as that afforded by Tit-Bits or Answers. . . .

It is as vaguely worded as the prospectus of a mining company.

Mr. Brodrick said, "Our proposal is this . . . I believe that . prepared t'other "-(cheers)-" we intend to do so and so . . . if it can be carried out."

Instead of furnishing the House with the advice of our generals Mr. Brodrick says, "I think it necessary, &c." Who is I? A civilian. Who is we? A number of party politicians without business instincts

and without energy.

Instead of authoritative experts from men like Lord Roberts, Generals Kitchener, French, &c., we have received vague and watery statements from a civilian instructed by a board of party politicians as to reforms which "I think" and "we think" are necessary. The information required by the public as to the real state of the army can only be supplied by our generals—who are judiciously muzzled by our politicians . . . so that Imperial interests may be made subservient to party interests. Consequently our generals are of opinion that, let us say, our War Office organisation is bad, that we require better rifles, guns, uniforms, more stores, &c. . . . But there is nothing to hinder our politicians from suppressing expert opinion of vital importance-according to the requirements of party politics. A general commanding in one of our colonies foresees war . . . knows he has not sufficient forces, stores, &c. He urges the civilian Secretary for War to send him reinforcements. The Cabinet considers it harmful to their party to spend the necessary money—the general still urges for reinforcements, and as he prefers the interests of the Colony which he is appointed to defend to those of the politicians at home, he is recalled.

If the Commander-in-Chief sees need for reform the Secretary of State for War usually opposes it. Why? Because the Opposition always, and on principle, run down any measure proposed by the party in power, without regard to its merits. The politician who poses as the director of our military forces assures us in time of peace that the army is in the most perfect order. After disaster the same gentleman tells us he is not an expert, and blames the generals whose recommendations he has not heeded. And if the generals complain of the neglect of their advice, the same party politician informs us that the generals did not avail themselves of the powers given them.

One day our politicians will glibly tell us that everything is in the best order in the army. . . . To-morrow there is a disastrous defeat, and we find that we are not prepared, have inferior arms, an army on paper. . . .

All is confusion.

What happens? Our civilian leaders of the nation coolly explain that ... nobody is to blame! What the Intelligence Department is for the army, the Cabinet ought to be for the nation instead of which carefully trimmed statements are made to hide the ghastly and inconvenient truth as long as possible. In the Colvile affair, a whole sitting of the House was wasted in irrevelant party politicians' talk, the justice or injustice done to General Colvile was completely lost sight of. How entirely party feeling dominated the inquiry may be seen from the division :--

			For Colvile.		Against Colvile.
Ministerialists				5	 251
Opposition				145	 13
What a farce, what hum	bug !				

For the same money for which we maintain a transportless, ammunitionless, storeless, informationless, mapless army of 160,000 men, Germany maintains a perfectly equipped and trained army of 400,000. . . . From these figures it must be clear that the English army has been a sham and a fraud till now; our military force has been a military farce. . . . The Boers were not blessed with an English Staff College which trained General Gatacre of Stormberg fame, and Professor-General Colley of Majuba. The Boers fought according to common sense, and provided an army of intelligent fighters, not an unwieldy "fighting machine."

One half of our wonderful army is to defend England against invasion—at a cost of ten millions. Would it not have been better, under the circumstances, to create only the framework of an army for defence—officers, staff, &c., and, before all, a large supply of guns, rifles, &c., wherewith to arm the whole male population? Might not a law be passed authorising the King or Cabinet, in case of national emergency, to "commandeer" the whole population, horses, stores, &c., in short, all that is necessary for war?

The fraudulent contractors have not been brought to book, and such unimportant details as the extensive frauds of swindling contractors are not mentioned in Mr. Brodrick's pleasant-sounding "statement." . . . All our other Administrative Departments are as wasteful, as inefficient, as obstinate and as reactionary as the War Office. What is wanted is the dismissal of the incapable by hundreds, and the imprisonment of the corrupt by dozens; an iron will and an iron hand, merciless exposure and punishment. We require men of creative and constructive talent, not men of apologetic ability. Will you, my Lord Marquess, give us such men?

Your obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR OF "DRIFTING."

THE POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY (1895-1899).

It is difficult to find out much about Poland. For, though there is an office of the Socialist Party in London, they only publish—doubtless for sufficient reasons—a bulletin in Polish, which is for most of us an unknown tongue. In the Revue Socialiste for February, however, there was an article

on the subject, of which a summary may be of interest.

It appears that the programme of the party was drawn up in 1892 and it is very similar to that of the German Socialist Party and to that of the Social-Democratic Federation, with the addition that, of course, it demands Polish independence. For as long as Poland is under the rule of Russia, there can be no real liberty in Poland. (It does not appear from this whether the Poles in Prussia and Austria belong to this party; there are probably parties independently in those countries, as some independence and local government exists) There is a newspaper, the Robotnik, but it is printed and distributed secretly. The Russians have for a long time practised what we are now timidly copying in South Africa. The party is organised, but naturally no clear details are given of the organisation, as he writer does not wish the task of the Czar's Government to be made any

easier. But there seems to be a system of groups which are governed by a

Central Committee.

It is impossible to hold meetings, so that the propaganda is chiefly done by means of leaflets, pamphlets, &c. From January 1, 1895, to December 31, 1899, 184,020 copies were printed locally and 123,634 copies were printed abroad and smuggled into Russia. Most of these (282,279) were in Polish, the remainder being in Yiddish, in German, in Russian and in Lithuanian. There are two reviews—Przedsurt (Dawn) and Swiatlo (Light)—printed in London and smuggled into Russia, and one newspaper, the Robotnik (Workman), published secretly in Poland. These newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets are passed from hand to hand and literally read to death. The pamphlets are various, some are translations, but the majority are original, and are spread all through Russian Poland.

Attempts have been made to celebrate May Day, but with varying success. Strikes have also taken place, and there have been in the five years 186 strikes, and about 100,000 men affected by them, and of these 127 were more or less successful. The successful strikes have been those on a small scale, for if many workmen strike then large forces of soldiers are brought on the scene, and the men are driven into the factories. There is no nonsense about the Czar's officials, they are firmly convinced that agitators are a nuisance. Great efforts have also been made to agitate amongst the peasants, and a reasonable measure of success has been

attained.

There are many Jewish workmen in towns, and special pamphlets, &c., have been written in Yiddish, and even a newspaper has been printed, but for the present it has been impossible to continue its publication.

The funds have risen from 8,736 francs in 1895 to 32,824 francs in

1899, but more money is needed.

Many Socialists have been imprisoned. Altogether 289 have been sentenced to 988 years' imprisonment or deportation, and many more have been put into prison for shorter periods.

The Polish Socialists have helped, as far as they were able, other nationalities oppressed by the Czar, and are on friendly terms with the

Russian revolutionists.

The Russian Government has spies among the Socialists, and, not

unnaturally, several of these have met with violent deaths.

As I said, the article is a very interesting one as showing that the "martyred" race is still vigorous.

J. B.

LOYAL MUSIC.—A loyal German—one of those who look on the Emperor as the Lord's anointed—has written a war march and has set it to music. The following is a literal translation of this new anthem: "The Chinese are too wicked, so shoot them down. The Emperor William has said, give them no quarter. Go forward like Blucher, shoot the wretches through the head and be loyal to your God, even if you die. Trust no Chinaman, trust no Boxer, they are all deceivers. Fight with God's help and put your trust in the genius of Count Waldersee? God will lead you in the battle and will give you victory. You will conquer and will end the holy, bloody war. And God will help the German Empire!" These lines give us a good idea of the "loyal" mind, and yet though they advocate murder the writer will not be prosecuted, but will be thanked for his loyal effusions.

"THE THRESHOLD."

THE following "Poem in Prose" of Turgénieff's, under the above heading, is of interest, as it was forbidden by the Russian press censorship to be included in the volume published under that name in 1882; and is not included in the English version of the work, translated by S. J. Macmillan,

and published by Messrs. Simpkin and Marshall.

It makes a new and special appeal at the present moment to our Russian comrades who are fighting such a desperate fight against terrible odds for a constitution that shall give them new and better economic and social conditions. For students and intellectuals the present moment in Russia is an absolute reign of terror. Every day fresh arrests are made, and writers, professors, men and women teachers, and others, who are are trying through the medium of pamphlets and literature to spread a knowledge of modern economics, and especially the teachings of Marx and of Engels, are hurried away from home and friends and sent into a nameless, hopeless exile in Siberia.

The Russian woman has for years shown herself, in this long, weary struggle for freedom, the inspirer and the trusted comrade of her brother reformer, and one has only to gain the confidence of some of the girl students, who, driven from Russian universities, are completing their studies in the various student centres of Europe, to feel that the noble self-sacrificing traditions of the past are in no danger for lack of ardent enthusiastic disciples to carry them on in the present and the future; and that Turgénieff, when he put into the mouth of his Russian girl révoltée, the words, "I ask for neither gratitude nor pity; neither do I desire fame!" was not only a poet, but a prophet and a seer, in that he saw the vision of the unnamed, unknown multitude of those that were to follow after, each one ready to cross the threshold, to enter the terrible gloom of prison or of exile, to risk the barbarities and outrages of gaolers, and of gendarmes; and finally, if life was spared in their land of exile, to carry on the teaching of those truths of science, which are to them a veritable gospel, a message of glad tidings. This little sketch was translated in collaboration with the wife of one who has spent a year in solitary confinement in a cell below the level of the river, in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul at Petersburg, and six years in Siberia. Husband and wife are both noble souls, who have given up all for the sake of the truths they hold dear, and whose lives are a daily witness of the faith that inspires them.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

Before me stands an immense building, with a narrow door . . . ajar . . .

Beyond the door, inside the building is thick gloom; whilst outside, standing near the threshold is a young girl . . . a Russian girl . . .

An icy cold breath, mingled with the tones of a dull monotonous voice, seems to issue from the impenetrable gloom . . .

"Do you indeed intend to cross this threshold? Do you know what awaits you here?"

"I do!" answers the girl.

"Will it not mean to you hunger, cold, mockery, hatred, scorn, and insult; imprisonment, sickness—perchance death itself?"

"I know it!"

"Estrangement, solitude ?"

"I know it well; I am prepared for it . . . I can bear any suffering, and all blows."

"Even those that will come, not only from foes, but from friends, and from those who are dear to you?"

"Yes, even those."

" Are you ready to offer yourself as a sacrifice?"

" I am."

. "Remember it will be a nameless sacrifice. You will perish, and no one . . . no one will even know who it is whose memory should be kept sacred."

"I ask for neither gratitude nor pity, neither do I desire fame."

"And are you prepared to commit crime?"

The girl drooped her head.

"Yes, prepared even to commit crime."

After a time the voice questioned again.

"Do you know," it muttered, "that finally you may lose faith in all that now you believe in? . . . You may at the last realise that it was all an illusion, and that it was in vain you destroyed your young life?"

"That I also know, but I still desire to go in."

" Be it so."

The girl crossed the threshold and the heavy door swung to behind her. "Fool!" muttered between his teeth one without, standing near her.

"Saint!" was breathed from within, as if in response.

IVAN TURGENIEFF.



CHURCH TUNES.

" Nearer, my God, to Thee."

Nearer, oh Liberty,
Nearer to Thee;
Empires may wax and wane,
Dynasties flee;
Let but earth's people be
Nearer, oh Liberty,
Nearer to Thee.

While fools and cowards sleep
Life's years away,
Forward we march to keep
Thy gala-day—
Bringing Democracy
Nearer, oh Liberty,
Nearer to Thee.

Haply our steps Thou'lt lead
Surely but slow,
As from their deep-sown seed
Spring's flow'rets grow;
So, day by day, we'll be
Nearer, oh Liberty,
Nearer to Thee.

But if, towards the Day,

Thy banner red

Take us through toil and fray,

On o'er our Dead;

Still all our Song shall be

Nearer, oh Liberty,

Nearer to Thee.

G. W. S.



GENERAL CHRISTIAN DE WET.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

Vol. V., No. 5. MAY, 1901.

GENERAL CHRISTIAN DE WET.

DE WET'S brilliant career commenced with the Boer evacuation of Bloemfontein, March 8, 1900. Beginning with three great battles in one week, he captured over 1,000 prisoners, seven cannons and £200,000 worth of supplies. On March 31, 1900, with 800 men he swept down on Colonel Broadwood's column of 1,500 men, capturing 485 prisoners and 135 loaded supply waggons before the British commander knew of his presence. Two days later he captured 450 prisoners at Moestershoek, then doubled on his track against General Brabant who was sent with 4,000 men to capture him. De Wet escaped without loss. At Vredefort Weg he captured £185,000 in gold and 130,000 khaki uniforms. General De Wet has been the cause of greater losses to the British than any other Boer commander. In battles he has killed and wounded over 1,000 British soldiers, captured over 5,000 prisoners, 10,000 cattle and horses, also stores and ammunition, inflicting a total loss to the British of over £2,000,000.

General De Wet, who is about 50 years old, was born at Dewetsdorp, Orange Free State. He was originally not a strong supporter of the war, and was very friendly towards the British, but their barbarities have inspired him with bitter hatred. His own words were: "My farm has been destroyed, my home burned, my property looted, my sons have been killed in battle and my wife has died of a broken heart, and I shall not

surrender; I shall resist to the end. This war shall not cease."

Mr. Douglas Story, the only English correspondent with the Boer forces, wrote recently of General Christian De Wet as follows in the New York Herald:—

"I first met Christian De Wet on the march to Sanna's Post. We had started away back, about Winburg—midway 'twixt north and south of the Free State—and were pushing rapidly, purposefully south. What reason there was in the movement no man among us knew. Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein, in front, and all around us were active columns of his army. With us were two De Wets—Hoofd Commandant Piet De Wet and plain Commandant De Wet. The Hoofd commandant was tall and young and commanding, and to us in our ignorance seemed the leader of the expedition.

"The other De Wet was a taciturn man of middle height, of middle age, with a sparse, scrubby beard and a thick moustache. His high, square forehead rose steeply from a pair of bushy eyebrows, beneath which a pair

of restless eagle eyes gazed out to the distance. In the eyes there was no laughter, but the gleam of a steady purpose, the cold resourcefulness of a

man hunted by his fellows."

Mr. Story goes on to describe at length the trap at Koorn Spruit on March 31 of last year above referred to. It was Christian De Wet's first raid on the British and the omens were favourable. On that 31st day of March, 1900, De Wet began his career as a guerilla chief. For him the style of warfare is ideal. A born hunter, he carries with him a force of native-born Free Staters. He has as his field of operations a State of about the size of Kentucky, every yard of which is known to him and to every man under his command. Every resident is a sympathiser ready with food and with information. He needs no commissariat; he has no headquarters save his saddle. His object is the harassing of the British troops spread all around him.

Three days after his success at Sanna's Post De Wet swooped down on Reddersburg, a hundred miles to the south, and captured three companies of the Irish rifles and two of the 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers. In less than a week De Wet, with his 1,500 men had captured 1,200 British soldiers and had taken seven guns. At Wepener, away out on the Basuto border, he found another isolated British force—1,700 colonists under Colonel Dalgety—and settled down to besiege it. For 17 days he beset the Britishers, but this time unsuccessfully, although he killed nearly all

their horses, and disabled 300 of the troopers.

On May 27 De Wet swooped down on a convoy at Lindley, to the eastward of Kroonstad, in the northern part of the Free State, and after three days' fighting captured it and the escort of 500 Yeomanry. With him were five guns, 1,500 men and the best of the Free State horses. On June 4 he held up a baggage train of 55 waggons near Heilbron, 50 miles to the north of Lindley, and took prisoners its escort of 160 men. With the supplies secured from these waggons he set off down the railway line to Roodeval, where he found the 4th Derbyshires, a raw militia regiment. De Wet's five guns completely commanded the camp, and, after losing their colonel and 140 men, the regiment on June 7 surrendered Two miles to the south was Roodeval station, and thither came a mail train with some 100 men of various regiments as escort. To them went De Wet and demanded immediate surrender, but the postmen fought in defence of their bags and the motley details assisted as best they could. It was useless. Oom Christian speedily held the train escort prisoner. With them he captured five truck loads of mail, 30,000 greatcoats and a waggon of great siege shells bound northward. Before leaving he wrecked the railway line for miles on either side of Roodeval station, destroyed the Rhenoster bridge and the Roodeval bridge, and for ten miles twisted the telegraph poles into shapeless metal. A week later (on June 14) he narrowly escaped capturing Lord Kitchener himself at Khenoster.

His three weeks of raiding had, however, wakened the British to the necessity of stopping him, and great preparations were made for the capture of De Wet. On July 2 General Hunter had ten thousand men under his command for the purpose. Slowly, purposefully, the net was drawn round De Wet, and on July 21 it began to close in on the guerilla chief. Four days later De Wet dashed down on the railroad at Honing Spruit, captured a train and 100 Welsh Fäsiliers, wriggled his way through the British lines, and with five guns and 1,500 men got clear away to the nerth-west. In the early part of August Lord Kitchener and Lord Methuen began the third attempt to corral De Wet. On August 7 De Wet dashed through De

Wet's Drift to the north side of the Vaal, and by the 15th was well out in Western Transvaal, at Rustenberg. On the 17th he passed through the ring of his pursuers and appeared on the Crocodile River, well to the north of Pretoria. On the 22nd he had tacked back to the Free State, and his 10,000 pursuers were left deserted in the Transvaal, hundreds of miles to the north of where the chase commenced ten days before.

For a time we heard very little of De Wet, but on October 14 he captured a detachment of Cheshires, and for the rest of the month De Wet made daily descents on the railway line and the telegraph posts, rendering communication between north and south almost impossible. General Knox started off in determined pursuit, and on October 27 cornered his quarry. De Wet, as usual, broke through. No sooner was he free than he dashed down on the railway line at Geneva, captured the Cape mail and took 90 men prisoners. For the next few weeks he ranged up and down the railway line, leaving his mark nightly on broken culverts and uprooted rails. November 22 De Wet dashed through the British lines between Alexandria and Warringham's Store, attacked a strong British post, was beaten off and headed for his favourite hunting ground Dewetsdorp. On November 23 he attacked the town, and, after a stiff fight, captured it, along with two guns of the 68th Field Battery and 450 men of the ill-fated Gloucesters and Irish Rifles.

This insult was more than Lord Roberts could stand, and General Knox was sent in pursuit. Up and down the northern bank of the Orange River the two forces chased, and at last Knox got in front and headed De Wet from Cape Colony. This time his capture seemed certain. He was in a space between the flooded Caledon and the unfordable Orange, Knox had his force drawn across the base of the triangle, and another strong party of cavalry awaited him at the apex. But De Wet laughed at cordons, and on December 5 crossed the swollen Caledon at Kareepont Drift, and returned northward to Reddersburg. On the 10th he snapped up 120 of Brabant's Horse, and on the 12th found himself once more cornered. General Knox was within an hour of De Wet at a point among the hills some fifteen miles east of Thabanchu. The British were in overwhelming numbers, the only possible escape was past two fortified posts, and the guns covered the guerillas. It was the finest chance the British had had in the war, and, theoretically, De Wet was "hands up."

But De Wet had six months' experience at his back and a troop of seasoned veterans under his command. Knox was just about to give the coup de grace when across the flat, full tilt at the British lines the 2,500 Boers came thundering. In open order, straight for the pass between the fortified posts, the guerillas, led by President Steyn and Commandant

Fourie, charged.

Taking advantage of a spur of the kopje the Boers received the fire of only one fort, and past that they streamed in a long straggling line, Christian De Wet the last man to pass through. Only 25 of the forlorn hope fell into the hands of the British, with one 15-pounder, and once more De Wet and Steyn had shaken off their pursuers. It was the finest deed of the war, and marked De Wet a leader as bold in execution as he has proved himself wily in design.

On January 7 De Wet was again north of Heilbron, where he discovered an isolated detachment of General Knox's column and inflicted heavy punish-There were 120 men in the detached force, and of these three officers and 15 men were killed, and two officers and 20 men wounded.

exploits since that date are still fresh in the memories of our readers.

MUNICIPALISM AND SOCIALISM.

WE hear so much nowadays about municipal trading, municipal gas, municipal water, municipal trams, and so on, and so on, and municipal enterprise in these directions is so often spoken of as "Municipal Socialism" that it has become necessary to point out from time to time that the mere ownership of public services by a public corporation is not Socialism at all, In a class State the State machinery, legislative, administrative and executive, is the property of a class, and its personnel are merely the agents of the possessing class. Under these circumstances municipal enterprise is not municipal Socialism, it is not even socialistic municipalism, it is municipal capitalism pure and simple. This has been so fully and freely insisted upon on the part of Social-Democrats that there is in some quarters an idea that we do or should oppose municipal enterprise altogether, and should refrain from participation in local elections. That is a mistake. It is our duty to see that the conversion of any undertaking from private to public property, either national or municipal, should be a real conversion, not a nominal one; that the municipalisation of any public business should be for the public good and service, and not for the profit of a class. In order to secure this it is our duty not to eschew municipal elections but to enter into them with even greater vigour than hitherto, in order to get some control over the administration of the various businesses which are becoming municipalised, and to see that these are carried on upon right lines. It is necessary for us to clearly understand what we wish to achieve by municipalisation so as not to be misled by specious sophistry about the reduction of rates, or any other burden-shifting scheme, being the true end of municipal enterprise. When we hear of a business being taken over by a municipality with an undertaking to pay the former owners 10 per cent. on the nominal value of the concern for ever, it is easy to see that this is mere municipal capitalism; and that the municipality is only a rent or profit collector for the real owners; but the same result, even if somewhat disguised, is arrived at when a municipal business is run to make a profit and the profit is used to pay interest on loans to the middle class, or to reduce middle-class rates.

When a candidate, professing to be a Socialist, comes forward in favour of municipalising the water, gas, trams, and other public services, "in order to reduce the rates" it is clear that he does not understand the Socialist position on this matter. We want municipal trams for purposes of locomotion; we want municipal gas and electricity in order that our streets and houses may be lighted; we want municipal baths and wash-houses so that the people may wash and be clean; we want municipal schools in order that the children should be educated, and so on; we do not want these things to

be nominally municipal property, and used for the purpose of creating a profit for the middle class. The object should be to make all these services self-supporting, and to provide proper remuneration and conditions for those employed in them; anything earned beyond this should go to benefit the general body of the people by improving the service, reducing the cost, or in extending the area of public enterprise on behalf of the working-class portion of the community, by providing for the free maintenance of the school children, establishing schools, a better system of education, insurance funds, municipal dwellings, and so on. So long as there is an income-drawing class in the community the revenue necessary for administrative purposes, municipal or national, should be raised by a tax on incomes, not by running municipal business at a profit.

It is important to insist upon the difference between municipal enterprise for the public good, and mere municipal capitalism, or municipalism for the profit of a possessing class. With the growth of monopolies many will be ready to support the municipalisation or nationalisation of these monopolies in the hope of thereby making a profit out of them which they could not possibly secure otherwise. With the growth of municipal and national enterprises, too, the capitalist class will endeavour to fasten on to them, and to use them for their own purposes. Not every man who professes to favour municipalisation is a Socialist, although the principle of municipalisation may be said to be distinctly Socialist. As Professor George D. Herron writes in a recent number of the International Review: "The economic crisis would certainly culminate in a clearly defined issue between the capitalistic despotism and democratic collectivism were it not that the capitalistic system cannot go on by any power which it possesses within itself. Even if it could continue for a long time yet, capitalism would finally suck dry the body of humanity, and perish in the catastrophe of the world it had ruined. But capitalism knows better than to try to go on of It will seek to perpetuate itself by fastening itself upon the new social idea. In order to save itself capitalism will go into partnership with Socialism, with Socialism as its political pack-horse. Already is capitalism prepared with programmes of benevolent designs for its own firmer establishment-city waterworks, municipal milk-waggons, boards of arbitration, art museums and good government clubs. Carefully written out and docketted. ready at hand for each emergency, are the treaties of peace by which capitalism will undertake to destroy Socialism by befriending it. By the wit of its highly hired retainers, in legislative halls and churchly councils and academic chairs, and by the lack of wit and spiritual nerve in the Socialist movement, a shorn and blinded Socialism may be bridled and saddled by capitalism, and made to carry it to another age-long goal. The owning class may thus wither by crafty favours the movement which it cannot withstand by its mightiest weapons of defence."

That is the danger against which we have to guard, and we can only do so by inspiring all municipal enterprises with sound Social-Democratic principles, and manning municipal bodies with thorough-going Social-Democrats. There should be no hesitation, therefore, in opposing all bogus

municipalism, no matter who may be its advocates, and no fear of misrepresentation should deter us from this duty. If we take part in municipal affairs let us do so with a clear and definite aim, and without any compromise with so-called Progressives, who would make Socialism the political pack-horse of capitalism. It may be well to recall here the resolution on this question which was adopted at the Paris International Congress last year. That resolution reads:—

Seeing that the term "Municipal Socialism" does not signify a special kind of Socialism, but simply the application of the general principles of Socialism to a particular department of political activity;

And seeing that the reforms connected therewith are not and cannot be put forward as the realisation of the collectivist State, but that they are put forward as playing a part in a sphere of action which Socialists can and should seize upon in order to prepare and facilitate the coming of the collectivist

State;

And seeing that the municipality can become an excellent laboratory of local economic activity, and at the same time a formidable political fortress for the use of local Socialist majorities against the middle-class majority of the central authority, when once substantial local powers have been obtained;

The Congress declares:

That is the duty of all Socialists, without misunderstanding the importance of the wider political issues, to make clear to all the value of municipal activity, to recognise in all municipal reforms the importance which attaches to them as "embryos of the collectivist State," and to endeavour to municipalise such public services as the urban transport service, education, shops, bakeries, medical assistance, hospitals, water supply, baths and washhouses, the food supply and clothing, dwellings for the people, the supply of motive power, public works, the police force, &c., &c., to see that these public services shall be model services as much from the point of view of the interests of the community as from that of the citizens who serve it;

That the local bodies which are not large enough to undertake themselves any of these reforms should federate with one another for such purposes;

That in a country where the political system does not allow municipalities to adopt this course, it is the duty of all Socialists on such bodies to endeavour to obtain for municipal authorities sufficient liberty and independence to obtain these reforms.

The resolution further suggests the convening of an international congress of Socialist municipal councillors and also the matters for the consideration of such a congress, but the above practically sets out the basis of Socialist activity on municipal bodies. It may be amplified, but should certainly not be departed from in the direction of municipal capitalism.

"It is beyond doubt," writes Vandervelde, "that the concentration realised by trusts, while increasing the cohesion of employers and swelling the army of unemployed, weakens to that degree the resistive power of trade unions." Let the members of trade unions realise that industrial concentration is rendering the power to strike practically of no avail, and they will swell the army of class-conscious proletarians to such an extent that their political strength will at once become formidable.—E. Untermann, in the April number of the International Socialist Review.

"A BUNDLE OF FALLACIES."

I HAVE always held that discussions, whether verbal or printed, lead to little good unless they are carried on in a fair spirit on either side, with the sole object on the part of both of the debaters of clearing away prejudices, and of eliciting truths. It is because I believe that Mr. Belfort Bax and myself are both animated by this spirit, and have both au fond an intense desire that the truth should prevail in the interests of Social-Democracy, that I feel these interests will be best served by thrashing out further this really important question of whether sex distinctions should be consigned to the same limbo as class distinctions, under the new order of Social-Democracy, towards the realisation of which we are all working. I cannot help regretting that the word "feminism" has crept into the debate. It is a word of which we have no need in England, and which we might very well have left in its native land, France, where it was coined by men to express the contemptuous lack of understanding of the Boulevard for a phase of strenuous belief on the part of some French men and women, that woman possessed other functions and aspirations outside those of sex; in a word, was a human being as well as a female. It is a lop-sided expression, and leads to lopsided thinking, just as the term "masculinism" might do, if used in a similar connection. Where education, professions, political rights and public duties are concerned, there is no necessity to emphasise sex; we all meet on the common ground of human beings, having common human interests. 1897, when speaking at the Women's Congress in Brussels, I made a similar protest against the word "feminism," suggesting that we should substitute for it "humanism," as the advancement of humanity, and not of one sex over another, was the aim and object of the women at that time assembled in The late Madame Potonié Pierre, one of the most large-minded among the French workers in the cause of equal rights for women, felt the justice of my plea, and wrote several articles in the same spirit; but the word "feminism" proved too attractive to the esprit gaulois, and it still reigns supreme in French bourgeois circles, and threatens to invade England.

As Mr. Belfort Bax truly remarks, the questions of Mutterrecht, or of the Matriarchate in remote ages, and of Vaterrecht, or of the Patriarchate, in more recent times, are too large to enter on in a magazine article; but may not a period of Equal Rights for the two sexes be the evolutionary form which is destined to supersede the two imperfect forms of social evolution already alluded to? As evolutionists, we must be reaching out into and working towards the future, just as much as deciphering and learning from the past; and as there is little doubt, when we attempt to study the chaos of existing social and political institutions, that the

Patriarchate has, equally with the Matriarchate, failed adequately to fulfil its functions, so the presumption may fairly be that in the future domination may be succeeded by equality.

To come now to the details of Mr. Belfort Bax's reply to my criticism of one of his "fallacies," I regret that he considers I employ an unworthy "quibble" when refuting his argument that biological differences are the governing factors between men and women in every relation of life. "quibble" seemed to me to cover the whole ground, as proving, without need of further serious argument, that organic and biological differences between the sexes need not necessarily be insisted upon in the realm of mental activities, or in that of most physical activities. A woman can, for instance, diagnose a disease, give a legal opinion, write a newspaper article or a novel, paint a picture, shoot straight if her country and home are attacked, and record a vote in a ballot-box, without betraying her sex. Does not this go to prove that she has a life distinct from her sex life, just as a man has a life distinct from his sex life, and that to argue therefore that women should not have the chance of wielding political power because "the position between the workman and his wife is of a totally distinct nature from that between two men, one in the position of employer and the other of workman," is to argue beside the question entirely ?

I cannot help thinking Mr. Belfort Bax gives his case away when he writes, "up till recently the presumption (italics mine) of the general unsuitability of women for the exercise of political power has been tacitly or avowedly admitted." It is precisely this "presumption," for it is nothing else, which we have to clear the ground of; and, mixed up as it is with legal, theological and traditional rubbish, the task which reformers and propagandists have set themselves is not an easy one. The whole of English law in the past, as regards women, and much of continental law, is based on the "presumption" that woman is the property of the man, and needs protection by the law in her sole character of property, and not as a human being, having rights and feelings of her own. This legal "presumption" has distorted and placed on a false basis the whole of woman's position as far as social and economic relations are concerned, and has given rise to many other "presumptions" about women's unsuitability for certains functions, as wanting in foundation as the one quoted by Mr. Belfort Bax.

Presume a class or a sex unsuitable for certain functions, withhold from them suitable education, legislate for them so that they shall have no chance of ever fulfilling these functions, and give them a religion which teaches them at every turn they are marked out by divine law for the suffering of oppression and of disabilities, and it will not be surprising if general unsuitability for the fulfilling of these certain functions is the result. Until recently the "presumption" of the general unsuitability of women for the exercise of public administrative power was tacitly or avowedly admitted, but we find them now doing excellent work on all the administrative bodies to which the law allows them to be elected; and they would now be continuing their excellent work on the newly-formed London Borough Councils,

if a reactionary Government, aided by an obsolete House of Lords and Bishops, had not turned them off those Councils. The presumption of women's unsuitability for the exercise of political power has been ably rebutted, not only by women themselves in the States and Colonies, where such power has been entrusted to them, but also by the statesmen who direct the affairs of these countries and colonies, and who are yearly extending the franchise to a larger number of women. New Zealand has admittedly the most democratic and the most socialistically inclined Government in the world; and women there, if they do not "ride the whirlwind," at least aid in directing the storm of human affairs; and that is all, I believe, that women who demand the suffrage aspire to. One after the other, the federated Australian colonies, following the example of South Australia, are granting adult suffrage; and democracy, on the basis of sex-equality, is triumphantly vindicating itself. Even in the exercise of the restricted suffrage for administrative and non-political bodies, which has been granted to the women of Great Britain, they have abundantly proved that their sex brings with it a progressive force, which may be relied on, even in a time of masculine reaction, since the result of a Parliamentary election in 1900, swayed entirely by male electors, spelt "reaction," whilst the result of a London County Council election, five months later, where women voters were on the register, spelt "progress." At the School Board elections, where women have also the right of voting, a progressive majority is also steadily maintained.

Mr. Belfort Bax struck an excellent note at the beginning of his article in the April number of the Social-Democrat, the note of Internationalismin other words, the keynote to Social-Democracy. Having struck that note, he had the whole civilised world before him from which to gather examples and illustrations. I cannot help, therefore, regretting that, when wishing to rebut my assertion that it has been abundantly proved that every extension of the franchise has been followed by a sense of responsibility, he has narrowed down the issue to the "British workman-elector." wider view of the matter, and was tracing the influence of the spread of political power among the masses, at various times and in different countries; and I still contend that, judged from that wider outlook, and removed from the atmosphere of party politics, the extension of the franchise has been followed by an increased sense of responsibility. It must not be forgotten in judging of results, that political freedom without economic freedom is of little value, and that too often the British workman-elector, especially if he be an agricultural labourer, is an economic slave, whose vote has been presented to him by a far-seeing capitalist Government with a full knowledge of its relative worthlessness to the recipient, and its indirect value to the capitalist employer.

As to reactionaries being unanimous against woman suffrage, Mr. Belfort Bax misses the point in Vandervelde's and my argument. They are unanimous against Adult Suffrage, which includes the enfranchisement of all adult women. Many of them, and amongst them, those quoted by Mr. Belfort Bax are half-heartedly in favour of a restricted suffrage, based on a property

qualification, not, of course, because there is any democratic principle involved in such a suffrage, but because they believe the granting of it might strengthen and bolster up for a time their own reactionary policy. Again, Mr. Belfort Bax narrows down his examples of advanced agitators opposed to woman suffrage, to one English Radical whom it pleases to hold eccentric and unscientific views on the subject of the construction of woman's brain, and passes over the names of prominent foreign and colonial Socialists, who are openly working for universal adult suffrage.

Finally, by neglecting to repeat in full the short quotation from Bebel cited by me. Mr. Belfort Bax deprives it of its point, and bases thereon a false deduction. Bebel wrote, "No great movement has ever been accomplished in the world without women having played in it an heroic 1ôle ascombatants and as martyrs." Mr. Belfort Bax quotes this sentence without the five last words, and argues that as, according to Bebel, women have always played a part in politics "therefore the franchise is not necessary to enable really capable and devoted women to exercise an influence on the course of public life." Surely it is not too much to ask that under Democratic Socialism women should no longer be called upon to play the rôle of either combatant or martyr, but might have assigned to her the less heroic, but more socially useful, 1ôle of citizen, enjoying, as such, full and equal rights with her male fellow citizens. If that is not to be the case it is scarcely worth the while of the working woman to stand for Social-Democracy, for it must never be forgotten that it is she who under the New Order has all to gain, while the lady—the parasite of modern society—has all to lose by any economic and social change, and nothing to gain. It is the working woman who under the present social order is the daily combatant and martyr, and it is her lot which, I venture to plead, needs changing more than that of any other section of society. In order to change it effectually, her voice must be heard in the matter, for the rule holds good, "The emancipation of the worker must be accomplished by the worker herself.' It is not until we get the mass of organised working women demanding the suffrage that we shall obtain it in England, for the governing classes here have to be terrorised before they will grant any sweeping electoral reforms. The day when the working women from the East End and the South side of the river shall come in their thousands to Westminster to ask our legislators for political enfranchisement; when the West End shall see, feel and dread the forceful pulsing of the great working East End, pushing forward in its millions, and demanding equal political rights for all-Universal Adult Suffrage-that day may see the beginning in England of the sweeping away of many wornout institutions and superstitions, and may prove to those who are still "sitting on a fence" that the principle of sex-equality in political matters is necessarily involved in Social-Democracy; and that as class distinctions gradually and evolutionally disappear, so sex distinctions-where enlightenment has dispelled their raison d'être, will also disappear, and adult human beings, having worked out their own enfranchisement, social, economic and political, will in the future be able to work, enjoy, and direct

the course of their own affairs, side by side, without biological and organic differences being invoked to forbid such "unsuitable" and revolutionary proceedings.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

P.S.—In proportion as I feel the importance of the subject under discussion, so at the same time I feel my own shortcomings in dealing with it worthily; I would, therefore, beg all Social-Democrats, interested in the question, to read Karl Pearson's article on "Women and Socialism," in his volume "The Ethic of Freethought," and a little halfpenny pamphlet by Jules Destrée, a Belgian Member of Parliament, called "Le Socialisme et les Femmes." This latter pamphlet I should be very glad to translate for English readers if a demand were made for it.

D. B. M.

THE TRUE USE OF BOOKS.

The use of reading, says Bacon, is for delight, ornament, and ability; for delight in private life and retirement, for ornament in discourse, and for

ability in judgment and the conduct of business.

All literature of high rank is capable of being divided into two classes—the literature of instruction, and the literature of power and of inspiration. As a rule, scientific works belong to the first class, poetry and belles-lettres to the second. But it is not always possible to draw a dividing line rigidly between these classes. Thus, for instance, in history, the life of Agricola in Dr. Smith's Dictionary belongs to the literature of instruction; but, as told in the pages of Tacitus, it belongs to the literature of power. But, turning to practical advice, his first advice to readers was to follow their natural bent, and not to work against the grain.

Readers should avoid manuals—those supposed royal roads and short cuts to learning, which turn out finally to be such very long roads, remembering Bacon's saying that distilled books are like common distilled waters, poor and flashy things. They should avoid too much reading of newspapers, of magazines, and of second-rate novels. Nothing is more ruinous to the memory than to pour through it a stream of ideas which are not intended to be retained. Far more is learnt by one good book well mastered, than by a hundred inferior books merely read through. The Romans had a

proverb which bids us beware of the man of one book.

Readers, too, should avoid discursive and aimless reading, the vice (as Emerson calls it) of intellectual dissipation. They should read reflectively, and when thus reading, the benefit obtained is not to be measured by the ideas consciously carried away. If, for instance, history is studied, not in the common manuals, but in the works of the great historians, by students who aim continually at getting a connected view of events, as an orderly process of evolution, it is to them truly "Philosophy teaching by Example," it is a "lamp to guide us," the source of political and social instruction.

-From Woolwich Comradeship.

WOMAN—HER QUALITY, ENVIRONMENT AND POSSIBILITY.

III .- Conclusion.

WE may now consider: How? How to change poverty for plenty, slavery for freedom, misery for happiness? Socialists know that it is idle to work with a negative programme, that is to say, we do not make a direct attack upon special localities where poverty is chronic, where vice is rampant, where intemperance is common. We do not seek by local reforms to patch up a national system of economics and politics which is putrid inside and corrupt outside. We do not propose a raid on houses of ill-fame, or to nab the denizens of gambling dens, or to close the front door of liquor saloons. It would be senseless from our knowlede of the cause of these pests. We would not drive a leper through the streets from hiding-place to hidingplace; or a nest of villains from one den to find them again snugly ensconced in other quarters, better quarters; nor would we chase liquor selling from front door to back door and back again; neither spend a little labour with the left hand to relieve one poor family in distress while we were working with the right hand with our might and main to degrade ten families and reduce them to poverty.

It is not only idle, but, when one knows the cure for social poverty, sin and crime, it is blasphemous. A positive programme, a sane method, is to elevate the general estate to the firm ground and clear air, high above the festering slime of vile conditions. Houses of prostitution batten on the poverty of women who are degraded by dependence. Women have forfeited their rights, they are not in possession of their birthright.

Woman's suffrage is her fortress of power, with which to storm the national treasury in the interest of the race by the regular appropriation to wives and mothers of a stated salary. But the vast majority of women silently, indifferently accepted the affront. Alas, her low estate, her ill-paid labour, her unequal rights under the law, are loud-mouthed proof that man has ignominiously failed to make good his false claim of superiority. A master may protect his slave, may protect his dog, but one free born must protect himself.

Woman's social function is to conserve social power, to hold the advance made by the race, to stand on guard and protect the treasure, to hold the structure. Man's social function is to advance; to beat new pathways up the steeps; to secure higher heights and in their fastnesses to seat new civilisations. Together men and women build new nations. Firmer, freer, richer, grander, more beautiful and diviner futures for the race.

Ill-conditioned women, who but reflect the crimes of society upon defenceless individuals, will return to paths of rectitude when society accepts the fact of its own share in their guilt, and, too, as it is not enough merely to repent, society must act up to the conviction of its repentance. No, it is not reform that is needed, it is a new birth. A new social birth.

The present social decay is a stench in the nostrils of every healthful person, and as the pure and stately lily is born of the blackest of slimy mire so may we expect the birth and bloom of the new nation to be crowned with a glory in correspondence as the damnation of to-day is deep.

With the introduction of a positive programme of economic and political democracy, seciety would drop off its great evils and individuals their petty vices; with the morning sunlight of a new civilisation the black mists of the old will roll forever away. The change may be made, is being made. The

Socialist nation is now in the darkness of the gestation period, it has had its quickening, its conscious conception.

Shades of the fathers, turn your faces for shame in your graves. Or at the ballot-box the working class, with such numbers of the rich as are not lost to the love of public liberty, to the demand of social justice, to the defence of human rights, may register a holy vow that the public power shall be used once more for the public weal. That as our fathers, whom we delight to honour, gave to us political liberty so will we leave as a heritage to our children industrial liberty.

The Socialist programme is so simple, so highly moral and so supremely necessary. Now a few people control all the capital of the country. Then all the people would own and control all the capital of the country. Now a few rich persons gain a personal benefit from our social power. Then the whole people would gain the benefits and advancement of our national economic and political power. Now social injustice reigns, then equality would be established. Now our national life perishes, then it would be awakened to new life.

Surely it is as simple and as necessary that the municipality should own the street car service as that it should own the streets. We could as greatly improve its convenience to the public as our streets are now a convenience over and above the public utility of the old turnpike, toll-bridge, and bridle-path of times long gone past.

Everybody may plainly see that in matters of public utility Socialism is simply an extension of our accustomed municipal, State, and national privileges. In what may be classed as the extractive industries, such as coal and ore mining, oil production, &c., it requires no stretch of public thought to comprehend the ownership and conduct of those universal necessities. But if it appears that management on so comprehensive a scale could not be extended to the manufactories proper, that they are too intricate to admit of a central directing authority, I reply that, however short of comprehending the possibility of national management may fall, the fact remains that all the great industries are now largely so controlled and conducted.

Will you join our ranks, you proud daughters of New England sires? You have a fire of independence running through your veins which will well serve liberty's great cause. You know that work is honourable, nay more, by your thrifty mothers you are well taught that idleness corrupts. But what you do not know is why your proud heart rebels against "going out to work." Come with us, we hold the key to that fair and free domain. The

Socialist nation is the state you unconsciously seek. You are equal heirs to the knowledge, you have a rightful place in the ranks. Come in the strength of your pride and beauty. Come, together we will unlock the door of the future.

Young women of the west, daughters of the pioneers, you with your broad minds in happy keeping with your vast plains, with the native force of your towering Rockies, you are already in line—you have conquered your suffrages; you do not need a rest, the ecstatic air of your glorious climate will sustain you up the steeps while together we conquer our birthright of economic equality. Come with us!

To the young women of the north, the south, and the east, to you who have come from foreign shores to seek your fortunes and to gain new liberties in this new world, you will find a cosmopolitan sentiment among Socialists. We are at home in any quarter of the globe. Our country is the world, and our nation the race. Our efforts are given wherever we may be to emancipate the wage-slaves from bondage. Come, add your heroic courage, your splendid daring of the old world customs, to the building of the new state. Let us push forward its foundations, fix secure its cerner stone and raise its eternal structure promised since the Son of Man first breathed the love of man. Come, we long to welcome you. Ceme with your keen minds and your sunny hearts. Come ye of every tongue, of every clime.

Under the wage system in which you play the silent part, it is your labour, your patient love and labour, your smiles and tears, your tender trusted heart and hand, that comforts the little hearts, heals the little wounds, that leads those tiny pink feet up the paths to sturdy girlhood and to robust boyhood. Your care, your hope, your prayer that comes to the crushing sorrow of seeing your beautiful girl of 14 years, who should go to school, to college, to learn some special art, sent by poverty's gaunt hand to the shop. Your handsome boy with his fine brain, fitted for high duties, for great and holy responsibilities, stripped of the training which by human right is his, he is sent to the mill, the mine, to sea, to any place where he may eke out the family bread.

I want to ask you women of the United Kingdom one question: Is there so base a mother in this great country who would choose a slave's life for her children? Is there a mother to her high-born privilege so untrue in all this land that she will not aid in the emancipation of the working class? I think not. I know the mother's heart; I know the mother's agony over the dread future of her children; I know the bounty of the universal mother love. Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find. Do not think the finding shall come in the unseen future. It is in the everlasting now that the stream of noble enthusiasm, the privilege of the lofty work, the attainment to impersonal endeavour is the reward.

I know when woman is given the knowledge of the Socialist cause she will take its power; she will hold up the hands, she will bind up the wounds, she will cheer up the hearts, to the fere and to the rear, she will be found on duty in the fray until the victory is won. The future is ours.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

FEDERATION Versus ISOLATION.

In a previous article I spoke, perhaps somewhat obscurely, concerning those vast unutilised militant democratic forces, Radicalism, Labour and Social-Democracy. I use the word unutilised advisedly and in a practical sense. I consider that, however convincing, when viewed from selected standpoints, or however refined and subtle the intellectual sophistries of experts and zealots in enunciating particular dogmas and conceptions concerning those great problems, evolved by the inexorable logic of accomplished facts, during this and past ages—unless all this mental labour can be directed to the attainment of that great and desirable consummation, viz., the vindication of the legislative functions of Democracy, we have for years past been fighting the air and wasting our energies in vain and profitless effort, embittered by acrimonious recriminations.

The true apostle of progress cannot fail to deplore the disintegrating influence of individualism; to him it appears to be the result of the exploitation of egoism, and his indignant protests, doubtless, have the effect of intensifying the tenacity with which conscientious theorisers cling to those postulates which are the outcome of the researches of a lifetime. Since the earliest days of recorded history the consciousness of intellectual power has tended to the development of assertive personalities, and any attempt to marshal the educated forces of democracy into line, for concerted action, might, possibly, cause many, like Job, to exclaim: "But I have understanding as well as you; I am not inferior to you." The fact must be recognised that vast and mighty influences militate against the effective concentration of the offensive forces of democracy; but when we consider and recognise the utter inutility and impotence of the sporadic efforts of groups of doctrinaires to contend successfully against the ever-increasing influence of plutocracy, I think, that without in any way abnegating those dominant vital principles or earnest moral convictions, it is our duty to endeavour to attain such an effective federation of democratic forces as to place us in that commanding political position to which our numerical preponderance entitles us.

The effective consolidation of sectional democracy would not be beyond the possibility of attainment could it be thoroughly understood that neither one or the other of the progressive organisations need, in any way, abandon its independence on the right and power of acting in accordance with those well-considered and approved principles which form the fundamental basis on which it has built up its claim to the cohesion and confidence of its adherents; neither need it follow that an honest endeavour on the part of Radicals, Labour-unionists and Social-Democrats to secure a sound and practical basis of effective political action would produce such a widespread feeling of antagonism or violate the letter or spirit of any genuine democratic

body to such an extent, as to render co-operation impossible. A recognition of the autonomy of each section would, I consider, operate beneficially in purifying the democratic executive forces from much of that stolid egoism which has so long clogged the wheel of progress. An unbiassed and patient investigation as to the legislative enactments necessary to place every section or stratum of our great social agglomeration on an equal political footing, irrespective of wealth or class interest, should unite every straggling atom of democracy and form such a bond of brotherhood as to induce all true progressives to abandon those minor and academic controversies which have, hitherto, been the great obstacle to that cordial understanding so essential to concerted and effective action.

Taking bond fide Radicalism in its relation to other democratic organisations, and subjecting it to an intelligent analysis, I think it must be conceded that its influence in shaping and developing the progressive enactments of the past century has not been altogether comtemptible or ineffective. The apotheosis of Radicalism was the sequential incidence of political The influence of the great French Revolution on the bureaucratic officialism of monarchical Europe had the effect of demonstrating that the mighty physical force of unenfranchised democracy had awakened to a consciousness of its irresistible power and must be quickly recognised and dealt with. Of the two great political parties of the early part of the nineteenth century, the Whigs had the prescience and astuteness to perceive that so long as an unrepresentative Government persisted in sitting on the safety valve of democratic aspiration and placed a greater physical force outside than that which was inside the constitution, it was, at any time, liable to a catastrophe similar to that which had overwhelmed the French monarchy. It cannot then be said that it was due to an exalted and generous appreciation by the Whig Government of the rights and privileges of the toiling masses of their countrymen that the great Reform Act of 1832 was conceded. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and it is to the salutary operations of this law that we are indebted for an instalment of constitutionalism which, if somewhat meagre, was the precursor of those more comprehensive concessions of 1867 and 1884. There is no finality to evolution, and it was this insertion of the thin edge of the wedge that opened the way and indicated certain possibilities which, to a limited extent, were utilised by the more aspiring and progressive spirits, who were successively designated Liberals, Advanced Liberals and Radicals.

It might, possibly, be quoted by conscientious and uncompromising members of the Labour and Social-Democratic parties, as an obstacle to future co-operation, that the Radicals have hitherto acted in conjunction with capitalists and monopolists in their endeavours to promote progressive and ameliorative legislation in the interests of the toiling masses. Before we condemn them on this indictment it is well that we should fully and fairly consider the circumstances under which they acted in this respect. Up to the present date there has never been any reasonable hope or prospect that the more advanced sections of democracy would consent to sink the memories of past rivalries and antagonisms for the purpose of taking concerted action

against the common enemy. We ought now to know that those antagonisms were more theoretical than actual, seeing that we are all striving for the attainment of the same great and desirable result; but in taking what they considered to be a practical view of the situation the Radicals, perhaps wrongly, adopted the Jesuitical motto, "The end justifies the means," and in unsophisticated faith acted with those whose personal interests were best served by wrecking or mutilating those very measures they professed to advocate. Fides Punica.

The capitalist, as a capitalist, has always been looked upon as a bête-noir by all true Socialists, but as an individual we cannot withhold from him that amount of political power which is claimed by every elector in the United Kingdom. Roughly speaking, there are about seven million electors on the register, each of whom, therefore, justly claims to exexcise a seven-millionth of the political power of the nation; but the capitalist is something more than an atomic unit. He endeavours, and that successfully, by means of his wealth, to establish a dominant control over the various contributory channels of industry, and the payment of wages is expected to secure something more than their equivalent in labour; the political conscience of each employee is supposed to be utterly subservient to him as an employer. He thus becomes an exponent of the corrupt system of capitalism.

But the question arises, Are we justified in refusing to act with any duly qualified member of the community in his individual capacity as a politician? If we would decide tolerantly and consistently in this matter, recognising the theoretic principle of universal equality, I do not think we can deny to any person his just quota of right, even though he be a capitalist; neither should we refuse to act with him when our views on any particular subject coincide. What we must endeavour to do is to educate and organise democracy to such a standard of independence as to ensure that in all class legislation, recording vote for vote, numerical superiority may be vindicated, and any attempted intimidation by capitalists frustrated. The Radicals, in the past, should have attempted to strengthen themselves by initiating a modus vivendi with the more advanced democratic forces, which would have enabled them to assume such a position of independence as to insist that all progressive measures should be passed in their integrity.

With regard to the labour legislation during the last quarter of a century, there is one fact that has become apparent. The labour organisations have become a recognised force and it has been deemed politic to make a pretence of legislating in the interests of the industrial classes, but when we look at the quality and composition of the Legislature which has attempted to deal with these measures we must cease to wonder why the results have not been more satisfactory from the werkman's point of view. There cannot be any effective rearrangement of our labour system until the working classes themselves awaken to a sense of their responsibility and shake off the hopeless torpidity and indifference which has hitherto proved so obstructive and disheartening to the efforts of the I.L.P and other kindred organisations.

There are object-lessons sufficient to enlighten the most ordinary intelligence, if not settled down to the stagnancy and degradation induced by pessimistic indifference. Labour is the source and root of all wealth; the resources of our earth cannot be developed and utilised, except by the sweat of the brow of the worker. It is, therefore, obviously unjust and morally illegal that such colossal fortunes as have latterly been accumulated should become the emolument of individuals, whilst the workers live their lives of sordid poverty, debarred from the enjoyment of those luxuries or even comforts which their labour has produced.

The disorganised system of agitation, which has latterly been in vogue, has only had the effect of producing a slight variation in that nauseous flow of political balderdash which has hitherto been so successful in duping those who will not take the trouble to inform themselves concerning the merits of the great interests at stake. Electioneering is the curse of politics; so long as the ascendency of a party is the sole object aimed at by politicians and so long as the working classes look for their regeneration to a Parliament composed of men who are jealously safeguarding their own interests and those of their friends, it will be hopeless to expect any substantial improvement in the condition of the toiling masses. The present generation has been living in a fool's paradise, we have flattered ourselves with the idea that the cause of civilisation and progress has been advancing by leaps and bounds; we have freed the press and extended the franchise, but we do not appreciate the responsibilities we have assumed. In what way has humanity at large benefited by these vaunted achievements? I think it has been demonstrated that the press, in the hands of an unscrupulous plutocracy, has become the means of demoralising and undermining those honourable aspirations which are so essential to the development and working of selfgoverning institutions; and the extended exercise of the franchise has only resulted in raising the ignis-fatuus of a bastard imperialism which has debauched the national conscience and placed sound domestic legislation without the pale of practical politics. And yet the ineptitude of an uneducated electorate would be no justification for narrowing the political arena by revoking those great enfranchising Acts of the nineteenth century. However incapable the majority of the people may be, we dare not revert to oligarchism; a vast physical force, of low intellectual calibre, deprived of its constitutional voice, could only obtain redress for real or imaginary grievances by revolution and bloodshed. If constitutionalism is to be maintained, democratic vitality must be induced by a palpable improvement in the physical condition of the masses; not until then can an intellectual improvement be expected.

We are thus brought face to face with the fact that the time has arrived when those time dishonoured social barriers must be broken through or swept aside, and it is to Social-Democracy that we look for enlightenment as to the possibilities of attaining this long-desired result. There have been many absurd and grotesque ideas prevalent concerning the aims and objects of Socialism; by some it has been stated that Socialists wish to confiscate all property, and then share out equally all round; it has also, with equal

sincerity, been averred that they seek to realise the ideal pourtrayed in Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." However ridiculous such statements may appear, they have doubtless obtained credence amongst a certain ignorant and prejudiced section. But experience has taught us that any attempt to enforce laws having for their object the coercion or enslavement of the conscience, or to fetter the right of free and independent action (within the lines defined by moral rectitude) must, from its primal inception, be doomed to failure.

Pure Socialism teaches us that it is our duty to insist that no person, striving for an existence, shall be handicapped by social disability. The possession of wealth, and consequent assumption of social superiority, should not confer on any person an undue advantage during the struggle of life, in which it should be every one's duty to participate. It likewise teaches a more stringent observance of our duty to our neighbour, as prescribed in the decalogue, and would promote, by a closer and more appreciative intercourse the Universal Brotherhood of nations, thus rendering war a remote possibility. The nationalisation and municipalisation of great monopolies, such as railroads, coal mines, water and gas supply, tramways, &c., is a Socialist aspiration, the realisation of which would place the profits accruing from these undertakings to the credit of the community at large.

In grasping and welding together the true essentials of democratic unity, with a view to sequential preponderance, it is necessary, if we would avoid ignominious failure, that we should recognise that it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the trotting out of those pet theories, so dear to debating societies, and the dangling of illusive ideals before an uneducated proletariat can only have the effect of creating a chaos of conflicting and impracticable aspirations, equally undesirable and unattainable, the failure of which must inevitably conduce to the discredit of progressive legislation. "Beware of false prophets," and also beware of those aspiring politicians with honeyed phrases and marvellously-elaborated prospectuses; their bamboozling and obfuscating tactics have too long been successful, and the periodical swing of the political pendulum has only had the result of varying the list of the recipients of official emoluments. The bulwark of plutocracy during the last ten or fifteen years has been the utter ignorance and lack of stamina on the part of the enfranchised millions, whose disorganisation and apathetic indifference render them ready tools in the hands of those wellfinanced electioneering agencies which have latterly dominated our national destinies.

If we are to look for a remedy of this long-standing anomaly, it is not only necessary that we should insist on a thorough and unbiassed educational system, but likewise that a unified democratic organisation should be effected, which would be so palpably cohesive and efficient as to command the respect and confidence of the intelligence resulting from education. With a dawning comprehension the masses will look to the more intellectual section in sympathy with their requirements who, by capacity and proved fidelity, are entitled to their confidence, to initiate and promulgate such a propaganda as will be worthy of universal adoption. This means the formation of a school

of honest and reliable politicians, looking to an educated electorate for their mandate, and proof against the social blandishments and illicit influences which have hitherto proved so fatal to the efficiency of so many of our so-

called working-class representatives.

Much has been done in the past by earnest men, whose unappreciated work still remains on record. Such men during their lifetime receive small recognition or honour; it has been reserved for their successors to fertilise the soil and fructify the seeds, which were sown in faith and unswerving devotion, in such disheartening and hopeless environments. The work which lies before us requires above all things circumspection and perfect integrity. Democracy must study well the lessons taught by history, and avoid the numerous pitfalls which will beset its path. If, in the process of organisation, it becomes corrupted, it will, deservedly, lose the national confidence and incur eternal contempt and obloquy. It thus behoves the rank and file to constitute themselves as vigilance committees in order that they may steer clear of the possibility of being wrecked on the rocks of personal or sectional ambitions and interests.

John Goodman.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.

CAPTAIN DREYFUS has published a book in which he gives the history of his captivity, and he also publishes the diary which he kept and the letters which he wrote to his wife and those which he received from her. (We are inclined to think that these might have been omitted, but at all events a Frenchwoman's love letters read rather better than those of the Englishwoman which have been recently published). The story disclosed is a very sad one. But we must take care not to be too pharasaical. Every Englishman can see that Dreyfus was badly used, but if we could read an account of the origin of our war in South Africa we should not have much to boast of. We might well take a lesson from the small band of heroic Frenchmen, MM. Picquart, Pressensé, Jaurès, Trarieux, and Zola, who worked so hard to obtain a revision of the sentence. And if we are indignant at the French sending a convicted traitor to Devil's Island, what should we feel when our Government sends prisoners of war to a pestilential and plague-stricken station in India?

CHINA INDEMNITIES.—The Peking correspondent of the associated press hears from an authoritative source that the Chinese indemnities for war expenses, exclusive of the claims of private individuals and missions, have been fixed as follows: Russia, 360,000,000 marks (about \$90,000,000); France, 260,000,000 marks (about \$65,000,000); Germany, 240,000,000 marks (about \$60,000,000); England, 90,000,000 marks (about £4,500,000).

BLACKS AND WHITES

LEST Bax might think me tardy in stating my case, I would say right now that I am more accustomed to appear either on the first or last page of the Social-Democrat and flank with my flights of fancy the more matter-of-fact contributions of my prosaic comrades; yet, having in a playful moment tickled Bax between the ribs, and being calmly invited by him to toe the line, I do so with the best grace I can, and with an air of jauntiness that is altogether assumed. If in this short statement of my views I show any symptoms of frivolity, seem inclined to indulge in a wilder flight than ever before, or cast fugitive glances at the cap and bells, I would have Bax attribute it to the weakness of the flesh rather than the unwillingness of the spirit.

The position which Bax assumes is, I believe, this: That an action, or a. course of conduct which, under ordinary circumstances, is wrong, may be, and in fact very often is, under other circumstances, right; that two blacks do "very often" make a white Every collection of human beings, and indeed, every member of the community, recognises a certain code of morals which regulates the conduct of the individual, the tribe, or the nation. we know that murder, theft, and arson are wrong, are evil, or are blacks, and that truth, justice, and honour are right, are good, or are whites. also know, or at least some of us, that two blacks do not make a white, or, in other words, that what is evil is evil, and cannot under any conceivable circumstances be good. Therefore, holding the act of murder to be wrong we oppose it, whether we speak of regicide or homicide, capital punishment or the Transvaal war. Murder is evil, and so under all forms we attack it. Believing theft to be contrary to our idea of moralty, we condemn equally the pickpocket and the capitalist, the land-grabbing nation and the stock-Murder and theft are blacks, and what is black cannot, under any conditions, be white any more than it may become ultra-marine or sky-blue.

Bax, however, has told us more than once that this is a "threadbare fallacy," and has given us to understand that he would scorn to take refuge under it, were he never so hard up for an argument to support his case, and, as it appears to me that he is never so badly off for sound argument as when he writes on this subject, I quite believe him.

If we accept the view commonly held—and majorities are right sometimes—our duty is set plainly before us. We can form our opinions as to what is right or wrong, and allow our conduct to be guided by our own code of ethics. If, on the other hand, we accept the statement of Bax, we become as rudderless vessels on the trackless ocean, and robbery and justice, falsehood and honour, no longer have any meaning for us, since, on occasion, it may be just to steal and honourable to lie.

When there is really no case to attack, one is at a loss to know where

to point the guns. What are the "arguments" that Bax brings before us? "In estimating the relative goodness or badness of two parties," he says, "it is no use taking account of the bad (or good) qualities they possess in common. The two sets of badnesses, the two blacks, mutually destroy one another for the purpose of judgment as between the two." The last sentence, sir, is intended as furnishing conclusive proof that two blacks make a white, and as, in the words of Bax himself, it is equally of no use taking account of the good qualities possessed in common, we must take it that he also wishes us to believe that two whites make a black! Now, how does Bax know that some of the attributes of these individuals are bad—are blacks? By comparing them with his own code of morals. And by doing so he discovers the two sets of badnesses—the two blacks; but where the devil does he find the white? After this appeal to blind faith, no one will be surprised to hear that another argument produced is a "dogma of the Catholic Church"! Need I say more?

Bax instances his friend who holds it to be a wrong to do a physical injury to a fellow creature, yet who, if he were attacked by a gentleman of the road, would knock his assailant down. Well, I may believe that two blacks can never make a white without accepting Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance. Sometimes we are confronted by a dilemma and compelled to decide upon which horn we will be impaled. We have to choose between two evils, yet, though we choose the lesser, it in no wise alters the fact that it is evil, however necessary that evil may be. If Bax's friend could achieve his end without inflicting a physical injury on his assailant, he would do so. So probably would Bax; and why? Because to injure a fellow creature is wrong. Were it not so, Bax and his friend would continue to knock down gentlemen of the road when other means were available to serve the object they had in view.

I believe that an appeal to brute force is wicked; yet, if the occasion demanded it, I trust that I would be prepared to march, rifle on shoulder, by the side of Bax, ready to assist in establishing the brotherhood of man at the point of the bayonet. Why? Because if all other means had failed, if an appeal to force was the last resort, I would choose the lesser of two evils, conscious the while that the course I adopted was only in a less degree evil than that which I rejected. So while I believe in the principle of adult suffrage, I would, with Hyndman, withhold the franchise from the people, because by doing so I should, at present, choose the lesser evil.

Bax may say that we both mean the same thing, and that I am simply splitting hairs; if so, I would refer him to our London speakers. Harry Quelch can bear me witness that again and again our speakers, after talking of abolishing capital and profit, are told that a week previously some Socialist lecturer said that we did not want to "abolish" capital, we wanted to "nationalise" it. Useless to say that they both meant the same thing, that it was merely hair-splitting to discuss it; the impression gets abroad that Socialists don't know where they are, and the movement suffers because speakers of a certain school assume to be authorities on a science of which they are sadly ignorant.

Bax says that two blacks very often make a white; I say that they never do, and, though probably we should find ourselves adopting the same course of conduct despite the difference in our opinions as to what constitutes right and wrong, I hold that the subject is of sufficient importance to be discussed at length. If the position which Bax assumes is sound, then any action which we may feel compelled on occasion to adopt is, not merely iustifiable, but good. If he is, as I believe, mistaken in his views, then we can follow the tactics which circumstances force us to adopt, recognising that such conduct is not in accordance with our highest ideals, but necessary under existing conditions.

In this article I have carefully refrained from displaying the "brilliant coruscations of wit" which are so dezzling to friend Bax, though I fear me that the world is much the poorer for my self-restraint. If, after making such a sacrifice, I still fail to make my meaning plain to our comrade, then I will conclude that my forte is rhyme, not reason, and, after scratching "Victory or Death" from my shield, I will write thereon "Tennyson or Tupper," and edge my way carefully back to the first page of the Social-ERN. T. COOMBE. DEMOCRAT.

THE ECONOMIC DECAY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Contemporary Review for May contains a powerful article by the author of "Drifting" (whose previous articles have been reviewed in the Sccial-Democrat) on the above subject. We regret that our space does not permit us to deal with it more fully.

The writer says that the decay of a mighty empire, which spectacle is at present afforded by Great Britain, with the whole world as spectators, is perhaps the grandest, and at the same time the saddest, spectacle. He urges the necessity of immediate reforms, without which the Empire will rapidly drift to certain ruin.

We are regarded with universal envy and hatred, deeply rooted, not only in foreign rulers and politicians, but in the broad masses in foreign

The time of dynastic and religious wars is past. The lust of gain is the mainspring of the policy of nations, because wealth is power and power is wealth. The tendency towards national aggressiveness, known as jingoism, nationalism, pan-Germanism, and pan-Sclavism, are symptoms of impending national or racial wars on pressing economic grounds. The wealth of a nation exposes it to aggression, consequently the maintenance of our Empire depends on our ability to keep open communication on the seas between our different possessions. The command of the sea has been wrested in turn from all the great commercial nations by those which succeeded them. Naval supremacy, once destroyed, is destroyed for ever. The result would be the decline or fall of our Empire.

English, American, and German seamanship are of equally high standing. The command of the sea may consequently pass from us to Germany or America, because the longest national purse can construct the strongest fleet. Wealth is the material basis of the Empire. If that be destroyed the fall

of the Empire will follow.

English wealth is fast decreasing, and we are living on our capital instead of upon our income, the increase or decrease of which can be largely gauged by: the increase or decrease of our shipping, the products of our rural and manufacturing industries, mineral products, trade and shipping

profits, and the interests on foreign investments.

Our rural industries are decaying; in 30 years 4,000,000 acres (sufficient to maintain 1,000,000 families) have gone out of cultivation. This explains the depopulation of rural districts, the steady flow of emigration, the terribly overcrowded state of our towns, and the fall in the value of rural land.

The writer quotes statistics which show that while agriculture is rapidly decreasing in England, it has only slightly decreased in France, and shows a decided increase in Germany. He also proves that while our prolific soil can produce 50 per cent. more corn per acre that our agriculture is rapidly decaying, while that of France is prosperous and Germany's flourishing.

Although protective duties may possibly explain why French and German farmers are able to grow corn profitably when British farmers cannot do so, British farmers should be able to raise profitably potatoes and other vegetables, pork, eggs, butter, fruit, &c., since they are able to place their produce on the market without the cost of additional transport, &c., before coming to market. Yet they are fast decaying.

Our imports of vegetables, fruit, sheep, pigs, horses, dairy produce, &c., show such a rapid expansion as to prove that their production is not profit-

able but rapidly decreasing.

In 1899, we imported timber to the value of £25,000,000. Our climate is most favourable to timber growing, and with judicious afforestation we might in time be able to purchase timber to the value of £10,000,000 in this country. Magnificent forests might and should cover the barren wastes of Ireland and Scotland. They now represent the destruction of national capital worth probably £100,000,000.

Germany and France produce sugar to the value of £30,000,000. We produce none. Germany produces its own supply, and exports besides sugar to the value of £11,000,000. Our bill for imported sugar was

£18,000,000 in 1898.

The writer claims that the natural conditions are more favourable than in either France or Germany, and asks, why are our rural industries decaying in spite of these favourable conditions? Can anything be done to restore

them to prosperity?

Our manufacturing industries are decaying as fast as agriculture. Politicians have told us that Great Britain was an industrial country, that foreign countries could feed us more cheaply than we could ourselves, and that we could pay for food imports with manufactured exports. But our food imports are increasing while our exports of manufactured articles is decreasing.

There are three ways of paying for the quantities of manufactured articles received from abroad: (1) By exports of British produce; (2) by trade profits; (3) by payments out of capital. Probably the largest proportion of these pay-

ments comes out of our national capital.

It is not only in staple industries that we are losing ground, but also in those in which technical skill is required. In these the foreigner is ousting the British manufacturer. The decrease in such articles would be still more formidable were it not for the presence of the foreigner with us. The London Post Office Directory shows a preponderance of foreigners in our technical industries.

The writer proceeds to show that our output of copper, tin, lead and silver is rapidly getting exhausted, which should warn us as to the future of our other mineral products.

Against our huge exports of coal we have to set rapidly increasing

imports of other minerals. Our imports of food and manufactured articles are growing out of all proportion. We cannot rely on our rural or manufacturing industries for our yearly foreign indebtedness. Our mineral products are liable to exhaustion and in any case they only contribute the trifling sum of £4,000,000 towards the settlement of this indebtedness. Since 1873 our trade with Germany, Belgium and Holland has decreased by 21.6 per cent., while in the same period those nations have increased their trade with us by no less than 68.5 per cent. It follows that these nations have not only succeeded in taking away a large share of our trade with them, but have invaded our country with their goods.

Even in our own Colonies our trade is decaying, while German and American trade is flourishing. In the aggregate trade of the Australasian Colonies, in 14 years we have lost £7,500,000, while the trade of the United

States and Germany has increased by £3,000,000.

International English traders abroad are being beaten all over the world

by our rivals. - Vide Consular report.

In the city foreign bankers are doing a huge business. Among the greatest African merchants are men like Wernher, Beit, Mosenthal, &c.; as financiers Cassel, Mendel, Von Andié. The art dealers and diamond merchants are mostly foreigners. The profitable restaurant trade, again, is mostly in alien hands, like Gatti, Monico, Benoit and Lyons.

Our shipping trade has arrived at its zenith while that of Germany and the United States is rapidly ousting it. In 1873 Germany only possessed one-tenth of the tonnage possessed by Great Britain. Now she has one-sixth. The three fastest liners are German-owned and built. Leading

British owners say it will not pay to compete with them.

Several British steamship lines have lately been sold to the Germans. It is an ominious fact that, beginning with next year, the United States will subsidise their steamship lines in order to capture our shipping industry.

After quoting statistics in support of his assertions, the author asks:—
What will be the outcome of our critical economical position? The outlook is gloomy, for:

(1) There are no indications of the revival of rural industries under

present conditions.

(2) There are indications that under present conditions our manufacturing industries will be destroyed, our shipping industries ruined, our invested capital vanish, and no indications of the expansion of our foreign trade.

Our national income is decreasing while our Imperial administration is growing more wasteful every year. Our sham army costs £20,000,000 a year, and our navy £30,000,000, and the latter is, according to Lord Charles Beresford, less prepared for war than our army was in South Africa.

Our local expenditure, directed by the contractor, the builder, the publican, and similar wise men, has risen from £64,000,000 in 1884 to £103,000,000 in 1898, largely owing to the wastefulness, jobbery and

stupidity of our local authorities.

At our present rate we shall be bankrupt in ten years. Starvation and misery will drive our population in misery to the United States. Great Britain will become a waste and a desert; and a reproach and a byword among the nations.

In another article the causes which have led to our declining decadence will be analysed, after which we shall find the logically indispensable

remedies.

THE GOVERNMENT, THE HOUSE, AND THE COUNTRY.

The current number of the Fortnightly Review contains an able article, under the above heading, in which the present condition of the House of Commons is severely criticised. Mr. Russell considers that the House is rapidly ceasing to be a deliberative assembly. The rights of private members have been encroached upon until practically only one remains—the right of voting for or against the Government. Under Mr. Balfour's management the House has become merely a place for registering the decrees of the Government. Legislation has become impossible. The old-fashioned Tory and most Liberal-Unionists do not regret this. They have no anxiety about their banking accounts. To the bitter cry of the masses they pay no heed. But a time is close at hand when necessity, which knows no law, will assert itself.

In commenting on the attitude of the Government anent the drink question, the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and other social measures, Mr. Russell says that public opinion is flouted and treated with contempt because the Government fears the power of drink at election times.

Mr. Russell is very severe in his strictures concerning the Ministerial action as regards the housing of the people question. The Government obstructs all action in this matter, the importance of which is recognised by all parties. The poor must continue to be herded like swine because, if the rebuilding scheme be carried out, vested interests will suffer. Great is

property!

Local authorities are prevented from buying land in the suburbs for housing purposes by the prohibitive conditions of the Act of last session. Does any sane man, who has read Lord Salisbury's special report as a member of the Royal Commission, believe that the Government of which he is the chief is going to seriously attack this problem, is seriously going to face the ground landlord? Examining the position of the House of Commons, Mr. Russell complains that every scrap of private members' time is appropriated. The old privilege of going into Committee of Ways and Means has been abolished. The Supplementary Civil Service estimates, the most abnormal ever submitted, have been lumped and put as one item—a thing unparalleled in the history of Parliament. The closure is used morning, noon and night, and has even been applied to a vote of £17,000,000, after the discussion of only one item. And after all this coercion applied to the House, what is the result? Two months of the session gone and nothing done but the voting of the Address and the passing of the Civil Service supplementary estimates and certain necessary army and navy votes.

The Unionist Party evidently think things tolerable as they are, but a few more bye-elections like Maidstone will put backbone into the Opposition.

Parliamentary institutions are passing through a supreme trial.

The writer comments on the recent regrettable scenes which have disgraced the House of Commons, and blames the Government for its attitude towards the Irish members, he considering that the incident might easi'y have been avoided by a little tact.

The suggestion to reduce the number of Irish members by 20 is condemned as being the breach of a binding clause in the Act of Union. Such

a Bill would make Home Rule irresistible. It is one thing to face a "one man one vote" proposal and another, and a wholly different thing, in cold blood and out of revenge, to despoil Ireland of what the Act of Union gave her.

Three days only are allotted to Irish Supply. Could anything be more indefensible? Here is a country, governed against the will of five-sixths of its people by England, by men who are hostile to the people of Ireland. The Courts have had to be invoked to stop the illegal procedure of these officials. In a country where public meetings are suppressed, M.P.'s prosecuted, where the land system has broken down through maladministration, where Local Government is on its trial—three days only allotted for the discussion in Supply of what is really the Government of Ireland! Things are not much better for Great Britain, 20 days only being allowed, long discussions on foreign and colonial affairs being involved. The votes for the great State Departments are closured without debate being allowed. The country appears to care for nothing but the South African problem. The war (which the writer considers just) has been mismanaged so as to fill

the minds of thinking people with unutterable disgust.

One thing is quite certain—if matters are allowed to continue as at present, things will happen that will not tend to increase the respect of the country for the House of Commons. Eighty Irish members, hating the English Government, crossing the Channel with a mandate to thwart. obstruct and defeat that Government, cannot be silenced. And they can settle great issues. But for their vote the Miners' Eight Hours Bill would have been defeated. The Wolverhampton Water Bill, a measure which stood in need of all that could be said in its favour, was thrown out. Why? Mr. Chamberlain and Sir H. Fowler supported it. These gentlemen are not beloved by the Irishmen. What do they care about the right or wrong of a thing? Their vote is given in the interests of Ireland. They carried the Miners' Bill--it was good electoral business. They threw out the Wolverhampton Bill because Mr. Chamberlain and Sir H. Fowler supported it. Temporary peace can be obtained—at a price. The great issues of Irish politics are land, education and finance, upon each of which Ireland has a just claim. The undertaking by the Government of legislation on these issues will restore the dignity of the House of Commons.

There are those who look forward to a rearrangement of our institution on a federal basis. They expect the Colonies to come in and the Empire to become a substantial reality. Such an Imperial Parliament would require complete reconstruction. Perhaps the relief, which seems so hopeless, will come in this direction. It will be a glad day which sees the most precious inheritance of a free people saved from the disgrace and humiliation which

appears to be impending.

SLAVERY IN RUSSIA.—The fact that a trade in human beings is still carried on in remote parts of Russia is reported by the Russkiya Viedomosti, which states that at Kolymsk, in Siberia, Russian merchants and officials buy the children of the exiles and thus obtain servants, which are difficult to obtain there. As soon as they can work at all they are forced to perform all the housework, and it is only when they reach 21 that they become free. In one case £5 was paid for a female child. A similar state of affairs prevails in the central parts of Siberia, where a young man whom his owner wished to get rid of was sold by public auction.

WAITING FOR MASSES.

I DIED on April 1, 1867, the very day on which the Exhibition was opened. My life had been a happy one. I had made a fortune in the haberdashery trade and had £1,000 a year. I had given up business in 1840, and when I died I was 77 years old. Not a bad age to die at, and I do not wish to complain of what happened to me.

By my will I left everything to my housekeeper, Mlle. Pauline Flachat, who had been in my service for 45 years and who during my

illness had taken very great care of me.

When I was dying, I heard her say, "Do not be anxious, Adolphus, I will have 500 masses said for your soul."

"Well," I said, "I would not have asked you for them, but thank you.

If it does no good, it can do no harm."

And these were my last words before starting for the next world. was a little bit anxious, I must confess. Not that I was afraid of Hell, for I had always lived a respectable life, but as a respectable man I had enjoyed myself when I was young and I did not repent very much in my old age. So that, all things considered, I expected to have to spend a little time in Purgatory. And so it happened. I stopped half way between Hell and Heaven; it was Purgatory. A jailer took down the usual particulars. "What is your name?"—"Adolphus Robineau."

"What is your business?"—"A retired haberdashery manufacturer." "Your address?-"In Paris, 32, Rue Notre Dame de Lorette, on the

first floor."

"Very well," he said. Then he looked up the case in a big register. "Your record is not a very bad one; there is nothing very serious against you; you will not have to stay long here. Have you got any letters of introduction ?"

"No, I do not think so. But a lady is going to have 500 masses said for

the repose of my soul."

"Oh! then," he said, "you need not worry; you do not want so many; you would get off with 250 masses. You may leave the room, my friend."

And so I was in Purgatory. It is not a bad kind of place; it is an easy kind of life, it is not too hot or too cold, the meals are good, it is very much like life in a provincial town. An official newspaper is published every day and gives the list of those who are going up to heaven; this is, as you can well understand, the great event of the day. My affairs were going on all right on earth. Pauline had gone to the parish church where a curate agreed to say the 500 masses for £20, each mass costing one franc.

"Say them as quick as you can, sir," said Pauline, "for just think of the

poor fellow having to stay in Purgatory."

"Do not be uneasy, Madame," replied the curate, "they will be said as

quickly as possible."

Pauline paid the 500 francs, took her receipt, and went away quite happy. I must say that the curate went to work with a will and for 25 days every day he said a mass for me from 8.30 to 8.45 a.m. The jailor booked it to my credit, for all book-keeping is very carefully done in Purgatory.

But alas! after 25 days the masses suddenly stopped. Now the reason of this is that, in spite of what people say, there are many pious persons in Paris, and so the priests there have too much to do. There are only from 1,500 to

1,800 priests there and they have to say 10,000 to 12,000 masses a day;

they cannot do it, with the best will in the world.

But fortunately a clever middleman thought of this and said to himself: "There is a glut of masses in large towns, and on the other hand there is a scarcity of the same article in the country; so that many good country priests have nothing to do for the greater part of the year. Now, what happens? A priest in the diocese of Paris receives a franc for saying a mass but he cannot find the time to say it; if he is honest, he returns the franc and thus the Church loses the money and the deceased receives no benefit; if the priest is not honest he keeps the franc and does not say the mass, and the deceased still gets no advantage and ecclesiastical honour is injured."

Thus reasoning, this intelligent man went to the overworked priest and said to him: "You have received one franc to say a mass for Chapotin, and

you have no time to say that mass"—

"Quite so," said the priest. "Well, I have found a way of having that mass said, and we three—you, I, and Chapotin—who is staying uneasily in Purgatory—will all profit. You have received 20 sous, keep five, that will be your profit, give me 15 sous, I will keep five as my profit, and I will find some good country priests who will only be too glad to say masses for ten sous."

That is how was formed the "agency for saying masses of Purgatory." Now, the persons who founded that association did not wish to wound either morals or religion, but what frauds and what wrongs have really been done!

It appears that I died in the dull season, so that the priest who took the order for the 500 masses had no other business on hand at the time. But suddenly he got orders for masses from all sides. Many of these were masses in a hurry, and in great demand; some were for a senator, some for a ballet-dancer, and some for a philosopher. Some were masses costing 5 francs, others costing 10 francs, and others even more; and my masses only cost 1 franc each.

The priest, who was a very honest man, said to himself, "I shall never get through those masses myself. I must pass them on to the agent. No sooner said than done. The agent took my masses—there were 475 left—

and divided them as follows between several country priests :-

75 to the curé of Mimizans-sur-Boisse (Indre et Loire).

18 to the curé of la Pétandière (Ille et Vilaine).

40 to the curé of Olivette-en-Payaçon (Hautes Pyrénées).

13 to the curé of Barentin-les-Fontaines (Isère).

84 to the curé of Boustasson (Vaucluse).

245 to the curé of St. Jean de Coconnas (Haute-Garonne).

Total, 475.

The curê of St. Jean de Coconnas had received so many because he said masses for 4 sous each.

You can well understand that I was very pleased at all this. "The priest of my parish," I said, "could not, however much he wished to do so, have said more than one mass a day, but now that six priests are working off my masses things will go first-rate. I shall be prayed for in all parts of France, and the gates of heaven will be opened wide for me."

Eight or ten days after this distribution of my 475 masses I met the

jailer.

"Your business is getting on all right." he said, "I am crediting you every day with three or four masses."

"Three or four!" I answered, "you must get six every day."

"I beg your pardon. I assure you that we only receive three or four."

The jailer was speaking the truth, and this is what was happening on the

earth for my poor masses.

The cures of la Petandière, of Barentin-les-Fontaines, and of Olivetteen-Payaçon were working as worthy priests. They faithfully and regularly said their masses for me. The curé of Olivette even went too quick—his masses only lasted about ten minutes, but I do not complain, for his masses were valid. But unfortunately the other three ecclesiastics, who ought to have got me out of Purgatory, acted very differently.

The Abbé Tricoche, curé of Munizans-sur-Boisse, was a very good man, but he suffered terribly from rheumatism, and for nine months in the year he could not stir from his armchair. Every day, in spite of his suffering, he said, "I must go to-day and say a mass for Robineau." But his physical strength was not equal to his courage; he had to sit in his armchair and to say "I cannot; instead of a mass I will say a short prayer for Robineau's soul." He said the short prayer, he said it with great unction and great fervour, but it was no use; short prayers do not count, it is only masses that are added to one's account.

As to the Abbé Chamblin, curé of Boustasson, he was neither gouty nor rheumatical. He was ardent, indefatigable, passionate, a true member of the Church Militant. He was always fighting against the Protestants of his Department, and he tried his utmost to convert the Lutherans of his district. Then he was correspondent for the district of M. Veuillot's newspaper, the Universe, and, as he was a clever man, his letters were generally published.

In the midst of these glorious fights for the Church and for the Faith, the Abbé Chamblin let my masses alone; yet he had 84 to say and had made no difficulty in receiving the 42 francs which the agent had paid to him. But he had done this before, and had 2,000 or 3,000 masses unsaid; there were about 100 people in Purgatory who kept an eye on the Church of Boustasson, but they never saw anything of the masses there.

Now and then the Abbé Chamblin used to say, 'I believe that I have a lot of masses to say for those poor souls in Purgatory, but a good article in the *Universe* will please the Lord more and will be more useful to the Faith than a mass said in an obscure village church." So, instead of praying

for me, he used to write to M. Veuillot.

However, now and then the Abbé Tricoche and the Abbé Chamblin did say a mass for me, but I never could get the ghost of one from the Abbé Marbouillon, curé of St. Jean de Coconnas, and he had 245 to say for my soul. He takes them at 4 sous a-piece. Well, he might have taken them at one sou for what he did with them. He took them from all sides, having quite made up his mind never to say a single one, and so at the present time he has no less than 52,824 masses to say for the souls in Purgatory.

Now, I have been dead over two years. For two years I have been dragging out a miserable existence in Purgatory; for more than two years I have been looking to get to heaven. I went to see the jailer yesterday,

who told me that I should only stay a short time in Purgatory.

"Well," I said to him. "You are forgetting me."

"It is not our fault," he answered; "we were kindly disposed towards you, but you promised us 500 masses, and we have only received 150. I am quite sure that 200 or 250 would have been enough, but 150 are not enough to clear your account."

And so, because I cannot get 100 masses I shall very probably never get

to heaven.—L. HALÉVY. (Translated by Jaques Bonhomme.)

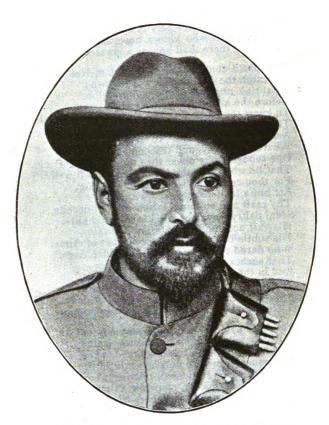
[This trade still goes on, according to a recent correspondence in the Tablet, the most prominent Roman Catholic organ in this country.]

TO LUCIFER.

Dark is the hour that marks the death of fame And sounds the knell of past celebrity. Blessed is he who is content to live The daily round of dull monotony; He dreads no fall who ne'er essays to rise, Nor fears the night who never knows the day. Courageous he who dares defy the heavens And think himself the peer of all the gods; But greater he who knows, however great, Some time there shall appear a greater still.

Now has it come to thee, oh Lord of Hell, To watch the dying embers of renown; To shrink abashed into oblivion's gloom Before the might of thy successor's fame; To know thy name no more shall fill with dread The souls of them that hear of Chamberlain; And—crowning shame—to sit among the saints, Wearing a halo round thy bended head. One thought may cheer thee in thy dire disgrace, That he who takes thy throne deserves it well, For thou compared with him, oh Lucifer, Art but a lucifer compared with Hell. Thy craft and cunning, falsehood and deceit, Seem paltry things beside his splendid gifts, His vast accomplishments, superior sins, His subtle brain, and master-strokes of crime. Who dared conceive back in the olden days, That such a one as he would ever rise And in the space of one brief mortal life, Shatter the record of six thousand years? Yet, tho' thy little best now seems but poor, Thou gav'st thy best—and he can do no more.

Yet do not think that he will stay content With Hell's dominions, for a little while, And he will upward cast his greedy eyes, Nor pause to rest till he who grabbed the earth And conquered Hell, shall reign supreme in Heaven. Then, let us hope, oh, erstwhile Prince of Hell, That, having pushed all others from his path, Satan and Balfour, Sal'sbury and God, When all the universe declares him lord, And cosmos lies submissive at his feet, He will at length have nothing left to win, And leave us, you and I, to sleep in peace. Although 'twere wiser not to hope so much. For, should be still have any interest, Direct, or indirect, in certain firms That manufacture implements of war, Although there seemed to us no chance of strife, Believe, oh Lucifer, he'd find a way, And drown the universe in seas of blood-Whilst thou and Hell stood palsied at the sight— If it would guarantee him one per cent. ERN. T. COOMBE.



COMMANDANT-GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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COMMANDANT-GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA.

Special interest attaches to this notice of General Botha at the present time, in view of the interesting account recently given by Dr. Bierens de Haan, who was in charge of the ambulance detachment at the Boer head-quarters, of the interview between Kitchener and Botha, and which appears in Justice of June 15:—

The present Commandant-General is a member of the Volksraad, and was from the outset indicated to be commander of one of the Boer armies; he fought in the first war of Independence, and was wounded; moreover, he gave proof of great bravery in the Zulu War. Louis Botha is still a young man; as a fighting officer he only attained the rank of assistant field-cornet, and his tactical capacities had not yet been tried when war broke out.

In the battle of Dundee he was Lucas Meyer's subaltern, and as such he did his duty without pushing himself to the forefront. He is not one of those burghers who always want to make their voices heard, and he knows how to obey just as he knows how to command and to claim obedience.

In consequence of his exertions when pursuing General Yule, after the evacuation of Dundee, Lucas Meyer, who was not a strong man, fell ill. The doctors prescribed complete rest, and Louis Botha temporarily took over the command of his fellow deputy. The new general soon showed the stuff of which he was made; he had set the example of obedience, and now wanted everybody to follow his commands. His commando surrounded Ladysmith from the south; in consequence he had the task of making the southern positions so strong that it would be possible to resist the march of Sir Redvers Buller, who came to relieve General White. The tactical insight of Louis Botha was shown in this matter; under his personal supervision the burghers made their entrenchments in the ditches, and hid their positions behind the greenery and boughs of trees.

In the meantime, General Joubert was removed to the hospital in Volksrust, in order to be cured of an indisposition which he had acquired on the famous march to Estcourt. Louis Botha became Commander-in-Chief of the Tugela position, and the various commandos were distributed so judiciously over the position that during the first battle no reinforcements had to be despatched to any point of the battlefield. With his remarkably sharp judgment the young general had discovered the places where the British would be likely to try to break up the Boer lines of defence.

All the honour of this, as well as of the following battles, fell to Louis Botha. But he did not think of disobeying the orders of General Joubert, even if he could not always agree with them; only after "Oom Piet's" death he acted with a free hand, having been indicated by Joubert himself as his successor. It was not a favourable time when he became Commander-in-Chief. Hundreds of Boers, persuaded by Lord Roberts's proclamation, went home. Louis Botha could not stand what he regarded as an evasion of duty, and a small patrol of Johannesburg police was ordered by him to invade the territory already occupied by the British, to arrest the miscreants, and to bring them behind the Boer lines. This strong measure, which showed that Louis Botha's power extended even behind the British lines, brought fear and consternation amongst the men looked upon by the irreconcilables as cowards and traitors to their country.

When the Transvaal Government had left Pretoria, and the British approached, the population, with the approval of highly-placed officials, began to plunder a large Government warehouse, full of provisions. The Commander-in-Chief had scarcely heard this than he went at once to the capital—badly though his presence was needed with the burghers in the field—and in a remarkably short time he restored order in Pretoria with his usual energy. The warehouse was closed at once, a proclamation issued in which the inhabitants were admonished to behave properly and orderly, and a special force of police was appointed to keep the peace. Within a few hours of his arrival Louis Botha returned to his positions.

Louis Botha is one of the youngest of the Boer generals. He is slim and flexible, has an energetic face and a pair of large eyes, which often stare as though trying to look far into the distance, beyond the horizon of others. A small fair beard and moustache surround a mouth that can easily smile. Louis Botha is in every respect a gentleman. He knows all the forms of European society, speaks and writes Dutch better than any of the generals, and at once creates the impression of being a man of culture. His burghers respect him for his kindness, his inspiring power of work, and his great tactical capacities. His word to them is law. They do everything for him with love and application, and try to satisfy him. It is a remarkable thing that, whereas the Boer from custom and by preference speaks of "Oom Paul, Oom Piet, Oom Christian, and Oom Koos," not a single burgher ever thinks of calling him "Oom or Neef Louis." And yet he is not unpopular amongst his fellow fighters; on the contrary, in the absence of President Kruger, he is the most influential person in both Republics.

Louis Botha is a man of great warfare, "grande guerre." Better than any Boer general he knows how to choose his position, how to prepare it, and how to act at the right moment. Whilst De Wet and Delarey find their power in guerilla warfare, Louis Botha manifests his strength in the great battles, where he supervises the whole field of action, as the best trained general.

Sir Redvers Buller has always found his master in him, and Lord Roberts vainly tried to outwit him. If the British should prove victorious in the end, which I do not believe, this would not be in consequence of lesser capabilities in the antagonist of the English chiefs, but only in consequence of crushing superiority in numbers.

Louis Botha has the carefulness of General Joubert, which never exposes burghers to any unnecessary danger, and which inspires the Boers with such a strong confidence in their commander, but he has much more energy than his late predecessor; he will run a risk, and is not so quickly depressed. This might be attributed to Louis Botha's youthfulness, but General Joubert was always a man who was very soon discouraged by smaller or larger adversities. In the first War of Independence Kruger's confidence could not be shattered, where Oom Piet believed that everything was lost; and so far the President has a better assistant in Louis Botha than he had in General Joubert; and at the same time it is perfectly certain that the fight will only be finished when the last man has been rendered powerless.

The elder generation of 1880 has disappeared: General Joubert has died, General Kock has fallen on the battlefield, Piet Cronjé is a prisoner, Paul Kruger is in Europe. Louis Botha, Christian De Wet, and Koos Delarey have now honourably taken the place of the seniors. They are even more daring, more acute and more energetic than the old guard of 1880.

Louis Botha's talent as organiser and administrator is larger than Slim Piet's. In the Volksraad he proved to be a calm orator; he would never allow himself to be carried away by temper, and always prepared his speeches most carefully. He has only been a member of the highest legislative body for a few years, but his clear judgment showed itself very soon. He is strongly progressive, and was one of the warm defenders of Schalk Burger's policy, as put forward in the well-known "Industrial Report." He was in full fighting form during the famous debate in the Dynamite Concession, of which he was a defender. He is not a biassed antagonist of President Kruger's policy; he assisted Oom Paul in every good proposal, but he fought with all his strength against any measure he disapproved. In his criticism, however incisive and destructive, he always keeps his regard for forms, and he liked to go on discussing a subject with the President during the recess, at which the President as a rule grew fearfully excited, whereas Louis Botha always remained calm.

He is kindness personified; gives everybody a friendly hearing, but at most times lacks the courage to give anyone a straight refusal. In daily life he is a most agreeable man, who feels at home everywhere, and he can converse on nearly every subject. Whoever has once met Louis Botha has formed a liking for him.

F. Rompel.

MRS. LOUIS EOTHA.

In consequence of the part Mrs. Louis Botha is said to have played as messenger from the British to try and induce her noble and valiant husband to surrender, the following observations are made in *Neerlandia*, the monthly paper of the "Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond":—

The gallantry of the English nation-which the English themselves

always eulogise—cut a very poor figure during this war. Is it not a sad want of gallantry to employ women in order to induce their husbands, relatives or friends to surrender! Generally speaking, women—the greater part of women, at least—are more subject to impressions than men. Living in villages garrisoned by the Euglish, and entirely cut off from the outer world, or detained as prisoners in different camps, the Boer women may be expected to come sooner under the influence of the Job's messages daily poured into their ears: "The Boers fare very badly indeed. They repeatedly suffer great losses. They continually lose guns, rifles and ammunition. Their food stuffs run short. Further opposition is hopeless. Human lives are being sacrificed and to no use. To surrender as soon as possible is the best, the only way out."

This talk is incessantly poured by the English officers into the women's ears, and so Boer women are perhaps induced to write letters to their relations, or to go to them and try to coerce the men by their argumentative powers to surrender.

Speaking generally, the Africander women are less soft-hearted than their European sisters, and as regards the cause of liberty, they have proved quite as enthusiastic as the men, if not more so, but yet they are more impressionable than the fighting burghers at the front.

Consequently it is very cunning of the English to work upon the Boer women, but is it fair and gallant?

And as regards Mrs. Botha. More than once we have seen her go to her husband, and, taking into consideration that she is "English"—her maiden name is Emmet—we wondered what might be the reason that Louis Botha seemed to lie idle for a considerable time. So here and there people began to lose confidence in the hero of Colenso and Spion Kop. Would he really prove to be such a steadfast defender of the independence of his country as he seemed in the beginning? Could it be that he had come under the influence of his so-called "English" wife, whom the English papers have represented as such an ardent admirer of Lord Roberts?

Botha taught the world at the end of last year and during the first months of this what his inactivity meant. And as regards the second point — Hew often must we give the warning that English information is not reliable, that the English look upon the situation only from one side, and, moreover, are repeatedly grossly incorrect, either on purpose or from ignorance?

Mrs. Botha's lending herself to take messages from the English commander to Louis Botha can simply and satisfactorily be thus explained—that it afforded her an opportunity to visit her husband, bringing him, perhaps, important information. Those, for instance, who know the widow of Piet Joubert are quite sure that she would never proceed to the Boer camp to advocate surrender. Is it right to think differently of Mrs. Botha? And, moreover, Mrs. Botha is not English; she is an Afrikander, born in South Africa. Even her father was born there, and is an Afrikander who speaks the "taal" like the best of them. Her grand or great grandfather was the Irishman Emmet, who was sentenced to death in a Nationalist movement. Consequently, Mrs. Botha's extraction does not by any means argue English leanings or sympathies.

"A BUNDLE OF FALLACIES."

I AM afraid that in spite of Mrs. Montefiore's objections the word Feminism has come to stay. It is a necessary word, as it seems to me, in view of the fact that most female "woman's righters," and some male, are agitating not for equality but for the domination of the female sex. It is only necessary to hear the speeches or read the articles of the advanced woman sisterhood to be convinced that the large majority are animated by an envenomed sexprejudice which entirely blinds them to all sense of justice when men are concerned. Inter alia, I may refer Mrs. Montefiore to a series of articles signed "Zona Vallance," that appeared in the Ethical World last year, which alone might serve as an eye-opener to those who believe that fairness and equality are the goal of many of those whom I must (nace Mrs. Montefiore) still call Feminists. The utterances in question are also an evidence of the use they would endeavour to put the suffrage to if they got it.* I am perfectly willing to believe that my present disputant may deserve to be called a Humanist rather than a Feminist. But behind the Dora Montefiores, standing ostensibly on the same platform qua the woman question, are the Zona Vallances, and unfortunately, I fear the latter considerably outnumber the former. The expression Feminism "lop sided," but it represents a lop-sided idea in most Speaking of the violation of all notions of fairness by woman's righters, there is a theory, backed by a large amount of evidence, that generally in woman the moral consciousness is deficient, or sometimes altogether lacking, in the sense of justice. It will, of course, at once be said that it sometimes is so in men. But the point in the allegation is that in the vast bulk of the female sex it is deficient, that it is, in fact, a sexfailing. Now whether this be true or not I will not argue, but should it be proved, is it not, at least, an arguable point, I ask, whether it might not justify exclusion from political functions in the exercise of which a strongly developed sense of justice is of the first importance for the welfare of the race ?

Mrs. Montefiore thinks that sex does not constitute a determining element in woman's life. She says that woman has a life independent of her sex-life just as man has. Now this I beg leave to doubt very strongly. I do not myself believe that any side of her life in the average woman is independent of her sex-life. Sex interpenetrates, not directly perhaps, but in a subtle indirect way, the woman's whole being. It would take too long to develop this point at length in the present discussion, and, besides, it has

^{*}It is amusing how some of these women pat the crawling male sex-toadies who pander to them on the back, assuring them that they alone are the true "manly men." Nothing like flattery to keep one's connection together, Eh?

already been done, but that the evidence is prima facie at least, crushing, in favour of this view, I should think few would dispute. The whole of life, in so far as it affects the matter in question, points this moral. Sex is an attribute of man, it is the substance of woman. Man has a sex but woman is a sex. I really cannot admit that the few exceptional and selected women who sit on administrative bodies at present can be taken as evidence on this question one way or the other, any more than the few selected women who take University honours are evidence of the suitability or capacity of women, as a whole, for high scholarship. As for bankrupt, jingo, Seddonridden New Zealand, if this Fabianesque travesty is to be regarded as "admittedly the most democratic and most socialistically-inclined Government," why, then, let the devil wear red, and I will sport an emblem ofanother colour. Of course, I agree with Mrs. Montefiore that political emancipation is of little use without economic emancipation; but she was just before contending that the former was of use in itself, at least to the extent of infusing an increased sense of responsibility into the politically emancipated; and this was the theory I ventured to call in question.

Mrs. Montefiore now modifies the "pertinent" question of Vandervelde, so triumphantly trotted out in her first article, which assumed the unanimity of reactionaries in their opposition to woman suffrage. She now says that what was meant was that they are unanimously against universal adult suffrage. That is quite another pair of shoes, their objection here being to the large extension, the universality, of the suffrage rather than to its containing a female element. They are, Mrs. Montefiore now admits—i.e., some of them—in favour of restricted woman suffrage, just as they are in favour of restricted man suffrage—ergo, the femality of the suffrage in universal adult suffrage is not the rock of offence, but its universality, and this touches men no less than women. The reactionists would be equally opposed to universal manhood suffrage.

What Mr. Labouchere's special views on the subject of the female brain may be I do not know, but Mrs. Montefiore must pardon me for suggesting that she is not quite an unbiassed witness, and hence I must decline to accept her unsupported affidavit that the said views are "eccentric and unscientific." If the opinion that the female brain offers structural evidence of inferiority to the male is to be thus waived aside, then I think a good many eminent physiologists will have to be brought under the same ban as Mr. Labouchere.

The number of female combatants and martyrs for any reform, in the literal sense, I submit is comparatively small, and the fact of there having been such exceptional women is no argument either for or against universal suffrage for women. In one point I quite agree with Mrs. Montefiore, viz., that sex distinctions, "where enlightenment has dispelled their raison d'être," will disappear, but that is precisely the "rub," whether enlightenment does dispel or confirm the raisonality of the said distinctions.

I should, perhaps, remark that I have read the essay of Karl Pearson's referred to, and, although my esteem for Karl Pearson as a social thinker is not limitless, yet I am bound to do him the justice to mention that he

admits and even draws attention to a point which Mrs. Montefiore entirely ignores. The point in question is that were universal adult suffrage instituted the result would be to hand over the conduct of affairs to a female majority, the number of the female population of Great Britain being considerably in excess of the male. This excess is caused not by the fact that more female than male children are born, for the contrary is the case, but by the fact that male children are more difficult to rear than female, and also that men and boys are exposed to dangerous occupations from which women are jealously guarded. Here, therefore, you would have, as it would seem, a sheer despotism of sex. The ordinary feminists would doubtless say so much the better! How Mrs. Montefiore would view it I do not know. Anyway, the point cannot well be ignored.

In conclusion, I see no reason to depart from the proposition laid down in my original article, to wit, that the adoption of female suffrage is not necessarily or logically involved in a political democratic or Social-Democratic programme since it introduces a new element, that of a peculiar organic or biological difference, an element requiring to be dealt with on another basis to that of class-distinctions, which imply merely political and economic circumstances, or even of race-distinctions which have, in part, at least, again a different foundation.

This, my original and chief point, Mrs. Montefiore has failed to touch in either of her articles, though she has expressed many excellent sentiments in the course of them.

E. Belfort Bax.

SOCIALIST PRESS IN ITALY.

THE National Congress of Florence in 1896 instructed the party to start as

soon as possible a Socialist daily.

After much trouble, 140,000 francs (£5,600) was got together, and a company was registered as proprietors; this had to be done to give the paper a legal existence. The first number of the *Avanti* was published on December 25, 1897, and now it has a circulation of 20,000 copies. It has had a troubled career, and has been suppressed 150 times, and has paid £1,200 in fines (how envious Mr. Wyndham must feel if he knows this, which, however, is doubtful). But there has rarely been a prosecution, and in every prosecution but one the accused was acquitted. Once the mob, encouraged by the respectable prints, broke the windows of the printing press, and no one was prosecuted (again history repeats itself, as at Scarborough, &c.). But the paper is still alive, and now pays its expenses.

The editor has £10 a month, and the writers have £8 each; the foreign correspondents have £2 a month, except the Paris correspondent, who has

£6. The printers have 5 to 8 francs a day (4s. to 6s. 6d.).

There are 62 weekly papers belonging to the party, having an average circulation of 5,000 copies, and a daily is to be published shortly at Turin.

The Critica Sociale, of Milano, and the Asino (a humorous publication) are papers owned by private individuals.

A. Schiavi (Mouvement Socialiste).

LOS SEGUIDORES.

ONLY the intimate life of man with the domestic animals which takes place upon the pampas of the River Plate could have produced "Los Seguidores."

Two horses, which to the owner were as one, following each other about as they had been twins; upon the darkest night after the longest day, the unmounted horse was certain to be trotting quietly at the other's heels. So certain that their owner never even took the trouble to turn his head to see whether his attendant was in his place. Staked out at night to feed, the satellite fed quietly about, and in the morning, whichever of the two was saddled, the other tranquilly took up the march. Crossing a river, after the first deep plunge which takes the rider up to his neck, and when the swimming saddled horse had got into his stroke, just at the girths a head appeared, and, like a dolphin spouting water from his jaws and snorting loudly, the faithful follower swam.

Not necessarily brothers, although in general the horses were so, but trained by being tied together by the neck for a month or two and let to feed thus joined, they never afterwards cared to remain apart.

Such a pair I knew, the property of one Cruz Cabrera, a gaucho living close to the little river Mocoreta which separates the province of Entre Rios from that of Corrientes, to the north. Both horses were picazos, that is, black with white noses, and so like each other that it was a saying in the district where he lived, "Like, yes, as like as the two picazas which Cruz Cabrera rides." In a mud rancho, bare of furniture save for a horse's head or two to sit upon, an iron spit stuck in the floor, a kettle, a bed made scissorswise of some hard wood with a lacing of raw hide thongs, an ox's horn in which he kept his salt, and a few pegs on which he hung his silver reins and patent leather boots with an eagle worked in red thread upon the legs, the owner of the picazos lived. A mare's hide formed the door, and in a corner a saddle and a poncho lay, a pair or two of bolas, and some laz is; raw hide bridles hung from the rafters, whilst in the thatch was stuck a knife or two, some pairs of sheep shears and a spare iron spit. Outside his rancho fed a flock of long-haired, long-legged sheep resembling goats, two or three hundred head of cattle, and some fifty mares, from which the celebrated seguidores had been bred.

His brother Froilan lived with him, and though only a year separated them in age, oceans and continents were set between them in all the essential qualities which go to make a man.

The elder brother, a hard working, quiet man, that is, hard working when he had horses on which to work, and quiet when no one came across his path, and when at the neighbouring pulperia he had not too incautiously indulged in square-faced gin (Albert Von Hoytema, the Palm Tree brand), on which occasions he was wont to forget his ordinary prudence, and become as the profane. But, in the main, an honourable, hard-riding man enough, not much addicted to brand his neighbour's cows, to steal their horses, or to meddle with their wives, even when military service or the exigencies of ordinary gaucho life called men out on the frontier, or made them seek the shelter of the woods.

Froilan never in all his life had done what is called honest work. No cow, no horse, no sheep, still less a "China" girl, ever escaped him; withal, a well-built, long-haired knave before the Lord, riding a half-wild horse as if the two had issued from the womb together as one flesh. A great guitar player, and what is called a "payador"—that is, a rhymester—for, as the gauchos say, "the townsman sings, and is a poet, but when the gaucho sings he is a payador." A lovable and quite irresponsible case for an immortal soul, about the possession or the future state of which he never troubled himself, saying, after the fashion of his kind, "God cannot possibly be a bad man," and thus having made, as it were, a full profession of his faith, esteeming it unworthy of a believing man to trouble further in so manifest a thing.

In fact, a pagan of the type of those who lived their lives in peace, content with nature as they found her, in the blithe days before Mohammedanism and Christianity and their mad myriad sects loomed on the world and made men miserable, forcing them back upon themselves, making them introspective, and causing them to lose their time in thinking upon things which neither they nor anyone in the ridiculous revolving world can ever solve, and losing thus the enjoyment of the sun, the silent satisfaction oi listening to the storm, and all the joys which stir the natural man when the light breeze blows on his cheek as his horse gallops on the plain.

But still the neighbours (for even on the pampa man cannot live alone, although he does his best to separate his dwelling from that of his loved fellow human beings) preferred Froilan to his elder brother, Cruz. Their respect, as is natural, for respect is near akin to fear, and fear is always uppermost in the mind towards those who have a severer code of life than we ourselves (and hatred ever steps upon its heels), was given to Don Cruz. He, as they said, was a most serious man and formal, complying outwardly with all the forms that they themselves were disregardful of, and so religious that it was said, once in Concordia he had even gone to mass after a drinking bout. But, as the flesh is weak—as is but just when one reflects upon the providential scheme, for without its weakness where would the due amount of credit be apportioned to the Creator of mankind-Cruz would when all seemed safe fall into some of the weaknesses his brother suffered from, but in so carefully concealed and hidden fashion that the said weaknesses in him seemed strength. Still the two brothers loved one another after the fashion of men who, living amongst unconquered nature, think first of their daily battle with a superior force, and have but little leisure for domestic ties. Love, hate, attachment to the animals amongst whom they passed their lives, and perhaps a vague unreasoned feeling of the beauty of the lonely plains and exultation in the free life they led, were the chief springs which moved the brothers' lives.

In the great rolling seas of grass which were the pampas—for to-day wire fences cut the country into chess-boards, making each separately fenced-off block a microcosm of the drear, selfish isolation of our modern life with the law of property run mad, and that of brotherhood quite atrophied by progress towards universal county-councildom—a joy in life, half glad, half melanchely, a feeling as of a sailor who at night stands solitary at the wheel and feels as if on him alone the world depended, seemed to have entered all the dwellers on that grassy inland sea.

The elementary passions, which moved all the other animals, and which, though we so strenuously deny their strength, move all of us, in despite of our attempts to bury them beneath the pseudo duties and unnecessary so-called necessities of modern life, acted there quite directly, making them relatively honest in their worst actions, in a way we cannot understand in our more complicated life. With the two brothers all went well, as it so often does with those who, neither honest nor dishonest, yet keep a foot in either camp, and are esteemed as estimable citizens by those in office, and are respected by dishonest men as having just enough intelligence to guard their own. Their flocks and herds multiplied steadily, and when the locusts did not come in too great quantities, or the green parroquettes refrained from eating the green corn, the patch of maize which Cruz grew, partly for an occasional dish of "mazamorra" and more especially to keep the "seguidores" in condition during winter, was duly reaped by the aid of a Basque or a Canary Islander, and stored in bunches hanging from the roof of a long straw-thatched shed. Before their house upon most days of every year stood a half-starved and much tucked-up young horse, enduring the rough process known as "being tamed "upon the pampa, which consisted in being forcibly thrown down and saddled on the ground, then mounted and let loose, when it indulged in antics which, as the gauchos used to say, made it more fit for a perch for a wild bird than for the saddle of a Christian man. Christian, upon the plains, was mainly a racial, not a religious, term, and was applied without distinction to all but Indians, Englishmen, and those belonging to the accursed schism which Martin Luther hatched, and which, as all the gauchos knew, had had such dire effects upon mankind.

The "seguidores," the greatest objects of the brothers' love, were black as jet, with their off fore and the off hind feet white, so that the rider, riding on a cross, was safe from the assaults of evil spirits by night, and from ill luck which makes its presence felt at every moment when the Christian thinks himself secure. Both of the horses were so round you could have counted money on their backs; their tails just touched their pasterns, and were cut off square; their noses both were blazed with white, and in addition one had a faint white star upon his forehead, and the other one or two girth marks which had left white hairs upon his flank. Both had their manes well hogged, save for a mounting luck, and on the top of the smooth arch made by the cut off hair, castles and crosses were ingeniously

cut, giving them both the appearance of having been designed after the knight at chess. Both horses were rather quick to mount, not liking to be kept a moment when the foot was in the stirrup iron, and both of them, well trained to lazo work, could keep a strain upon the cord when once a bull was caught so that their master could get off and creeping up behind despatch the animal, thus lassoed, with a knife. Rather straight on the pasterns, and a little heavy in the shoulder, they could turn, when galloping, in their own length, their unshod feet cutting the turf as a sharp skate cuts ice when a swift skater turns at topmost speed. Full-eyed, flat-jointed, their nostrils red and open, their coats as soft as satin and their gallop easy as an ice-boat's rush before the wind, the two picazos were as good specimens of their race as any of the breed between Los Ballesteros and the Gualeguay, or from San Fructuoso to the mountains of Tandil.

In the mud-reed-thatched hut, or to be accurate, in another hut beside it, dwelt the mother of the two brothers and their half-sister Luz. mother, dried by the sun and cured by the smoke (which blackened all the thatch, polishing it as it had been japanned) of sixty years, loved her two sons in the submissive fashion in which a mare may love her colts when they are grown to their full strength. Seated upon a horse's head, she watched the meat roast on a spit, boiled water for the perpetual maté, and seldom went outside the house. A Christian, if simple faith, convinced of all things hard to believe and quite impossible to understand, can make one such, she was. Although the nearest church was twenty leagues away, and in her life she had been but a few times there, she knew the dogmas of her faith to the full as well as if communion with the church and the free use of books had placed hell fire always in her view. Octaves, novenas, and the rest she never missed, and on the rare occasions when some neighbouring women rode over to take mate and eat mazamorra with her she acted as a sort of fuglewoman, leading the hymns and prayers out of a tattered book which, in times past, she had partly learned to read. Outside religion, she was as strict in her materialism as the other women of her race, making herself no spiced conscience about any subject upon earth. From her youth upwards she had seen blood shed as easily as water; had seen the uncomplaining agony of the animals under the knife, observing "pobrecito" when a lamb's throat was slowly cut, and then (being a Christian, and thus of a different flesh to that of beasts) hurrying up quickly to assist in taking off its skin. Like most of us, of her own impulse she was pitiful, but yet not strong enough to stand against the universal cruelty which habit has rendered second nature to the most tender-hearted and kindest of mankind. Spanish and Indian blood had made her look at life without the veil which northern melancholy has cast over it, and thus she clearly looked at life without hypocrisy just as she saw the locusts moving in a cloud, the dust storms whirling in the air, and all the wild phenomena of pampa life. She saw the human animal in all his animalism, and thought it no disgrace to admit that in essentials all his actions sprang from the motives which influenced all the other links in the same chain of which she formed a part. Seeing so clearly, she saw that Luz, though a half sister to the brothers, yet was an object of desire to both of them, and being well aware that fire and tow are ingredients certain to cause a blaze if brought together, she did her best to keep her sens as far as possible away from what she felt would be a danger to all three. The girl herself, like many "Chinas" when just grown up, was pretty, and attractive as a young deer or colt may be attractive, by its inexperience and youth. In colour, something like a ripe bamboo, with a faint flush of pink showing through upon the cheeks and palms; round faced, and dark eyed, dressed in a gay print gown made loose, and round her neck a coloured handkerchief; Luz was as pretty as a girl upon the pampas ever is, for being half civilised and a Christian she lacked the graces of a half-naked Indian maiden, and yet had not the resources which in a town make many a girl, designed by nature to scrub floors and suckle fools, a goddess in the eyes of those who drink in folly with their mother's milk.

She, too, having seen from youth the tragedy of animal birth, love, and death displayed before her eyes, was not exactly innocent; but yet, having no standard of false shame to measure by, was at the same time outspoken upon things which in Europe old women of both sexes feign to be reticent about, and still was timid by the very virtue of the knowledge which she had. The life of women on the pampa, or, for that matter, in all wild countries, is of necessity much more circumscribed than that of those their sisters who in other lands approach more nearly to their more godlike brothers by the fact of wearing stiffly starched collars and most of the insignia of man's Philosophers have set it down that what is known as sexual morality is a sealed book to women, and that, whilst outwardly conforming, most of them rage inwardly at the restrictions which men, to guard their property, have set upon their lives. This may be so, for who can tell what passes in the heart or head of any other person, although for years one has lived beside them? And it may well be that the most Puritan of the wives of happy England chafe at the liberty their husbands all enjoy, and from which they, bound in their petticoats, stays, flounces, furbelows, veils, bonnets, garters and their Paisley shawls, are impiously debarred.

But speculations upon sex problems did not greatly trouble Luz, who, when she thought, thought chiefly upon the chance of going into town, buying new clothes, attending mass, and meeting her few friends, and so it never came into her head but that her two half-brothers, both of them much older than herself, regarded her but as their sister and a child. Some say the heart of man is wicked; to those who look at man but as a clothed and electric-tramway making animal, it may be so. But if these inclinations are to be classed as wicked, then either the former of man's heart worked on a faulty plan, or those who framed codes of morality have missed his meaning and misunderstood his scheme. As the brothers never thought, most likely never had heard in all their lives about morality, which in despite of theorists seems not to be a thing implanted in mankind,

^{*} China is the term applied to the gaucho girls of Indian blood. It is also used in Peru and the Habana, why, no one seems to know.

but supergrafted mainly with an eye to the consecration of our property. they found themselves attracted towards Luz after a fashion which had it. happened in regard to any other girl they could have understood. Certain it is that both of them felt vaguely that she was near to them in blood. and neither of them perhaps had formulated in his mind exactly what he They watched each other narrowly, and neither cared to see the other alone with Luz, but neither Cruz or Froilan spoke to their half-sister or to each other, but by degrees they grew morose and quarrelsome, making their mother miserable, and their half-sister sad at their changed temper both to each other and to her. Their mother, with the experience of her sixty years, saw how the matter lay, and recognised that on the pampa strange things did take place, for as she said -"El Cristiano macho (the male Christian) is the hardest to restrain of all God's beasts," having had no doubt experience of his ways with her two husbands in the days gone by. So whilst the petty tragedy was brewing, so to speak, nature, serene, inimitable and pitilesely beautiful, but all unconscious of the puny passions of mankind, unrolled the panorama of the seasons as quietly as if no human souls hung trembling in the scales. Night followed day, the scanty twilight scarcely intervening, the hot sun sinking red upon the low horizon as at sea, and in an instant the whole world changed from a vellow sunburned waste to a cool shadow from the depths of which the cries of animals ascended to the unhearing sky which overhung them like a deep blue inverted bowl flecked with a thousand stars. The frogs croaked with a harsh metallic note, and from the thorny trees great drops of moisture hung, or dripped upon the roofs. Again night yielded up its mysteries to the dawn, advancing, conquering and flushed with power. So by degrees the summer melted insensibly to autumn, and the vast beds of giant thistles, with stems all frosted over with their silver down, began to vanish, and the thin animals wandered about, or perished in the sand, as the Pampero whistled across the plains. But winter too faded before the inexorable unfelt turning of the world, the red verbenas spread like carpets covering the earth as with a blanket, the shoots of pampas grass shot up green spikes almost between the dusk and dawn, and on their little meeting places outside their towns, biscachos sat and looked out on the world and found it good, whilst the small owls which keep them company nodded their stupid looking, wise, little heads and gave assent.

The horses played upon the edges of the woods, rearing and striking at each other with their fore feet, and some who in the autumn had been left thin and tired out suddenly thought upon their homes and, throwing up their heads, snorted, and, trotting round a little, struck the home trail as surely as a sea-gull finds its way across the sea.

But all the magic of the perpetual kaleidoscopic change of season, which ought to interest any man a million times more keenly than his own never-changing round of sordid cares, brought no distraction to the brothers, who had grown to look upon each other partly as rivals, and partly with astonishment that the same thoughts which tortured each one were present in the other's mind. But the mere fact of feeling the identity of thought confirmed them in their purpose, and in a measure served to confirm them in

their course, for men catch thoughts from one another as they take diseases, by contagion, and that one knows is present in another's mind acts as an anæsthetic on the conscience, which is eternally on the look-out for anodynes to ease its sting.

Upon the pampa, where the passions have full play quite unrestrained by the introspectiveness of the complex life which in more favoured and more conventional lands imprisons them in bands of broadcloth and of starch, it was impossible that in the compass of a little hut the situation could endure for long. No doubt it might have been more admirable had one or both the brothers seen the error of their ways, repented, and in chivalry and ashes gone their respective ways to do their duty in the countinghouse of life. No doubt in many of the neighbouring farms girls lived as pretty as their half-sister Luz, girls whom they might have loved without a qualm, and made the mothers of their dusky, thievish children, with or without the blessing of a priest. They might have told their guilty love, and been stricken to the earth by the outraged majesty of their sister's womanhood, or felled to the ground with a bullock's head swung by the nervous hand of her who gave them birth. But chance, that orders everything quite in a different way from that we think should be the case, had ordered otherwise, and the simple tragedy upon the Mocoretá was solved more quickly and as effectually as if justice or outraged public feeling had seen fit to intervene.

How it occurred, to his dying day Cruz was uncertain, but seated in the semi-dark, cutting some strips of mare's hide to mend a broken girth, their mother and their sister sitting by, high words broke out between the brothers without apparent cause. Froilan, passing in gaucho fashion in an instant from a grave, silent man, to a foaming maniac, rushed on his brother, a long thin-bladed knife clutched in his hand. Almost before Cruz had had time to draw his knife, or stand on guard, his brother tripped and fell, and the knife piercing his stomach he lay on the mulflor, with but a short half hour of agonising life. Pressing the knife into the wound he beckoned to his brother with the other hand, asked his forgiveness, made him swear to see their sister married to some honourable man, and promise that his own body should be laid in consecrated ground. Then turning to his mother he asked her blessing, and summoning his last strength drew the kaife from the wound, and in an instant bled to death. His mother closed his eyes and then with Luz broke out into a death wail, whilst Cruz stood by half stupidly as if he had not comprehended what had taken place.

The simple preparations over, the alcalde duly informed, and the depositions of the chief actors taken, nothing remained but to carry out the wish of the dead man, to lie in consecrated earth. At daybreak Cruz had his two horses duly tied before the door, saddled and ready for the road. The neighbours helped to tie the dead min upon his saddle, propping him up with sticks. When all was ready Cruz mounted his own horse, and took the road to Villaguay, the dead man's horse cantering beside his fellow as if the rider that he bore had been alive.

Their mother and their sister watched them till they sank into the plain, their hats last vanishing as a ship's top sails sink last into the sea. Then as she drew her withered hand across her eyes she turned to Luz, and saying gravely, "The male Christian is the wildest thing which God has made," lifted the mare's hide hung before the door and went into the hut.

TOLSTOYAN ASCETICISM.

Some years ago when I began to propagate the Tolstoyan theories in Holland, I was frequently told that my opinions were sentimental and that I stood in need of a doctor. Those opinions, however, were quite in accordance with what the great Russian teaches. I had it often thrown in my teeth that I followed him too strictly. Now, after all, I am glad of this. It cannot be said now that I shall give an inaccurate interpretation of his doctrine. So I think I may put in a word or two about it. There are few of his works, large or small, which I have not read. By fortuitous circumstances I could learn more about and from him than many other admirers of the great man. Besides, I have applied his theories myself for a considerable time, and have observed the application of them by others. During the last five years I have had many experiences, but few which have left agreeable impressions. I have been on the verge of madness-a state of mind also noticed in other people-and was once on the point of ending my miserable life. That this has not happened I owe chiefly to my wife. Most of the wives of Tolstoyans have had much grief to bear from husbands who preached love. And though their opinions did not coincide with those of their husbands they were compelled to accept the consequences of the latter's Geistesschwarmerei, abominable tyranny which oppresses me as a bitter self-accusation.

This is the first time I speak of it in public. It gives me much pain, but I feel I must do it. For I will now cry it aloud, that a consistent application of the Tolstoyan doctrine must lead to one of the following consequences: perishing in miserable wretchedness, growing mad or making away with oneself. That so few persons—if any—meet with such a fate results from the fact that most of them, if not all, finally in practice wisely effect a compromise. Tolstoy desires man to do what is quite contrary both to his nature and his instinct of self-preservation. Tolstoy is said to require of man no more than Jesus did before him. But Jesus said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," whilst Tolstoy speaks in the comparative, i.e., that we should love our neighbours more than ourselves.

I have always regarded his book, "Ueber das Leben," as being the most profoundly thought-out, yet it is the least known. In no other book has he developed his doctrine better and more scientifically. If you take 'Worin besteht mein Glauben" ("What I believe") in addition, you need consult no other book to learn how he considers life.

In order to prove the truth of my statement that he takes the comparative degree in loving others, I cite here what he writes on page 164 of that book. ([know that at present he still agrees with every line in it):

"In der That, die Liebe is die Bevorzugung anderer vor uns selbst—wir allen fassen die Liebe so auf und können sie gar nicht anders auffassen."

And further, on page 168:

"Und es giebt keine andere Liebe als die, welche ihr Leben hingiebt

für ihre Freunde. Die Liebe ist nur dann Liebe, wenn Sie sich selbst zum Opfer bringt."

In a little book entitled "Love has no Boundaries," he has developed further this idea. In that book a man and a woman give everything to the poor, even their bed and their last penny.

The editor of the weekly paper Vrede (Peace), formerly edited by myself, has further developed that thought in his book, "Naar het groote Licht" ("Towards the Great Light.")

The heroes of that book die at last of the cholera in a slum, where they had settled to execute the great work of self-denial. So absolute a selfdenial is impossible as a general rule, and therefore not practicable-Ninety-nine out of a hundred Tolstoyans, though asserting that this is the only genuine principle of love to be followed by every Christian, fail to live up to it themselves. To my knowledge no Tolstoyan, not excepting the author of "Towards the Great Light," or Tolstoy himself, has ever settled in slums. The theory is to give up everything and to emancipate oneself from every worldly desire, but this theory has so far failed to come into practice. What, then, is the use of propagating a theory which, especially under the existing social order, demands the impossible? Why do not those theorists themselves set an example? Tolstoy went from one extreme to the other. At first a pronounced materialist, he finally denied all importance to material life. He calls the latter our animal life, and says that it has nothing to do with life, the real, pure, human life, which exists only in the abnegation of all that is brutish. Here are some proofs taken from "Ueber das Leben ":

"Das Wahre in der Bezichnung seines vernünftigen Bewusstseins zu einer tierischen Persönlichkeit sich offenbarende Leben des Menschen beginnt erst dann, wenn die Verleuchnung des Wohles der tierischen Personlichkeit beginnt. Die Verleuchnung des Wohles der tierischen Personlichkeit beginnt dann, wenn das vernünftige Bewusstsein erwacht.

"Die wahre Liebe wird nur dann möglich, wenn man dem Wohle seiner tierischen Personlichkeit entsagt."

"Der Versicht auf das Wohl der tierischen Personlichkeit is das Gesetz des menschlichen Lebens."

This is clear, I think. So man has to give up the welfare of his animal, or properly speaking, his corporeal life; he must renounce that welfare, and we can only be entirely good or entirely bad. Another typical opinion taken from one of his smaller writings, "Grausame Genüsse":

"Es wäre gesunder für ihn (for the man trying to lead a moral life) in physischer und moralischer Hinsicht, wenn er auf der Erde, in einen Mantel gewickelt, schlafen würde, wie die Römische Kaiser Marcus Aurelius. Wie viel Arbeit und Mühe würde er allen denen sparen, die ihn umgeben! Er könnte sich früher niederlegen und früher aufstehen, dann häbte man weder für Beleuchtung am Abend, noch für Vorhänge für den Morgen zu sorgen. Er konnte in demselben Hemde schlafen das er am Tage trug; Barfuss über den Fussboden und über den Hof gehen, sich mit Brunnenwasser rasieren, mit einen Wort, so leben, wie diejenigen, die das Alles täglich für ihm

thun." It is true, my old friend asserts somewhere else, that the animal life also has its usefulness, and may be, and should be, the vehicle of the true life. This seems to be a contradiction. But, notwithstanding, he thinks it "the law of human life" not to care for the welfare of our corporeal existence, which is only transitory. In this way I have always understood his doctrine, and in this way it has been understood by most of his followers.

Here in England there were those who applied the theory in the last citation literally. When the weather was not too bad they used to sleep in the open field, covered only by a blanket, while they limited their clothing to what was strictly necessary—only an apron; as for the rest, they went quite naked and barefooted. A couple of young women also wore a very "unconventional" costume. I know a young man, a student, who went so far as to call it nonsense that the human constitution required daily a certain quantity of food. He did not like "the philosophy of the stomach," and began to accustom himself to a daily decreasing portion. The consequences were, as might be expected, that he grew weaker and weaker mentally and bodily, and lost one of his senses for a time. Yet he was a good fellow, whom I liked very much.

In Russia there were many of the count's followers, who, as it were, from principle, passed their lives in a state of neglect of themselves and their surroundings. They did not clean their clothes for months, did not comb their hair (shaving was, of course, mere nonsense) and did not pare their nails. They would live only in higher spheres, and even the exhalations of their own uncleanliness could not draw their thoughts down.

There are but few of the Russian followers of Tolstoy, whose acquaintance I made, who did not look with seern upon the most elementary laws of hygiene. They were quite in earnest, and thought that thereby they were pleasing God. It is remarkable that most of these followers, as far as they sprung from the higher classes, considered a beggar's coat as the emblem of a genuine moral life.

Indeed, this is again quite in accordance with the doctrine. Anna Seuron, who for a long time lived as a governess in Tolstoy's family, speaks in her booklet, "Graf Leo Tolstoy, Intiemes aus seinem Leben," about a Russian, well known to me, an intimate friend of Tolstoy's, once his private secretary. His mother belongs to one of the richest families of the Russian nobility and stands in high repute with the authorities. Once he was a staff-officer and a frequenter of the Court, when he, too, was touched by the magic influence of the secretly-circulating writings of Tolstoy. He got it into his head that only by becoming a "beggar" he could attain to the higher life. And one fine day the staff officer, who was so magnificent only the day before, could be seen, slipshod and clad in rags, at a corner of one of the streets of St. Petersburg, offering writings for sale. Meanwhile the peasants on the immense estates of his mother were pitilessly exploited by her stewards. Anna Seuron did not exaggerate when she wrote: "Es sind viele junge Edelleute so verkommen, welche Bäuerinnen heiratheten oder mit ihnen nur lebten, in Dörfern wohnten in Schmutz und Schnaps

untergingen. Einige arbeiteten sich auch todt! Das Alles ist nie öffentlich bekannt geworden, denn die Familien hübeten sich, darüber Lärm zu machen."

I need not tell the reader that this "beggar's-pouch-mania" had very little influence on the lives of the poor. But they were faithful to the doctrine. It is a certainty for Tolstoy that being in easy circumstances and being good are two things which cannot go together. When a man is in easy circumstances he cannot be good, and when a man is good (i.e., when he leads a genuine pure life in accordance with the love as developed by him) he cannot be in easy circumstances. These things are as opposite as are the poles of a battery. As long as we have more than what is strictly necessary for the present day we commit an injustice and we do not live morally or purely. The bread we put in the cupboard or the penny we keep in our pockets for to-morrow-let alone the money in the bankbelongs to our poor brother who stands at the corner of the street hankering after a piece of bread. And the fear of sinking to the level of the starving wretch cannot and may not be an excuse under any circumstance. Do not self-denial, renouncing everything material, and loving our neighbours more than ourselves constitute the law of our lives? We, of little faith! Why should we care for to-morrow, since our needs are known. As certainly as the birds of the air will obtain their daily food without laying up a store, so certainly shall we not lack any good thing.

This is the theory !

Unfortunately, however, nobody trusts it so much as to allow matters to come to such a pass. Some among the "great believers" wisely insure their lives or those of their wives and children, which, according to Tolstoy, is equally inadmissible. Others looked to rich friends or relations for support or took care not to strip themselves of everything, though they asserted that nothing belonged to them that they had not earned with their own hands. And even that does not belong to us, according to Tolstoy. Some tried for a little time, but there is no follower of Tolstoy who gets a livelihood with a beggar's pouch or who has become as one of the poorest.

They cannot be said to be in the wrong. But it is contrary to the doctrine. And how can they desire others to do what is beyond their own power? Notwithstanding all the beautiful theories nobody has been able to emancipate himself from the desire for corporeal welfare, the desire to enjoy more or less, the desire not to starve. Consequently all that talking about worldly desires and the renunciation of everything is more nonsense. above all things, let no one blame others for effecting a compromise between theory and practice. But why represent men and matters as other than they are? There is self-love and egotism in all of us. And we shall never get rid of them as long as we are subjected to so bitter a struggle for life, not even then when that struggle has been made less hard. Call it by what name you may choose, there is something in every man that is inseparable from his nature and which urges him to lead a life as good as may be possible. We may be able to suppress it for awhile, it does not disappear. Besides, we know that life is not so very sociable among paupers, that privation is hard to bear, that the bread of poverty is bitter, bitterer than that of charity, and that the bitterest of all is that which we owe to our And yet we should desire man to throw himself into the slough of pauperism, and to eat the bread of charity of his own accord!

(To be concluded in our next.)

By J. K. VAN DER VEER, translated from the Dutch by JAC. DE KAN.

Sit,

BELGIAN TRADE UNION LEGISLATION.

THE Belgian law of March 31, 1898, which grants to registered trade unions. the benefits of legal incorporation, is a striking instance of the steady opposition of the capitalist class to the most reasonable claims and the most evident necessities of modern democracy. Of course, those who have but a slight knowledge of that law would assert that it contains some very excellent provisions when compared with the British and French laws. They wouldnote especially the right of trade unions to bring before the Courts of Justice actions on behalf of their members; their right to own large properties; to purchase materials necessary to the business of their members, and of selling the produce of their labour; the right for brainworkers as well as for manual labourers to constitute tradesocieties; the legal incorporation of trade federations; the clearly defined principle of an indivisible estate, transmissible by will to another trade-We do not deny those advantages of the Belgian law, and we hope that other legislation will become inspired by them. But the Catholicstatesmen of Belgium are humbugging when they show themselves proud of the good parts of their law, for they have submitted legal incorporation to conditions which they perfectly well knew would make the law unfit for the trade unions of working men and even of peasants. Besides, however obnoxious it may be, the reactionary spirit of the Belgian Parliament of 1898 is yet more ludicrous, seeing that the very Constitution of 1830 has granted to every citizen the right of joining any association, and the criminallaw of 1867 legalised trade combinations in an unsatisfactory manner, but one not improved by the new Trade Union Act. It was, therefore, to be anticipated that most trade unions would prefer liberty without incorporation rather than incorporation without liberty. In fact, the benefit of the Act has been disdainfully rejected by nearly all the trade unions of workers, and very coldly agreed to by those of peasants.*

I.

The Belgian trade unions of working men are weak and not numerous when compared with the British trade societies. The chief cause of that weakness is the low wages of the workers. Nevertheless, the trade-unionist movement is making good progress. The Socialist trade unions are closely federated in the local federations of the Parti Ouvrier with friendly societies and purely political groups, and rely on powerful

*O.1 January 1, 1901, 13 trade unions of workers and 168 leagues of peasants had been registered. Though we have no exact account of the unregistered societies, the number of 13 registered societies of workers is evidently insignificant (in the city of Ghent alone there were 53 trade unions in 1897). The registered leagues of peasants are more numerous, but do not constitute much more than the fourth part of the whole number of rural societies. We will say nothing, in that connection, of the trades unions of masters, and of the professional leagues of physicians, chemists, and midwives.

co-operatives like the Maison du Peuple of Brussels or the Vooruit of Ghent, which, according to a witticism of comrade Anseele, "bombard the capitalist class with potatoes and quartern loaves." They are far more numerous, better disciplined and more vigorous than the Catholic unions, whose democratic aspirations are crushed by the priests who, in spite of the evidence of the class struggle, preach the brotherhood of masters and servants, and by the employers themselves whose moral and pecuniary help is repaid by the cowardly behaviour of those "domesticated" trade unions.

But, different as they may be, the two kinds of trade unions had similar aims, which the Belgian Parliament should have complied with if they sincerely wished to provide the labouring class with a useful tool of social improvement. Both Christian and Socialist trade unions are affiliated to a political party and deal with political matters. The aim of both is also to combine friendly benefits with trade objects, because they have observed that a purely trade society scarcely outlives the periods of strikes, and cannot collect large subscriptions. We may add that both the kinds of societies, but mainly the Socialist unions, desired the repeal of article 310 of the Criminal Law, which sets narrow limits to the right of trade combination by the legal prosecution of "picketing," and of the agreements made between trade unionists in order to maintain high wages or to reduce the time of labour. But the strenuous efforts of the Socialist Deputies did not succeed in securing the repeal of the article. Moreover, the registered trade unions have been forbidden to deal with political objects or friendly benefits. Other articles of the same Act should be noticed, which clearly show the hostile feelings of the Parliament for the trade unions of workers, especially the article which excludes from those societies the workers who have been locked out by the masters owing to their Socialist and independent opinions.

II.

The trade societies of peasants are quite different from those of the industrial workmer. There are indeed wage workers in these trade unions, but there are no trade unions, or very few, composed exclusively of agricultural wage workers. The rural trade unionist movement gets its members from among the proprietors and farmers of the lower middle-class who, with their children or a few servants, cultivate small farms. Of course, the small independent labourers of the fields, as well as those of industry, will be, at last, crushed down by the larger producers. But, as a matter of fact, at present they are still on the side of the great farmers, and they have considerably improved their own status by means of professional leagues.

The main purpose of these societies is to purchase, on a large scale, manure, tools, engines, seeds, and other things necessary to farming, and to sell them to their members, at far lower prices and under better conditions than any private merchant would do. They also gather the fruits of the farms, especially eggs, milk, butter, and sell them at once, which saves great loss of time and supplies the tillers with higher profits. They have also undertaken to carry on those transformations of natural products which are

described by the specific name of "agricultural industries" and which consist, for instance, in making butter and cheese with milk, and even in converting the juice of beetroots into refined sugar or distilled spirits.

A most characteristic feature of the Belgian leagues of peasants is their Gathelic and anti-Socialist bent. The greater number of them are collected into a large federation, called the "Boerenbond," which was established in 1890 by a priest, Abbot Mellaerts. They require their adherents to be Catholic and even to observe religious duties. Thus, by the improvement of the present state of small farmers and by its Catholic spirit, the trade unionist movement of peasants, submitting to its watchword, "Religion, property, family," is, or at least seems to be, the strongest bulwark of Catholic and capitalist society against the ever-increasing waves of Socialism.

But, strange as it may seem, the Catholic majority in Parliament has nevertheless refused the reforms proposed by the agricultural leagues. Whilst a petition of the Boerenbond asked that registered trade unions should be authorised to purchase the materials and to sell and manufacture the products of farming, the Law of 1898 forbids the trade unions to carry on any industrial business whatever, and the same has subjected the right of sale and purchase to the condition that no profit shall be received by the trade societies.

III.

If the Belgian Parliament has voted a law unfit for the trade unions, we do not hesitate to say that it was because they would not provide a new weapon for Socialism. After the great strike of 1886 the capitalist class, greatly alarmed by such a sudden and violent revolt of workingmen, thought that, to ward off a recurrence of similar events, serious improvements ought to be made in the miserable state of the lewest class. A "Royal Committee of Labour" met and traced the sketch of a social legislation, a part of which was precisely the legal incorporation of trade unions. The members of this committee, attracted by the example of British trade unions, thought that by granting property to working men they would become conservative. The Trade Union Act, such as it was, proposed by the Ministry in 1834. after several successive changes, was a very good proposal and complied in a large measure with the wishes of workingmen and peasants, and our comrade Vandervelde asserted in 1897 that it would be the best trade union legislation in the whole of Europe. But when it was submitted to the consideration of Parliament, new ideas had been formulated in the Catholic brain. The steady growth of the Parti Ouvrier, and a clearer consciousness of their class-interests among the Christian workers themselves, appeared to be a danger for the capitalist class. The committee appointed by the House of Deputies to examine the proposed law listened with complacency to the vehement criticism of the Comité Central des Industriels. The periodical. review of this board held that such an act, if voted, would be an infringement of liberty, a return to the old and tyrannical craft guilds abolished by the great French Revolution. In fact, though putting forward their love of liberty, the mighty employers, who wanted no legal incorporation for their own trade societies, selfishly denied a legal reform which would have been useful to their working men. The committee of the House of Deputies durst not repeal the law but changed it so that it would comply with the wishes of the Board of Masters, and the Ministry, instead of steadfastly opposing the reactionary wishes of the committee, agreed to them. The Democratic and Socialist deputies upheld, against the Committee and the Ministry, the proposed law of 1894. But it was in vain, and, as we have already stated, the article 310 was maintained, and registered unions were forbidden to deal with friendly and political objects.

The dread of Socialism also led the Catholic majority to offend their most faithful allies, the leagues of peasants, by forbidding them to manufacture agricultural products. A very interesting debate took place in the House of Deputies upon that matter. The right of trade unions to carry on a business was advocated not only by the Christian Democratic deputies but also by our comrades Vandervelde, Anseele, Denis and other Socialist deputies. the arguments by which the latter upheld this proposal, which they said would be a step towards collectivism '(because trade unions' estates were mortmain properties and might not be divided by their members, and industry or farming, if carried on by a trade society, would be an encroachment on the capitalist system of production), strengthened the Catholic majority in its determination to admit, but only in an unsatisfactory way, the claims of the Boerenbond, and of making once more evident to the most short-sighted that the "emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves." R. BRIQUET.

" WORK."

ZOLA has just published under the above title an admirable book. Never has he written more fully, more powerfully, more brilliantly, and never has he shown more foresight as to the social evolution. He has in several works touched on social questions, but he has never drawn attention in such a

clear and precise manner to the coming transformation of society.

In "Germinal" he had noted the prodigious ferment of the proletariat, the silent working of the germs which were going to burst forth. I have heard Guesde say that it was a masterpiece, at once epic and lyric, after the style of one of the dramas of Æschylus, and that Zola, like a man of genius, had been carried away by the power of his inspiration beyond his own explicit thoughts. He had done better than he intended. But in any case, if "Germinal" is full of promise, yet Zola did not even indicate what form the new social life was to take.

In "Money" the supreme financial and capitalist concentration, which makes the exchange the motive power of all modern activity, is contrasted with the collectivist conception of Sigismond. But the latter, excited by his dream, ill and feverish, only takes account of the extreme phenomena of capitalist civilisation, and one does not see how socialistic action is to extend to the complex life of the whole country.

In "Paris" Zola has depicted the frenzied dream of gentle and violent Anarchism, and shows the beautiful hopes of freedom and justice which

science unveils. But, as I then said, he seemed to rest in a kind of scientific quietism. He seemed to be indifferent as to organisation or action. Science in some supernatural way was to rain down on Paris germs of light and of life.

In "Work" Zola devotes a great deal of space to organisation and action. He does not only write about the entire emancipation of humanity, the freedom of the proletariat, and the abolition of wages, but he shows us in a clear way the evolution of society going from capitalism to communism. He starts from the industrial city of to-day—dark with misery, inequality and hatred, and after three generations he shows us how gradually we may arrive at the communist city where men, free and happy, enjoy fraternally the increased results of nature.

Fourier is his guide in this hard and beautiful voyage. On each pageof the book we see the admiration and the gratitude of Zola towards the great thinker who appears to him to have found the best formulæ of solidarity and human glory. I was not surprised at the admiration of Zola, and hewill not be angry with me if I recall a remembrance which has remained very vivid for me. Three years ago, when he was in exile, I went to see Zola where he was staying, near the Crystal Palace, waiting for an opportunity to fight again for justice. On a table were the proof sheets of "Fecondité," which he was then writing. He spoke to me of the joy and help he found in work. In reading his recent novel I noticed his deep joy in thus hymning work. It is the great force which renders nature and life It is the inward light which keeps the heart joyful and buoys it up against error, treachery and cowardice. "Ah," he said to me, "what good this crisis has done to me. It has shown me the vanity of glory and fame to which I had attached too much importance. It has revealed life tome and has shown me depths of which I was ignorant. I will work with all my strength for man's freedom. This trial has made me love my fellowmen. I seem to feel higher hopes. I see new stars arise. But who shalk show us the best roads and those by which humanity may march towards. justice and joy ? The hour has come when we can no longer dream andhope. We must know. We must find the means of organisation and freedom.'

"As for me, I read. I look not to imagining a new system to add to the others, but to find some scheme which will make life better, more healthy, more abundant, and more joyful."

"A friend has lent me' Fourier' and I read him now with joy. I do not know what I shall write, but I want to glorify work and thus to make men respect it instead of enslaving it and making it more ugly and more wretched than at present."

Zola has emphasised three points in Fourier, three ideas of genius.

The first, in which Fourier gives the most powerful and the noblest formula of Anarchism, namely, that all the forces of the human heart are good, that vice is only a faculty twisted awry and that if social organisation could be supple and living and could adapt itself to an infinite variety of feelings, then human harmony would prevail.

The second, that the finest conquests of man's genius over nature are only child's play, and that the world, under man's guidance and for his good, will-blossom out in such a startling way that the wildest flights of imagination will yet be far behind reality.

Finally, that, just as in the individual there is no absolute vice, and that what is called vice may be used for the common good, so in the most.

wretched and the most selfish society there is no absolute disorder. But in this very disorder there are the germs of a new order. Thus, for example, society may rise by means of new, wise, and harmonious forms of association to concord, justice, and joy which we can hardly imagine.

These three ideas of Fourier are the groundwork of Zola's novel. It is by free association that he leads us, in the lapse of three generations, from the salary system to absolute communism. I can only in these pages give a summary and incomplete analysis of this complicated evolution. But this is how he sketches his plan.

There are some among the privileged classes to-day who feel uneasy at their wealth, and at the misery of the mass of mankind. The growing storm of social struggles takes away that feeling of security that property loves. And the best feel their happiness spoiled by thinking of the workers' misery. Others, again, are struck by the misfortunes which sometimes overtake rich people, and look upon them as due to the curse of capital.

Thus, for many reasons, some of the capitalists are uneasy, and seek another way. They do not give up their capital, but there is a first application of the Fourierist formula—association of work, of capital, and of brains. Businesses are converted into companies, and some of the shares, a third, perhaps, are given to the workmen. Thus, while still receiving a salary, they have some voice in the management; they may be directors, and, in addition to their salary, they have some of the profits. These are not a gift, but are dividends on shares.

These factories—half capitalist, half co-operative—have sometimes joined with them co-operative stores. Thus the workers not only get some of the profits but get their goods cheaper. The small shopkeeper fights against the stores, but he has eventually to give in and becomes a manager or worker in the store. And as part of the profits is used for purposes of research new inventions are found and production becomes cheaper, and this gives the factory an advantage in the commercial world. Other industries also join, and this again increases the efficiency of labour.

The peasants are at first suspicious, but little by little they enter into business relations with the factory from whom they buy and to whom they sell. The peasants eventually understand that if they wish to use improved agricultural machinery they must not isolate themselves. They work together and their little fields collectively become a large estate and much more corn, &c., is raised. They still live in their houses and at first are still proprietors. But the surplus profits are divided and the peasant gives up his prejudices by degrees when he finds that he is not poorer but richer.

Then the peasant group will join with the industrial group and in course of time as men become more prosperous the altruist feelings will triumph over the selfish feelings. The workman is better off and no longer envies the capitalist. Marriages now take place between the two classes, and in the second and third generations class enmity disappears as well as class distinction, the blouse and the frock coat equally vanish. Science, too, has made labour more abundant and all can drink at the fountain of science, want is unknown. As in Heine's dream, "There is not only bread for all but also roses."

Such is a bald summary of Zola's "Work." But reader, read it, and do not be satisfied with my sketch. In another article I will make a few remarks on Zola's work and will call attention to points which need criticism.

JEAN JAURES (translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

THE ECONOMIC DECAY OF GREAT BRITAIN.—II.

THE CAUSES.

In the current number of the Contemporary Review the author of "Drifting" continues his article on the economic decay of Great Britain. He says: We have seen that the rural, manufacturing and shipping industries, and our trade generally, are declining while other nations are flourishing; that the national income is decreasing and the wealth of the masses is less in Great Britain than in other countries, and that we are rapidly drifting towards economic and political bankruptcy.

I propose now to consider the causes by describing the economic and material working of the State, appealing to the practical man in a practical manner. I do not write from the point of view of any party, for I believe that the differences between the two political parties are chiefly artificial. One half of the nation is estranged from the other by misunderstandings.

which are artificially fostered.

What are the causes of the general economical decay of Great Britain?
(1) Irresistible natural causes; (2) Resistible natural causes; (3).
Artificial hindrances.

Let us first consider whether any irresistible natural causes are responsible, and let us consider our natural resources in men and material, and their sufficiency or insufficiency.

THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF GREAT BRITAIN, HUMAN AND MATERIAL.

Is it true that our race has physically and mentally degenerated and that we are inferior to the Germans and Americans, who consequently beat us in commerce?

It has been said that we are a mixture of many strong races; up to the Napoleonic wars an enormous immigration from the Continent took place; the best classes used to come over here to avoid religious and political persecution; that, since this immigration has ceased, we are deteriorating.

If the case of the Jews be considered, whose race has been kept relatively pure and who still retain their original remarkable commercial ability, this

conclusion seems hardly tenable.

That Germans have greater commercial abilities is disproved by an analysis of the names of the most successful business men of America, most of whom are of British origin—"Morgan, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Clarke, Armour," &c., to wit. Universal experience proves that the Englishman is the best worker in the world, if you set him to work in the right way

Natural conditions are as favourable to our industrial development as ever they were. We have coal, iron, and harbours close together, saving cost for freight. Riw miterial can be brought here more cheaply than ever before. Such conditions should secure us continued in lustrial supremacy if we make the best use of our opportunities.

It will be objected that industries tend to migrate towards those countries whence the raw produce comes. Take for example the cotton

industry.

Cotton goods can be profitably manufactured in the Southern States of North America, but the climate prevents white workmen from being as efficient as those of Lancashire. Europe is and will long remain the largest market for cotton goods, consequently the distance and consequent delay in executing orders should render it difficult to take away our Continental trade in cotton goods, in which by nature we should be supreme if we made the best use of our opportunities.

This natural tendency of industries to gravitate towards the countries whence comes the raw produce, has to be reckened with. Our strongest bulwark for resisting it is the proximity of coal and iron deposits and of ports in the United Kingdom, owing to which we can, so to say, manufacture on board ship, which other nations cannot do. We will see later on

why we have not made the best use of this circumstance.

We may see from the foregoing that Great Britain is not played out, that its natural resources and other advantages are as great as ever and all

the natural wealth-creating elements are still with us.

Cobden recognised the enormous natural advantages which Great Britian possessed over other nations by means of its natural resources, strategical position, and the efficiency of properly organised British labour. His ideas, sound in the main, have been forgotten or mis-interpreted, and we now pin our faith to the word "Free Trade' instead of the idea, of which the word is but the clothing. The economic decay of Great Britain is almost entirely caused by artificial hindrances. Let us, therefore, study the position in a practical and unbiassed manner.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF SCIENCE.

I believe the value of science towards the accomplishment of practical ends is greatly overrated. What is most needed for success in practical life is not so much theoretical knowledge as common sense and practical understanding. If we pin our faith to scientific ideas which may be superseded in a few years we may, and do, become as superstitious and prejudiced as a learned Chinese, without knowing that our views are obsolete. The Boer war may serve as an example. Our officers fought, not according to common sense, but according to military science, taught them by distinguished military scientists, and were defeated by the ignorant Boers, who, unfettered with book learning, have revolutionised scientific military tactics by simply following their natural instinct and common sense.

THE ABUSE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

At present every man of leisure believes that he understands the business of the nation if he has read a treatise or two—sometimes out of date—on political economy, and does not hesitate to put the defective ideas thus obtained into practice, if he obtains influence in politics, and will rule the nation in accordance with these theories. It is as absurd to allow ourselves to be governed by men who have thus acquired their economic knowledge as to trust a locomotive in the hands of a man who has read a treatise on engine-driving.

One journal says that our growing imports are a sign of our wealth, because Great Britain can pay for these imports. But can Great Britain afford to pay for these imports? One does not believe that Lord N. is growing richer because he spends more every year. Such critics overlook

the possibility that a nation may live on its capital.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

There are two kinds of Free Trade:—(1) Free Trade with respect to our home trade, within the limits of Great Britain. (2) Between Great Britain and other countries.

Most writers on the subject have only looked at our foreign trade, and have bewailed the protective tariffs of other nations. These restrictions are aggravating, though there are worse than these nearer home.

Free Trade is like a free fight. If one of the fighters be bound hand and foot the fight ceases to be free. Unfortunately this is the position of both our home and foreign trade—bound hand and foot. Many people argue in favour of this one-sided arrangement, so that the "consumer" shall not suffer in order to favour the "producer." The division of the nation into "consumer" and "producer" is absurd and ridiculous. Ninety-seven per cent. of the population of Great Britain have to work for their living, i.e., 97 per cent. have to "produce" in the day time in order to "consume" in the evening. The workman has to "produce" his 53. day's wage by a day's hard work before he can "consume" this 5s. But not only the workmen, but professional men, &c., have to "produce" something in order to be able to "consume" something. Two per cent are paupers and lunatics and 1 per cent. rich men who live on their income. The question for the 97 per cent. is whether their interest as producers does not out-weigh their interest as consumers.

The 1 per cent. of "consumers," properly so-called, i.e., the leisured people, should hardly be allowed to direct the policy of the nation in favour of the consumer. Unfortunately this class supplies the largest number of M.P.'s, Cabinet Ministers, & ., who direct the commercial and industrial policy of this country.

It is argued that, owing to Free Trade, living in England is cheap; but this scientific fallacy is disproved by the fact that it is cheaper to live in Protectionist countries, like Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, and the United States. The reason for this will be shown later on. Ardent Protectionists consider the question of Protection in respect to foreign trade as one of the greatest magnitude, which it is not. Rightly considered, the question of imposing a protective tariff is a very small one.

Protection means protective duties on the manufactured goods imported from foreign nations into Great Britain. Such duties, in order to be effective, would amount to at least £30,000,000 per annum, 95 per cent. of which would probably have to be borne by the people. This enormous impost looks alarming, but will lose that aspect on closer examination. Provided the national expenditure remained stationary, this increase to the revenue would be unnecessary, so that the people might be relieved by taking the same amount off the taxation of articles chiefly consumed by the masses.

Supposing the duties on tea, coffee, and tobacco abolished, and those on beer and spirits reduced by half, the taxation of the working man on his "smoke and vittels" would be reduced by 50 per cent. This would suit him, while at the same time trade would improve, work become more plentiful, and wages consequently rise; and in the end the workman would be better off than he ever has been before.

In a well-governed State this shifting of taxation would only mean taking money from one pocket and putting it into the other, at the same time making our industries more prosperous; but in Great Britain, which is economically decaying because of evils which incapable Governments have allowed to oppress the nation, a protective tariff alone would be of little avail without other more important reforms. Artificial hindrances, which stand in the way of our national prosperity, must be abolished; this is more difficult than to abolish external free trade.

It is clear-

(1) That England is a Free Trade country only in name.

(2) That living in England is dearer than abroad, partly because of the cost of tea, spirits, and tobacco in this country.

A shifting of taxation as proposed will be opposed on the grounds :-

(1) That tobacco, beer, and spirits are luxuries, and should be taxed.

(2) That drunkenness would increase if drink were made cheaper.

It is despotic to tax the workman's tobacco, and, as for drink, the Britisher will get drunk if he wants to. If good whisky is too dear he will drink bad, which will poison him sooner. Liquor is dearer in England than in any other country, but, for all that, there is more drunkenness here than in other countries, where drink is much cheaper.

The statements of economists concerning the terrible protective duties under which foreign nations are groaning is another misstatement of fact. We have seen that Great Britain paid in 1898 for Customs duties on imported goods £21,792,250. A comparison with the sums paid by protective nations show that per head of population Russia pays 4s., Germany 8s., France 10s., Italy 5s., United States 8s., Great Britain 10s., from which it may be seen that we pay more than any of these protectionist countries, and as much as ultra protectionist France. Whether we have Free Trade across our frontiers or not is of secondary importance. But Free Trade within the limits of Great Britain is of the greatest public importance, without which outer protection would be useless and economic decay continue.

FREE TRADE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

It has already been shown that (1) Nearly all productive industries are decaying; (2) That, ship-building and machinery construction excepted, only the most primitive industries can now be carried on on a large scale with profit; (3) That whilst nearly all our industries, trade and finances are decaying, our non-productive industries are flourishing.

Let us classify our industries into two large groups for examination :-

(1) Directly productive industries, which produce goods made of cotton, linen, wool, silk, iron, steel, leather, glass, &c., chemical, rural and mining industries, &c., which create goods for consumption and sale.

(2) Industries producing no goods at all, but make production possible, and so assist in production, i.e., transport, the supply of water, light and

heat, finance, law.

The first group is the most important. In it nearly the entire army of workers is employed. The second is numerically in a very small minority. It regulates and distributes production by way of railways, ships, docks, &c., supplies water, coal and artificial light, and satisfies financial and legal requirements. The first group provides the second with occupation and the necessaries of life, and the second group renders service in return.

None of the industries in Group 2 create goods for sale. They are helpful if they assist in developing our resources, but become parasitical when they destroy them. We know that all our non-productive industries are flourishing in spite of the depression of those productive industries on which they live. A study of the figures relating to the working of our railways clearly shows their destructive influence on our productive industries. In order to prevent the increase of their earnings at the cost of impoverishing the country becoming apparent, the railway companies have increased their capital at a much quicker rate than their earnings increased. From 1873

to 1898 the length of our railways increased by 5,577 miles, and their capital by £546,148,154. A prudent business man writes down his capital to anticipate depreciation. Our railway companies chief occupation seems to be the writing up of their capital, already enormously inflated. Germany, France, Belgium, and Switzerland are densely populated countries, and the same cost and other difficulties have attended them in constructing their railways. Yet the capital per mile is in Germany £20,000, France £25,000, Belgium £28,000, Switzerland £20,500, while in Great Britain it is £58,378. The capital of the Swiss railways, in spite of the great natural difficulties, is only one third of the capital per mile of our own railways. On this inflated capital of £1,134,468,462, which is three times more than is necessary, our railways want a "fair" dividend; therefore the British public must pay three times the amount needed for its locomotion. The assured monopolist position makes them reckless, and besides enormous waste the service is far behind that enjoyed by other countries. The enormous fares are a cruel impost upon our population. The companies enrich themselves and slum property-owners by their grasping policy, while destroying the health and physique of the nation.

Our railways are not only the worst and most expensive in Europe, they are the only railways which have introduced into their own country tariffs favouring the foreigner into the heart of Great Britain. Their policy is to charge the British public, which is at their mercy, as much as they can while favouring the foreigner whom they wish to attract, thus ruining our rural industries. Their enormous charges and their discrimination in favour of the foreigner, as against British industries, are doing us more harm than the Customs duties of all foreign countries combined. In order to continue this policy they kill competition: (1) by a working agreement between themselves; (2) by barring important canals by "repairs" or acquiring them; (3) by levying enormous charges for the conveyance of bicycles, which are often damaged by a deliberate system of bad management, disclaiming responsibility for damage done to the machines in consequence; (4) by secretly and indirectly opposing the construction of light railways and electric trams; (5) by showing enmity in and out of Parliament to motor traffic. Whenever a light railway or electric train is projected, the tradesmen on the route are agitated and everything done to stifle the enterprise. We are then told that the people in this country do not want electric traction. Why are the railways allowed to impoverish and suck dry the nation? The reason is that the leisured personages who govern us have learned something in a book about the wonderful advantages of "Individualism" and "Free Competition," to which political economy attributes a wonderful result. Our theorists in political economy talk of the blessings of Free Trale and free competition, and point with horror to the trusts of the United Yet the most gigantic and harmful trusts are to be found—in Great Britain.

In the same way our entire export trade is at the mercy of the shipping ring.

It will now be clear why our most primitive industries can still be carried on with a profit. They are less subjected to the tyranny of our monopolies.

The steps necessary to stop the rapid economic decay of Great Britain will be to give internal free trade in the prime necessaries required by our productive industries, our trade, and by the people. How these objects are to be secured will be seen in due course.

BRITISH LAWS.

The British laws are the most obscure, intricate, expensive and uncertain in the world.

As production has apparently been created for the benefit of railway and shipping combinations, so the law exists for the benefit of the lawyer, not for the protection of the public. Let us look on the effect of some of our laws on economic Great Britain.

Patent Laws.—Valuable patents are sold to Germany and the United States because our patent laws are so uncertain and give too little protection to the inventor.

Conveyancing.—In this country the system of conveyancing is designed

rather to enrich the lawyer than to facilitate business.

Company Laws.—Our company law is a most excellent law for cunning company promoters, financiers, &c., and of everyone who wishes to rob the

nation of its earnings.

In 1899 the proportion of abortive or liquidating companies was in proportion to the new companies registered 60 per cent., as against 56 per cent. the previous year. About 37 per cent. of the capital belongs to the solvent class, while the remaining 63 per cent. would represent the insolvent class. None of these promoters have been imprisoned.

THE HUMAN FACTOR.

The Englishman is by nature as energetic, intelligent, sharp as his American cousin, but his intelligence has been blunted by the following

1. The constant and insincere flattery of politicians.

2. Incapacity of Governments.

3. By the scientific principle of non-interference taught by political

economists, politicians and press.

Our working men do, on the whole, less work than their competitors of the United States and Germany. They work fewer hours and less efficiently for the following reasons:-

1. The working men have been taught political economy.

2. They imitate the example of the non-productive industries: maximum pay for the minimum of work."

3. Their work is badly organised.

4. They have deteriorated bodily through bad housing and feeding.

A REVIEW.

Let us review our position.

Our natural conditions are as much as ever in favour of Great Britain's continued prosperity, but short-sighted Governments have allowed the nonproductive industries to gradually strangle our productive power.

The country is a Free Trade country only in name.

We have seen that our monopolies are not only responsible for the economic decay of Great Britain, but also for the physical degeneration of

How is it that all our institutions should favour monopolies opposed to our industries; that they should favour the whole of the non-productive industries as against the whole of the much larger and more important productive industries? Why should we have class legislation and not mass legislation? All this is to be shown in the next article, in which a comprehensive and practicable scheme will also be proposed.

OUR COMMON CAUSE.

Tunes :- "The White Cockade," "Watch on the Rhine," or "Maryland."

As toilers of the earth we stand. And hail our kin in every land; No man our country's foe we call, Save he who is the foe of all.

Chorus: And as we clasp our comrade's hand,
We swear to fight in every land,
Till Justice sits upon the throne,
And all the earth is Labour's own.

One time we thought our foe was he Who dwelt in lands beyond the sea; To-day we know across the foam No foe so great as he at home.

And as we clasp, &c.

Who owns the factory and the soil Is enemy of all who toil; From shore to shore the cry is hurled, He is the foe of all the world.

And as we clasp, &c.

How often have we drawn the sword, And fought to swell our master's hoard? We'll now avenge our martyred dead, And face our coward-lords instead!

And as we clasp, &c.

And haply they who told us then We fought as French or Englishmen, Will find, when battling for the Right, We still remember how to fight!

And as we clasp, &c.

And as we march, each new-born day Shall find us farther on our way; No foeman fierce may bid us pause If we but trust our common cause.

And as we clasp, &c.

ERN. T. COOMBE.



HENRY H. VAN KOL.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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HENRY H. VAN KOL.

THE Social-Democratic movement is an international movement, and while in each country the national party claims complete autonomy in its internal affairs, and it is outside the province of the party in any other country to. dictate its policy or its methods, or to interfere in any way with purely domestic questions, the party in every country has an interest in the doings, the progress and the triumphs of their comrades in every other country Thus it comes that to the Social-Democrats of England their comrades of France, of Germany, of Italy, of Belgium, of Denmark, of Holland, are objects of respect and esteem, their names are to them familiar as household words, and although they may never have seen them in the flesh there is a fraternal feeling, a camaraderie, between them, which establishes an international solidarity in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party, such as exists in no other party, and which makes all comrades desirous of getting to know more of each other personally, even though they may never meet. For this reason we intend to give in the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, from time to time, the portraits with a short sketch of the lives of some of the best known of our comrades in other lands. In this issue we give the portrait of our esteemed comrade Van Kol, one of the most active leaders of the party in Holland, who has just been re-elected to the Dutch Parliament. We are indebted for the following brief sketch of his life to our friend and comrade Van der Veer.

Henry H. Van Kol is not a stranger to those who are accustomed to attend International Congresses. He is nearly 50 years of age and was for a long time in the East Indies, as a civil engineer in the service of the Dutch Government.

Gifted by nature with a warm heart, ever ready to sympathise with those that suffer, and a mind quick and apt to differentiate right from wrong, he felt, even as a student, already in sympathy with the proletarian struggle for freedom. Therefore his enthusiasm for the Paris Commune. He was on his way to Paris when the provincial troops took possession of the city and the cold-blooded murderers of Thiers crushed the people to death. Passionate, and easily moved by strong impulses, he was so much struck by the heroic deed of Vera Sassulitch when she shot General Trepoff that he felt almost inclined to send her a declaration of his love. Some years ago he intended to organise the unemployed of the country and march with them to the Hague in order to face the Government with the army of paupers for which it had no thought or care, and only the strong persuasion of his friends kept him from executing that plan.

But with all his powerful sentimental inclinations, Van Kol is nevertheless a clear reasoner with an obvious sense of logic. His early books, "Christianity and Socialism," and "Capitalism and Socialism, or Wages as They are and Ought to be," which he wrote in India and which were published by the *Vooruit* at Ghent, are exceedingly instructive. His later book, "Socialism and Liberty," discussed the contradiction between Anarchy and Social Democracy. Besides this work, he has written numerous leaflets and articles for different papers. He is an eloquent and fluent speaker. His parliamentary speeches are really masterpieces.

In India as well as now in Holland, he was the friend and protecter of the poor, much oppressed, and plundered Indian peoples. Indian or colonial affairs are his special topics. He has more knowledge about India in his little finger than there is in the heads of nearly all the bourgeois members of the Chamber put together. He deserves, were it only in the interest of the poor Javan people, to keep his place in Parliament, where he sits much against his own inclination, because he knows how hard-headed, as well as hard-hearted, the people with whom he has to contend there usually are.

He recently exposed in Parliament the horrible ill-treatment of the coolies at Sumatra, and proved how they were starved, flogged, or otherwise driven to death. At the same time, he once more exposed the shocking conditions under which the much-exploited Javanese are forced to live. When, forty years ago, Multatuli published his book, "Max Havelaar," in which, for the whole civilised world, the robbing, starving, and sufferings of the Javanese were set forth, it sent a thrill through the whole country. The shock was, however, very soon over; but the robbery and starving and oppression goes on unchecked. On that occasion Van Kol suggested a great general plan of irrigation that could improve the conditions of the people, who have to live chiefly on their agricultural produce. He was then invited to give, before the Royal Institute of Civil Engineers, a more extensive explanation of his plan. He gladly accepted the invitation, and gained a complete success.

Van Kol was long an intimate friend of F. Domela Nieuwenhuis. But when the latter inclined more and more to Anarchy, and became bitterly opposed to International Social-Democracy and political action, their friendship cooled. And it fell also to the lot of Van Kol to receive personal

attacks from his former friend.

The wife of our friend, Nellie Van Kol, is a well-known authoress, chiefly on educational subjects and for children. She was long editor of a paper called *Woman*. Van Kol and his wife live on a nice, quiet spot at

Prinsenhage, near Breda, in the Southern province of Holland.

Van Kol was elected by the general elections in 1897 on the second ballot for the district Enschedee, in the textile centre of Holland. The Liberals, who voted for him after their candidate was defeated, were not a little dissatisfied with his first Parliamentary career, because Van Kol was, in the opinion of great manufacturers such as Stork and others, too outspoken in Parliament about his Socialist convictions. There was thus a little fear that they would not support him again. Van Kol received a few weeks ago in the first ballot 3,400 votes, his Liberal opponent 2,186, and the Catholic opponent 4,257 votes. In the second ballot the victory was won by our friend with 5,165 votes against 4,593 votes given to the Catholic candidate. The Belgian Catholic democrat, pastor Daens, has rendered Van Kol and the cause good service by speaking for him at numerous meetings. How heartily the Javanese will welcome Van Kol's return, we can readily imagine.

THE DEGENERACY OF MR. FREDERIC HARRISON.

A REPLY TO HIS CRITICISM OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

I have always been a somewhat ardent admirer of Mr. Frederic Harrison, though never sharing the particular views which the small group of men in London, of whom he is a most distinguished member, have for some years been trying to popularise. But my admiration has been rather for the Frederic Harrison of the seventies than of these later days, and I confess that lately I have several times found myself wondering if the clear and generous thinker who, more than 30 years ago, threw himself with so much zeal into the fight for the legalisation of trade unionism, was not becoming a somewhat hopeless degenerate. Proof of the justice of that view, it seems to me, is amply contained in the review of M. Brasseur's book, "La Question Sociale," in the New York Times literary supplement of May 25, where he makes an excursion into the realms of political economy.

Mr. Harrison thinks that M. Brasseur, in attempting "a refutation" of the theories of Karl Marx (how many wrecked reputations mark that path!), ought to have met the mathematical reasoning of Marx by moral argument. Was ever anything more utterly absurd? In order to demonstrate that the student of Euclid has made a mistake it is not wise to use the propositions and axioms of Euclid, but instead, the teacher should argue the matter as a question of morals! It would be interesting to hear from Mr. Harrison just how the "moral refutation" of mathematical formulas might be accomplished.

Really, that paragraph from Mr. Harrison's paper is a sufficient proof of his unfitness as a teacher of anything that approximates to science, either in its substance or in the method of its demonstration. Further on in his paper Mr. Harrison says: "Karl Marx tells us that the value of any product is measured by the number of hours the labourer was employed in producing it." And he would seem to imply that that idea is peculiar to Marx, whereas it is common to most of the English economists. Sir William Petty taught that very clearly in the reign of Charles the Second. The following passage must surely be known to Mr. Harrison: "If a man can bring to London an ounce of silver in the same time that he can produce a bushel of corn, then one is the natural price of the other; now, if by reason of new and more easy mines a man can get two ounces of silver as easily as formerly he got one, then corn will be as cheap at ten shillings a bushel as it was before at five shillings a bushel." Adam Smith taught the same thing very clearly, as witness this short sentence from a very lengthy argument:

"Labour is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities." And again: "It is natural that what is usually the produce of two days' or two hours' labour should be worth double of what is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labour." Ricardo endorses this view of value and calls it "a doctrine of the utmost importance in political economy." John Stuart Mill also endorses it. Benjamin Franklin estimates the value of everything by labour, and insists that "trade in general is nothing but the exchange of labour for labour," and that "the value of all things is most justly measured by labour." And so one might extend these quotations indefinitely.

Again, Mr. Harrison says, "The underlying sophism of the Marxian school is to assume that any given product, however complicated and scientific, is solely the result of the labours of the mechanics who made the materials and put them together," and from this he argues that Socialists of the Marx school believe that all such products should be equally divided among all those who were engaged in their production. He instances Raphael's picture of the "Transfiguration," and says that if it be worth \$500,000 the money ought to be divided amongst the artist, his models, the men who wove the canvas, ground the colours, and so on. Is it possible that Mr. Harrison believes this? Frankly I do not think he is so ignorant.

First of all he is attacking a chimera, he is engaged in the Quixotic task of beating a shadow. If he refers to the title page of Marx's book, which he seems never to have read, he will find that it consists of an analysis of the capitalist (i.e., present) system of production. It would be much more relevant to the subject to take the case of those firms that from time to time bring out engravings of that and similar picture. Mr. Harrison is perfectly well aware that in such cases the engraver, the workers who do the mechanical work, from the makers of the paper onwards, and the people who buy, are all exploited to make wealth for people who have not assisted in any way in the production of the engraving.

Similarly Mr. Harrison misrepresents the Socialist position when he says that if the Oceanic "earns" (sic) \$20,000 on a voyage, according to the Socialist that sum ought to be divided between the officers, seamen and stokers after "allowing a percentage for the engineers and shipwrights who built the ship." I have no doubt that Mr. Harrison regards this as being a very "deep" analysis. But why not go back further to the men who made the steel plates, the men who made the machinery by which the plates were rolled, the miners who mined the iron ore, the men who made the miners' tools, and so on? Perhaps that would have proved too much. Mr. Harrison could hardly afford to show so forcibly that all wealth is socially produced. Anent the Oceanic, he puts forward for consideration three "awkward facts," which really are not at all awkward. I would rather take my chance on a ship officered by what he calls a "committee of seamen" than on the same ship were there only the officers on board. But admitting the point that Mr. Harrison tries to make, how does that affect the fact that the \$20,000 of which he speaks goes to people who took not the slightest

part in the work of directing the ship? Yet it happens that people who it may be never saw the ship, will get more out of each voyage than the man in the foc'sle. Another point of importance is that no Socialist and no economist of any note at all would think of differentiating between hand-labour and brain-labour as Mr. Harrison does, and it is utterly foreign to what is called the "classical political economy." John Stuart Mill, for example, insists that all labour is in part intellectual, even that of "the stupidest hodman." But to one who talks of a ship "earning" much has to be forgiven!

Again, Mr. Harrison says that it is "a favourite argument" of the Socialist, that if 10,000 men make a railway in three years, it will belong to the capitalist, whereas it ought to belong to the men themselves without reference to the engineering and surveying and so on. And in this way he seeks to disprove the Marxian theory of value and of the exploitation of labour through "surplus value," which he repeatedly refers to as "plus value!"

But he excels himself when he speaks of "the \$20,000,000 paid to the men before a cent. was earned." Does he not know that this theory of a wages fund has long since been abandoned by every single economist of note? There is not in Europe or America to-day a single economist of any standing whatever that will defend it. In truth, when the labourer has worked a day or a week he has created, on the average, at least three times as much as he will get in wages. The capitalist can draw from his bank on the strength of that labour three times what he will have to pay in wages. I challenge Mr. Harrison to disprove that assertion. And I challenge him also to quote from the writings of Marx or of any representative Socialist in England, France, Germany or America in support of his statement as to the Marxist view of the railway, as quoted above.

So far from taking that view we condemn it with greater force than Mr. Harrison logically can do. We should object to the ownership of the railway by the 10,000 men just as we now object to its ownership by a number of capitalists. On the contrary, we urge that a railway is purely a social thing. It springs from social necessity, it has a purely social use, and, as we have seen by following Mr. Harrison's argument in the case of the steamship, it is the product of social labour.

Marx revolutionised the whole science of political economy by his work and influenced the whole intellectual life of the latter half of the nineteenth century more than any other man, with the single exception of Charles Darwin. To-day there are more followers of his teachings than of any other political teacher the world has seen. But Mr. Harrison says those theories are founded on "childish ignorance" and that Marx was a charlatan. Well, I think I have shown Mr. Harrison to be "childishly ignorant" of political economy and Socialist philosophy. And if charlatanry is to be understood in the ordinary sense as meaning undue and unjustifiable pretension to knowledge, I think I have shown him to be a charlatan also.

TOLSTOYAN ASCETICISM.

(Conclusion.)

Perhaps it will be said that the bread of Love and Friendship is no bread of charity. Believe me, reader, that the crust of bread got from an enemy is sweeter and more savoury than so-called bread of love, and that friendship melts away like snow before the sun as soon as it is accompanied by dependence. I need not say that it is more agreeable to be horseman than horse. It must be made impossible for us to ride on each other's backs. But do not expect that such a change will be readily brought about, especially not as long as circumstances make us servants when we do not succeed in becoming masters. People have tried for many years-nay, for centuriesto live together as brethren of their own accord. I have felt enthusiasm for that ides, as others have before me. But I have closely observed the practice, and I am cured for good and all. It happened in this way: There was a time that I, too, had the intention of leaving my wife and home, and of roaming the earth as a "wanderer," trusting to the mercy of men for my maintenance.

How glorious to be poor, to have nothing that makes us afraid of thieves and burglars, that worries us when reckoning whether it will suffice for our needs. A couple of friends, to whom I told my plan in confidence, approved of it. It would be good for the propaganda. They also saw in this "the way, the truth, and the life," and encouraged me in my idea; but I was too weak to take the first step, and as yet I have not seen that any of my advisers have themselves done so.

That weakness was my happiness, as it is theirs. But the idea did not leave me. I grew dull to the verge of madness through constant musing upon it, when a friendly invitation to visit England helped to turn the current of my thoughts. I was careless even of my wife, who secretly suffered much as she did not sympathise with my opinions at all and yet had to bear the consequences of them.

Whoever loves his wife more &c.—this is what everybody knows. Not far from the place where I settled was a Tolstoyan colony—I may say the most extensive experiment of the kind that I have seen. I could tell a good deal that would be instructive about that colony, but I know that people will not learn by others' experience. They want to try for themselves. Well, let them try. The results will be the same as those obtained of late years by similar experiments here and in America. When I saw the Purleigh Colony for the first time I was delighted with what I beheld. Some 25, for the greater part young people, some of them women, lived together in such a way as is only possible among relations or friends. Lilypure was their fraternal love, indissoluble their attachment, their faith in the undertaking and in each other might have removed mountains. Some of them, among whom was a professor of chemistry, had given to it the whole

of their fortunes, others a secure liveliheod. The professor sacrificed about 200,000 guilders (more than £16,500). Everything went all right for three years. They worked as hard as they could; lived modestly and enjoyed each other's company. Their fame resounded far and near and their example was followed in Leeds and Gloucester. They roused in me the belief that the ideal had been attained by them.

But matters changed. When the money was nearly consumed, and the cares of life began to weigh them down, then disintegration set in. Besides, differences in opinion arose. Some of the colonists wanted to apply Tolstoy's doctrine consistently—they would neither carry on business, nor buy; nay, even declined to use money at all. Others, on the other hand, thought it better to do business. The former left the colony and settled at Gloucester, where a rich neighbouring farmer gave them land and a few cows. They went there on foot, without a penny in their pockets, asking, or rather begging, on the way for their livelihood. The only man that sent them empty away was — a clergyman.

They did not accept money, though they accepted all kinds of things bought for them with money by others.

After their departure matters did not go on very well in the original colony; nay, they went down hill rapidly. The colonists began to blame each other for matters falling to the ground, and their not being worked hard enough. Stormy meetings were held, notwithstanding the love they professed. They banged the door in each other's face, tried to cut each other out, till at last they resolved on dissolving the whole colony. They separated in great discord. Jealousy and envy flamed up at the division of the property. The brotherly feeling had disappeared to give place to hatred. They thwarted each other wherever they could. In a word, they grudged each other the light of their eyes. I have never witnessed such a variety of machinations as among the "love brothers." Those who had neither rich relations nor friends, but depended entirely upon their labour, are now, of course, in a much worse condition than before, and will have to float a long time on the sea of life before they will be in a safe harbour.

They could not love their friends, and they wanted to love their enemies. While preaching the doctrine of self-sacrifice, they calmly looked after their own comfort, leaving their poor brothers to their fate.

At Leeds, where a bicycle manufacturer gave his business to the "brotherhood," matters did not go so well as could be wished, and here, too, they fell to loggerheads and separated. In Gloucester the business was still kept on foot by gifts in kind from without. As I mentioned before, the "ultras" went there. They did not use money, limited their wants as much as possible, and men and women lived together like brothers and sisters. Nature, however, took revenge for these Kreutzer-Sonata opinions. Something took place through which most of the colonists withdrew from the concern, one of them leaving his wife behind. Now, while I am writing, two of them—one being the doctor of chemistry—are in prison at Gloucester because of their refusal to pay taxes. They say they do not refuse, but

that they do not use money and therefore are unable to pay. They do not, however, resist when the authorities order their property to be taken away. A piano given to them has already been taken away and sold. Everything will go the same way, finally the land too, which they do not consider to be their property, but anyone's whom it may please to take or cultivate. It is only a matter of time, to see these well-meaning people give up all such-like experiments and come back into the old society. And ten to one, that they will have lost their enthusiasm for the struggle for the improvement of social conditions.

It is easy to explain this. When you have worked for a while not for wages but for Love, and you are turned out and left to your fate by that self-same Love, I am sure your faith in it will not become much stronger. Then, finding yourself thrown back into the former struggle for life, it is no wonder that you begin to repent of having worked for Love.

It is much the same with those who do not use money. They get from the frying-pan into the fire. They leave off using money, but thereby they become quite dependent on those who do use it, for it is impossible to live in this society without buying or selling; they only make fools of themselves who try to do so. I have seen such people go to the station accompanied by someone to buy a ticket for them, and have heard some of them ask others to buy something for them of which they stood in need. Others wisely transferred the control of their finances to their wives, whose opinions fortunately did not coincide with theirs. And then it was said that society held an individual with a pure conscience and undefiled hands! To face the consequences of a consistent application of this theory -by not travelling, not using the post, by not having other people work for them, but going into the country and living there supported each one by his own labour-was what nobody did. They would not give up all "worldly desires," and turned out to be anything but free from the desire to enjoy their "animal life."

I throw down the gauntlet to everyone who believes in his ability to defend Tolstoyan asceticism as feasible. It is practicable in a degree, but, as I said before, if you do not alter your mind in time or effect a compromise between theory and practice, nothing remains for you but to perish in misery, to go mad, or to make away with yourself. And it is on the strength of the failure in the application of these theories that I am seriously sorry to see my old friend Tolstoy go on employing all his influence on the simple Dukhobors to induce them to continue on that hopeless way.

As the reader knows, about 12,000 members of that sect have settled in Canada. Now that they have escaped from the oppression, signs begin to show themselves of their becoming more solicitous about the material side of their existence. Some try to obtain property, and this desire will become stronger and stronger among them. Tolstoy has become disturbed by this and has written to them a long letter in which he enjoins them not to err from the path of salvation. Also he enjoins them to live up to the following principles of life:—

- 1. "That every possession is unjust, and that if we possess we ought to be ready to yield what we have when we are required to do so." For
- 2. "It is not our duty to work for ourselves, but it is our duty to work for others."
- 3. (And now I quote literally what he writes.) "Our aim of life should be to work as much as possible and to be contented with as little as possible."

I take exception to the fact that these people who have been destitute of so many things should be asked to live up to such a principle of life, considering that neither in Russia nor in England, neither in Switzerland nor in Holland, is there one adherent of this theory who lives or acts up to its principle. Most of them would decline to live in such a way as these humble people have done until now, and therefore I think that it is going too far to preach to them a doctrine of the severest abstinence which they do not apply themselves. And let us now see what, with an eye to this, Tolstoy's doctrine means for the labouring classes.

Can there be a more reactionary doctrine than the one which represents the life of the most degraded as the ideal life? It will be said that Tolstoy does not aim at the forced submissiveness of the labourers, but at the acceptance of self-denial of their own free will. But it is poverty, that life of incessant privation which keeps the labourers deep in submissiveness and dependence. It is poverty, that life-long want, which keeps down their moral and spiritual life.

That Tolstoyans are not aware of this is all from their having never felt real bardship. They only play at poverty, as Troelstra once said with a deep sense of truth, which I can fully understand now. They may wrap themselves in a beggar's cloak, or partly free themselves from their more or less luxurious way of living, but they do not get a real notion of poverty, the poverty in which the greater part of the labourers live from day to day, the poverty the Dukhobors sustained and still sustain. And they will never understand fully what it is to depend on one's daily work to get a livelihood and to have to face the future with uncertainty. They do understand that it must be anything but pleasant, and guard against sinking too deep, or they prevaricate in order that they may fly if the struggle for life should become too difficult.

There is, however, nothing new in what the old ascetic told in that letter. In his new book, "The Slavery of our Time," he upbraids the Socialists with striving after material as well as after moral elevation. In "Ueber das Leben" he represents the life of drudgery of the labourers as being in accordance with the highest Love.

He says on page 168:—"Die Mutter, die ihren Säugling stillt, giebt sich gerade hin, giebt ihren Leib ihren Kindern zur Nahrung, die ohne diese nicht leben blieben. Und das ist—Liebe. Ebenso giebt jeder Arbeiter sich selbst anderen zur Nahrung, für das Wohl anderer hin, indem er seinen Leib abnutzt in der Arbeit und sich dem Tode näher bringt."

This "ebenso" speaks plainly.

Now, I admit that Tolstoy does not consider the compulsory subjection of the labourers as an ideal condition. But it may be asked, if the true practice of love consists in destroying one's health and in shortening one's life while working for others, why do not Tolstoyans go and work in the factories and share the fate of those labourers, in order to be exploited themselves for the pleasure and the benefit of the employers? That they do not do so, that they stay at home or at best cultivate a little piece of land for themselves, bear in mind, proves how impracticable that ascetic theory is. I do not blame them for that, nor do I blame the old count. who could not lead a life in accordance with his theory. But then let them think better of it and leave off preaching such hollow theories as can never be applied and can never become a general principle of life. meaning people are totally demoralised by such idle words. Everything seems to be so beautiful, on the surface, so sublime, so godly. Man freed from the animal within him, being nothing but spirit!

Pitiful, nay disgusting, deception !

I have often seen that *spirit* in such people put to flight by the *animal*.

I'll offer to prove that those would-be ascetics, after having freed themselves from the greater part of their "worldly desires," in no respect had become better men. If only the wives of Tolstoyans would speak!

The sentimentality of the theory led to hypocrisy. Rats and mice were caught to be set at liberty in the open field—near a neighbour's premises, yet they called into question their neighbour's right to kill the hare that laid waste his grass field.

Having no property was represented as the highest blessedness and——they strongly bolted their doors to keep out the thieves. Let us be wiser.

Man is both a material and a spiritual being. These two are inseparable from each other, and a neglect or a denial of our corporeal well-being can lead to nothing but to the undermining of our spiritual welfare, as Dr. Baart de la Faille, whom nobody can regard as a materialist, observed in his dissertation on Tolstoy.

Spiritual elevation is impossible where all the powers are excited for our material needs. The happiness of man consists in the harmony between his bodily and spiritual well-being. Socialism, which has in view the happiness of all men, therefore rejects both a spiritual asceticism with which the majority of men are now charged, and a corporeal asceticism after which Tolstoy and his followers are striving. Both forms of asceticism are reactionary, and consequently they should be combated. Corporeal enjoyment raises man as much as spiritual enjoyment. That is why Socialists so earnestly attempt to rouse both in the lower classes.

And as this Socialist view of life is in accordance with what we know of human nature and the laws of man's existence, therefore it is a sound view, with which the future lies, and that of the Tolstoyans a sentimental view, which will necessarily die out in the near future.

By J. K. VAN DER VEER, translated from the Dutch by JAC. DE KAN.

(An article on the above subject and instigated by the first portion, which appeared in our June issue, will be published in our next.)

"WORK."

SECOND ARTICLE.

I have already spoken of the power of Zola's new work, but I was struck by the fact that in this book the economic and the political action of the proletariat are not shown sufficiently.

Zola leads society to Communism, which is the goal of the modern proletariat. But the work is not done by the proletariat itself; it is done by individuals, by capitalists disgusted with their lot, by learned men who wish to subdue nature for the good of all. These are the men who build the new city.

Thus in Zola's book the end is Communist but not the means. Humanity attains Communism but not by a united effort, not by the work of the people but by the sublime initiative and the heroic impulse of some few men of genius. It looks as if Zola had been dazzled by the magic and the glare of Fourier's genius and had gone back to what has been called "Utopian Socialism," which was to be attained not by class organisation and struggles of the exploited but by the advances of thought and the natural chain of vaster harmonies.

If this is the aim of the book of Z_2 is it runs counter to the proletarian movement for 50 years and to the law of history.

It is true that Zola renders us great services in again telling us that neither decrees nor dictators can renew society. We need the power of many and different groups, the free education of intelligence and will and of ever vaster systems of co-operation. It is true also that Zola disproves the error of nearly all the capitalists and of many Socialists in showing that it is not only a better distribution that is required of the riches of the present time. But we also need a more human, a more fraternal and a more rational social organisation in which the creative power of science will be increased and will allow a greater production of wealth. Communist order will make all men far richer than even the middle classes of our modern wasteful and cumbersome capitalist society.

If men could see this truth, if they could accustom their vision to the splendid horizon revealed by science, most of them would no longer resist the great forthcoming social transformation, and even selfish bourgeois would be in favour of the revolution. But selfish class interests render them blind.

Finally, it is true that at times some of the middle classes no longer act with that class. A minority of the nobility of the eighteenth century was in favour of the Encyclopædia and of the Revolution. A minority of the middle class will also condemn capitalism. They will be sick of their privileges, and of what suffering they entail. They will wish to put their life in harmony with the happiness of all.

Let us hope that Zola's book will contribute to this result. Let us hope that some young capitalists will see what Communism really means, and that they will not give up producing, but will, along with workingmen's associations, see how best they can prepare the coming Socialist rule.

Yes, all this is true, all this is good, and it is wrong to imagine that no man of the middle class will not be ready to fight with our comrades.

But when all this is admitted, yet we must repeat and always remember that the proletariat itself must work out its own salvation. If it does not organise, does not assert its rights, does not struggle, if it does not constantly seek to obtain the political and economic power of the middle class, all will languish, and the generous efforts of some individuals cannot compensate for the failure of activity on the part of the great revolutionary class. The work of 70la, so rich in thought and action, would be dangerous if it lulled the strenuous efforts, if it lessened the vigorous instinct of the proletariat.

But that is not really Zola's idea. One feels in his book that it is the struggles of the proletariat which have troubled and shaken the conscience of the middle class. And if Zola prefers to arrive at Communism by calm co-operative evolution he does not mean to say that this will necessarily always take place. At the end of the book Luke, the great social organiser, and Jordan, the great inventor, speak together for the last time, before dying, of their work, and of the state of the world. They say that elsewhere either by political or revolutionary action, or by collectivism, or by anarchy, humanity has arrived at the new era. The old world must disappear, peacefully and gently if possible, or, otherwise, by revolutionary means if fate can find no other way.

It is not right therefore to say that this great work is either timid or narrow. Zola's only fault has been an artistic one in only describing the Communist co-operation which he depicts and in leaving out the remainder of the political and revolutionary movement. But all these forces will be mixed, all these actions will interact one on the other. Science will become more powerful and will help men to conceive the idea of riches in Communism. The proletariat will try schemes of co-operative Communism and will get a training that way. Working men will capture political power by degrees and we shall have Socialists on all public bodies.

This could not be shown in a novel, and Zola had to be content in showing what science and co-operation could do. But it was Communist co-operation and revolutionary science.

It is an admirable work. It has an epic grandeur like Hugo's "Légende des Siècles." Read and re-read the last pages. Luke and Jordan have finished their work, they are talking for the last time at sunset. They see the old familiar landscape. Luke looks for the last time at the Communist city, joyful and fraternal, which has risen from the co-operative seed which he sowed long ago; Jordan rejoices at having captured the sun's heat for the science of man.

This appears to me finer than anything I know of in fiction or verse. In the old days the poets exalted gods, but now it is man who, older than any god, is the poet's hero.

In Zola social revolution has at last found its poet.

JEAN JAURES.
(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

Note.—I should strongly recommend the reading of this novel in French, though it has been translated into English by Mr. Vizetelly. As showing the interest taken in it on the Continent, I may mention that a Dutch translation is appearing in *Het Volk*, and a German translation in *Vorwaerts* and the *Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung*.

J. B.

ZOLA'S "TRAVAIL" AND JAURÈS' CRITICISM.

In the last number of the Social-Democrat there appeared a criticism by Jaurès of Zola's last novel, "Travail," translated from the Petite République by "Jacques Bonhomme." I had seen this article when it was first printed and I intended to say something about what seemed to me its mistaken view of the book, even if the criticism had remained in the original French. But now that Jaurès' very favourable appreciation has been thought worthy of being translated into English I feel bound to enter my protest. Nobody will accuse me of underrating Zola. Adolphe Smith, I think, gave the best criticism on him, some years ago, which has yet appeared in any language, pointing out that he is the direct descendant of the realist Defoe, rising in some respects above his famous ancestor in letters. "Germinal" alone is enough to secure for Zola a permanent place in the literature of the nineteenth century. But genius is often unequal in its productions and "Travail" to my mind is rather on the level of "Nana" than on that of Zola's greater works.

There are powerful scenes in "Travail" beyond question. The opening descriptions of the coal and iron men on strike, with the hunger and misery engendered thereby for themselves and their families, are admirably done. Here and there afterwards, also, as in the scene when the old foreman of the smelting furnace deliberately commits suicide on seeing the new electric smelters; and in the terrible death struggle when the head of the great ironworks burns down his house in order that he and his selfish and faithless wife may perish in the flames, Zola proves that his power remains, though it may be fitfully displayed. But, taken as a whole, "Travail" shows that Zola is weary. His pen has lost its capacity for that close and continuous analysis of the situation which compels the reader to follow him however much he may dislike his methods; and such a spasmodic and uncalled for scene of bestiality as that between Ragu and Madame Delayeau shocks every artistic feeling, without any compensating advantage whatever. A hideous rape of this kind, having no bearing on the plot and leading to no development of character, cannot be excused to the author. I venture to say, therefore, in opposition to Jaurès, that "Travail" as a novel is, for Zola, poor stuff, and I can scarcely doubt that Jaurès, with his fine literary taste, would have promptly seen the truth of this and expressed it, but for his natural feeling of admiration for Zola himself; or possibly also because he has more sympathy than I have with the second part of the work.

Here the novel proper ceases and we have from Zola an attempt to show that a well-managed co-operative industrial establishment can successfully encounter and overthrow the greatest manufacturing institutions of capitalism even under the $r\acute{e}gime$ of capital itself. A modified phalanstery of the Fourier pattern is established by a noble young engineer with the help, given wholly for his friend's sake, of a well-to-do young chemist of genius. After many difficulties, accompanied by opposition and outrage

even from those whom they are trying to serve, this pair of philanthropists succeed in creating a happy valley of pleasurable work, uncontaminated natural beauty, general comfort, and common enjoyment where before misery, filth, and excessive toil were only to be seen. It is fairly well, but not very well, done. As one reads it is impossible not to sympathise somewhat with the protest of the bitter Anarchist who declaims against the monotony of the surroundings, and clamours for some outlet for the faculties of man other than that afforded by three meals a day provided punctually and the mild enjoyments of the nicely-ordered society around him. It constitutes a contrast to the horrors of the past, but it falls far short of the ideal of the future. Zola has, as he says, attempted to Fourierise a locality. Was it worth while In my opinion it was not.

For the whole conception runs on the wrong lines. To begin with, the founder of the enterprise would never have had a ghost of a chance of success against the organised forces of progressive capitalism. A single great Trust would have gobbled him up as the lilly-white duck of nursery rhyme disposed of poor froggy. We can imagine one of the powerful Trustifiers taking stock of the situation when he awakened to what was being done: "This little knot of co-operators with their chemist mean to undersell me and capture my markets, do they? Where do they get their raw material? What price What's their capital? are they selling at? We'll soon take order with them." And the fiat would go forth to the managers of the various departments of the Trust: "Sell all goods manufactured by those co-operators who are meddling with us at 20, 30, 50 per cent. below their cost price for two years if necessary. Get them out of the way anyhow." And straightway M. Zola the creator and M. Jaurès the admirer of this pretty little bubble, with its pretty little prismatic colours, would see it all pricked into nothingness in a very short space of time. Why should a great writer like Zola condescend to such unthought-out and crude imaginings? This is not realism nor is it in any Fourier himself, were he living to-day, and could sense scientific idealism. witness that development of competitive capitalism into monopolist capitalism which he predicted, would, I take leave to assert, be the foremost to deplore such perversion of his deeper teachings. His phalansteries, like Robert Owen's actual experiment at New Lanark, were and could be nothing but utopias, instructive and well-meant, but still utopias under the conditions even of his time. To-day they are manifestly out of date altogether.

Yet this attempt to work outside the lines of hard material Socialism and scientific economics is not only weak but injurious. Anything at the present moment which tends to divert the minds of the mass of the people from the study, with a view to the mastering, of the stupendous developments going on around them tends to check the conscious and capable advance of the race. Men of letters of high attainments have far too much influence to-day. Because Zola has written "Germinal" and Tolstoy "Anna Karenina," the world is ready to listen to the weak forecasting of the one and the foolish asceticism of the other. We might just as well be

guided in philosophy by Rostand, or in chemistry by Meredith.

In short, with great regard and admiration for Jaurès as an orator and a journalist—however much I may differ from him as to his tactics—I think he has made a serious mistake in estimating the value of this last work of Zola's. And I am quite certain that if it has any influence in inducing Socialists to try to compete on a large scale with the newer developments of capitalism the results of such misplaced energy will be nothing better than disappointment and regret.

H. M. Hyndman.

IS GREAT BRITAIN LIVING ON ITS CAPITAL?

A REPLY TO SIR ROBERT GIFFEN AND MR. H. MORGAN-BROWNE.

Under the above title the author of "Drifting" contributes another of his remarkable series of articles on the economic decay of Great Britain to the Contemporary Review. Sir R. Giffen, in a lecture to the Institute of Bankers, and Mr. Morgan-Browne, in the June Contemporary, having contradicted the author's statement that Great Britain is living on its capital, the author, after stating that he would be happy if he could share the optimism of his two critics regarding the economic position of the country, and that his wish is to be correct and not sensational, proceeds to examine the two statements, and to point out a few of the glaring fallacies which they contain.

SIR ROBERT GIFFEN'S LECTURE.

Sir R. Giffen asserts that, "Broadly speaking, a community could not waste capital in the same way that an individual might do by selling property and consuming what was obtained from the sale."*

If the theory were correct it would follow that a rich nation is bound to remain rich, however badly its business may be managed. But just as a workman can sell his tools and spend the proceeds, even so can a nation live on its capital, its wealth-creating resources, by selling them to the foreigners or using them up. An agricultural nation can live on its capital by exhausting the soil, and a trading nation by exhausting its trade and not diminishing its expenses; or even increasing them owing to an increasing Nations are composed of individuals. If, owing to bad trade, population the individuals of a nation earn less than they spend they will annually realise some capital. Preferably they will sell stocks or shares. If, on the other hand, trade is good, these individuals will invest their surplus earnings somehow; largely in stocks and sharer. If at the same period one nation is becoming impoverished whilst another is prospering, the first nation sells securities which are acquired by individuals of the second, who seek cheap investments. Thus our formerly enormous holdings of Continental and American investments acquired in the time of British prosperity, have left this country in exchange for foreign food and manufactured articles which we have consumed, and of which no trace is left.

Sir R. Giffen makes a still more extraordinary statement later on: "... if a nation, when parting with some of its property or capital to individuals of another nation, should at the same time be investing an equal amount at home, clearly there would be no reduction of that nation's capital in the aggregate."

Let me suppose one-half of Great Britain's capital was invested at home and the other half abroad. If all our foreign investments were realised and the proceeds invested in British stocks, land, &c., all such property, would rise by—say—100 per cent. But can any sane man imagine that our

^{*} The quotations given are copied from the Times Report, May 23.

national wealth-creating resources would remain unchanged, whether we do or do not possess our foreign railways, mines, tea estates, &c. ?

National capital does not consist of figures on paper; it consists of solid property, goodwill, claims, &c. If a nation loses one-half of this and quotes the remaining half 100 per cent. higher, its capital has apparently, and on paper, not changed in value, owing to an artificial inflation, which will only remain temporarily, but in reality the nation has lost half of its capital all the same, in spite of the statisticians. If Sir R. Giffen's deductions were correct, we might double the national capital by Act of Parliament. By calling half-a-sovereign a sovereign the nation would be twice as rich.

Sir R. Giffen says further on "... those who provided the Government with the money provided it out of income and not out of capital."

Men with diminishing incomes are often unable to defray even their current household expenses out of their income, and, of course, still more the taxes. Consequently they will trench on their capital, saying to themselves, "My money will last me out; I give my children a good education, and they will have to shift for themselves." Has Sir Robert never heard that many people spend more than they earn?

Sir Robert says: "The aggregate income of Germany is £1,000,000,000 a

year and of Great Britain £1,500,000,000 a year."

These figures are as fanciful-hypothetical as the calculation of the age of the earth, differing by millions of years. If we bear in mind that the solid national prosperity of Germany is incomparably greater than it is in Great Britain, and this is confirmed by a study of the German Savings Bank returns, the German manufacturing industries supply a home market of more than 55,000,000 people against only 41,000,000 supplied by our own, German and British exports are about equal, the German rural industries are producing about four times the value that we produce, and that German industries are vigorously expanding while ours have partly become stationary and are partly decaying, Sir Robert's assertion of the comparative income of both nations seems to be in flagrant opposition to facts. Consequently a business man who knows Germany well would hesitate to accept Sir Robert's statement at its face value. Even if his figures were mathematically correct they would still be merely figures, not facts, for they would not indicate the comparative wealth of both countries. The value of a national income depends almost entirely upon what can be bought with it in the home market, where most of it is spent. Living being cheaper in Germany, a national income of £1,000,000,000 may represent greater national wealth than £1,500,000,000 in Great Britain.

Sir R. Giffen tells us: "Military expenditure burdened the United Kingdom much less than our military neighbours. We could add greatly to that expenditure and still be no more burdened in proportion." The burden of military expenditure is apparent from the burden of general taxation, and the burden of taxation is evidenced by the condition of the masses who have to bear it. If you want to compare the prosperity of the German and British masses in order to verify whether the English masses are less burdened by taxation than our neighbours, do not look at any figures, but compare the peoples themselves, their towns, farms and homes, and you will find a striking difference very much in favour of Germany. The writer recently visited a large number of German towns and found striking prosperity and an absence of slums and visible poverty, in spite of diligent researches. On the other hand, he knows no English manufacturing town that is not full of slums and the most abject poverty. If Sir R. Giffen prefers figures to facts, the smallness of the margin of taxability in Great Britain

as compared with Germany is proved by comparing the Savings Bank returns. Great Britain with 41,500,000 inhabitants has only about £190,000,000 in the Savings Banks, while Saxony with less than 4,000,000 inhabitants has more than £50,000,000, and Prussia with 34,000,000 inhabitants has £250,000,000 in their Savings Banks. The average Briton has £4 15s. to his credit in the Savings Banks, the Saxon £12 10s., the Prussian £8. But the German masses possess besides freehold land and houses in which the peasants and workmen invest their savings. Consequently the savings of the Germans are under-represented by the Savings Bank returns.

From these samples of "scientific" arguing it will be clear how unsafe it is for a business community to be led in its commercial and fiscal policy by theorists, and how much safer it is to follow our own common-sense than the doctrines of abstract scientists completely out of touch with the living economic interests of the nation.

The author gives a few instances of loss of national capital, challenging Sir R. Giffen to disprove them. He does not know the actual value of the capital lost, but invites Sir R. Giffen to convert these values into figures. National capital has been lost:—

- (1) By valuable land going out of cultivation in Great Britain.
- (2) By the decay of our dairy and farmyard industries.
- (3) By the decay of most of our manufacturing industries.
- (4) By the loss of foreign markets to our traders.
- (5) By the loss of our industrial and commercial reputation and connections abroad, called goodwill in private businesses.
- (6) By financial losses. For instance, English factories, waterworks, gasworks, railways, &c., used to be dotted all over the Continent. same time, we financed the trade of the whole Continent and the United States; we financed foreign Governments wanting to raise loans; we built the American railways; we were the bankers of the whole world. enterprises have gone into Continental hands. Nearly the whole of those vast sums have disappeared from the Continent and the United States. Nearly the whole of our immense holdings in foreign Government stocks, American rails, and South African and Argentine investments, are held in Germany and France. We have had to go to the United States to float our war loans at a fair price, and Consols are standing at £94, at which price they are considered too dear on the Stock Exchange. Evidently a large proportion of our large funds formerly lent out to the whole world has been lost, partly through bad debts, as in the case of the South American Republics, and partly through extravagance at home, for otherwise there should be a perfect glut of money in Great Britain waiting for investment, and Consols should be above par in spite of the war.
- (7) Sir R. Giffen rightly remarks that when we come to examine specific cases of nations wasting their capital we have to look for signs of the national estate deteriorating for want of repairs. This may be found in the backwardness of our railways, canals, &c., and our factories full of out-of-date machinery, and if we compare that deterioration of the factors of production with the state of affairs in the United States and Germany, we see everywhere that "out of repair" which Sir R. Giffen apparently fails to see. But our workers have also "deteriorated for want of repair" by the inferiority of British primary, technical and scientific education compared with the education in America and Germany. This is another very serious loss of capital representing the decreased earning power of the nation.

Mr. H. MORGAN-BROWNE'S ARTICLE.

This article ("Are We Decaying?") bears a different character to Sir R. Giffen's lecture and is likely to deceive the public in a matter of vital

importance.

Mr. Morgan-Browne complains that the writer has used different periods for the comparison of British, German and French agriculture. Quite true; the reason being that in different countries the cattle census and other statistics are only taken in certain years and not every year. Mr. Morgan-Browne gives cattle returns of his own and dwells triumphantly on the fact of a decrease of 14,132,634 sheep in Germany between 1873 and 1897, and concludes:—"The facts properly stated do not show any alarming decrease of agriculture, always admitting the well-known reduction in the acreage under wheat." Further on, our amateur agriculturist says: "With regard to Germany, the great increase (of cattle) may be accounted for by a great decrease in the number of sheep."

He speaks with as much knowledge about sheep as Lobengula might on

the differential calculus.

Let us look at the German cattle statistics, at the meaning of that disastrous decrease in sheep in Germany, which I left out as unimportant, but over which Mr. Morgan-Browne crows so exultingly.

LIVE STOCK IN GERMANY.

			Increase or Decrease.				
	1883.	1900.		Numbers.	Value.		
Horses	 3,522,000	4,180,000	+	658,000	+	£18,525,000	
Sheep	 24,999,000	9,682,000	_	15,317,000	_	7,610,000	
Pigs	 7,124,000	16,693 000	+	9,569,000	+	23,105,000	
Goats	 2,320,000	3,207,000	+	887,000	+	510,000	

Mr. Morgan-Browne, in his ex parte statement, makes the greatest fuss possible over a decrease in sheep of only £7,610,000 in value, but passes over in silence an increase of other cattle, valued at £79,210,000.

Now compare the corresponding British returns:-

	1883.			1889. Latest available.	Increase or Decrease.	
Horses	 	1,898,745		2,038,092	+	139,347
Cattle	 	10,097,943		11,344,696	+	1,246,753
Sheep	 	28,347,560		31,680,225	+	3,332,665
Pigs	 	3,986,427		4,003 589	+	17,162

One-third of Germany being covered with woods, the area available for

rural industries is only 38 per cent. larger than in Great Britain.

The following tables give at a glance a comparative statement of the German and British rural industries, in which Mr. Morgan-Browne fails to see the alarming state of our rural industries, but which will appear very alarming to every agriculturist and statesman.

	-6	+	3 6			10	Germany.		•	United Kingdom.
1898		area	under	corn c	горз		37,784,716	1898		8,816,756
,,				green	,,		11,084,365	11		4,261,441
,,				clover			4,451,093	,,		6,211,012
,,			,, pe	rmane	nt pas	ture	14,611,223	,,		27,978,099
									Late	st available.
1900			Horses				4,180,000	1899		2,028,092
33			Cattle				19,011,000	,,,		11,344,696
,,			Sheep				9,682,000	,,		31,680,225
,,			Pigs				16,693,000	,,		4,003,589

The above figures are a crushing proof of the decay of British rural industries. With an area for rural industries only 38 per cent. larger than ours, Germany has four times the acreage under corn, three times the acreage under green crops, possesses twice the number of horses, nearly twice the number of cattle, and more than four times more pigs than we possess. Our rural proponderance over Germany is in the crops and live stock of the most inferior kind, in clover, grass and sheep. This state of things has Mr. Morgan-Browne's approval.

In spite of the accepted fact of our shrinking exports Mr. Morgan-Browne gives what he calls the "sober truth" of our export trade in the following

misleading figures:

British exports during the last 25 years:

1875 1900			 		223,500,000 291,500,000
	Increase	724.2	 	Visi	£68.000.000

Mr. Morgan-Browne deduces Great Britain's industrial supremacy from these figures. Let us look into what he calls his "sober truth." The British exports amounted to:

£.

			-W
1873	 •••	 	 255,200,000
1898	 	 	 233,400,000
1899	 • • •	 	 264,500,000
1900	 •••	 	 291,500,000

The rise in exports between 1898 and 1900 is merely due to an enormous and unprecedented rise in the price of the raw materials used in our staple industries, by which America mostly profited, and not at all to improved trade, as Mr. Morgan-Browne would have us believe. The facts of his "sober truth" may be seen from the following tables:

PRICES (taken from the Economist of the last week in December).

		1898.	1899.	1900.
Coal, per ton		17s.	27s.	239.
Cotton, per lb		2 5 d.	3 5 d.	4 13 d.
Copper (G.M.B.), per	ton	£57 $\frac{3}{4}$	£70	£72 $\frac{3}{4}$
Scotch pig iron, per to		49s. 61d.	65. 8d.	61s. 3d.
Tin, per ton		£85	£117	£129

Nearly the entire increase in our exports took place in coal, iron, and in cotton goods. Let us see whether the exports of our manufactured articles have really risen, by looking at the quantities exported by our staple industries:

Typopre

	1898.	1899.	1900.
Cotton piece goods (yds.)	5,216 058,800	5,438,944,200	5,031,917,000
Cotton yarns (lbs.)	246,663,200	213,124,000	158,272 900
Iron and Steel (tons)	3,244,350	3,717,180	3,540,689

These figures show that Mr. Morgan-Browne's jubilation is unjustified, and that his "sober truth" is neither sober nor true.

The reader is also warned against attaching too much value to statistics.

Exact statistics do not exist.

The writer concludes by saying that, although he has proved the economic decay of Great Britain by figures, they are simply used for the sake of illustration and he does not attach much value to them. His object is not a theoretical but a practical one.

MAXIME GÖRKI.

ALEXEI MAXIMOVITCH PESHKOFF was born March 14, 1869, at Nijni Novgorod. He belonged to the people, both on his father's and mother's side; his father had followed the trade of a jobbing upholsterer. parents died when he was quite young, and he passed then under the care of his grandfather, a cruel and tyrannical old man, who had already so ill-treated young Maxime's father when the latter was a lad that he ran away from home. This exploit was repeated by our author, who, after a few months spent under his grandfather's roof, during five of which only he attended school and the rest of the time was apprenticed to a shoemaker, began his life of roving by taking service as galley-boy The cook on the steamer, whom it was his on board a river steamer. duty to help, was a reader and something of a character; he possessed a small library, which he allowed his galley-boy to read, and it was here that Görki felt the first awakening of literary instinct, though he had always from the time he left school, at nine years old, read everything that fell into his hands. The cook's library contained, amongst other authors. Nekrassoff; translations of the works of Ann Radcliff; a volume of Sovrememick, whose editor was Tchernichewsky, the translator and commentator of John Stuart Mill; Iscra and several works in Little Russian; the lives of the Saints, and works by some mystical writers; some odd volumes of Dumas, and some Freemason's literature. This odd collection of miscellaneous writings gave the boy Görki, now fifteen years of age, a burning desire to obtain some degree of culture, and awoke in him the wish to write. He left the steamer and wandered to Kazan, where he was told free instruction could be obtained. Here, in order to maintain himself, he had to enter a bakery at three roubles, or six shillings, a month, and he speaks of this work as being the hardest that he ever did, with the exception of work in the salt mines, which he describes in one of his essays. A powerful story, written later in life, called "The Outcasts," is a truthful reflection of the people amongst whom he lived and worked at this period of his life, and there is in it much that is autobiographical. He lived amongst these outcasts of society, chopping and sawing wood, carrying burdens and earning a living as best he could, and in the intervals of manual work, picking up what instruction fell in his way. On leaving Kazan he tried his luck as a signalman on the railway at Tzaritzine.

At the age of twenty he had to return to Nijni Novgorod, in order to perform his years of military service, but he failed to pass the health test, and was rejected as not strong enough for service. For some time after this he sold "kwass" in the streets, until he managed to get a situation in a lawyer's office. This lawyer, whose name was Lanine, eventually took a great interest in Görki, and influenced him much in his reading and general culture. But a settled and sedentary life did not suit him, and in 1890 we find him again wandering through Southern Russia and two years later he was working at

Tiflis, in the Caucasus, in the railway engineering shops. At this time also his first story, "Markar Tchoudra" appeared in a local paper. The budding talent in his stories being recognised he returned to the Volga, where he had spent so much of his youth, and began writing short stories for the Volgessky Viesknick. These were followed by a longer story, "Emilia Pilai," which appeared in an important Moscow paper, the Russky Viedimoski; and a lucky chance having brought him across Korolenko, Görki, through the influence of this leading Russian man of letters, was able to place his writings in some of the most important periodicals of the day. Korolenko did much for him also in the way of advice, and Görki wrote later of this period of his life : "If I learnt little it was not Korolenko's fault but my own."

Görki acknowledges the four literary influences of his life to have been those of the cook on the steamer; secondly, of Lanine; thirdly, of Kaligny, a Nihilist; and fourthly, of Korolenko. Of late years he has been forbidden, because of political writings, to enter St. Petersburg or Moscow, and his name appeared lately amongst those who were arrested early this year at the time of the student troubles, occasioned by the forcible and illegal enlistment in the Russian army of students who had been concerned in breaches of university discipline.

Görki possesses a literary style peculiarly his own, characterised by a spontaneity and freshness, and a freedom from the ordinary tricks of literature which charm and surprise one at every turn. His philosophy of life consists in accepting and delineating life as it is, neither excusing nor exaggerating, but depicting the morals, the habits, the soul of the tramp and vagabond as faithfully as in him lies. His nom de plume, "Görki" signifies "bitter," and his realism is often intensely flavoured with this quality; but the restless pessimism of his soul is counterbalanced by his passion for nature and music, and by the consolations which are granted to delicately responsive temperaments in cloud, water and sunset effects, in the midnight march of the stars, and in aspirations towards an ideal of liberty, and of revolt from the trammels of a worn-out civilisation. Görki has found many admirers in France and Germany, where his works are being daily translated. A writer in the Revue de Paris says of him, "It is possible that it is not only as an artist that Görki has enriched life; he has made real for us a large class of our fellow beings whom before we knew nothing of. . . . Less successful when delineating other classes of society, he is a prophet of revolt, especially from bourgeoisideals of life, from comfort, from conventions. . . . His constant message seems to be that man must give to each moment of his life the nobility of his fierce rebellion. He has sung the praises of the revolted, not because they realise happiness in the least, but because they stamp their life strongly with the seal of their tremendous will-power."

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

ON THE STEPPES. TOLD BY A TRAMP.

. . . . We left Perekopp in the worst possible humour-hungry as wolves, and angry with the whole world. From early in the morning we had been trying to turn our talents and efforts to account, either by stealing or earning something, and when at length we were forced to the conclusion that neither one nor the other was likely to be crowned with success, we made up our minds to push on. But where ? Just on, and on. This was the unanimous but silent decision taken by us all; for we were ready to go on, in every sense of the word, along the path of life which we had already for some time been tramping. This decision was no less silent than the previous one, though it flashed forth from under the lowering gloom of our hungry eyes.

There were three of us; our acquaintanceship was of recent date. We dropped across one another in a vodka shop in Kherson, on the banks of the

Dnieper.

One of us had been a soldier attached to the railway brigade, and later on took service as a platelayer on one of the Viesla lines; a red-haired, muscular man, with cold grey eyes; he could speak German, and had an

extensive knowledge of prison life.

Folk like us don't care much to speak of their past life, having always more or less good reasons for not doing so; and all of us believed one another—at least apparently—for inwardly each of us had ceased to trust even himself.

The second one of the party was a shrivelled, dried up little man, with thin lips, always sceptically pursed up; and when he told us that he was a former student of Moscow University, the soldier and I took it as a matter

of course.

As a matter of fact it was all the same to us whether he was a student, a spy, or a rogue. All that concerned us was that during our present acquaintanceship he was our equal; he was hungry, he enjoyed in towns the special attention of the police, and in villages was looked upon by the peasants with suspicion. He hated both town and village with the hatred of an impotent hunted hungry animal, and used to dream of a general vengeance on all and on everything. In a word, as regards his position amongst the chosen ones of nature, and the powerful ones of life, and as regards his disposition, he was one of us.

Misfortune is the strongest cement in the uniting of characters, even divergent ones; and we were all deeply convinced of our right to consider

ourselves unfortunate.

The third was myself. From that natural modesty which has distinguished me from my earliest days, I shall not say a word about my own qualities; and not wishing to appear before you as a knave, I shall be silent on the subject of my faults. But as a clue to my character I shall allow myself to mention that I always considered myself as superior to the others, and continue to do so till the present day.

Well, we left Perekopp, and were trudging along with nothing in view but bread, which we might beg of the shepherds, who seldom refused

the petition of wayfarers.

I was walking abreast of the soldier, and the "student" was striding behind us. Something that suggested the remains of a coat was hanging on his back. On his close cropped head, adorned with a striking variety of bumps, rested composedly what was little more than a recollection of a broadbrimmed hat. His thin legs were clad in tight grey breeches, with variegated patches; to the soles of his feet he had bound with strips of rag torn from the linings of his clothes the old uppers of a boot he had found on the road; this arrangement he called sandals, and he shuffled along in them, kicking up the dust as he went, and glancing from side to side with furtive eyes. The soldier wore a red shirt, which, according to his own account, was actually bought by himself in Kernoneff. Over this shirt he wore a thick wadded waistcoat; on his head, worn with a military cock, was a soldier's cap of

indefinite colour, and on his legs hung loosely wide moujik trousers; he was barefooted.

I was dressed much in the same style, and was also barefooted. We trudged along and on all sides of us stretched the immense boundless steppes, looking like a huge round flat black bowl, under the hot blue dome of a summer sky. The grey, dusty road cut through the distance like a broad stripe, whilst its baked surface burnt our feet. From time to time we came across bristly patches of freshly cut corn, which bore a strange resemblance to the soldier's stubbly cheeks. He stepped along, singing in a rather hoarse voice:

"The blessed resurrection,
We greet, and sing its praise."

Whilst serving in the army he had performed the duties of a deacon in the garrison chapel, and knew an endless number of these sacred songs, to which he always had recourse whenever the conversation flagged.

Ahead of us, on the horizon, rose a delicate sky-line, steeped in tones that

shaded from lilac to pale pink.

"These are evidently the Crimean hills," said the "student" in a dry voice.

"Hills?" exclaimed the soldier. "It's too early in the day to see hills yet, my friend. Those are clouds, nothing but clouds. See how strange they look; they are of the colour of curdled milk and fruit."

I hinted that it would be extremely agreeable if these clouds were in reality curdled milk and fruit. This suddenly aroused our hunger—the bane

of our life.

"Damn it all!" cursed the soldier, spitting on one side. "If we could but come across a living soul, but there isn't one. We shall have to do as the bears in the woods do, and suck our own paws."

"I told you we ought to have kept to inhabited parts of the country,"

said the "student" didactically.

"You told us so," exclaimed the soldier indignantly. "All your learning is nothing but words. What inhabited places are there here! The devil only knows where they are."

The "student" pursed up his lips silently the sun was setting the clouds on the horizon were taking on them a variety of colours, indescribable in words a mingled smell of earth and of salt arose from the ground This dry and savoury smell increased our appetites more and more.

A gnawing feeling took possession of our stomachs—a strange and disagreeable feeling as if from all the muscles of our bodies the life juices were exuding, evaporating, and as if the muscles themselves were losing their elasticity. A pricking dryness filled the mouth and throat, the head grew dizzy, and now and again dark spots flashed and danced before the eyes. Sometimes these took the form of hot, steaming meats, sometimes of loaves of bread; fancy attaching to these "silent visions of the past," their own particular smells, and then it seemed as if a knife were being turned in the stomach. Still, on we went, sharing with each other the description of our impressions, and keeping a keen look-out on either side lest a flock of sheep might be seen, or listening for the squeaking creak of the Tartar's cart, carrying fruit to the Armenian market.

But the steppe was void and silent. . . . On the eve of this unlucky day we three had eaten four pounds of rye bread and five water-melons; after which we walked forty versts and, the expenses not equalling

the income, we fell asleep on the market-place of Perekopp, and awoke at

the call of hunger.

The "student" wisely advised us not to go to sleep, but to take advantage of the night for business; . . . but in respectable society it is not considered correct to speak of projects bearing on the violation of the rights of property, and, therefore I keep silence. . . . I only wish to be truthful, but it is not in my own interests to be brutal. I know that people are growing more tender-hearted in these highly-cultivated days; and even when they take their neighbour by the throat, with the evident intention of throttling him, they try to do it with all the amiability in the world, and with the strict regard for etiquette proper to the circumstances. The experience that my own throat has undergone causes me to observe this advance in manners, and, with an agreeable feeling of deep conviction, I assert that everything in this world develops and becomes perfect. More especially is this wonderful process admirably proved by the annual growth of prisons, vodka shops and brothels.

Striving thus to swallow down the saliva of hunger, and making an effort to appease the tortures of the stomach by friendly talk, we tramped along the vast and silent steppes in the ruddy rays of the sunset, full of vague hope. . . . We watched the sun sinking quietly into the soft clouds, richly coloured by its rays, whilst behind us, and on either side, a bluish mist rising up from the steppes towards the sky veiled the gloomy landscape behind us.

"Come, mates, gather some fuel for a fire," said the soldier, picking up a log from the ground. "It seems as if we shall have to spend the night on the steppes. The dew is heavy. . . . Take twigs, dung, anything you find." We scattered on either side of the road, and began collecting dried weeds and anything else that would burn. Each time one of us stooped towards the earth the whole body seemed possessed with an intense desire to throw itself down full length, to lie there motionless and eat eat long . . . eat to repletion . . . and then fall asleep. Though it might be an eternal sleep only to eat, and eat to chew to feel a warm thick mash slowly sliding down the parched gullet into the starved, contracted stomach, aching with the desire to absorb something into itself.

"If we could but find some roots," said the soldier. "Eatable roots are sometimes to be found."

But in the black, ploughed ground there were no roots to be had. The southern night came on suddenly, and the last ray of the sun had scarcely disappeared, when in the dark blue sky stars began to twinkle, and around us black shadows blended, narrowing the vast extent of the boundless steppes which swallowed us up.

"Brothers!" said the "student" on the left in a low voice; "there is a man lying down!"

"A man?" laughed the soldier, incredulously; "what can a man be doing lying there?"

"Go and ask! Probably he has bread, if he has made up his mind to spend the night on the steppes," exclaimed the "student."

The soldier looked in the direction indicated, and spitting resolutely,

said:

"Come and see!"

Only the green, sharp eyes of the "student" could discern that the dark heap which lay some hundred yards to the left of the road was a man.

We approached him quickly, striding over the heaps of ploughed ground and feeling that the aroused hope for food had sharpened the pangs of

We had already got near, but the man did not move.

"Perhaps, after all, it's not a man!" the soldier gloomily expressed the idea common to us all. But all doubt was at the same moment dispelled, for the heap on the ground suddenly began moving, and we saw that it was a real flesh-and-blood person, who knelt, stretching out his hand towards us.

He spoke in a dull shaky voice:

"Don't come nearer, or I shall shoot you."

Through the misty air we heard the short, dry crack of a pistol. We stopped as if at a word of command, and for several seconds we were silent, taken aback by this uncourteous greeting.

"What a brute!" muttered the soldier.

"That he is," answered the "student" reflectively. "He goes about with a revolver one can see the sort of fellow he is."

"I say!" shouted the soldier, having evidently taken a decision.

The man did not change his position and remained silent.

"I say! whoever you are. We won't touch you; only give us some bread. You're sure to have some do, for Christ's sake ! damn damn" the last words were uttered under his breath.

Still the man remained silent.

"Can't you hear?" continued the soldier, trembling with rage and "Give us some bread! do! We won't go near you; throw it to us."

"All right," curtly answered the man.

If even he had added "my dear brothers," and if he had poured into these blessed words the most sacred and pure feeling, they would not have touched us and humanised us so much as did this gruff and brief "all

right."

"Don't be afraid of us, my good fellow," continued the soldier, with a soft and ingratiating smile, which was lost on the stranger, who was still at least twenty paces distance from us; "we are quiet people, travelling from Russia to the Kouban. We were out of our reckoning in money matters. and have eaten everything off our backs. This is the second day since we had a morsel in our mouths."

"Here, catch!" said the sympathising man, swinging his arm The black object flashed out, and fell near us on the ploughed

ground. The "student" rushed to catch it.
"Here, catch!.... Here's some more and some more!"

When the student had finished gathering up this strange alms, we found that it was four pounds of hard wheaten bread; it was soiled with earth and very stale; we paid little heed to the first fact, but the second gave us great pleasure. Stale bread is more satisfying than new bread, for it has less moisture in it.

"Here's for you and for you and for you" The soldier divided busily the pieces. "Stop! that isn't fair; let me take a bit off yours my friend, for the philosopher, for his share's not big

The "student" put up with the loss of a few ounces of his bread without remonstrance. It fell to my share, and soon found its way into my

I began chewing it slowly with convulsive movements of the jaws, which seemed ready to crush even a stone. The contraction of the gullet gave me

a sensation of keen delight, as did also the slow satisfaction of my hunger. Bit by bit the warm and indescribably delicious food found its way into the hot stomach and seemed there to be transformed into blood and brain. Joy, a strange, calm and vivifying joy, gradually warmed the heart at the same time as the stomach was being satisfied with food, and I fell into a half dreamy state. I forgot the cursed days of constant chronic hunger, and forgot also my companions, engrossed, for the time being, by the sensations I was experiencing.

But when with the palm of my hand I jerked the last crumbs of bread

into my mouth, I felt I was still mortally hungry.

"That cursed dog over there, he has got some bacon left, and some sort of meat" growled the soldier, sitting on the ground opposite me, and

rubbing his stomach with his hands.

"Yes, that's certain, for the bread smelt of meat. And I believe he's got more bread left," said the "student," whilst he added, in a low voice, "If it were not for that revolver."

"Who can he be, I wonder?" "The chances are he's one of us." "Dog!" concluded the soldier.

We were sitting in a close group, and glancing askance towards the spot where crouched our benefactor with the revolver.

No sound came from his direction nor any sign of life.

Night was gathering around us its dark powers A deadly quiet reigned over the steppes We could hear each other's breathing. From time to time was heard the distant melancholy whistle of the shrew mouse. . . . The stars, the living flowers of the sky, glittered overhead. . . . We were hungry.

I can say with pride that during this rather strange night I was neither worse nor better than my casual acquaintances. I suggested that we should get up and attack the man; not to hurt him, but to get hold of all the food he had with him. He may shoot well, let him. . . . If he succeeds in hitting anyone, he can only hit one out of the three; and even if he should aim straight a bullet from a revolver would hardly kill.

"Come on!" said the soldier, jumping to his feet.

The "student" rose more slowly. We went off almost at a run.

The "student" kept behind, and rather away from us.

"Come, mate!" exclaimed the soldier in a reproachful tone.

In front of us we heard a muttered threat, the sharp click of a trigger, a flash of fire, the report of a pistol.

"Missed!" exclaimed the soldier joyfully, jumping with a bound on to

man. "Now, you devil! won't I give it you!"
The "student" made a rush at the bag.

The "devil" fell on his back, his arms flung out on the ground, and a choking sound in his throat.

"What the deuce does that mean?" exclaimed the astonished soldier,

who had raised his foot prepared to kick the stranger.

"Could he have shot himself?.... Hi!.... you there!.... Hi! Have you shot yourself, or what's the matter?"

"Meat! some kinds of biscuits and bread plenty of everything, mates! " sounded the triumphant voice of the

"Well! curse you! die if you like! let's come and eat, mates!" shouted the soldier.

I took the revolver out of the hand of the man, who lay now motionless, the choking sounds in his throat having ceased. In the barrel only one bullet remained.

Again we fell to and ate in silence.

The stranger lay by our side, also silent, and without moving a limb. We paid no heed to him.

Suddenly we heard uttered in a hoarse, trembling voice: "Dear friends

. . . . can you behave like this just for a piece of bread?"

A shudder ran through us. The "student" choked himself with a piece of food, and bending forward, coughed loudly.

The soldier, having swallowed what was in his mouth, uttered curses.

"Hound! May you burst yourself! Did you think it was your skin we wanted? What use would that be to us, you fathead? You dirty coward the idea of carrying arms, and shooting at people. Curses on you!"

He continued to curse and to eat by turns, which in no way interfered

with the force of his expletives.

"Just wait till we've done eating! We'll be even with you, then," was the "student's" grim threat.

Then through the darkness of the night we heard loud sobs that

frightened us.

"Friends! I didn't know. I fired because I was afraid. I am travelling from New Athon to the government of Orel. Oh! dear me! The ague has got me! As soon as the sun sets my torture begins! It was the ague drove me away from Athon. I was a cabinetmaker there that's how I earned my living. I've got a wife at home two little girls. It's three years . . . nearly four, since I saw them. Eat all there is, friends!"

"That's what we mean to do, without being asked," said the "student."

"Gracious heaven! if only I had known that you were quiet, good people, I would never have fired! but see friends it was the steppes! the night! could I help it? just think!"

He cried whilst he was speaking, or rather uttered a strange, trembling,

terrified howl.

"Gammon!" interjected the soldier, disdainfully.

"He must have money about him," suggested the "student."

The soldier screwed up his eyes, scanned him narrowly, and sneered.

"You're a sharp fellow! What I say is, let's have a fire, and go to sleep."

"And what about him?" enquired the "student."

"Oh! devil take him! we don't want to fry him, do we!"
"Why not!" nodded the "student" with his long, parrow head

"Why not?" nodded the "student," with his long, narrow head.
We went off to fetch the fuel which we had left at the place where we had been arrested by the shout of the cabinetmaker. We collected it again, and were soon sitting round a comfortable fire. It smouldered gently in the quiet windless night, and lit up the spot on which we were seated. We were getting sleepy, but we could still have eaten another supper.

"Friends!" called to us the cabinetmaker. He was lying a few steps away from us, and at times it seemed to me he was whispering something.

"Well!" said the soldier.

"May I come near to the fire? I'm not far from death's door; All my bones are full of pain! . . . Gracious heavens! I shall never reach home again."

"Crawl in here! . . . said the "student," making room for him. The

stranger crawled slowly towards the fire, as if afraid of losing on the way a leg or a hand. He was a tall, exceedingly emaciated man; his clothes hung terribly loosely on him, and his large dimmed eyes spoke of gnawing pain. His drawn face was bony, and even by the firelight showed an earthy, yellow, dead colour. He was shaking from head to foot, and aroused in us a feeling of contemptuous pity. Stretching out to the fire his long thin hands, he rubbed his bony fingers, the joints of which bent stiffly and slowly. The sight of him became at last sickening and revolting.

"Why are you travelling on foot in this sort of state? Is it because you

are so stingy?" asked the soldier gloomily.

"I was advised they told me not to travel by water they said 'go by the Crimea' the air they told me was so good. And here am I, friends, unable to walk dying. I shall die alone on the steppes. The birds will eat my flesh and no one will know. My wife my daughters will await me. I wrote to them I told them. And my bones will be washed by the rains of the steppes."

And he howled with the dismal howl of a wounded wolf.

"Damn it all!" exclaimed the enraged soldier, jumping to his feet. "What's all this about? You don't give us a chance of resting. If you're dying, just die, but be quiet about it. Who wants to bother about you? Just shut up that row!"

"Give him one over the head," suggested the "student."

"Give us a chance of going to sleep," said I. "And if you want to stay

near the fire, stop howling, for otherwise. indeed."

"Did you hear?" asked the soldier, angrily. "If so, just remember. You think perhaps we are going to bother about you, after you have been slinging bread at our heads, and taking aim at us with your rotten pistol! You whining devil! Anyone in your place would . . . " And the soldier spat on one side with a gesture of disgust.

He stopped suddenly, and stretched himself full length on the ground. The "student" had already settled himself to sleep. I had done the same. The terrified cabinetmaker shrunk together, and, creeping towards the fire, sat silently watching it. I was lying to the right of him, and I could hear his teeth chattering. The "student" lay on the left, curled up in a heap,

and seemed to have fallen asleep suddenly.

The soldier, with his hands behind his head, lay on his back, watching the sky. "What a beautiful night.... is it not?.... just look at the stars!.... And so warm!" After some minutes he added, speaking to me: "Look at the sky.... it's really more like a warm blanket than a sky! Oh! how I love this wandering life? Though it means sometimes cold and hunger yet the freedom is worth every-There is no master over one one's own life is one's own one can even do away with oneself, and no one dares say one nay. It's fine! See how angry and how famished I have been these last few days and now, here am I, looking at the sky, with the stars twinkling above me, as if they were saying: 'It's all right, Lakontine; continue to wander about the world, and don't let anyone get the better of you.' Yes, and my heart and soul feel so happy. How are you now what's your name cabinetmaker? Don't be angry with me now, and don't fear me. It was so natural we should eat your bread, for you had some and we had none so, of course, we ate yours! And, fancy you firing at us! Don't you know that a bullet may hurt a fellow? I was very angry with you when you did that, and if you had not

tripped up, I should have given you something to be going on with. as for the bread-why to-morrow you will be at Perekopp, and can buy more for you have plenty of money, I know. When did you pick up this ague ?"

And for some time longer, the soldier's bass tones, and the trembling replies of the sick cabinetmaker sounded in my ears. The night, dark almost to blackness, fell thicker and darker on the earth, and the fresh

scented night air filled all one's lungs.

The fire gave forth a steady light, and an invigorating warmth my eyelids grew gradually tired and drooped, and before my eyes something soft and beautiful seemed to hover.

"Up with you! Look sharp! Let's be off!"

With a feeling of fear I opened my eyes, and sprang to my feet assisted by the soldier, who dragged me up impetuously by the hand.

"Look sharp, I say ! Let's be off!" His face showed anxiety and fear.

I glanced around. The sun was rising, and its reddish ray was already lying on the motionless and livid face of the cabinetmaker. His mouth was wide open, and his eyes protruded from the sockets, and seemed to glance upwards with a glassy look expressive of terror. The clothes on his body were torn, and lay in unnatural, tumbled disorder. There were no traces of the "student."

"What's the use of staring? Come along, don't you hear?" said the

soldier meaningly, and dragging me along by the arm.

"Is he dead ?" I asked, shivering with the chill air of the morning. "Of course he is! If you were strangled, you would be dead?"

"Is he? Has he been? The 'student'? "I exclaimed. "Why, who else could it be? You don't think it was you or I who did it ? H'm! So much for a man of education! Finished off a man cleverly, he did, and left his mates in the lurch to stand the brunt of it. Had I known it yesterday, I would have killed the 'student.' I'd have done for him with one blow! A knock on the temple, and there would have been one rascal less in the world! Don't you see now what he has done? We've got to make off at once, so that no human eye shall be able to detect that we have been on the steppes! You see what I mean! In the first place they will find the cabinetmaker, and will see plainly that he has been strangled and robbed. Then all folk like us will be watched and questioned. 'Where do you come from ? 'Where did you sleep last night?' And then they will arrest us. . . . Though you and I have nothing compromising on us. But there's the revolver in my shirt that's awkward."

"Throw it away," I advised him.

"Throw it away? he replied thoughtfully; "it's valuable and perhaps after all we shan't be caught! No, I won't throw it away! It's worth three roubles. Ah! with what pleasure I would put this bullet into our friend's ear! I should like to know how much he grabbed the dog! How much do you think ! Damn it all!"

"As to the cabinetmaker's daughters—it all up with their chance of

getting it!" said I.

"Daughters? what daughters? Ah! yes! Well, they will grow up; they are sure not to marry fellows like us; it's not to be thought of. Step along quicker! where shall we go?"
"I don't know, I'm sure. It's all the same."

"No more do I but as you say it's all the same. . . . Let's go towards the right, it must lead to the sea."

So we went to the right.

I glanced back. . . . Far behind us on the bare steppes rose a dark

mound, lit up by rays of the morning sun.

"Are you looking to see if he has risen from the dead? No fear, he won't pursue us. That philosopher friend of ours was evidently a clever fellow; he did it neatly. A fine sort of mate he was! He's got us into a rare muddle! Ah! I see that people are getting worse from year to year," added the soldier despondingly.

The silent and deserted steppes, all inundated with the bright glow of the morning sun, stretched out around us, uniting at the horizon with the sky, suffused with such a clear caressing and soft light that everything black and evil seemed impossible amidst this immense space of free open land

shut in with the blue dome of heaven.

"I feel empty still," said my companion, twisting up a cigarette of coarse tobacco. "What shall we get to eat to-day? Where shall we get it . . . and how?"

"Ah! that's the question!"

Here the narrator, my neighbour in the next bed in the hospital, finished his story, adding: "And this is all. My friendship with the soldier continued, and together we tramped to Kars. He was a good and very clever fellow, the real type of a vagabond tramp. I respected him. We travelled together as far as Asia Minor, and there we lost sight of each other."

"And do you ever remember the cabinetmaker?" asked I.

"Yes, as you see, or, rather, as you have heard."

"And what do you feel about him?"

He laughed.

"Well, what is there for me to to feel about him?.... It was no more my fault what happened to him than it was your fault what has happened to me For, in fact, no one is to blame for anything, for all of us are alike, beasts!"

MAXIME GÖRKI.

Translated by Emily Jakowleff and Dora B. Montefiore.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS IN DENMARK.

The Socialist press in Denmark has 17 newspapers or publications, which have 75,000 subscribers; there is also a weekly statistical review with 10,000 subscribers. At Copenhagen there is the Social Demokraten, which has 42,000 subscribers; it was founded in 1871 by Louis Piv, with a capital of about £300. It prospers and there are about £1,600 profits a year. All profits are devoted to the work of propaganda, as the shareholders receive no dividends. The editor, manager and some of the workers are elected annually, the writers receive about £3 a week and the editor £4 4. a week. The 16 provincial papers all belong to the company owning the Social Demokraten; they are managed by a local committee, but there is an appeal to the central committee. All these 17 papers are dailies, and it may be said that one-fourth of the population of Denmark reads some Socialist paper or other. There are also weekly and monthly publications, and these, with trade journals, have about 100,000 subscribers.—P. Knudsen in Mouvement Socialiste (translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

THE FUTURE EARTH-LIFE.

O, ye that dwell in sadness, caring not
Whether ye die or live, and unconsoled
E'en by that gleam which we who love ye see
Shine through the mists fast round the future rolled.

To you a word is spoken, hear ye, then !
And deaden not your ears, nor turn aside;
No siren's song is this to lure ye on
To worse mishap, or falsely ye to guide.

True men speak to you, workers as yourselves,
Who toil with ye at bench, and desk, and loom,
Brothers and friends, who see with eyes late-cleared
The way that yet shall lift your lives from gloom.

No longer shall ye drudge, as ye have done, Content to take the dole your masters give And, doglike, grateful unto them that hold, By social fraud, the means whereby ye live.

This earth is yours and ours, al men have A common heritage in all she yields, Mineral and ore, and wealth of golden grain, Glory of hills, and beauty of fair fields.

All these are Nature's gifts for ye to hold In common fief, each sharing all with each, Working in fellowship for mutual needs With happy interchange of deed and speech.

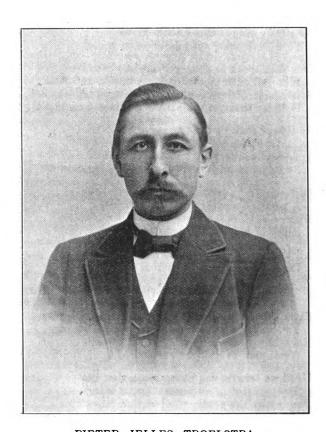
From this fair base new-springing Life shall grow To things ye dream not, manifold and strong, Revealing vistas bright, by which the soul Shall pass to unknown realms of Love and Song.

Until, at length, the living spark that lies
Deep-buried in all human hearts that beat,
Fanned by the gentle wind of that fair state,
Through all the world shall glow with shining heat.

And Death itself, shorn of dark terrors born
Of Strife and Greed, that lead to lust of days,
Be but a sending-off to happy lives
Laid down in faith attained amidst Truth's ways.

These things shall be, if only ye will take
The way that lies thereto. Arise! Begin!
Set foot upon the path! Move forward! So!
You is the gate! Will ye not enter in?

G. H. STEVENS.



PIETER JELLES TROELSTRA

SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

Vol. V., No. 8. AUGUST 15, 1901.

PIETER JELLES TROELSTRA.

PIETER JELLES TROBLISTRA is the political leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Holland, and belongs to the generation of future statesmen in that country. He is in the prime of life, being still in his thirties. In the four years during which he has served as a representative he has shown remarkable abilities for a Parliamentary career.

The life of our friend has been a very stormy one. He belongs to the stubborn race of the Frisians. His father is a prominent leader of the Liberal Party in the Northern province and at Leeuwarden, and the Liberals were in much hope that the energetic young Troelstra would be induced to propagate their principles after he in 1888 attained his degree as a barrister. Our comrade's sympathies were, however, originally more with the then strong democratic movement for universal suffrage. Soon afterwards circumstances evoked in him convictions which went much further than mere democratic reform.

About that time the agricultural labourers in Friesland were much agitated over their miserable condition of existence, and had formed strong organisations in various places, as in Bildt, including nearly all the village inhabitants, to lift themselves to a higher, more humane, and more worthy existence. A big strike occurred in the year 1890. I was a fortnight there at the scene to hold meetings, two or three a day, some of only three and four hundred women. They were most enthusiastic. On that occasion I had the fortune to receive my first imprisonment for a month. The strike ended unfavourably for the workers, and out of it arose an action against two of the leaders. Troelstra was at once ready to defend the wronglyaccused men. The whole proceeding was a remarkable evidence of the judges' prejudice against the workers. Troelstra learned, thereby, that there was going on in modern society a class struggle, and that the workers were entirely at the mercy of the capitalists, who had, besides the army and police, also the administration of law and justice at their disposal; in fact, the whole State machinery in their hands. From that time his awakening to the socialistic consciousness developed quickly, and a few years later he took his place on the side of the workers. But that brought him face to face with the hardest problems of life. He had to live by his profession as a barrister, and the bourgeoisie had no trust in a Socialist barrister. He was practically boycotted. Troelstra learned by experience that one may be anything in this never-too-much-praised society, may be the meanest and most unscrupulous creature, and still escape a life of want; but when one gives his life as an offering to a great ideal and a righteous cause then the hardships of life come in shoals. Nevertheless, what the persuasions of his father could not bring about the poverty he often experienced could even less effect. Through the hardest struggles of his life, with a sympathetic wife by his side, the great ideal he was working for inspired him always with fresh hope and courage, and kept him in constant good heart. After he had for a time edited a local paper in Friesland, he settled in Utrecht, where he began an active propaganda for Social-Democracy. The quarrel about the policy in the Social-Democratic League was then in full swing. Troelstra and Van der Gaes were hotly engaged to temper the effects of Domela Nieuwenhuis's campaign against political action. At last, it was impossible for the Social-Democrats to stay any longer in the old league, which they left, thus forming the present influential Social-Democratic Labour Party. A paper was published by the new party, of which Troelstra became the editor. He was at once recognised as the political leader, and eventually, he had to receive many blows from the "revolutionary Socialists," who called Troelstra and his friends, meckingly, "the twelve apostles," because the number of those who left the old party was twelve, and they were all writers and speakers ; in fact, to a great extent, the brains of the Socialist movement.

At the general elections in 1897 Troelstra was elected in no less than three districts, a very rare event in Holland, and which did much to increase the Socialist agitation all round. He took his seat for the agricultural district, Tietjerksteradeel. It is much to be regretted that he was defeated in the last election, all the reactionary forces combining against him; but we may hope that before long he will be back in Parliament once more.

J. K. VAN DER VEER.

Apropos of the gross violation of the recognised rules of civilised warfare in operation in the Transvaal, there is a recognised law of etiquette with respect to the mode of attacking tree-houses among the New Guinea natives—the attacking party never think of cutting the tree down. On one occasion the besieged in one of these houses had exhausted their missiles, and the opposing tribe, although armed with hatchets, sat under the tree and jeered at their foe. They were quite surprised on being asked why the tree was not cut down, and stated that such a proceeding would be quite contrary to native customs. Even cannibals draw the line at the destruction of their enemies' homes.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TRADE UNIONISM.

THE recent decisions of the House of Lords in trade union appeal cases have dealt serious blows at the status of trade unions, and suggest a determination to completely undermine these organisations. By the decision in the Taff Vale case union funds may be mulcted for damages through the action of any officer of a union or any agent of the officer of a union. Thus, if any member of a union, acting as a picket in a trike, or in any other capacity on behalf of the union, can be shown to have caused loss or damage to any person, employer or blackleg workman, the damages which the aggrieved person may be able to claim in such a case may be recovered from the union funds. It can easily be seen how very far-reaching the effects of this may be, and how completely the funds of a union may be depleted by vexatious actions for damages arising out of the most orderly and pacifically conducted strike. But when this decision is taken in connection with the later one in "Quinn v. Leatham," it is clear that the very existence of trade unionism By this decision it is held that what is perfectly legal for is threatened. one man to do becomes an illegal conspiracy when done by several men in This practically revives the old common law doctrine by which a trade union was an illegal conspiracy, and sweeps away the work of years and years of agitation and legislation by which trade unions had secured a legal status. So long as these decisions rule, it is difficult to see what a trade union can do without running the risk of being proceeded against for conspiracy, and being cast in damages for injury to the employer.

If a number of men belonging to a union strike, it is clear, if their action is at all effectual, that it inflicts an injury upon the man or firm against whom they are striking, and therefore, if the strike takes place with the approval of the union officials, the funds of the union may be completely exhausted in damages for such injury. In addition to this, as the strike involves concerted action, all the men may be proceeded against for conspiracy. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the gravity of the situation thus created for the trade unions, and it is not easy to see what there is left that they may legally do except fulfil the function of sick and out-of-work benefit societies, unless they are prepared to take to political action in a very different manner than they have so far been prepared to do.

There appears little doubt that these decisions are part of a settled policy to completely destroy trade unionism as a means of protection for workmen against the capitalist class. They represent an act of war on the part of the courts in the interest of the capitalist class, an act to deprive one of the combatants in the class war of a weapon. Trade unionism, on present lines, may not be a very effectual weapon with which to fight organised capitalism, but even such as it is the capitalists do not mean that it should be available against them any longer if they can prevent it. The strength

of a trade union lies in its power to strike, and its power to strike is determined by its resources. Deprived of its resources its power to strike is gone. It is not that trade unions are organised to foment strikes; on the contrary, they serve often to make strikes unnecessary. The fear of a strike has a restraining and a constraining influence on the capitalist and is generally much more effectual than a strike. When a strike takes place the capitalist too often is prepared to fight to a finish, and when he does fight to a finish the finish is bound to be in his fayour. But he is very often prepared to make concessions which could not possibly be obtained from him under other circumstances, from fear of being involved in the loss and inconvenience attendant upon a strike. But the trade union cannot exercise the salutary influence of the fear of a strike unless it has the power to strike, and the decisions of the House of Lords have gone far to deprive it of this power, at the same time that they have given the capitalist an additional inducement to provoke a strike, seeing that he may be able to reimburse himself for all the loss a strike may cause him, from the funds of the union. the power to strike effectually thus taken out of their hands the workmen will be left absolutely at the mercy of the capitalist class, and the slight protection their unions have hitherto been able to afford them will no longer be available.

There can be little doubt that the disarming of the trade unions, if successful, will be followed by considerable industrial changes. There has been a great outcry of late about foreign competition, and we are told that England is losing her commercial supremacy, her ascendancy in the markets of the world, mainly on account of the action of the trade unions in maintaining higher wages and a higher standard of living in this country than foreign workmen are willing to accept. It is scarcely necessary to point out how fallacious such reasoning must be seeing that our chief and most formidable competitor is America, where the standard of living of the working classes is certainly not lower than it is in this country. That this reasoning has had its effect on the capitalist class here there is no doubt whatever, and their aim is to break down the power of trade unionism in order that they may be able to reduce the standard of living of the workers in this country without the opposition that trade unions might otherwise offer. The blows already struck will undoutedly go far to realise their object of crippling the defensive force of the unions.

The question now is what are the trade unions going to do in the face of this fresh attack? Are they going to take it lying down, so to speak, accept the situation, abandon any attempt at fighting the capitalist and become mere benefit societies? Will they do this, or will they set to work to devise means for countering the blow just dealt them? If they seriously set to work to consider the matter they will see that the only way in which they can do anything effectually will be to take a very much more active part in politics than they have hitherto done. So far the bulk of the trade unions have been perfectly content to oppose the employers only with the strike or the fear of the strike, while they have

sedulously supported these same employers politically. They have now had their answer, their thanks for this support given to the enemies of their class. Is it not now time that they abandoned the self-sufficiency with which they have so far rejected all advice to use political means to secure the ends which they have tried, and generally with so little effect, to win by means of strikes or by going cap in hand to their masters? If the recent blows struck at the unions have the effect of leading them to take to political action in earnest it may be that the Lords have not rendered them any disservice after all. But it must be clearly understood that such action to be effectual must be on class lines, and not on those of sectionalism. We Social-Democrats have persistently urged trade unions to take up this position of political antagonism to the master class; but, so far, with no great success. We have made some little progress, it is true. A number of the unions have adopted a political programme, and the Trades Union Congress has over and over again passed resolutions in favour of independent working-class political action. But beyond that very little has been done. Socialist influences have been at work in the unions, many Socialists hold positions of trust and leadership in them, and this accounts for the Socialist resolutions of Trades Union Congresses. But the rank and file of the unions are not yet converted to the necessity of independent political action on class lines, and so it comes about that although a Trades Congress passes a resolution in favour of political action and of independent working class representation, the majority of the unions hold aloof from any step which is taken in that direction, and those who become a party to it are too much under the influence of the old ideas to accept the class war as the basis of their programme and policy. Thus, while we are in no wise antagonistic to the trade unions and are willing to give them every possible assistance in any campaign they may wage against the master class, they have hitherto made impossible that alliance between us which veteran Social-Democrats like Engels and Liebknecht so ardently desired and so persistently urged upon us. The truth is, of course, that the British trade unions have not, so far, been consciously a class movement at all. They have been organised much more on the basis of guilds for the protection of their own particular trade or craft-against their fellow-workmen as much as against the employing class -than on the basis of a class movement. As Marx says: "Trade unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power; they fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

If the present campaign against the trade unions leads to such a change of policy on their part as will constitute them a real fighting force on behalf of the working class, a definite class-conscious working-class party, they will ultimately have reason to bless rather than curse the House of Lords.

PROBLEMS OF CRIME.

It has with truth been said that "Society has no criminals except such as it merits." In the popular conception, crime is simply a synonym for illegality; and a criminal, one who offends against the prevailing law. It is assumed that law exists always in the general interest, and that, consequently, actions at variance with the law's dictates must necessarily be antisocial in their very nature. This is by no means always the fact. Legislation, in a class society, partakes largely of class characteristics—its objective being the conferring of special benefits upon a particular class, to the manifest detriment of another, and subject, class. By this means a large section of society (and under existing capitalist conditions the largest, ie., the working section) is virtually placed without the pale of the law, and "he who's cheated of his rights (to quote the poet) can owe no duties, him whom no law pretects no law can bind." Thus, it is clear that anti-legal Indeed, many a criminal of to day acts are not always anti-social acts. would be accounted a hero under different social conditions. The right of asylum conceded to political "criminals" by this and other countries is a tacit admission on the part of the Governments and peoples concerned that not only is this class of "crime" not anti-social or morally evil but often deserving of the greatest commendation. It is well known that many real criminals keep within the law, or escape through its innumerable loopholes (it is said that a lawyer can drive a coach and four through any existing Act of Parliament), whilst lawbreakers are often persons innocent of any anti-social intent. In the strict sense of the word, therefore, crime involves much more than is contained in the word "illegality." The capitalist who deliberately sacrifices the lives of his workmen by neglecting to fence machinery; the rack-renting landlord who extorts rent for insanitary house property, or turns a poverty-stricken family out into the street to starve or die of cold; the shameless sweater who, by means of the shamefully inadequate wages he pays, drives women and girls to a terrible life of prostitution - these are as much, if not more, criminal (albeit strictly within the law) as any poor wretch who, through bad training, social environment, or peculiar physical conformation, kills for the sake of meagre booty. Law being simply a reflex of current public opinion, which ever changes and varies according to time and place, so likewise crime is subject to the same chronologic and geographical conditions. What is lawful in one country is unlawful in another; that which the social sentiment of one nation adjudges moral and right is condemned by another as immoral and wrong; the illegality of the past is the legality of the present, and vice versa. of the nine offences which the old Mosaic law deemed worthy of death by stoning, only one remains a crime. Two hundred years ago slave-holding was perfectly moral and legal, but to-day the man who attempted to revert to this old practice of man-owning would be rightly punished

as a criminal because he would be deliberately placing himself in a relation with his fellows which he himself and all around him are agreed in recognising as anti-social. Again, a man who rapes a woman is a criminal amongst us for the like reason, but it would be altogether a misuse of terms to call an Australian aborigine who does so a criminal, because such conduct has not yet been recognised as anti-social by him or his fellow-savages, or even by his victim herself. As Tarde well says, not one of us can flatter himself that he is not a criminal before the bar of some past or possible future state. Right here, let me remark that it is here wherein lies the fallacy upon which all didactic systems of religion have their base. They presume to lay down a code of moral precepts applicable for all time—utterly regardless, or maybe ignorant, of the fact that morality, like statute law, and, in fact, all things else, is subject to that natural law of constant change which dominates the whole universe.

Addressing the members of the Middlesex Sessions Bench, at the beginning of the new century, Mr. Littler, K.C., said that, of the offences which the Bench had then to deal with, four-fifths were in 1801 punishable by death. It is a fact that, a century ago, some 200 offences which we to-day look upon as being merely trivial in character, and deserving only of small terms of imprisonment, were then punishable with the extreme penalty of the law. Society has progressed—in other words, men's moral ideas have changed.

Among criminal anthropologists at least three varying opinions prevail in explanation of the phenomena of crime. The Italian school, led by Professor Lombroso, sees in the criminal the rapidly-disappearing survival of primitive savagedom, whose acts, although now recognised by civilised people as anti-social, were once the rule instead of the exception. The criminal is thus an example of atavism, and might have belonged to the "moral élite of a tribe of Red Indians." It may be said, in support of this view-to select from a mass of facts which have been accumulated—that criminals are remarkably insensible to pain, that they have on the average decidedly longer arms than ordinary people, thus approaching the type of the anthropoid ape, and that their faces tend to reproduce many characters (prominent lower jaws, large orbits, &c.) of the Mongolian and other low Dr. Manouvrier, on behalf of the French school of criminologists, expresses the view that sociological conditions are sufficient to explain the vast and multiform problems of criminal psychology. Manouvrier asked, "Who can say what may not become of the man who has a sound body, if he be subjected to the continued pressure of adverse sociological surroundings?" To him it was "the infantile life, familiarity with vice and crime, the surroundings, the want of moral training, sociological conditions," which produce the criminal rather than anatomic characters. As against this theory, Professor Ferri pertinently asks, "If crime be the exclusive product of the social surroundings, how is one to explain the fact, known to us every day of our lives, that in the same social status, and under equal circumstances of misery, poverty, and ignorance, out of each 100 individuals 60 are not criminal, commit no crime, and out of the remaining 40, 5

prefer suicide to crime, 5 become insane, 5 become beggars or vagabonds, and only 25 out of 100 become criminal?"

With a third school, the criminal is a person of unsound mind, whom society should detain in institutions for life or until cured. Dr. S. A. K. Strahan, speaking in support of this view before the anthropological section of the British Association some few years back, said that "the criminal is very closely related to the insane, especially the congenital insane; and, personally, he bears a strong family likeness to his near relative the idiot. In the criminal we find small, over-large, and ill-shaped heads, paralysis, squints, asymmetrical faces, deformed, shrunken, ill-developed bodies, and other abnormal conditions; large, heavy jaws, outstanding ears, and a restless, animal-like, or brutal expression, all of which are common characteristics among the inmates of our idiot and imbecile asylums."

Taking each of these theories separately as an explanation of the phenomena of crime, one is forced to admit that no thoroughly satisfactory solution is afforded. The truth probably lies among them all—namely, that, broadly speaking, three factors operate in the production of crime—the physical, the mental, and the social. Whichever theory we accept, we are forced to repudiate as unsatisfactory and inhuman the old but still-practised policy of retaliation—of returning evil for evil—a theory which has its base in the old and long-since exploded theory of man's alleged possession of a free will. Leaving out of count, for the moment, the social factor, it may be asked, if crime be the result of mental and physical abnormity, why punish or detain criminals who are really irresponsible beings? The answer is simple. Whilst it is true that this class of criminal has an irresistible propensity to crime, normal man, detesting bloodshed and rapine, yields to an equally irresistible propensity to shut the other up where he shall perforce be harmless.

Let us turn now to the subject of the treatment of criminals, and the prevention of crime. We have seen that criminality is due to one or the other of three causes, i.e., hereditary taint, physical conformation, or social environment. Here arises a problem for Socialists to face. With the elimination of those class distinctions which result from a capitalist order of society, will disappear also the now-existent distinction between legality and right. Legislation, in a Socialist State, being in the general interest, offences against the law become offences against society, and must be repressed with vigour. Only in such a State-based as it will be on public and not class interests-can it be said with truth that "anti-legal" and "anti-social." "law" and "justice" are synonymous or convertible terms. With the abolition of those social conditions which result in poverty and vice. Socialism will have removed the (as we believe) main factor in the production of crime. But what of the habitual or born criminal? It seems clear that if some men are born with a bias towards crime, the fitting place for their detention is the hospital or the asylum, rather than the prison. We are indeed progressing when our just-lately-retired Assistant-Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, Dr. Anderson, writes virtually endorsing this view. In an interesting article on our "Absurd Methods of Dealing with Crime,"

in the Nineteenth Century and After for February, Dr. Anderson points out that whilst it is the fact that crime in general is decreasing, professional crime is greatly on the increase. By professional criminals he means that class which habitually preys upon society without the spur of poverty to urge them on to the committal of anti-social acts. There are criminals born. Major Arthur Griffiths is quoted as saying that our prison population may be classed into two grand divisions—those offenders who ought never to have been sent to prison at all, and those who ought never to be released. This, it seems to me, is the whole matter in a nutshell. Society has no right to punish its own creations, but every right to detain the natural-born criminal, and prevent him begetting children to follow in his steps and perpetuate his class. "When," says Dr. Anderson, "after repeated warnings a man has proved himself to be a moral leper, an outlaw, a criminal in character, and habitual in practice, to set him at liberty is quite as stupid and as wicked as it would be to allow a small-pox patient to go at large in the community. Let there be a full and open inquiry as to his character and antecedents. The first question should be, Is he a citizen or an outlaw? If he be a citizen who has been betrayed into the commital of a crime by the pressure of circumstances, or some sudden temptation, then let 'mercy rejoice against judgment,' and let no effort be spared to bring about his restoration and reform. Under our present system men are sometimes sent to penal servitude as habitual criminals who might fitly be handed over to the care of some experienced philanthropist. If the convicted prisoner be a poor wretch who, begotten and born and bred in crime, has not the moral stamina to resist when opportunity for theft presents itself, then, instead of the brutality which now obtains of treating such an offender as a deliberate professional criminal of the other type, let him be sent to an asylum prison, where his life can be spent in useful labour, with every reasonable alleviation of his lot. And if it can be established that the offender is a criminal in the sense in which some men are artists or architects-in other words, that he is a criminal by profession, and habitually uses his liberty to prey upon the community-let him be deprived of the liberty he thus abuses."

Whilst, as a Socialist, as a humanitarian (not certainly one of those mere sentimental "humanity-mongers" of whom Dr. Anderson makes contemptuous reference), whilst, as such, one's nature revolts against the proposed policy sketched out by the doctor of life imprisonment for proven habitual criminals, a sense of justice compels one to admit that, stripped of its unnecessary brutalism, the proposal contains the very principle indispensable to any scheme for the lasting solution of this vexed problem. Our present prison system, based upon the brutal principle of retaliation, admitted by Dr. Anderson and proved by experience to be totally unsuccessful as a deterrent from crime, and a complete failure as regards reformative effect upon criminal character, must give place to wiser and saner arrangements. The policy of revenge—a surviving remnant of primitive barbarism—is altogether out of place in this the twentieth century of civilisation. For long men have maintained that crime could be eliminated by reprisals,

but crime is perpetually reproduced. Two blacks can never make a white-Bax to the contrary notwithstanding. If a solution of this matter of professional crime is at all desired-and Socialists above all men must surely have such a desire in mind—Socialists must unflinchingly and dispassionately face the problem without regard to the shriekings of those sentimental "humanity-mongers" afore-mentioned, whose sentimental pity for criminals out-balances their compassion (if, indeed, they have any) for the criminal's Always remember that even under the best social conditions a Socialist Commonwealth can give, we shall not be rid entirely of the lawless and vicious, except by adopting new and stringent methods calculated to gradually weed them out. Even to-day, according to Dr. Anderson, so small is the number of habitual criminals, "a single prison would suffice to hold the entire gang of known criminals who now keep the community in a state of siege, and a single wing of any one of our gaols would more than suffice to provide for the band of outlaws who may be described as the aristocracy of crime in England." To effectually stamp out this class of crime there is only one way (or so it seems to me), and that the complete isolation for life from the non-criminal remainder of the community of all proven habitual or natural criminals in small, self-supporting labour colonies (not prisons) where every liberty shall be accorded these irresponsible characters consistent with their safe custody. With "the foxes trapped, the hen-roosts will be safe." A feature of these criminal colonies would be the establishment of hospitals and asylums for the study and treatment of criminal disease.

Let Socialists not be misled by mawkish sentimentality. Liberty is good, but not for those who convert it into licence. Remember always that the class of criminals of whom we are treating are criminal by nature, and habitually use their liberty to prey upon those of normal habits. Which then is to be considered: The peaceful citizen or the outlaw?

There can be no question that Socialists everywhere desire to see the ultimate extinction of crime. This being the object of the suggested criminal communities, it would be the height of folly, not to say real criminality. to allow these habitual offenders against society to perpetuate their class by transmitting to children the sins and imperfections-mental, moral and bodily—of themselves. Marriage, therefore, among them should be rigidly prohibited. In the case of less hardened offenders the substitution of the indeterminate sentence for the determinate will do all that is required. The love of liberty, innate in the breast of every criminal, would here act as an incentive to good conduct and consequent early release. For various obvious reasons I commit myself to no detailed plan, but rest content with a bare statement of the principle necessary to a lasting solution of this problem. For there is little hope, in a capitalist régime, of any real earnest attempt in the right direction. As Dr. Anderson points out: "While we are ready to sacrifice any number of valuable lives on the battlefield, to attain results that are often doubtful and sometimes worthless, the inalienable right of these human beasts of prey, not only to life but to liberty, is maintained with all the blind fervour of religious superstition," And, perhaps, under existing social arrangements, it is as well that such is the case, for, in such a society, abounding as it does in examples of extreme wealth on the one hand, and extreme poverty on the other, where the temptations to crime are manifest and manifold, any attempt to discriminate between the natural-born criminal and the vietim of society, under such conditions, would be about as sensible as looking for the proverbial needle in the haystack. Only in the realised Socialist Commonwealth, in which every member is afforded opportunity of living a full, free and happy life, unsullied by the fear of poverty, and minus those social inequalities which to-day form the greatest temptation to crime, will it be possible to distinguish the habitual criminal from the criminal of occasion, and a lasting settlement, aiming at the gradual elimination of the criminal classes, be accomplished.

Walter C. Hart.

FAMINE AND ITS CAUSES IN ITALY.

In the Monthly Review for August, 1901, Mr. E. C. Strutt gives a terrible picture of the state of Italy. He shows how misery is rife throughout the peninsula: "The standard of prosperity steadily decreases as we advance southwards from the Alps, rising a little when Tuscany is reached, only to fall abruptly in Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia, the unhappy island which holds the record of Italian misery. And that the standard of Italian prosperity is not a high one, even at its best, may be gathered from the scandalously low rate of remuneration for agricultural labour in Piedmont and Lombardy, where the men and women-who work from morning till night in the rice fields, exposed to the pestilential emanations of the marshy soil, in which they sink knee deep-are content with wages of 60 centimes (about 5d.) a day. Statistics also prove that the terrible pellagra, a malady exclusively due to malnutrition, is, if anything, on the increase among the Lombard peasantry. And if this deplorable state of things exists in provinces where flourishing industries and huge manufactories have arisen, to which the agricultural population may turn to employment and bread, what must be the condition of other regions, the inhabitants of which are wholly dependent upon the products of the soil?" This is shown in the case of Sardinia, where in the province of Sassari 445 sales were held in one week of January for the non-payment of taxes, the sums ranging from a maximum of £1 (in only four cases) to a minimum of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. In 85 per cent. the taxes due were inferior to 1 lire (about 10d.)! This is what encourages brigandage. Mr. Strutt then deals with the state of things in Apulia, where the peasants are ruined owing to the elive trees being attacked by a parasite. There the people actually steel in order to be put in prison and thus escape starvation.

Mr. Strutt suggests as remedies the construction of aqueducts, as Apulia suffers quite as much from water famine as from starvation, the encouragement of corn-growing, and the establishment of credit banks in order to stamp out usurers, but he is not sanguine. "The country has little to expect from political parties whose chief aim is their own aggrandisement, or from Ministers, who think that their only duty consists in demolishing the work

of their predecessors."

TOLSTOY AND SOCIALISM.

THE article on "Tolstoyan Asceticism" in the June number of the Social-Democrat does not deal directly with Tolstoy's attitude towards Socialism, but, in view of recent events in Russia, it may excite interest in that subject. Some of us, doubtless, were in danger of forgetting the converted nobleman of Yasnaya Polyana, who about 30 years ago gave up the position of a peer for that of a peasant, the duties of a soldier for those of a seer, the rewards of a famous writer for the odium of an unfashionable teacher, the indulgences of "high living" for the severities of vegetarianism. To stir our memory the Church of Russia has lately conferred upon him the honour of excommunication; and he has been further distinguished in newspaper reports as partly responsible for the widespread revolt of the students and workmen, inasmuch as a spirit of discontent has been aroused by his mordant criticism of society.

Social-Democrats find his indictment of the present system particularly welcome. In a lucid article published in the Sun on March 29 he expresses

our own view. He says :-

"All men of our time are divided into slaves and masters. The truth of this proposition is not affected because it may be more difficult now than it was in former times to define accurately the relations between the master and the man, or because among these modern slaves are some who are slaves only provisionally, becoming in turn owners of slaves, or because there are others who at the same time are both slaves and the masters of slaves. The fact remains that humanity is divided into the two classes—slaves and masters—just as clearly as the day, in spite of the twilight, is divided into day and night."

To Tolstoy, then, as to us, society consists of shearers and sheep—the latter only shepherded in order to be shorn. The conflict between these two classes strikes us as presenting the important social problem. Yet it is the fact most generally overlooked. Reformers ignore it. Preachers do not speak of it. Workers do not think of it. Some "Socialists" cannot see it. Most politicians will not see it. Alone among the political parties of Britain we recognise it. Social-Democrats, of course, do not make this class war, as some foolish persons assert. We loathe it. But we proclaim its hideous existence and we demand its end. It is especially gratifying to us to find our peculiar doctrine endorsed by Count Tolstoy, whose unique experience of both the upper and lower regions of society enables him to write with an authority not possessed by the average scribe. We can recommend his analysis of society to working men, because it makes clear the position of their class. The tendency of his message is to arouse the sleeping proletariat to class-consciousness, and, while so much remains to be done in that direction, we can hardly value too highly a voice which may reach those who are deaf to our call.

But Tolstoy can give no further help. He deplores the slavery of to-day, but as means of emancipation he can only appeal to conscientious persons: "(1) not to take part in Governmental activity; (2) not to pay taxes, but to submit rather to imprisonment or seizure of goods; (3) to possess only what others do not claim." We need not go so far as the writer who has declared "the whole silly business fit only for the consideration of the March hare," and who has labelled Tolstoy's three proposals "selfish isolation, plain dishonesty, cowardice," in order to see that the suggestions are purely negative, and that they form no programme of social reconstruction.

If Tolstoy's appeal were successful, and men in general were to refuse taxes because "the money is spent on organising violence and murder," the best result could only be a paralysis of government which would lead to its death. It is not clear that the owners of land and capital, when deprived of military support, would at once calmly hand them over to the people, gladly relinquishing the cares and responsibilities which, we are told, sit so heavily on the wealthy. It is true that the people would be able to seize the instruments of production, &c. But Tolstoy does not urge them to do that. On the contrary he teaches that such action would be wrong; it would be using violence. If men are to "possess only what others do not claim," the emancipation of the workers will not come until the masters cease to demand labour from them. Tolstoy appears to believe (1) that the masters will suffer expropriation "lying down," or (2) that the men out of sheer goodwill will continue to support their masters until they convert them, or (3) that there is no hope for humanity until both men and masters embrace "Christ's Christianity." The last is probably what Tolstoy looks That "divine event" is, however, so "far off" as to be beyond discussion by practical men. It is possible only to dream of a time when every man will act justly without need of compulsion. "Ah! when shall all men's good be each man's rule, and universal peace lie like a line of light across the land?" asked Tennyson, to which the obvious response is, "Ah! when?" For the immediate future Tolstoy offers no alternative to the present brutal system except chaos.

Social-Democrats are not sunk in such a slough of despond. We see the prospective end of wage-slavery before the complete kingdom of heaven is timed to arrive on the earth. But Tolstoy does not see with us. According to Mr. Aylmer Maude ("Tolstoy and His Problems"): "Tolstoy says that the systematic use of organised violence lies at the root of the ills from which our society suffers; and, while agreeing with the indictment Socialism brings against the present system, he points out that the establishment of a Socialist State would involve the enforcement of a fresh form of slavery—direct compulsion to labour."

We plead guilty to this charge. As a rule, we are accused of promising a paradise to the lazy. "Direct compulsion to labour" holds few terrors, we imagine, for the workers, whatever it may threaten for the shirkers. Of course, to-day there is no compulsion to labour; men are only compelled to starve if they do not. At thought of this glorious liberty the overflowing

heart must break forth into singing "Britons never, never," &c. With the trifling addition that in a Social-Democratic state the "fresh form of slavery" will ensure to the slaves the full reward of their labour, and that the slaves will be their own masters, we may expect Tolstoy's objection to Socialism to make converts to the cause.

Apart from the question of a positive programme of social reconstruction, Tolstoy's proposals are not practical suggestions for abolishing the present bad system. Will iniquitous Governments trouble to mend their ways, or will they come to a standstill, if threatened by nothing but the inconvenience of seizing goods in lieu of taxes? Surely that is not the habit of the governing classes. The conduct that Tolstoy recommends may ease the consciences of a few individuals. That is another matter. Even if the conscientious objectors formed a majority of the nation, their pledge of passivity would keep them in subjection to the less scrupulous minority. Something like this state of things prevails to-day. In every country a small class is dominant because the masses, pledged or unpledged, can offer nothing but passive resistance.

In urging the immorality of violence, Tolstoy seems mainly impressed by the brutalising effect of force upon the persons who use it. Here he makes a good point. It is true that, in a sense, the sword is always doubleedged and the cannon liable to explede at the breech. Unlike mercy. force curses "him that gives and him that takes." The British nation has recently furnished many illuminating examples. Admitting that force is an evil, it may, however, sometimes be the lesser evil and sometimes a But this is not Tolstoy's view. Mr. Turner, English necessary evil. Lector at the University of St. Petersburg, in defending Tolstoy's doctrine, called attention to the case of a man who shot a burglar to save his mother. Tolstoy condemned the act; and rightly so, says Mr. Turner, because Tolstoy was concerned only with the moral aspect of the question. This line of argument appears to give the case away. Apparently, Mr. Turner thinks the man did well to shoot the burglar, but that he was not entitled to praise for a moral deed. If all that Tolstoy claims is that might is not right, we are not concerned to dispute it. But, possibly, the disciple is here at his usual work of explaining away the master. However, it does not much matter, as neither Tolstoy nor his followers pretend to live up to their He himself cannot act consistently with his views, owing to the opposition of his wife and some of his children; and the people of Russia who are indebted to him for awakening their sense of injustice have evidently not all acted on his principle of non-resistance to evil. They probably believe, as most of us do, that "force is no remedy," if the object is to change opinion or to create goodwill in place of hatred, but, face to face with the forces of misgovernment, they perceive that the only effective reply is force. Sweet reasonableness is wasted on a tiger who disputes the right of way. The bullet, of course, in such cases, is not an appeal to the mind. It should not be judged as a method of argument, but as a means of protection. And we see nothing immoral, as Tolstoy does, in

a state using force to defend itself against enemies without, or traitors within, its gates.

Tolstoy, in his anxiety to abolish war, can see no way except by abolishing the use of force. At present, a minority wield the force of the state to serve their own purposes. They will, however, only continue to wield it so long as the majority remain ignorant and apathetic and unorganised. This is where the S.D.F. comes in. To remove ignorance, to dispel apathy, to supply organisation are functions of the International Social-Democratic Party. Already, as comrade Hyndman cannot too often remind us, it is the largest single political party in the world. It is steadily and rapidly growing in numbers and influence. In the power of this international union of the workers, Tolstoy will find the strongest safeguard of peace. Not in the refusal to pay taxes or to serve in the army, on the part of individuals actuated by philanthropic or sentimental motives, still less in Hague conventions of the governing classes, will men find reasonable hopes of peace; but in the increasing knowledge on the part of the masses of all countries that their material, mental and moral interests are not served by war.

WM. LEE.

COST OF LIVING IN MADRID.

J. J. Morato has a very interesting article in the Nueva Era (the new Socialist bi-monthly magazine) for July 16, 1901, on the cost of living at Madrid. He gives the average rate of wages at 2.25 francs a day and he shows that this means starvation for a man with a family. Particulars are given of the dietary of a stonemason. It is as follows: For breakfast, two dried sardines; for dinner, bacon with boiled peas, and meat occasionally; for supper, dried cod with potatoes, and, of course, bread at each meal. The cost is as follows: Sardines, 1d.; peas, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; meat, 2d.; bacon, 1d.; cod, $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; potatoes, 1d.; bread, 3d.

This is not a very luxurious diet and the working classes in Spain have apparently not yet risen to champagne and chicken; in fact, nothing is allowed for drinks. If a man has a wife and child the cost would be 2.50 francs a day, but then nothing is allowed for fuel to prepare the banquet, for clothes, for rent, &c. And even as it is the salary is 2.25 francs, less than the amount allowed for food.

J. J. Morato well says that the figures disclose a terrible state of things, and he urges that there should be a minimum wage of at least 5 francs a day (£1 4s. a week). He also points out that many of the articles of food might be bought cheaper if there were co-operative stores, and that even under the present condition of things the Municipality should be careful that food of good quality is sold. Poverty is apparently no less a crime in Spain than in England.

CHILDREN AND UNDESIRABLES.—To rescue children from early depravity we must go a great deal deeper than an attempt to cure surface sores, of which the real causes are far more serious and intractable. The ideal to aim at is not so much to prevent children from mixing with undesirable fellow-creatures at a particular spot, but that there should be no undesirable creatures for them to associate with anywhere.—Daily Telegraph.

THE TRIUMPH OF ANARCHY.

THE following lines were written in earnest protest against the malignant spirit of the time which miscalls itself "patriotism," but is really the apotheosis of the evil principle in man's nature—lust for blood and plunder in the name of Empire.

If history teaches anything, it is that the imperial is always the final stage in a nation's development; and when this imperialism unblushingly throws aside all moral considerations with a jeer, as in the speeches of our politicians, in the columns of our newspapers, in the pulpits of our places of worship, and in the common sentiments of our people, the day of that Empire's doom is not far distant.

No language can be too strong to condemn the iniquity that inspires and the inanity that applauds so awful a crime as that perpetrated in South Africa at the bidding of Mammon, the Fiend-god of the Modern Idolatry. What this crime has already cost, we know; but what the full reckoning will be ere Nemesis is satisfied, no man can estimate. It is the very irony of Fate, the grimmest humour of Atropos, that the British Empire should be hastened to its fall by the self-styled patriots and imperialists, whilst those who would save it are denounced as "Little Englanders" and traitors!

THE TRIUMPH OF ANARCHY.

Once a Singer dreamed he saw
The Masque of Anarchy, hate, and war;
Like a burning scroll to him unfurled
The curse of God and the woe of the world.

This, the Singer I love so well, In sweet, wild verses strove to tell; But vain was his effort to impress Men's vacant-minded heedlessness.

I, musing on his verses, dreamed The dream again; to me it seemed As though the dance had never stayed, But still the self-same figures swayed

In rout blood-drunken, blind with greed, Lust of gold their only heed, Haste for riches their only speed, Plunder of wealth their noblest deed.

And so, as the Masque whirled madly on, Fresh figures following close upon Those who led in the Dance of Death Preserved to its characters life and breath.

^{*} Shelley. See "The Masque of Anarchy."

Tho' these characters seal as their wearers' doom Hate in the world and death in the tomb, None seems merrier than they Who dance in Anarchy's Masque to-day.

Murder, splashed with war's red rain, Impersonated by Chamberlain, Cynical, crafty, with fox-like face, Tigers—not bloodhounds—keeping pace

With his shifting feet, on blood well fed That England's bravest and best have shed To destroy in Afric the Liberty That stood in the way of Anarchy.*

The part of Fraud by Rhodes well played, For none knows better how lies are made To seem like truth in the dim twilight Of dawning reason's imperfect sight,

And round him gathered a crowd of men Busy with telegraph, type and pen, Misleading the world; for a price in gold Honour and conscience bought and sold.†

And Fraud laughed loudly as he saw England, aroused, prepare for war In the cause, as she thought, of Liberty, Which he knew meant freedom for Anarchy.

Hypocrisies will be more than one
In the Dance of Death ere the Masque be done;
But worst of all the priests who prate
That Christian love means anger and hate: ‡

- * The following characteristic remark of the chairman of the Consolidated Goldfields Company of South Africa, in London, November 14, 1899, makes this object of the war perfectly clear:—"The result of a British victory in South Africa would mean any quantity of native labour for practically nothing. Up to the commencement of the war wages were high because the South African Republic would not allow them to utilise native labour in the manner they wished, and he estimated the additional profits from the use of native labour in the place of British at the rate of £4,000,000 per annum." Further evidence of a like nature may be found in "The Native Labour Question in the Transvaal." (P. S. King and Son). 18.
- † Practically the whole of the South African press is under the control of Mr. Cecil Rhodes and his accomplices, and most of the correspondents of our own press are, or were, men on the staffs of the various journals so controlled.
- † "To succeed, war must be carried on earnestly, persistently, in the white heat of rage. You must hate your enemy and be relentless." "What should be our moral purpose? The concentration of all our energy, all our anger, and all our hatred." (The Review of the Week, April 14, 1900.) "There are namby-pamby individuals in our midst to-day who think to build by pen and intellect the New Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land. He who would learn to love must first learn to hate; and the man who would shrink from using shot, shell, and bayonet is a poor fellow who would become extinct by the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest." (Church Times, December, 1899.) Most of the replies to the pamphlet, "Shall I Slay my Brother Boer?" copies of which were sent to every priest and minister of religion throughout England, are said to have been equally fiendish.

Through them doth Fraud his blackest deed, By them is sown the deadliest seed Of Murder in hearts which seek to know The way in which Christ bade them go,

And Satan smiles as he watcheth grow These seeds of misery, hate and woe, And loud he laughs as his work he sees Done in the name of the Prince of Peace!

Whilst the bells in the steeple swing and sway Rejoicing as Christians in battle array Burn and plunder and wound and slay; Below in the church, the whining priest Invokes God's blessing on Anarchy's feast!

And Anarchy, on his pale horse, Splashed with blood from each quivering corse Flung from Mammon's altar-stone, Over the death-path rides alone:

Before him go Murder and Cant and Fraud Clearing the way with prayer and sword, Behind him follow a motley crew, Men and women, and children too:— Blinded dupes of the God of Gold;

Blinded dupes of the God of Gold; Fools believing whate'er they're told By hired writer and pulpiteer Who scorn the right and at justice sneer;

Honest men, but ignorant; Crafty knaves, of scruple scant; Cowards who go right or wrong As temptation's weak or strong;

Weak-brained folk, of infant mind, Children swayed by every wind Of changing popular opinion; Bow 'neath Anarchy's dominion.

And they hail him Lord and King, Though death to each one he may bring; For Anarchy they cast their lot Whether they know, or know it not.

So, as the Masquers dance away, Anarchy extends his sway; From West to East, to the China Sea, He spreadeth Mammon's tyranny.

Anarchy, their King and Lord, Whose sceptre is a bloodstained sword, Driveth the mob and worketh the will Of that dread Fiend who is greater still:

Anarchy, King by right Infernal, The servant on earth of Sin Supernal, Of Mammon usurping the Throne Eternal Until the Day of Nemesis—

For Men have chosen, and chosen This!

JOHN E. ELLAM.

A PRIMITIVE.

CENTURIES of education; all the luxury of modern life, the aid of sweet religion; the careful upbringing of many generations of his ancestors, the artificial atmosphere in which the children of the rich mature like hothouse plants, carefully shielded from the roughness and obscenity in which the children of the poor struggle to manhood, had worked together to eradicate all the primeval coarseness from his blood. Fine linen, constant and inculcated cleanliness; a form of speech so nicely castrated as to eliminate all idea of sex from the mind, a hypersensitiveness to all vulgarity had both conjoined to civilise Lieutenant Lillicrap to the last degree.

Carefully-regulated gymnastic exercise had so developed all his muscles that with five meals a day, so that he did not have to expose himself to weather, he was an athlete, fit, by the stop-watch, to outrun an Indian on the cinder-track. On a well-mannered horse he seemed a rider, and really was able to cross a country fairly well if he was confident his horse would do all he expected of him. For the inward spiritual grace, he was as well equipped to prosper (inside the four mile radius) as he was fitted physically to excel in all the pastimes of the age in which he lived.

Tall, fair, and with the blue Minton china coloured eyes and sandy thingrowing hair which seems to be the livery of our race; his long flat feet set almost at right angles to his legs beat on the pavements as he walked with the same noise with which the floats of the wheels of an old-fashioned paddle steamer beat on the sea. An eye-glass and a perpetual smile appeared to have been as it were birthrights with him, or at the least were as much part of him as his long rabbit teeth and high falsetto voice, which seemed to take its rise between his palate and the upper regions of his head. His mind was at the least as well endowed with engaging qualities as was his body, and perhaps a sort of snobbish common-sense predominated over all the rest.

Thus well equipped and pitched both from without and from within against humanity, he stood four square against all kindliness, which he called sentiment, and held the greatest weakness of mankind. In fact, humanity to him presented itself usually in the shape of someone to be paid for services, either unnecessary or hypothetical, and therefore to be kept at bay with money, or with a negative in the high head voice his class affect.

Love, hatred, gratitude were all unknown to him, and passion only known to be avoided as low, bad form, and quite un-English, which latter hyphened adjective he took to be the most condemnatory that the whole range of language can afford. Still, being as he was, well fed and idle, the sexual instinct stirred in his blood occasionally, as it will stir in like conditions in the blood of stallions, bulls, men of the Latin races, negroes, Hindus, and

even in the veins of God's own Englishmen. Against its promptings he did not strive to any great extent, perhaps not finding them too potent, or perhaps thinking that anything that could be done, so that the world need never hear of it and for a reasonable sum, was to be condoned, so that of course, the person paid was treated half as a servant, half as an accomplice in a crime, after the English way. But all such aberrations of the flesh he looked upon as weaknesses not to be avowed; though had he drunk too much he would have frankly owned his folly and perhaps privately censured God and his parents for the weakness of his head.

That which we frankly own in broadcloth and a flannel shirt, we practically do away with and are free to renounce when the fit takes us; but that which others see without our own confession, is a crime against mankind and proves our own participation in the weaknesses of oversea humanity which we by virtue of our island birthright should seem to be without.

To such a man, set on a racial pinnacle above the other races of mankind and starched and varnished so as to be impervious to a feeling of common origin with the poorer section even of a superior race, all argument is naturally an insult, and rudeness or a threat, a crime against the planets which revolve around the head of him who has his pockets lined with gold. So Lillicrap passed through the world without belonging to it, after the fashion of the English upper class. Kindly to all inferiors so that they cordially admitted their inferiority, courteous to equals so that they treated him with courtesy, and servile to all those whom fortune or whom rank had set above him in the social scale, he seemed to think the world a combination of club, brothel, theatre, and hotel, specially called into existence for his use. An impecunious peer was good to talk about, and to lend money to, up to a certain point; a millionaire, his god, to be mentioned but with bated breath, even if halt, blind, impotent, or a mental eunuch from his birth. Women were born inferior to him, but yet served to minister to his good manners when he picked up a fan or a dropped handkerchief; but only when well-dressed, for the same girl who, rich, he would have bowed to in the park and felt a chivalrous gentleman in so doing, poor and in service he would have rated heartily if she had blacked instead of varnishing his boots.

Marriage, Lieutenant Lillicrap looked upon as a convenient haven for his declining years, not being fool enough to think that his own moderate charms and position would find him a rich eligible wife when he was young, and being sure that when he chose to beckon, half a-hundred girls would marry him for a home and bread in his maturer years. In the meantime, he by no means was a celibate, but took his pleasure, sadly perhaps, but regularly enough, in the promiscuous, polygamic fashion of our monogamistic land. His transitory wives he looked on as a man looks on a hired horse, to be ridden sharply with his own spurs, despising them from the clear depths of his chivalric soul, as if they more than himself were blameworthy for his morganatic nights. But still in all his brief connections with those who in his lighter moments he referred to as "soiled doves" conveniently forgetting that he himself had helped to soil their draggled plumes, he piqued

himself upon his gentlemanlike tone. A gentlemanlike tone-that is, prompt payment for services received, and should you meet the payee in the street, an icy stare, with perhaps an elevation of the eyebrows if you are sure no one who knows you is about. Well did Lieutenant Lillicrap know all the meanesses of modern life, not having had to learn them, but having got them so to speak by instinct. As it is natural to a setter puppy to crouch down and squirm along the ground, having received the trick from nature and imbibed it with his mother's milk, so is it natural to Lillicraps to grovel before the rich, respect all social inequalities and false conventions, and inso doing they but follow the instinct of their race in the same way as does the setter pup. Like many men whose lives have passed as smoothly as canals between their banks, Lillicrap seemed to think that all the environment of modern life contributed but little to his attitude towards the world, being quite unaware that everything he did and thought was but reflected, and that were he obliged to act upon his own account that, perhaps all their influence would fall away. Of all the crimes that it is possible for mankind to commit, he held bad form, or any outward manifestation of his interior being, to be the worst. So that, although he piqued himself upon his bluntness and his honesty, he really was a sentimentalist, and looked upon the world as in a Claude glass, with the shadows altered to suit his private point of view.

All foreigners he naturally believed inferior to himself, not on account of anything they did or did not do, but because he genuinely thought the English honester, more manly, upright, and what he called more "gentlemanly," than other races of mankind. An insult from a foreigner, although it happened in the foreigner's own country, moved him to fury, for he imagined that the insult was levelled at the Deity who had set him in his place to carry the ideals of Brixton to the waste spaces of the earth. Thus as a Balaam come to judgment did he go about, feeding his ass as Balaam must have done his, three times a day, but swift to strike him if the animal tripped, shied, or lifted up its voice.

So well equipped, he was, and so well armed from head to heel in pride and prejudice that had not an untoward accident unmasked him to himself, he might have passed his life, contented with his upbringing, certain that come what might, he would remain unruffled, and the master of his nerves Dining one night in Brussels with some friends and having drunken well. and become heated with loud talk and food, his friends departed, he stole off into the streets. The moon shone bright upon the stuces town, the cleanly cobbled streets lay in her light like frozen rivers bounded by high cliffs, from distant thoroughfares the half-heard roar of traffic reached his ear. Over the town the square twin towers of the cathedral hung, solemn and menacing in the pale, full light. From cité and from parvis, the cries of children rose. Sturdy, fair-headed and blue-bloused, they squattered heavily upon the stones, driving each other as they had been ponies from Frisland, with a clattering of wooden shoes. Workmen reeled hand in hand smoking their Roisin or their Haarlebeek, making night hideous with "La Brabanconne," which they roared out " á tue tête" in their passage through the

town, or, stopping at estaminets, drank faro as they wiped the perspiration from their brows.

Long did Lieutenant Lillicrap stroll aimlessly about, looking complacently on what he saw after the fashion of a man who has dined sumptuously. At last taking his resolution, he looked cautiously about, plunged down a side street, and drew up before a door half open and surmounted by a red lantern with a number on the glass.

Entering, he mounted several steps, and found himself stopped by an iron door, at which a woman reconnoitred him through a hole grated and fashioned to exclude the light. After a parley with the janitress he passed into the house. A heavy smell of stale perfumes hung in the air, gilding and looking-glasses seemed to be everywhere, and from the corridor heads looked out at him, and painted faces smiled.

"Ces dames au salon," cried the junitress, and with a rustle of silk petticoats the women filed into the room. Listless, yet half-expectantly, they showed themselves, as horses used to be shown will cock their ears and stretch their legs when in the ring, although they cannot reasonably expect a new sensation in thus finding themselves observed of all. Dressed in transparent wrappers, showing here and there a shadow where the light fabric clung to the skin, their faces freshly painted, and their eyebrows darkened and artificially arched, they somehow gave a far less greater air of vice than their appraiser seated respectably in a red velvet chair before a table topped with looking-glass, who scanned them in the half-serious and half-joking way in which a man, who feels his false position and still sets high value on himself, in such a case, assumes.

Long did Lieutenant Lillicrap sit dallying in an Olympian manner in the bemirrorred room. In Anglo-Saxon French, he poured the treasures of his wit like strings of pearls upon his company. Petroleum champagne, at what he called "a louey" every bottle, he consumed, piquing himself upon his generosity, whilst all the women sat by turns upon his knee, whispering into his ear, and covering his smoking jacket with pearl and violet powder, telling him now and then he was a "gros chou adoré" and the like, compliments which he took as original and called forth by his intrinsic attractions of body and of mind. He heard, half comprehending, all their stories, and learned how most of them had fallen victims to the wiles of noblemen, which class of beings seemed to pervade the Belgian villages, seeking, like Incubi, poor maidens to seduce. He watched a heavy Flemish woman sickeningly imitate the "danse du ventre"; he listened to the protestation of the Algerian Jewess that she was a Spanish Mauresque (whatever that may be); heard the thin, fair and half-developed girl from Paris talk of Lutetia and its delights, despising all she said, and in his turn being despised by her as a mere "gredin d'Anglais," to the intense amusement of the rest. Then, not exactly drunk, but in the state in which the nerves throb through the body with a noise like piston rods, he rose, and called for "l'arditiong dew chammpagne," which a tall youth dressed in a bright check suit, and horse-shoe decorated decolleté shirt, brought on a plated tray. The "chammpagne" having had just strength enough to

make him quarrelsome, he thought "l'arditiong" extortionate, gave and exchanged some insults, and how he never quite exactly knew, suddenly found himself the centre of a scrimmage, in which he hit at random, landing his blows on naked breasts and stomachs only protected by thin lace. High voices screamed, and kicks and scratches rained on him from every side. The lights were suddenly turned out, and he was hustled to the door and thrown into the street, bleeding and with long streamers of cheap lace floating about him like ribands from a Maypole or a Christmas Tree.

Outside, the cool night air soon sobered him, and coming to himself fury possessed him as he remembered how he, Lieutenant Lillicrap, an English gentleman, had been so handled by mere foreigners. All the old brutal instincts, which centuries of snobbism had not eradicated, rose in his heated blood. Foaming and slavering at the mouth, with blood injected eyes, he paced about, pouring a torrent of abuse on foreigners, and on the creatures who had dared to strike a gentleman.

Then seeing on a heap of sand a paving stone, left by a gang of men who had been working on the street, he sprang upon it with a howl, raised it, and, with a curse, dashed it right through the lantern of red glass which, with its number in large letters set above the door, showed that the Government had spread its ægis upon the dwellers in the house. The fragments clattered on the stones, and then Lieutenant Lillicrap, hearing the noise of fast-approaching feet, hastily executed an impromptu dance before the door, and shouting "Pootaings" disappeared into the night.

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM.

THE ECONOMIC DECAY OF GREAT BRITAIN.—111.

THE author precedes his third and concluding article with various quotations from bankers and periodicals supporting his view that "England is Living on its Capital." No direct or actual evidence, however, is given in support of the above assumption, and we have, therefore, still to await statistics showing how England's wealth (which, despite the excess of imports over exports, continually increases) is being consumed.

The conclusion of the author is that our economic decay is due to the same causes as those of our military humiliations in South Africa, namely, want of foresight, want of organisation, love of traditior, disregard of common sense, the rule of the theorist, of the society man and of the old man, inattention to the warnings of experts, official lethargy, and unwarranted official estimators.

warranted official optimism.

The reasons why we have fallen behindhand in comparison with the United States he tabulates as follows:—

1. Because the primary elements of production, such as transport by rail, canal and sea, light, water, coal, &c., have been artificially raised in price to such an extent by railway combinations, the shipping ring and other monopolies that the cost of production makes successful competition in many cases impossible for our industries.

2. Because Great Britair, instead of having Free Trade, is hampered by a suicidal fiscal policy which has encouraged and created a most nefarious

protection in this country in favour of the foreigner, and destructive of our own productive resources by the differential tariffs charged by our railway

combination, our shipping ring and our coal combine.

3. Because our human resources have temporarily deteriorated owing to the exactions of our monopolies, which compel our working population to live in congested slums, and owing to national conceit, inferior tuition, insobriety, and the artificial and unnecessary restrictions of labour.

4. Because, owing to stagnant or decreasing production, and ostentations, wasteful living, our national capital has not grown, but has decreased, as he showed in the first article of this series. Whilst other nations are

largely increasing their capital, we are living on our capital.

5. Because bad company laws, bad patent law, unnecessary legal restrictions in certain trades, and a costly and clumsy general law, are impoverishing

the nation by hindering its natural economic growth and expansion.

The author then invokes the aid of the State, and proceeds to fall foul of that conglomeration of factions, the Liberal Party. Devoid of originality and afraid of initiative (he writes), it raises a stale cry which finds no longer an echo in the country, instead of resolutely throwing tradition overboard, looking for the greatest need of the nation, creating an excellent precedent, raising boldly the economic standard, and making their cry: Prosperity,

Efficiency, Economy, and Empire.

Our Parliamentary representatives are elected on a political platform, not on an economic programme. Therefore it is not astonishing that the comparatively compact and solid party organism is apt to melt away as soon as economic subjects are touched. The composition of the House is a curious one, for, though its chief function is an economic one—namely, the spending of the nation's money—it is not elected on economic grounds. Apparently we have two great parties, but as soon as economic interests are touched the party system collapses, the secret economic parties which are never mentioned at the General Election unmask their guns, and we are suddenly confronted with a public-house party, a coal-owners' party, a railway party, a promoters' party, &c., of great strength and absolute coherence, which only know one kind of loyalty, loyalty to their trade.

The House of Commons represents the country fairly faithfully politically, but economically it distinctly misrepresents the country, for it is representa-

tive not of the productive but of the monopolistic trades.

The various interests of the railway and brewing sections, and others of like nature, will make every attempt at thorough economic reform futile. A publican who sells liquor after hours will try to bribe the policeman on the beat. From similar motives the monopolistic trade parties are the greatest contributors to the Party funds. As they hold the purse-strings of both parties they largely control their pelicy, and are consequently able to exercise subterranean influences of considerable importance.

Instances are then given of relative lower freight rates from foreign countries in assisting the competition of foreign with British manufactures, for which there is no remedy in our House of Commons as at present constituted. Cotton goods (according to evidence given before the Select Committee on Steam Subsidies) were carried by British steamers from New York to Shanghai, a distance of 13,717 miles at 27s. 6d. per ton of 40 cubic

feet. From Liverpool the rate was from 50s. to 65s. per ton.

The author then inveighs against the 'fficial routine and prejudices of the Government Departments, not forgetting the present Cabinet. "From the business point of view," says the author, "the English Cabinet consists of a number of amiable but feeble old men, of whom only one, perhaps two.

might be able to earn their own living. The rest, if not provided for with inherited wealth, would otherwise be a charge on their relatives or the community. Such are the men," he exclaims, "who habitually rule this country, and who are trying to compete with the able, energetic experts pitted against them by the United States and Germany."

After more adverse criticism on our Consular service, and that unintelligent registering machine, the Board of Trade, the author of "Drifting" declaims against a Little England and advocates a Great Britain, the

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World Empire.

THE BILLION DOLLAR TRUST.

HENRY W. MACROSTY and S. G. Hobson discourse in the Contemporary Review on the Billion Dollar Trust recently created in America. Far from the Steel Trust being a mushroom concern they regard the trust as the story of the American iron industry—as the climax to repeated efforts made by American manufacturers to to find some form of combination which would establish an economic parity between demand and production. The Federal Steel Company was formed in 1898 with a capital of \$200,000,000. Early in the following year the National Steel Company was organised with a capital of \$59,000,000. Then came the American Steel and Wire Company, and following that the American Tin Plate Company with a capital of \$16,000,000, employing 25,000 hands. This latter company created more hostility than any other combine because of its overreaching conduct in its contracts. All these organisations, however, were powerless to control the iron industry without the co-operation of the Carnegie Company, which mined about one-quarter of the iron of the country, and turned out. about the same proportion of the finished products. These companies, in which Mr. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. J. D. Rockefeller were largely interested, approached Carnegie, who apparently was doing so well that he seemed disinclined to leave the business. After some bother Carnegie was at last induced to retire with £40,000,000 sterling to his credit. This cleared the way, and on February 23, 1901, the United States Steel Corporation was incorporated in New Jersey. It took over nine companies and received a charter empowering it to do practically everything that can be done on this earth "except to maintain or operate any railroad or canal in the State of New Jersey." Its authorised capital is \$1,100,000,000, half in Seven per Cent. Cumulative Preferred stock and half in common stock. It owns its own ore fields, which are described as being of vast extent and varied quality, and possesses sufficient coalfiel is to supply itself with fuel. In the matter of transportation, it owns its ore fleet on the likes and its ore railways for the service of its mines. Besides these facilities it is in close financial association with Mr. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller, thus having at its disposition all the great railway systems controlled by those magnates, with no trouble about rates and freights. Finally, by the purchase of the Atlantic service of the Leyland Line, the steel kings have now at their disposal all the means necessary to sell in Europe their surplus product. The writers add unfortunately there is no hope that the British manufacturers will be able to imitate them in obtaining a control of the means of transport.

There are, however, still some companies outside the corporation, but the largest of these are at the present moment being negotiated with. At present the Billion Dollar Trust controls from 65 to 75 per cent. of the steel industry, and, when present negotiations with other surviving companies are finished, expects to have entire control without even the vestige of a rival.

Mr. Swab, the manager, will not tolerate trade unionists. His chief objections are: (1) That they seek to limit output: (2) That they try to control the works, especially by appointing foremen; (3) that they insist on the same wages being paid to all men irrespective of their ability. He claims that English steel-makers would never be able to compete with American owing to the "unreasonable rules" of the unions; and that in England certain machines were only allowed to produce one-third as much as in the United States.

"Investigation," say the writers, "shows that the object of the trust in dealing with labour has been to smash the unions and to keep wages high. The average wages are now four dollars a day, the lowest being a dollar and a-half."

The writers claim that the workers have received an increase of wages since the formation of the trust equal to about 14 per cent., and the view is held by the writers that the workers are better without the unions than with them. They claim that collective bargaining is done within the works by means of a sliding-scale with a fixed minimum, "so that the working man should not suffer on account of too keen competition on the part of the firm." Mr. Swab expresses his strong approval of this method of regulating wages, and lays particular stress on workmen being allowed to earn any amount proportionate to their ability.

A "semi-official" estimate has been put forward that the trust will save ten million dollars annually in expenses. One of its companies, the Federal Steam Company, reckons that it has saved 6 per cent. in wages of superintendence, and another, the American Tube Company, estimates its savings in transportation at two million dollars. Prices have gone up since they have been controlled by the trust. But the writers put forward the excuse that it is due to cost of raw material. As the trust owns it own raw material they justify it by comparison with prices of raw material in other countries.

The inner workings of the trust, it is stated, are better known than in any private concern, and illustrations are given of monthly "lunch-conferences" of the managers, originally started by Carnegie. Under the chairmanship of the president they first discuss a good lunch in order to avoid asperities. Then, having dined and wined well, they set to work. Every subject of interest is discussed in turn, some difficulty of manufacture, some unexpected shortage of output, the best way of supplying some new market; any special point, in fact, which has characterised the business of the previous month. The individual managers are kept keyed up to a high pitch of efficiency. In the sale departments a similar interchange of ideas takes place. Sellers act also as trade reporters and send in trade reports with suggestions and advice, as to the best line of goods to be pushed. Thus a staff is created which becomes competent to deal with every difficulty, and prevent the possibility of any private trader getting ahead of the trust.

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THE LIBERAL PARTY A MENACE TO ENGLISH DEMOCRACY.

Who can believe that the future of democracy rests with a party which stood by while a Conservative Government made war upon a free people at the bidding of commercial exploiters, which has raised no protest at the barbarous conduct of that war, and which has concurred in the annexation of two free republics? And that is the least part of the affair. The Liberal party, to a very large extent, has gloried in the war, has spread the war spirit, has preached war from hundreds of Liberal platforms and in hundreds of Nonconformist pulpits. And it has persecuted the few who have been faithful, and who have dared to denounce war, the war spirit, and all that war stands for. Is it not a fact patent to thoughtful and observant Englishmen to-day that if this party had not betrayed the heritage of the great past, we should have been saved, not perhaps from war, but from the worst consequences of the war, the moral degradation into which we have fallen?

Many an honest Liberal will doubt the fairness of all this; but let such an one consider how, in order to support a war which, in Mr. Chamberlain's biting phrase, "they do not approve, but dare not oppose," Liberals have had to deny more than one fundamental theory. History is repeating Even non-Liberals are uttering much the same sort of talk as Liberals uttered fifteen years ago-Liberals who are now the warmest supporters of jingoism and of a Conservative Government. "When this war is over and out of the way, Liberalism will have a chance; these are the days of temptation in the wilderness." The plea is a pathetic one. Great movements and great progressive parties have had to suffer all the despair and sense of defeat that are conveyed in the idea. But the Liberal Party shows a strong inclination to linger in the wilderness of temptation, and even to bargain with the devil who is showing it all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them; it does not seem to be in any particular hurry to tell this particular tempter to get behind it. Is it likely to come forth from the wilderness in triumph?

If militarism be one of the ideals of democracy, if the people of England should be content to remain, and to become, more completely than even they have been in the past, the tools of a group of political gamesters, to be used by their masters for the purpose of crushing the democracies of "rival" nations; if they should not be capable of seeing that these other democracies and not kings, emperors, and big capitalists are their natural allies, let them be prepared to follow the present Liberal Party. . . . For the recent conduct of the party generally has practically committed it to

the support of the coming demand for conscription.

But, if it be indeed true that militarism is the last and worst enemy of democracy, let the various English democratic groups and societies unite in this one thing at least—let them beware how they put their trust in Neo-Liberalism. As well may democracy confide its future to a coalition of Conservatism and Liberal-Unionism, adorned with those strange hybrid blossoms of the political garden, the Tory-Democrat and the Liberal-Imperialist.—Hattie E. Mahood, in the July Forum, New York. Condensed for Public Opinion.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM.

THE opinion of the continental press in general is that the French Socialists, in failing to agree as to their attitude toward M. Millerand, as a member of the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, threw away an excellent opportunity to make a strong impression on their foes. The point at issue was whether M. Millerand, who is an out-and-out Socialist, could be held to represent the party in a "bourgeois Cabinet." One faction contended that by being in the Cabinet he, in a measure, indorsed all its acts, most of which have been anti-socialistic. The other faction favoured an indorsement of him and an expression of satisfaction at the legislation he has been able to bring about in the direction of social reform. Most of the French comment is rather Some people, observes the Revue Bleue (Paris), submit to a drubbing and are still happy. But the French Socialists show us a paradox which is the exact opposite: they secure a notable triumph and complain of it. two years past a great mass of legislation favourable to their ideas has been brought about. Yet they never cease to lament and disagree. Once upon a time, says the Temps (Paris), a child broke its doll in two. Its nurse, however, comforted it by saying: "Don't cry; you now have two dolls." So it is with the Socialists, declares the *Temps*. They formerly had a good, united organisation. Now they have two. We hope they are satisfied. As for their principles, this Paris journal declares that they are aiming at the destruction of the Republic. Socialism, it concludes, is not republicanism. It is a system of destruction aimed at all the fundamental principles laid down in 1789. The Socialists are, therefore, "necessarily the enemies of all who uphold these principles; they are the enemies of every true son of the revolution." They will now be less formldable as opponents, says the Journal des Débats (Paris), for their division will certainly weaken them. This journal regrets that the energy and intelligence which is manifested by the French Socialist leaders should be dissipated in factional quarrels. Why should they not stand together, it concludes, and keep the respect this intelligence and energy have heretofore inspired?

The Osservatore Romano and the Tribuna (Rome) publish detailed reports of the recent annual convention of this Socialist Party, held in Lyons, and warn Italian Socialist leaders of what factional disputes may bring. The Hamburger Nachrichten believes that French Socialism will "go backward over the road of English trades unionism." They seem to be struck with blindness, says the Nachrichten, and to be totally incapable

of knowing when they have won a triumph.

The Pester-Lloyd (Budapest) argues in the same vein. The French, it remarks, have set out for Utopia. Millerand's presence in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet would have made any other party happy to claim him. The St. James's Gazette, the Spectator, and the Saturday Review (London) also speak regretfully of the dissension in the Socialist ranks. It is greatly to be deplored, says the last-named journal, that those Socialists who wisely look for attainment of the Socialist ideals through constitutional means and the legitimate influence of men of the quality of M. Millerand, are hampered and defamed as much as ever by the anarchical extravagances of the revolutionaries. Justice (London), the leading English Socialist organ, does not, however, wholly condemn the split. After all, it says, there is something more important than unity, and that is a strict adherence to principle.

Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu contributes to the Economiste Français (Paris) The French an historical study of the evolution of Socialism in France. Socialists of to-day, he declares, are too doctrinaire. "Without a doubt, to animate and give life to a party, there must be an ideal; but the partisans must be content with remaining as faithful as they can to this ideal, and in awaiting its realisation they should not despise any tangible results that are offered to them."

The programme of the Spanish Labour Party, "the most practical of the reform elements of the kingdom," writes Juan José Morato, secretary of the national committee of the Socialist Labour Party of Spain (in Nuestro Tiempo, Madrid), demands the "'suppression' of the public debt, the standing army, and State aid to the clergy; the confiscation of ecclesiastical properties, free justice, free instruction to everyone, whatever his social grade; the reversion to the State of all mines, railroads, and arsenals; the abolition of all direct taxation, and the imposition of a graduated income-tax upon all incomes exceeding 3,000 pesetas (about

\$600)."

One of the London journals having recently asserted that Socialistic propaganda was gaining ground in Japan, the Jiji Shimpo (Tokyo), in an article which is quoted by the Japan Weekly Mail (Yokohama), while admitting that the reign of plutocracy cannot be altogether prevented in Japan, denies that any conditions suggesting the growth of Socialism have yet become visible. The Mail states the position of the Jiji as follows: "It thinks that the rich and the poor in Japan are not separated by a gulf comparable with that dividing the plutocrat and the pauper in the West. Here the poor man has his compensations. He takes his holidays, goes to fêtes and festivals, and enjoys himself thoroughly on occasion. nothing intolerable in his lot."

But, says the Mail, by way of comment, apart from the mere question of degrees of wealth, there is the fact that a Japanese rich man is singularly

careful not to make any striking display of opulence.

"He seems to have an instinctive desire to avoid contrasts which might excite public envy. There are not, indeed, quite as large possibilities of differentiation in Japan as in Europe or America. The Japanese house and the Japanese manner of living do not offer such extensive opportunities for magnificence and luxury, in outward appearance at least. But when due allowances are made on that account, the conviction is still forced upon any careful observer that opulence in Japan is deliberately deprived of many of the ostentatious features which in the West render it so ugly in the eyes of indigence. Which of us knows of even one very wealthy Japanese who makes a parade of his riches or devotes his money to purposes of glitter and display? So long as that spirit of effacement prevails, the advent of Socialistic ideas will be deferred."

Trusts are not to be denounced by Socialists, writes H. M. Hyndman in

Justice. London :-

"The whole revolutionary Social-Democratic Party throughout the civilised world recognises the formation of national and international trusts as the best stage of capitalist society in its progress towards organised Socialism. While ignorant politicians and statesmen of the first rank cry out to stop , or to check the trust system; while political economists of the old school are conferring as to how they may fend off this new danger from their favourite world of competitive anarchy; we Social-Democrats welcome every new combination as another stride towards the goal of human emancipation."—From the New York Literary Digest.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS IN GERMANY.

One of the advantages of the Socialist press in Germany is that the German always pays a subscription for his paper, so that it is easily known how many copies should be printed. Thus a paper with a daily circulation of 10,000 will not sell perhaps more than 100 odd papers a year; in that way it is easy to make calculations. As the papers have a regular set of subscribers, they can easily get advertisements, and this is especially noticeable at certain seasons of the year, especially near Easter and Christmas, when the papers swell visibly with all kinds of advertisements. Of course, some of the papers do not pay, but then the Socialist Party supports them, and as the German workman has the good sense to pay his subscription regularly, funds are fairly abundant. The papers are nearly always printed in offices belonging to the party, and the profits of the press also help to keep the papers going. At the end of 1900 there were 46 daily papers, twelve appearing three times a week, six twice a week, one weekly and three monthly papers, and these papers had 254,100 subscribers. Vorwarts has 56,000 subscribers, the Hamburger Echo has 30,000, the Leipziger Volkszeitung 29,000, and most have between them 10,000 and 20,000, though a few have only 5,000.

There are two comic Socialist papers, the Wahre Jacob (the caricatures of which are often reproduced in Mr. Stead's Review of Reviews) and the Suddeutsche Postillon, having together 107,000 subscribers. Most of the papers belong to the local committee, though a few, as Vorwärts, are the property of the whole party. Care is taken that one paper does not clash with the other, and Vorwärts is really the only paper having subscribers outside its district, and these are only 5 per cent. of the whole. Of course, some papers are run at a loss—for example, there was a loss on a Polish daily paper (Gazeta Robotnicza) of over £2,000 in 1900. But this was and is inevitable under the circumstances. As a rule, however, the papers pay well.

The writers are often workmen, but sometimes they are clerks, teachers, &c. The work is hard, and it is a joke to say that those who advocate an eight hour day have to work at least sixteen. Vorwärts has nine writers, the Hamburger Echo eight; but most have only two, and sometimes there is only one—net counting the paste and scissors. The pay runs from £100 to £200 a year, and is rarely more.

There is also a manager, with assistants, and in each case there is a

supervising committee.

Though much remains to be done, it can, however, be fairly claimed that the Socialist Party in Germany has been able to form a daily Socialist paper belonging to the party alone.

A. Braun (Mouvement Socialiste).

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

It is estimated that the money spent already in the South African War would have built 150 art galleries, 150 museums, 300 hospitals, 150 convalescent homes, 150 blind institutes, 150 deaf and dumb institutes, 150 orphanages, 300 public halls, 1,500 public libraries, 1,500 public baths, 1,500 board schools, 750 gymnasiums.

SILVER LININGS.

Tho' our hearts grow sick and weary and our limbs grow stiff and sore, Yet the road was all the rougher to the men who marched before; And as onward thro' the shadows still our toilsome way we wind, We can leave it all the smoother to the men who march behind.

If we weary of the struggle ere the fight is half begun, It will only be the later that the vict'ry will be won; Tho' the blows we strike be feeble, if we only do our best, When the final score is counted they'll be reckoned with the rest.

We can do a lot of moving if we only have the will, Tho' we may be rather weakly yet we once were weaker still; And there's many an earnest brother who will battle for the right, If we only get to show him that we know the way to fight.

Tho' the darkness in the distance hide the dangers we must brave, And the pathway of the future seem to point but to the grave, Ev'ry pause upon the journey keeps us longer with the night; Just before may be the turning that will lead us to the light.

Tho' we fall along the wayside ere the dawning of the sun,
Yet the cause will be the stronger for the work that we have done;
And perchance some other comrade who shall reach the morning tide,
Will have marched there all the firmer that we once were by his side.

Courage, comrades, then, and onward, tho' the way be dark and steep, We shall get there all the sooner if we don't lie down and sleep; And tho' tyrants may oppose us who will play a low-down game, You can bet your bottom dollar that we get there all the same!

ERN. T. COOMBE.



JAN HENDRIK SCHAPER.

THE

SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

Vol. V., No. 9. SEPTEMBER 15, 1901.

JAN HENDRIK SCHAPER.

Our comrade Jan Hendrik Schaper, who is the youngest member of the Dutch Parliament, being only 33 years old, was first elected at a bye-election in 1898. His success was a great surprise and a most encouraging event. The Liberal representative of Veendam, in the province of Groningen, was as a judge placed in another court and had therefore, according to law, to be elected again. Schaper contested and won the seat from him.

He had at that time already acquired a good reputation in the place where he lived, the town of Groningen, where he was elected first a member of the Town Council and soon afterwards a member of the Provincial Council.

Having received only a few years' elementary education, it may be said truly that he is a self-trained man. And once the right man in the right place, his abilities awakened and developed very quickly. Although he is not, like Troelstra, a born agitator, he is an administrator by intuition. Being young, he has a chance and is capable of playing an important part in the politics of Holland. Cool, with great power of concentrating his mind on any subject, and not easily moved by mere sentiment, he may be said to be a born statesman. He is not a very fluent, but nevertheless a most argumentative, speaker. His speeches are, in Parliament as well as in the local councils, always attentively listened to. He is at present editor of a local Socialist paper, a post he has often filled.

He belonged, with myself and others, to the group of young enthusiasts who were recruited by the steady propaganda of Domela Nieuwenhuis and gathered by him round the banner of Socialism.

Schaper originally earned his living as a plumber, and because of his frank profession of opinion he many times lost his situatior. In his very dark days he thought of leaving Holland for America. But, happily, fate, or whatever it may be, determined otherwise, and kept him in the country where he is doing for his fellow workers marvellous good work, and much more may be expected from our comrade.

Schaper was not successful in the first ballot at the last election, but in the second ballot he was triumphantly elected for two constituencies, Veendam and Appingadam.

J. C. VAN DER VEER.

TOWARDS UNITY.

ONE of the most beautiful and I venture to think for English Socialists most suggestive incidents in the life of our late comrade, William Liebknecht, was that which he himself related at the Congress at Erfurt, when, after the fall of the anti-Socialist law, the party was occupied with the consideration of a new programme. Liebknecht was the reporter of the committee which considered the question, and in the course of a masterly speech in which he laid down the general principles of Socialism and the main ideas which governed the tactics of the party with a lucidity and a breadth of judgment which has rarely been equalled, he came to refer to the past history of the party and especially to the long conflict between the Lassalleaner and Eisenacher sections.

I give the whole passage in the words of our friend, only adding the explanation that the comrade Toltke who is referred to had been at that time one of the most prominent of the Lassalleaner, and consequently an opponent of Liebknecht.

"Both sections of the Social-Democrats, the Eisenacher and the Lassalleaner, had been for many years at war with one another. It was thought at first practically by both sides that the aims were different and that questions of principle divided us. In the course of the struggle, however, the conviction grew that for the mass of the members these questions did not exist, that even if the battle cries were different still the aim, the demands and strivings of both sections, were the same.

"Thus both sides gradually became convinced that it was necessary to unite the two divided streams. Instead of destroying their forces in this fraternal strife they ought to unite and turn them against the common foeso everyone said. And this idea acquired such strength that on both sides, even had the leaders opposed it, the rank and file were not to be kept from A few days ago there spoke here our oldest comrade, the senior of the party, our Toltke. He reminded us of the sad times of struggle. will recall to his memory a more pleasant occurrence. As I, not long after I had come out of prison from the fortress in Hubertasburg, one beautiful morning sat in the editor's office in Leipzig, there entered a man whom I seemed to know, though I could not say at once who he was. I continued working, whereupon I was informed: 'Toltke is here and wants to talk to you.' I rose at once. Toltke came straight to me and reached out his hand, which I immediately took—for that no preliminary peace was required. We went into a back room. 'We must have peace,' said Toltke, and I replied, 'Yes, we must have peace.' From that time on as far as I was concerned, was peace concluded, and as at the same time similar steps were taken in the north-Hamburg, Altona, and other places-it became clear to all my friends in Germany: we must now unite, come what may.

hotheads on both sides did their best to stop the work of peace, but unity had to be; it was necessary in the interest of the party."

I may add that no less a person than Karl Marx was strongly opposed to the compromise on which the unity of the Party was based, and wrote a long letter to the Eisenacher leaders in which he somewhat severely criticised the programme which they had accepted. Liebknecht, who, while he accepted the authority of Marx in theoretical matters, yet in practical questions took his own line, asked himself whether it would be possible to carry through a programme such as Marx demanded, and saw it was not. Thereupon he said to himself that even at the risk of offending a man whose friendship he valued like that of Marx, he must consider the interests of the Party first and foremost, and the objections of Marx were overridden, to the great advantage of the Party, though, as Liebknecht says, those objections were theoretically, as far as the programme was concerned, perfectly sound. I quote these historical facts because I think a consideration of the method in which unity was achieved in Germany, and the obstacles which were overcome, may help us to a right estimation of the objections which have been raised against a fusion of the Socialist forces in England. They certainly go to prove how very easily parties are kept apart by differences which are to a very large extent merely due to different methods of expression, and even to the use of sh bboleths which, being very elastic in reality, while giving the appearance of exactness, often create a There can be no doubt that wholly false impression on both sides. shibboleths and catchwords are inevitable in any movement. Life is too short to do without them; it is evident we cannot write a philosophical treatise every time we open our mouths, which would be necessary were we to dispense entirely with them. But, like a good many other dangers, the danger of catchwords entirely disappears when we recognise that it exists, and realise how differently the same phrase can be interpreted by different people. I hope that in proceeding to consider how far these general considerations apply as far as the differences in the English Socialist movement are concerned I shall not incur the charge either of adopting a dictatorial tone or an air of Continental superiority. There is no doubt, especially for foreigners or those who have lived any time on the Continent, a danger that they see things too much through foreign spectacles; but, on the other hand, it is a very easy method of getting rid of inconvenient critics to wave them off with a general expression about the difference of conditions in England from those prevailing on the Continent, and just because it embodies a half-truth it is especially dangerous. The fact is we can learn a great deal from our Continental movement, just as our Continental comrades have long found out they can learn from us, though naturally due regard must be paid to the different circumstances in each case. Leaving, however, this question on one side, I cannot help thinking that one of the great sources of weakness in the English movement generally as compared with the Continental is the fact that we rarely thoroughly discuss a There is no doubt that lack of funds has much to do with this. Our congresses and so on have only a very limited time at their disposal. and generally a great deal more than they can effectively discuss; and our Press is also limited. I mention all this because I wish it to be understood that I do not wish to throw stones at anyone. I fully sympathise with English comrades, and know well the difficulties under which they work. I only wish to point out the effects which it seems to me are produced by this state of affairs in the English movement.

Take the number of resolutions which are passed without any discussion, and also take those which are rejected with the favourite formula, " next business." There is no doubt that this tends to encourage a dogmatic It may be pointed out that many of the resolutions thus frame of mind. dismissed are old stagers, of which the "pros and cons" are already I should feel inclined to reply that it is quite true that many of them have been discussed for many years; but have they ever been thoroughly discussed at any one time in all their bearings, so that it was possible for those who were present to form a more or less balanced judgment? So far as I know, this criticism applies equally to the S.D.F. and I.L.P., and there can be no doubt that the relations of both these bodies have been considerably embittered by it. It is a case where dogmatism on the one side calls forth dogmatism on the other, and the cause of unity is greatly retarded by it. I have not referred to another factor which renders discussion rather futile, however, if it does not reduce our congresses themselves to a more or less empty farce. I mean the habit of sending delegates with a mandate as to how they are to vote on particular questions. Till members can learn to trust their representatives it seems idle expense to hold congresses-all the arguments in the world are wasted. cannot we see that a far better way to secure the democratic control is to make the delegate give a good account of the use he has made of his stewardship after the congress, and trust to a referendum of the members on all important points to prevent hasty measures being rushed through. rather than by tying the delegate's hands at a time when neither we nor he can form a proper judgment on any proposal? I think everybody who has had experience will agree that it is impossible to form an opinion of any value on any proposal till a discussion has taken place, and to get a good discussion implies that the minds of those who take part in it are not already made up. I note that Hyndman in his letter resigning his position on the Executive Council refers to the resentment that is felt by the branches when the Executive interferes with them. No doubt there is a good deal of stupidity displayed by the branches on this question, but is it not to a certain extent owing to a want of touch between the Executive and the great body of the members? I do not mean that the members have not probably ample opportunity of learning all about what is going on. far as I know our general secretary is already considerably overworked writing long reports to the branches of every meeting of the Executive. seems to me here might be a great saving of trouble. The branches are not concerned to know all the routine work of the Executive. A yearly or even a quarterly report of their activity would be quite enough in this respect. with statements from time to time showing how the funds stood. What

we are concerned to know is what policy the Executive intends to follow, and it seems to me that the Executive would do better before they embark on a new policy to publish beforehand either a manifesto or a pamphlet, going fully into the reasons which have induced them to take the step, and explaining clearly what they intend to do. Surely in the ranks of the Executive there is sufficient talent to ensure that this shall not mean an increase of work to one or two already overburdened men. Or is it again funds which fail here? Of course, it may be said funds will come in much more cheerfully the more the Executive does, and the more open they are with their policy. Anyway, I am not so much concerned to ask why it is not done now, as to urge that it should be done in the future. As, however, one can only do well in the future if we avoid what has been wrong in the past, so I wish to point out what seem to me good examples of what I have said. The question of the policy pursued by us in regard to the London County Council election occurs to me as more or less a case in point. Executive, it is true, did put forward a manifesto—rather, I believe, it was put forward by the London Central Council—but what a manifesto. Here was a case where the whole policy of the Council came under discussion. Whatever policy we took should have been based on a broad view of the whole aspects of the case. The policy of the two parties on the Council should have been looked at as a whole. I myself think a pamphlet, if possible, should have been written, which, looking at the nine years of the Council's work, gave a full history of what they had done and what, in the opinion of the S.D.F., they should have done. This was all the more necessary because we had the I.L.P. practically supporting the Progressives. I do not myself feel qualified to judge who was right, but it was urgently required that it should be made abundantly clear to all that the S.D.F. were governed by no mere petty considerations, but that they were able to make a good case out for what they did. Instead of this, we had a short manifesto, where, if I remember rightly, the housing question, the water, were only at least shortly referred to, and the key of the election made to turn on the question of the suppression of a certain number of public-houses in the Strand.

Well, it may have been very absurd for the London County Council to take the line it did on the question, but it seemed to me ridiculous in view of the important questions to be solved—the housing question, and so on—to lay stress on this. I was under the impression at the time that we ought to have either run our own candidates or voted for the Progressives. I am not, however, prepared to stand by that now. I think very probably I was wrong. It is probable we had not funds to run our own candidates, and I do not feel sure that the Progressives are better than the Moderates; but I should have liked to have seen this made clear by a study of the history of the party and its policy; also, I think where we voted for other candidates we might have had a minimum programme of our requirements on the housing question, fair wages, &c., so as to make our votes turn on the most important issue, not on a side; still, I am not so concerned with the particular policy followed as with the fact that it was not made sufficiently clear on what

grounds we were acting. I am not suggesting that for every election we should even issue a new pamphlet; all I wish to say is that I think that the London County Council is a body of sufficient importance for the S.D.F. to define its position towards, it with more definiteness and completeness than can be done in a number of articles and paragraphs written in Justice. This, however, is only one instance. I saw in Justice some time ago that the Executive were thinking of issuing a manifesto on the question of election alliances with other parties at municipal elections. I wish they would issue a pamphlet going thoroughly into the question of the relations of the Social-Democrats and other parties - based on the experiences acquired by the party throughout the country. I am convinced it could do nothing but good. I come, however, now to the most important point—the bearing of what I have said on the relations of the I.L.P. and S.D.F. I cannot avoid the feeling that what is responsible for the differences between the two bodies is misunderstanding each other's aims and ideas. That if it were possible to arrange a series of questions such as the class war, alliances with bourgeois parties and so on, to be discussed by leading members of both parties, provided each person made clear what he understood by the term, it would be found we were not so far from an agreement. Anyway, it would be an advantage to know exactly where we differed and how far we could work together. I certainly think we should do all we can to get the I.L.P. to define its position towards the questions I have specified. Why should not the leading members of that party be invited to state their views in the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT? The aim should be to find out what we have in common, and define precisely where we differ, and for that purpose the field of reference should be kept as nearly as possible within certain limits. It might take the form of a symposium, or a series of symposia, so that all the more important questions might in turn be treated of by members of both organisations. There can be no doubt, I think, that the all-important question is destined to be that of Imperialism and militarism. As the only party that is in a position to oppose to these an effective world policy—the world-policy which declines to sanction the exploitation of native races by a rampant capitalism, and refuses to allow the national resources to be allowed to be spent in securing to the international finance, Aryan or Semitic, new fields of investment—it behoves Socialists not to waste their time in fratricidal strife, but to strive for unity: a unity attained not by the slurring over of differences, but by the fullest possible discussion of those differences. That we shall ever attain to complete unanimity is neither to be expected or desired. But the first step to unity is the recognition of the fact that an argument is of more value than a sneer.

J. B. ASKEW.

[&]quot;STATE MAINTENANCE is the first change the working class need in the present educational system."—Workers' Republic.

LAST WORDS ON "BLACKS AND WHITES."

ALTHOUGH I think most of the readers of the Social-Democrat will agree that comrade Coombe's forte, as he himself seems to half-suspect, is rather that of the bard than of the sage, yet, as I always endeavour to answer an argument seriously stated—even although its plausibility may not seem to be of a nature likely to lead many souls into error—I beg to offer a few helated and final words anent Coombe's remarks in the May number of the Social-Democrat on this by no means unimportant topic.

The fundamental fallacy running through his article is, I think, the very common one known as "confusion of categories." Our friend has forgotten that in the original article criticised by him I was discussing Right and Wrong (in the metaphorical terminology used, White and Black), not Good and Evil. It was with the moral aspect of actions (in the narrower sense of the word) that I was concerned, not with their hedonistic character or with their general relation to human well-being. Now I contend that an action may, as Coombe says, involve the lesser of two evils, and be none the less, therefore, itself an evil, and nevertheless that it may be wholly right. Right and wrong, although they may be in the last resort covered by good and evil, are not necessarily so in the detail of life. Good and evil are, throughout this detail, relative terms, capable, as Coombe points out, of a more-and-less predication. With right and wrong it is not the same. It may be a disputed point as to whether a given action (assuming it to be susceptible of an ethical predication at all) be right or wrong, but there can be no question but that it is either right or wrong. In judging of an action, after having taken all the circumstances into account, there is no greater of two "rights" or lesser of two "wrongs." may be a lesser of two evils, but when there is no alternative but between these two evils, the action involving the lesser of the two evils is ex hypothesi the absolutely right action, i.e., it is the ethically best action to pursue under the circumstances. And it is this ethically best in given circumstances which is what we mean by concrete right or righteousness. Thus I hold that knocking down a fellow-creature in the shape of a highwayman is a lesser evil than the only other alternative, letting him rob and injure me. Holding this view I am forced to admit my knocking him down to be a righteous or a "white" action. Abstractly considered the knocking down of a fellow-creature in the road is a wrong or a "black" action. It only becomes right or "white" by appearing in a determinate sequel of causation to another wrong or "black" action. Again, I consider reprisals in war the lesser of two evils, the other being letting murder and barbarity run riot unchecked on one side.

Holding this view I consider that which per se is the blackest of "black" acts, viz, the shooting of prisoners, may conceivably become (undoubted evil though it be), nevertheless, ethically considered, as "white" as driven snow. Thus given two "black" actions per se in a definite causal relation

and they invariably do and must make a "white;" The only logically consistent believer in Coombe's metaphysico-abstract morality, that each species of action is per se and under all circumstances wrong, or per se and under all circumstances right, is unquestionably Tolstoy. He alone is prepared to go the "whole hog" of the theory that "two blacks don't make a white." Pace friend Coombe, I most emphatically insist that no one can logically maintain the thesis that "two blacks don't make a white" except a follower of Tolstoy's doctrine of non-resistance.

Now as to the other point raised. I observed in my original article that it is no use in estimating the relative goodness or badness of two parties to take into account the good or bad qualities they have in common, as these mutually cancel each other for the purposes of the judgment. alleged as another instance in which (without straining the metaphor too far) two blacks may, in a sense, be said to make a white, since for the purposes of the judgment by the fact of cancelling each other they lose their character of blackness. The same applies to the good qualities possessed in common (i.e., those tending to righteousness) since they similarly, for the object of comparison, lose their "whiteness" by cancelling each other. To take an instance. In a discussion as to the relative merits or demerits of Boer and Briton, if it could be shown that (say) the treatment of the natives was equally good or bad on either side, this question must properly be ruled out of the discussion, since the point in dispute is not the absolute goodness or badness of either race, but their relative goodness or badness as compared with each other. I further pointed out that it was only those qualities of goodness or badness which are in excess of the other side in the comparison-or if there is no special object of comparison, in excess of average human nature, having regard to time and place-which can be imputed for special righteousness or special wickedness. This I illustrated by reference to a Catholic dogma, a circumstance which very much shocked friend Coombe. Nevertheless, I claim the right to take my illustrations from any source I please, provided they are, as this one was, apposite, and for the purpose of argument I am prepared to exploit, if need be, the Vedanta, the Enneals of Plotinus, the Koran, and even the Catholic Church. But the point in question I admit was in itself so simple and obvious as hardly to need any illustration, and if Coombe cannot see it I am afraid I cannot make it any clearer to him.

Coombe observes in his penultimate paragraph, that if my position is sound, "then any action which we may feel compelled on occasion to adopt is not merely justifiable but good." Most certainly I hold that any action we are compelled to adopt as the least of two, only alternative, evils is —I will not say good because this term is ambiguous and may be used hedonistically no less than ethically—but morally right. And qua that particular action it is not relatively but absolutely right as representing the only rightness possible under the given circumstances, inasmuch as in these given circumstances ex hypothesi any other form of action would be wrong.

I quite agree with Coombe that this discussion is not mere hairsplitting of no practical value, for I am convinced that many a comrade defending a

righteous cause has been at times nonplussed for the moment by the apparently crushing retort, "two blacks don't make a white"! Let him the next time boldly lay hold of this wretched controversial tag by the beard and proclaim the truth that two blacks very often do make a white in the economy of human affairs, and that his opponent daily recognises this truth when it suits his purpose; let him do this and a point in the propagation of just views will have been scored!

E. Belfort Bax.

BREEDING NEW WHEATS.

THE May World's Work (New York) contained an article by W. S. Harwood on breeding new wheats, in which he tells of the results accomplished at the Minnesota State experiment station. To create a new wheat the pollen from the flower of one wheat must be artificially transferred to the stigma of the flower of another wheat. Two of the best known varieties are selected, one for the father, the other for the mother of the new wheat. When the harvest comes it may be that the new wheat has some of the poor, and few of the good characteristics of the parents; or the reverse may be the case. It is impossible to say in advance what the new wheat will be. In this way hundreds of new wheats have been bred until the experiments have evolved a new wheat, of which Mr. Harwood says:—

"It seems fair to say that the increase of the new wheat over all old varieties will be at least two bushels per acre. In the three States of Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota, there are on an average about 15,000,000 acres of land planted with wheat. When the new wheat is in use over all this region, an increase of only two bushels per acre will make a crop at least 30,000,000 bushels larger than the old varieties would have yielded. At an average price of seventy-five cents. per bushel, the increase in wealth in the region will be \$22,500,000 a year.

"The new wheat which has been grown under the direction of Professor Willet M. Hayes, of the Minnesota school of agriculture, will be given a much wider field trial among the farmers this summer. Those who planted the wheat last season have, in addition to their own seed supply, about 4,000 bushels to sell to other farmers, and the new wheat, it is expected, will have quite an appreciable effect upon the harvest of 1901.

"The wheat known as Minnesota No. 163 has yielded as high as 42.7 bushels per acre, while none of the eight new wheats during the six years' trial has ever run behind 19.5 bushels. The average of each new wheat for a period of six consecutive years, from 1895 to 1900, inclusive, is in no case less than 27 bushels per acre, while the average of all the averages of the new wheats is 28.1 bushels per acre. The general average of the standard varieties in the region on the farms is from 13 to 15 bushels per acre, so that, while making due allowance for superior farming at the station, the allowance of an increase of two bushels per acre when the new wheat passes into complete sway in the north-western wheat fields seems far too low. On a number of farms of the higher type it showed more than two bushels increase in last season's harvest."

The article was illustrated by a photograph showing wheat heads a foot long.

THREE PERIODS OF WEALTH PRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE work before us is to investigate the present methods of wealth production. We desire to know the laws to which we are subject and to learn the extent of our power in directing the industrial forces now developed and being developed by the labour of the race. We wish to know how the accumulation of capitals takes place, how profits are made. Through the service of this knowledge we seek freedom from the restraints of poverty. We seek the universal use of wealth for all the race.

To attain this knowledge one must take from the world of wealth all the sentiment which clusters about it, all the power which controls it, all the passion which envelopes it, all the crime that runs through it, all the leisure it affords. One must do this if he would know what the orderly progress in the phenomena of wealth signifies.

Upon examination one finds that from the earliest dawn of the race to the present time there have been three epechs in the development of the industrial organism. These three epochs or extensions are well known. First, the primitive world of wealth, in the days of the shadowy past when prophets, poets, singers, scientists, saints, philosophers, and court followers, together with manual workers, were slaves, who served their cultured or barbaric masters as the dramatic scenes of life were shifted by the barter of those wretched but pictorial days. Second, the period of manufacture, in which the free artisan, owning his own tools, builded the free cities in the heroic and turbulent times which pressed close up to the gates of the eighteenth century. And the third extension in the world of economic wealth is familiar to all, with its wage-slaves and its capitalists, with its brilliant record of scientific achievement, and its black record of grinding human hearts into profits. It is the laws which govern this third division in the evolution of wealth production that we would bring into clear view. To do this the world of creation must be intellectually separated from the world of formation, the world of human action. The domain of the conscious art principle is inhabited by man, and by man alone; therefore it is that all creation below him is subjected to his uses and control successively as his capacity is developed to a higher and yet higher altitude of consciousnessthat is to say that, as mankind evolves to higher degrees of knowledge, he appropriates finer materials and more powerful energies and forces to his human advancement. With modern knowledge and the instruments of modern industry at his command, one may harness electric force to the task of ploughing the vast expanse of a western prairie as easily as Cincinnatus adjusted the voke upon his oxen to plough the four acres in the quiet of his rustic home.

In the world of formation (the human world) man relates his designs to

the designs manifested by nature. Therefore it is that, as man cannot change one atom of matter from manifesting its primary qualities, nor set away a law of motion, that natural substances and natural forces may be placed at zero in the world of formation.

To be sure, in the world of industry human design is precipitated into form by the design of labour-power applied to natural resources, which is the same process as that by which Nature works, and it is this great fact, which is so simple in its primal manifestations, that enables the complex action in the world of industry to be reduced to order.

The industrial world is builded consciously and unconsciously by man's effort, as by design he directs his labour power to the appropriation of the energies, forces and substances gratuitously furnished by Nature herself. We have before us the clear field of tangible wealth, and it is within its borderland that we shall fix our firm attention, that we may not be led off to consider the wealth of colour displayed in the gorgeous sheen of a Sorrento sunset, or to the admiration of the wealth of the curly auburn hair on the head of a lovely girl.

Economic wealth presents to us a vast accumulation of useful objects, the most of which are modern, some of which are moderately old, and a few of which are known to have been made and used by peoples of the greatest antiquity. From this day down to the remotest past the chain of wealth is unbroken. Likewise is the chain of knowledge unbroken.

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Everybody knows that human labour sustains human life, but it is not so clear that as men pass over the stage of life, beyond the ken of human vision, that one and all leave the works of his brain and hand, be they great or small, to mingle, for the most part without name and without fame. with the general fund of social knowledge and social wealth. ask who discovered the principles of science and art by which human life is sustained, we could not answer the question. Nobody knows who first used a stick as a lever to lift a burden; nobody knows who first builded a fire to overcome the natural atmosphere and to cook food. And should you ask the question nearer home, who invented the colossal and marvellous mechanical appliances, upon which is founded the industrial life of to-day, we cannot answer. But what we do know is that each and every added improvement has its roots deep down through the industrial organism. labour of all persons, of all time, is locked and interlocked; it forms the ground floor upon which rests the social organism. The labour of society is a unit, from the hunting and fishing of the naked savage to the diplomacy of the European savant, from the work of the Klondyke miner to the message of the President of the United States, from the effort of a fatigued society woman to feed her poodle dog to the girl whose life is sealed with the death of over-work as she stands each day and turns out thousands of yards of cotton from a Northrop loom. The economic effort of each and every member of society is reducible to human labour in the abstract, which is manifested by the value of commodities.

The interdependence of mankind may be seen in the mother's tender care for her child, or in the chain of events which set up the operation of the recent com-

bination of the steel industry. Carnegie's steel factory is no more, a greater than he is in possession. In strict conformity to the degree of attainment, the elevation of the industrial structure of society is the intelligence manifested by mankind. The knowledge of this great truth is the hope of the twentieth century. Such persons as are conscious that upon the structure of man, the individual, and of mankind, the social organism, depends the degree, high or low (from a given standpoint) of intelligence may seek to perfect the relationships (which is only another way of saying, may seek to perfect the structure) with supreme confidence that intelligence of a still higher order will result from the elevated human relations. A conscious person may thus aid himself and those who are unconscious as individuals, and conscious persons unitedly may aid the body politic to elevate the organic whole.

Wealth supports human life. Wealth is the vast aggregation of useful objects to be found in a given society which have been appropriated by man, and which have been formed by man in contradistinction to the objects of nature.

In primitive society the unit of wealth was simply a use-value; in the second extension of the industrial organism, the manufacturing period, the unit of wealth was, in addition to being a use-value, a product; and in the third extension of the industrial organism, the unit of wealth, in addition to being a use-value, is a commodity. It is the changing relations of the units of wealth—that is to say, the movements of the use-values within society (the forces taking form)—that require the new names to bespeak the changing conditions which register the industrial advance.

It is with the unit of wealth within our capitalist society, a commodity, which next claims our attention.

The unit of wealth is clearly and naturally a use-value, but it is not as clear how a unit of value is established, not so simple how a unit of labour is determined. We now stand in need of the illustration to show how a standard of measurement is set up, how the abstract is brought down to the concrete, how that which is indefinite is reduced to the definite. It is clear as sunlight that, whatever subject is up for examination, the first necessity is to come to a decision as to which point to start from, and to what end the effort shall be directed, and, also, if persons of differing sensations, emotions and conceptions are to proceed, in a body, with an intelligent demonstration of principles that physical terms as standards of intellectual measurement must replace the usual vague philosophical abstractions.

It is not strange to one, however indistinct his notions are as to the process by which the fact came about, that a dollar note will exchange for food, shelter or clothing. The process by which society created the one universal value form is simple, though it be complex, if one start from primals and keep to a straight course; but if one flounder about in the maze of differentiations, as for thousands of years the political economists have done, the law will no doubt elude his grasp. To fundamentals we will go to get the basis for analysis.

In setting up a standard for social measurement, society takes the same course as does the individual. The start is made naturally from that pole of abstraction with which one is best able to cope—that is to say, with the least instead of the greatest. Hence it is, that in order to examine wealth, to learn its value, its amount of value, and the source of its value, that the lower pole of wealth is selected as the point from which its natural relationship, or, if you please, the law of equity may be disclosed by which equilibrium holds pieces of wealth to their respective centres up and down the scale of value.

One single piece of wealth, of specific quantity, containing definite but unknown value, is taken as a standard. It thus becomes the number one—the point from which to count. It is value equilibrated. Here is the keystone of all the folly of all the false political economy ever written. Failing to find the law by which value in the abstract is brought into the concrete, and therefore having no physical method of demonstrating economic intensity, confusion reigns supreme. If perchance the correct position is unconsciously taken it is soon lost by philosophical speculation. But with a physical unit of value established it is past controversy that if more value is to be expressed addition must be employed to denote the increase, and if less value is to be expressed the unit must be divided to denote the decrease from the standard.

During the periods of industrial history known to man articles of wealth have been produced under three distinct human relationships, and at each period it was necessary to add to them a new name to convey the fact of the new relation. In primitive society the unit of wealth was simply a usevalue; in the second extension, during the period of manufacture, it was also a product; and in the third extension, of the industrial organism, under capitalism, it is, in addition to being a use-value, a commodity.

But still with wealth, which is an abstraction at the pole of its greatest extent, and also an abstraction at the point of least quantity, brought into concrete form by specific use-values, food, clothing, &c., society has also need of a concrete measure of value, and through a long, and if you please, criminal process there has been established a definite measure of universal values which are found in all the qualities of wealth. The name of the unit varies in accordance with the various languages spoken in the different countries, but we are familiar with the money names of the leading commercial nations.

Martha Moore Avery.

(To be continued.)

More and more we drift into the hands of foreigners in the matter of food. Speaking of England, the Agricultural Gazette asserts "that on the whole, this year's harvest is of a disappointing character."

MY VISIT TO THE "TOLSTOYAN COLONY" AT WHITEWAY.

My first visit to Gloucester, that quaint old city by the "Severn Sea," was made in 1897, when the great organ of the beautiful old cathedral was pealing forth the glorious strains in which the musician's art revealed the legend of the resurrected Nazarene. As the sweet-voiced choristers sang of their hope of a far-off conquest over pain and death, it was my lot to tell another audience gathered in the well-furnished theatre of the promise of Socialism as the only hope for the life and the days we know. I learned afterwards that my coming had been awaited with considerable anxiety. I had been engaged for a lecture tour by the local branches of the Independent Labour Party, and it seems that an ex-member of the S.D.F. had warned them that all the speakers of that terrible organisation were blatant and vulgar demagogues who delighted in using coarse language on the platform, and who might be relied on to come to the meeting in a fairly advanced stage of intoxication, all of which reads strangely like a summarised chapter of the autobiography of the person himself! So thoroughly were their fears aroused, indeed, that there was quite a discussion at the party meeting to decide the momentous question of where I should stay during my visit. They know me better in Gloucester now, and since that Easter I have often been there, and always as a welcome guest, though the "welcome" I received on my last visit there, under the auspices of the "Stop the War" committee, was too warm for my taste!

Upon one of my visits, it was, I think, on May Day, 1899, as I lingered in the grey-shadowed cathedral all hushed and still, the thought came to me that it would be well to go to the "Tolstoyan Colony," at Whiteway, of which I had heard so much; especially as I had promised to lecture upon the subject at some future date. Our friend Van der Veer's experience, with his reference to the "Colony" at Purleigh, recalls that visit to my memory.

Whiteway, I had been told, lies eleven miles distant from the City Cross—they measure all distances from the "Cross" in Gloucester. So leaving the quaint old Cross I rode for about three miles on one of the cheap coaches that ply from the city, after which the rest of the journey had to be accomplished on foot, and I walked on still awed by the majestic grandeur of that noble structure, with its many and varied examples of Gothic art. Again the old question, What will become of such glories of architecture under Socialism?

"Country miles" are proverbially long, and when I had walked for a long time I began to feel that I had perhaps taken the wrong road in spite of the repeated directions of the faithful Robert—mine host. I was soon reassured, however, for as I reached the crest of a hill I saw coming toward me a woman riding a bicycle. She rode slowly, and I thus had an excellent

opportunity of observing her. She wore a blouse of the brightest blue, and what I suppose I must describe as "bloomers" of the ugliest kind, since to describe them as "rationals" would be a misuse of language. Her hair, which was cropped short after the manner of the sterner sex, was surmounted by a strange head dress which even the ingenious writers whose duty it is to describe the fashions in Rotten Row would find it difficult to describe. I did not speak to her, but felt instinctively that she was a "colonist" and that the colony itself was near. This proved to be the case, and in a little while I was talking to one of the men, hearing the history of the colony and examining the work that had been accomplished.

Whiteway was the result of a division in the ranks of the Purleigh colonists, a section of whom had left Purleigh and, in conjunction with some young Quaker Socialists, had begun afresh. The desire for such an enterprise had, I have no doubt, been formed in the minds of the latter as a result of the work of two lecturers-one a prominent Tolstoyan and the other an agent of the Cosme Colony in Paraguay-who had been brought into the district by the local branch of the I.L.P. My companion was one of these young recruits to our movement whose mind had been turned by the colony scheme. He had held a lucrative position and was the son of wealthy parents, but, as he dramatically put it, he had "forsaken all and become poor to enter into the higher life of the world's unceasing quest." He knew nothing of Socialism, but called himself a Socialist, and was plainly annoyed when I called him an Anarchist. Not that he knew anything of the philosophy of Anarchism, but his whole concern was for the individual. Every claim of society to restrict the individual he loudly condemned. Another young man that I saw there was, my companion said, a graduate of a German university. He was digging in the garden and wore no hat and no clothing except an undershirt and a pair of pants which had been shortened at the knees. On his sockless feet was a pair of sabots similar to those worn by the peasants of Brittany. I was told that he had even gone to speak at meetings of the I.L.P. in that strange and scanty garb.

The farm itself consists of about 40 acres of rather arid land which had been purchased by three people-two of whom had already left the enterprise in disgust-at a cost of about £450. There were two rather dilapidated cottages of the type all too common, in which the 20 odd persons of both sexes lived. As they did not believe that land could properly be "owned," they had burned the title deeds of the property and thus were "easy of conscience" on that score! They did not believe in locking their doors at night, nor would they buy or sell anything if they could avoid it. They had to buy some things but hoped to be able to get over that necessity in the near future. A good deposit of building stone which might have brought in a good deal of money they neglected, as selling was contrary to their principles. They had no rules of any kind and everybody did absolutely as he or she chose to do. To become a member of the group no application was needed, all that anyone need do was to take a seat at the common table. All things were held in common and all the money they had was kept in a small open box upon the mantel. My companion confessed, as he guided me over the place, that they were the victims of idlers who refused to do any work.

Another difficulty was the question of sex-relationship. They believed in what he called "Free Love," and from that much trouble had arisen. A woman from another group—I think it was Purleigh—had left her "mate" and settled at Whiteway, where she soon formed another attachment, a child resulting from the union. Soon, however, the woman and her partner left the colony, and, as if to afford a fitting climax to the story, the former "husband" of the heartless mother soon arrived at Whiteway with another "wife." "And the child thus left, what of it!" I asked, but he did not answer, except with a blush that might have been of shame.

When we returned from our ramble round the grounds we took our places with the rest at supper, and I shared their frugal meal of thick bread and gruel. A tablecloth was an unheard-of luxury, and I observed that those who came later had the dirty cups and saucers which we had used. Then, when the meal was over, we sat and discussed this theory of "nonresistance" as a rule of life. They held that for the individual and society alike to resist evil by force is evil. I, on the contrary, held that not to resist evil was immoral. As we sat there with only the flickering light of the fire to see each others' faces by, I named all the crimes in the calendar, I think, trying vainly to find some exception to that rule. One of the men, as if speaking for them all, said: "There is no wrong that justifies the use of force either to punish or prevent it." Half despairing, half hoping, I turned to one of the women, who, I was told, was the mother of two children: "If a man were to attempt an outrage upon a woman, would she not be justified in using all her strength to prevent him?" I asked. Her dark eyes flashed for a moment and her lip seemed to quiver, but she replied with an unqualified "No." "But how does this affect the relationship of parents to their children-would you not use force, if necessary, to prevent your child from doing some terrible wrong?" And again there was the quick flash of the eye and the pained quiver of the lip as she replied: "No. to use force would be doing an even greater wrong by interfering with his personal liberty, and it could not prevent the wrong which in his heart he had already committed."

Thus we talked till the fire burned low in the grate and left us in darkness—darkness typical to me of the state of mind of those who find in such narrow views the promise of that "higher life" to which they and all true men and women aspire. As the little clock on the mantel struck the midnight hour, I turned wearily toward the city, wondering awhile what Tolstoy would think of the way these men and women sought to realise his ideal. The answer to that came long afterward when talking to one of Tolstoy's friends, who told me that he was much pained by the reports of Whiteway which had reached him. But can anything else result from the logical application of his teachings?

I did not go to Whiteway again, but about a year after my visit I received a letter from one who had been largely instrumental in establishing the colony, in which he told me that $\pounds 1,500$ and over had been

spent upon it up till then. And what is the result of that expenditure and the heavy labour? The answer is that it has wrecked the Socialist movement there and brought it to ridicule. How long will Socialist societies continue to engage colony agents and Tolstoyan lecturers whose labours bear such fruit? Later in the same year, when the air was rife with the noise of the approach of the convention that hatched that notorious humbug and fraud, the National Democratic League, I received a letter, dated from the colony and signed by one who described himself as the "Secretary and Treasurer of the International Labour Army," enclosing some leaflets issued by that hitherto unknown body, which consisted, so far as I could learn, of the individual himself. The prospectus, which lies before me as I write, contains all the requisite provisions for carrying on the business of the world. There are to be laws and officers ranging from a "District Sergeant" to a "Lieutenant-General" for each hemisphere and a "General" for the world. Mental poverty, like the other quality, evidently makes strange bedfellows!

New York, August, 1901.

J. SPARGO.

SOCIALISM IN THE ARGENTINE.

On July 7 the Argentine Socialist Party held its fourth Congress at La Plata. Thirty-six delegates were present, representing 21 societies. The programme and rules have been revised in order to include agricultural workmen, who are very numerous in the country. A resolution was passed stating that members of the National Executive Committee should not be members of any religious body. It was decided that the party should take part in the election of senators if the circumstances were favourable. On the question of a general strike it was resolved that in this matter the party should follow the rules laid down by the International Socialist Congress. It was also resolved that anti-militarist agitation should be encouraged, and that alcoholism should be discouraged in every way. It was also determined to agitate in favour of a law granting compensation in case of accidents. A resolution was also adopted against duelling; any member fighting a duel is to be excluded from the party.

The following were chosen as members of the Executive: Sesma, Arraga,

Cuneo, Jimenez and Repetto.

The next Congress will be held at Buenos Ayres in July, 1903.—From El Socialista.

Reuter cables that a combination of steel concerns has practically been accomplished with a capital of £3,000,000, in Sharon (Pennsylvania). Big fish are swallowing little fish. The ghost of Marx might justifiably cry, "I told you so."

FACTS ON THE OPIUM QUESTION AND CHRISTIAN ENGLAND.

(Gathered from Chester Holcombe's "The Real Chinese Question,")* by DAVID J. WYNKOOP, Amsterdam, Holland.

"Lest we Forget."

THERE is no reason to suppose that up to A.D. 1775 any appreciable portion of the Chinese were addicted to the habit of the use of opium. Rigid laws prohibited the cultivation of the poppy and the use of the drug. These laws were thoroughly enforced.

1773. The British East India Company made a small shipment of opium

to China as an experiment.

1780. Two small vessels anchored near Canton as store ships to facilitate opium traffic. The total importation did not then exceed 1,000 chests a year.

1781. A vessel was sent to China with 1,600 chests. They could not be

sold and were reshipped.

1793. Chinese authorities complain of the two store-ships. Their cargo is loaded into one ship, which remained in the river below Canton. The opium, however, could not be disposed of. So it was transferred to another vessel, which brought it to Canton, where it was sold as medicine. At last the smuggling of opium into Southern China was brought to the notice of the Pekin authorities, and in the year

1800. Its importation was prohibited; but importing it as medicine

continued.

1809. Foreign ships were required to give bonds that no ships had opium

on board. Smuggling, however, went on.

1820. The Viceroy at Canton issued an order that no vessel having opium on board should enter the port, holding pilots, &c., personally responsible for any violation of the order.

1831. The Jamesina, a small vessel, went as far north as Foo-Chow, and

sold opium to the amount of £68,750 (about 7,200 chests).

1834. On April 3, 20,283 chests of opium were handed over to the mandarins and were by them destroyed—a sufficient proof that the Chinese were in earnest in their endeavour to suppress the traffic ("Encyclopædia

Britannica").

1837. Captain Elliot, superintendent of the British trade at Canton, requested Rear-Adminal Capel, Commander of the British fleet in Indian waters, to send a vessel of war to visit the points where the store-ships were anchored, as one of the movements best calculated, either to the system of connivance, which has hitherso prevailed, or to hasten onward the legalisation measure from the court at Pekin. The Raleigh was sent, and among other services to this British opium trade secured the release of the foreign portion of the crew of an opium bark, who had been arrested at Foo-Chow. Admiral Capel received orders from Queen Victoria's secretary to proceed to China in person.

1838. About 50 small vessels, flying the British and American flags,

engaged in smuggling opium.

^{*} Methuen and Co., London, 1901. Chapter ix., "Opium."

1839. Commissioner Lin is sent to Canton to thoroughly eradicate the opium traffic. He ordered all merchants to deliver within three days all opium, and to give bonds that they would bring no more, under penalty of death if they failed. There were 22 vessels with about two and a half millions of pounds of opium (20,291 chests), worth about £1,875,000. It had paid a tax of nearly that sum to the British Crown before being sold by it in India for shipment to smugglers upon the coast. The foreign merchants first tried to bribe Commissioner Lin with 1,037 chests of opium, but this scheme failed. So they surrendered the opium, and most of them gave a written pledge not to deal in opium nor attempt to introduce it into the Chinese Empire. The pledge, however, was broken, and Commissioner Lin seized the new quantities and destroyed them. As this news reached London a demand was sent forth for satisfaction and reparation for the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the Emperor of China against. certain of our officers and subjects. In Parliament Sir John Hobhouse said that the Government had done nothing to stop the opium trade because it was profitable. Lord Melbourne said, We possess immense territories peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though he could wish that the Government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, he was not prepared to pledge himself to relinquish it. Lord Ellenborough spoke of the more than £1,500,000 of annual revenue of the contraband trade.

1841. The British forces arrive near Canton. Opium War.

1842. An agreement between the Commissioners of Great Britain and China (payment of an indemnity of one and a-quarter million pounds and cession of Hongkong to the British) is refused by the Emperor of Chins, because he could not see why China should pay for an attempt to crush the contraband traffic of opium. The same agreement is refused by England, because it deemed the indemnity insufficient. So the Opium War continued; Nanking was seized by the British, and a treaty of amity and commerce was signed between Great Britain and China. The latter had to pay an indemnity of £4,375,000. Hongkong became British, and five ports were opened to British trade. According to a British official report, the Chinese Commissioners had asked "why we would not act fairly toward them by prohibiting the growth of the poppy in our dominions, and thus effectually stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race." Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Commissioner, according to the same report, answered, "If your officers are incorruptible, and obey your orders, no opium can enter your country. The discouragement of the growth of the poppy in our territories rests principally with you, for nearly the entire produce cultivated in India travels east to China." This answer came from the representative of a nation which had forced a war upon China because certain incorruptible Chinese officers had endeavoured to discourage the growth of the poppy in India by preventing opium from entering China. After the treaty of Nanking a number of English merchants sent a memorial to Sir Robert Peel, claiming that no commerce with China could be conducted on a satisfactory basis so long as the contraband trade in opium was allowed. As proof of the rapid impoverishment of the empire, they pointed to the fact that the smuggled opium exceeded in value the amount of tea and silk exported. But the Government itself was the actual trader in opium, and the profits were too large to permit any consideration for the interests of smaller merchants and manufacturers. Sir Henry Pottinger warned British subjects that importation of opium was illegal, and that persons engaged in it could not be protected by the British authorities, and he forbade British vessels from going north of Shanghai. But when Captain Hope prevented transgression of this order, he was removed from his command, so that, in Lord Palmerston's own words: "He could not interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects." Thus the British men-of-war were there to see that there was no interference

with the smuggling of opium.

1857-60. A small Chinese vessel, illegally—as was proved to be the fact—flying the British flag, was captured by the Chinese authorities. Great Britain demanded reparation for this seizure, and as the Chinese refused, Sir John Bowring, author of "In the Cross of Christ I Glory," destroyed the forts below Canton and bombarded the city. Thus another war with China begun, after which Great Britain secured by the treaty of Tientsen legalisation of the opium traffic. Since then England had no more wars with China. England fixed the import duty of opium in China at 1s. 6d. per pound, while the British Crown drew more than 14s. 6d. of the same pound before leaving India. A chest of opium, containing about 125 pounds, paid from £26 to £27 to the Indian farmer, about £88 10s. to the British Government, and about £10 10s. to the Chinese revenue.

1868. A letter was despatched to Queen Victoria, both as a Queen and as a woman, by the Emperor of China, to concert measures for the suppression of the hideous opium curse. It offered anything that might be desired in the way of concession to the British trade, if only this one curse might be removed. Six months passed and the Emperor received no reply from the Queen. The British Minister was asked whether any answer had been received; he told the Chinese that none had come. This was repeated several times with the same result. Then a communication was sent to the British Minister requesting him to inform the Chinese whether the letter had reached the Queen, and when a response might be expected. After a time they were told that the letter had reached Queen Victoria, but nothing was said about an answer. Again a despatch was addressed to the British

Minister, asking when they might get a reply; and to this the Chinese received the answer, that no reply need be expected. These are the true facts

of a correspondence between the heathen Emperor of China and the Queen of the "leading Christian Power of the world."

1871. In this year thirteen and one-third million pounds worth of opium was imported into China, the total Chinese export being less than £21,875,000. And if the large quantity of opium still smuggled into China could be valued, it would become evident that China received only opium for her enormous export of her two staple articles, tea and silk. Great Britain balances the accounts of the world with China with opium. And when a foreigner of any other nationality pays a debt due to the Chinese, the money goes, not to the Celestials, but to London.

1875. The Chinese Government submitted to all Governments represented at Pekin a detailed complaint of the opium traffic, and requested their action in bringing it to an end. The British Government answered

with counter-charges, but promised nothing with regard to opium.

1877. At Chefoo the famous Li Hung Chang, for the Chinese Government, agreed, among other things, to open several additional ports to British commerce, only asking the privilege of increasing the import duty upon opium from 1s. 6d. to about 2s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ l. a pound. The British Government promptly sent consular officers to the new ports, and then repudiated that part of the Convention which allowed China to increase the opium duty.

1878-9. England in this year derived from the opium export taxes in India an income of about eight and a-quarter million pounds, while China

collected not even one million pounds, the total export from India being 91,200 chests (in 1780 not even 1,000 chests). Says Chester Holcombe:—
"It required about 1,700,000 acres of land to produce this quantity of opium. To what extent the diversion of that large area from poppies to the cultivation of food products would tend to lessen or prevent the horrible famines so frequent in India"

I have given the facts, nearly all in the words of Chester Holcombe himself. As I said, they were taken from the ninth chapter, on "Opium," the largest and the most important chapter (40 pages). To conclude I will

again cite Holcombe's book :

"Opium is more deadly than alcohol. To force it upon China was a crime against humanity. The Chinese authorities had pledged themselves to sit with folded arms, while their ancient and wholesome laws were violated, and their people sucked dry of morality, manhood and money, by a black vampire from India, let loose upon them by Great Britain, to satisfy its own insatiable greed."

"Lest we Forget."

THE WARS OF THE FUTURE.

In the Contemporary Review for September, M. Jean de Bloch, the well-known author of "Is War Impossible?" discusses war in the future. He argues that the character of warfare has entirely changed from what it was in the past, and states that the interests involved in struggles between nations will be so tremendous and so varied, and the cost will be so great, that war as a settlement of disputes between nations will have to be given up.

M. de Bloch says the only Great Power to profit by the teachings of the Transvaal war is Great Britain, and he instances Lord Roberts's appeal for the erection of shooting stands for the training of efficient marksmen based on that general's opinion that in coming wars success would follow good shooting and dexterity in seeking shelter during the advance to the attack. Says the writer: "The idea, I admit, is good in itself; the main

drawback attaching to it is the impossibility of realising it.

"On purely economic grounds—and this is a subject on which I can speak with perfect connaissance de cause—the scheme is not feasible. A war waged with such tactics would ruin both belligerents, financially and

economically, long before the end would have come in sight."

The Laodicean attitude of politicians and the vehement opposition of military men determined the writer to address the public, so as to set before them the innovations which have altered all warfare, and rendered it henceforth useless as a means of settling international disputes, and also to make known the reasons which render the average military mind hostile to all reform. The technical aspect of war is no longer what it was, and high military authorities recognise the changes and endorse the writer's conclusions. "From a purely technical point of view, then," says the author, "I hope to prove that war, as a means of deciding misunderstandings between nations, is no longer efficacious.

"But, even if technical reasons were less convincing, economic considerations would still be decisive. The military machine is no longer

isolated as of yore. It is closely connected with the financial and economic machines, not only of the countries waging war, but of all other nations. The one cannot be set in motion without the other; and as the economic forces of a Great Power fall very far short of its military strength, it is the former that will ultimately decide the issues. Now there is no State in Europe or in the world whose economic resources are sufficient or nearly sufficient to allow of the full utilisation of its military strength, or even of the employment of a considerable portion thereof, for the length of time that a war under present conditions must last. In this fact . . . lies the key to the whole military question. Technical science has forced even conservative generals to the same conclusion. But even if its premisses be suppressed or its conclusions denied, the fact still remains that though the sword be sharp and trusty, the arm that wields it will be paralysed long before it has struck a decisive blow."

Attention is then called to the fact that the military caste has remained exclusive, powerful and secret, and to the way in which criticism is forbidden and stifled. It has been the duty of the masses to pay the bill in men and money, and the privilege of governments or monarchs to spend or misspend The civilian who asks questions is frowned down as an impertinent busybody, and the soldier or officer who dares to criticise the army is put down as a traitor. "A contemporary soldier doffs his citizenship before donning his regimental uniform. He feels himself less a defender of his fatherland than a servant of his king, whose livery he wears. He must learn to think of his non military fellow citizens as possible enemies against whom his rifle may be levelled to-morrow. In fact, the arms he bears must be employed by him in any cause, against any idea, in favour of any injustice. He may not reason, even though his motive be the welfare of his order." This was understandable in past days when war was a purely military event, the trial of political issues by the shock of contending armies. Its economic aspect was a matter of hardly any moment, and its incidence was always merely local. But all those conditions are now changed. "Armies of to-day are composed of entire peoples who curse the fate that compels them to abandon their trades, industries and professions, thus depriving their families of help and throwing an enormous extra burden upon the State which has to maintain them in idleness at a time when the sources of public revenue are drying up and the necessities of life are The economic aspect of the costly than before. The belligerents suffer has become formidable, because international. more than their neighbours; but all other nations are likewise affected by the stagnation of trades and the slackness of industry. The necessity for The peoples who secrecy respecting army organisation no longer exists. nowadays have to bear the brunt of battle possess the right to know whether the conditions under which they are called upon to fight are such as to give them a chance of substantial success, a reasonable hope of achieving the only ends which warrant the sacrifices demanded by them. And if no such prospect can be held out to them, they are justified in casting about for some less costly and more efficacious method of settling disputes.'

After describing war as an "international calamity" and enlarging on its appalling consequences, the writer proceeds: "The difference between the wars of the past and the future is not one of degree only; it is specific, an event of a wholly different order. This transformation is the outcome of a number of other changes in the condition of political, social, and industrial life, in the progress of applied science, in the facilities of interoceanic and inter-continental commerce, in the minute division of inter-

national labour and in the interdependence of all civilised peoples." Then follows an indictment against the professional soldier as compared with the citizen soldier, the American War of Secession and that between Prussia and Austria in 1866 serving the writer for illustrations. He goes on to discuss the value of entrenchments and the revolution they will bring about in future wars, accusing military men of wilfully shutting their eyes to the object-lessons furnished on this point by the sieges of Paris and Plevna. Smokeless powder and quick-firing rifles also come into the argument, and various quotations from military men support the writer's contention. He then refers to the Hague Conference, and states plainly that whatever chance there was of good results was beforehand eliminated by the military element; "vested interests were threatened and brilliant careers were in

danger of being speiled."

M. de Bloch continues the second portion of his article under the title of "The South African Campaign confirms the Thesis that War between Great Powers is Impossible"; and deals one after the other with the various reasons given for the disastrous display made by the British trained regular troops against the Boer citizen soldier. He says: "It is easy to explain the superiority of the civilians over long-service regulars by the conditions of the modern battlefield. In consequence of the dispersion of the men it is quite impossible to maintain the mechanical dispositions which are taught on parades and manœuvres. Under such circumstances officers cannot direct their men effectively and as the men are not trained to use their individual judgments they tend to turn into a flock of sheep. But the intelligent civilian whose capacity for action has been developed by his habits of sportsman, farmer, and artisan, and who is accustomed to use his own faculties independently, fights very well without orders." He supports this by instances among our own troops as between the yeomanry and colonials compared with the regular soldiers. One other quotation must suffice: "I wish it to be distinctly understood that I am by no means opposed to the work of national defence in any country. So long as nations are not formally linked together in an organised community, as individuals have been for ages, each one must guard itself against injustice and oppression. But even here the means should be proportionate to the end. To squander untold millions on preparations which cannot possibly lead to anything is not statesmanlike, but criminal." The article is a valuable contribution to a subject of absorbing current interest, and the arguments can be used as supporting the Social-Democratic demand for a citizen army. Our readers should, therefore, read it in full.

THE BILLION DOLLAR TRUST.-II.

In the same review, Messrs. S. G. Hobson and H. W. Macrosty continue their article under this title. They say that whatever may be the ultimate effect of the operations of the Steel Trust, Great Britain and Germany may at any moment expect keen competition in all departments of the world's steel trade. "The American Steel Trust is a standing threat to a 'panicky' British market. If this be so to-day, when American steel manufacturers are busy with home buyers, what will be the state of the British market when there is a large surplus of American steel over and beyond American needs?" The chief of the Steel Trust, President Schwab, stated before the Industrial Commission that it was their intention to keep their mills running

even if they had to cut prices to the extent of a loss in so doing. One weak point in the conduct of this branch of American business has been the capriciousness displayed towards foreign consumers, but this is to be

remedied under the present combination.

Although there is no doubt, say the writers, that Great Britain can produce pig-iron as cheaply as the United States, it is beyond cavil that under present conditions British manufacturers are behind their American colleagues in the manufacture of tin-plate bars, soft steel billets, plates and strips, and, indeed of Bessemer steel generally. They do not blame the British manufacturer for this. The conditions obtaining in British industry are far more complex than in America. A British steel maker may to-day be called upon to roll steel carbonised to a certain proportion; to-morrow, for other purposes, the proportion may have to be altered. The strong position of the American manufacturer lies in the fact that with his specialised plants he is able continuously to roll enormous quantities with the constituent parts in fixed proportions. This disadvantage under which British makers of necessity labour is inherent in the British commercial system.

Reference is made to the proceedings of the May meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, the reading of which cannot be very pleasant to Englishmen. Mr. Garrett, of Ohio, there read a paper, the discussion on which brought out the interesting statement that the American manufacturer thinks nothing of casting aside his plant when it becomes obsolete. Not so the English manufacturer. It was also stated that in America the men in control are mainly young men under 35 years of age. They are in these positions of trust not because of their youth alone, but because of the scientific and technical equipment which American colleges can give them. Just so. But our Government likes to throw obstacles in the way of the Englishman becoming thoroughly educated. And the Englishman has only

himself to blame.

After debating the probability of the Steel Trust absorbing the Dominion Steel Company of Canada, the writers proceed: "If, therefore, the British steel manufacturer is to hold his own in the future, he has got to solve two or three urgent problems. He must, first of all, make his peace with the trade unions. How is this to be done? Chiefly, we think, by dealing sympathetically with the progressive elements in the unions." The writers cannot surely be serious. We thought on reading the above that it must have been written before the House of Lords gave its two recent famous decisions, but, as reference is made further on in the article to these decisions, our doubts still remain. The position of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is then dealt with at length, in so far as the admission into the union of the "non-skilled" tenders of automatic machinery is concerned. Then comes the reference to the House of Lords' decision in the Taff Vale case, which, "although seemingly a set-back to the energies of trade unionists, may in the long run have precisely the effect which we would desire. It may prove that employers would prefer, under the new conditions, to bargain with the trade unions now that they know the legal And, in the same connection, we may note that, carrying such heavy legal responsibilities, the trade unions will, in the future, be very chary about entering upon the dubious arbitrament of a strike." Considering that the strike, or the threat to strike, is the only effective weapon of a trade union, we think our writers take a rather roseate view of the situation.

The intelligent organisation of trade in America is next spoken of,

association being the order of the day. Although the writers say "British business men do not take kindly to association as a working commercial principle," yet they are able to give several instances of combinations of British firms. And then, again, the fact that certain directors are also directors in kindred concerns makes for working along the lines of association of interests.

The concluding chapter of the article has some suggestive pages, and should be read in extenso to get the ideas of Mr. Hobson and Mr. Macrosty fairly. "The time has come," say they, "when State effort must be substituted as far as possible for the wasteful methods of British competitive efforts abroad," and they advocate the utilisation of our consular service to

act as foreign agents of British industry.

State organisation of the transport services is also advocated, it being pointed out that the railways alone are sufficient as at present run to kill British trade. And so we are led by easy steps to "the State as a going industrial concern organised not for the benefit of a few individuals but for the whole community." In fact, a proposition has already been made for the American Government to have a representative on the board of directors

of a great industrial corporation.

The writers conclude as follows: "We are thus driven to the conclusion that, whether we are to have in this country a number of trusts in essentials similar to that of the American Steel Corporation, or whether Government intervention in England will take place earlier than in America, the British nation for its own safety cannot permit the continuance of any private monopoly, particularly in a trade so necessary to the national well-being as that of iron and steel. Already the case is made out for the nationalisation of railways; it will not be long, we think, before the country will become conscious of a like movement in regard to coal mines, iron and steel works, cotton mills, tin-plate works, and much else. The great value of the Steel Trust is that it comes opportunely as a new model which constructive statesmen in this country can use in working towards a more perfect form. To us the only conclusion must be either nationalisation of the iron and steel industry in many respects as it is now, or nationalisation a little later when the work of amalgamation has gone on, and the English Iron and Steel Trust falls into the national possession as ripe fruit falls from the tree."

THE END OF TRADE UNIONISM.

WE take the following from Mr. Frederic Harrison's article in the Positivist Review on "The End of Trade Unionism":—

"Whilst the working men of England have been shouting themselves hoarse at Primrose League demonstrations, and acting as carriage-horses for Lord Milner and General Baden-Powell, they have lost important interests of their daily labour for which a previous generation struggled, and believed they had won for ever. Two decisions of the House of Lords in the last few weeks have deeply affected the legal position of the trade unions of our country. It is not too much to say that these judgments have practically made new law: law which must prevent trade unions from doing many things that, for 25 years, they have believed they had a right to do; and which exposes the whole of their funds to legal liabilities from which till now they have been thought to be exempt.

"No man of sense, certainly no lawyer, would dream of disputing a formal decision of the House of Lords. He will not try to minimise its effect, nor waste time in criticising or discussing its arguments. I have not

the slightest wish or intention to do this. A formal decision of the House of Lords, the facts being not in dispute, is practically the same as an Act of Parliament."

"I will go further, as a lawyer who has carefully studied trade union cases now for forty years. Taking the judgments of Lord Lindley in the two appeals—(and his are far the most complete and important opinions of the whole Court)—I doubt if qualified lawyers will find it easy to displace any one of the precise propositions laid down by his lordship, limiting their effect to the exact terms in which he guards his decision. Lord Lindley is, by common consent, one of the greatest lawyers of our time, one of the most cautious and exact; and these cases turn on those departments of law wherein his authority stands without a rival supreme. We may therefore take it as settled that the law is as Lord Lindley lays it down; that the legal world will take it from him; that his judgment now binds all inferior courts both in law and equity; and (what is the principal point to remember) that the House of Lords as at present constituted, and, as lawyers say, 'as at present advised,' is not likely to minimise or qualify these judgments, but, on the contrary, is very likely indeed to expand and intensify them.

"Now what are the decisive points settled by these two judgments. In the Taff Vale Railway case, for the first time in this country, a trade union in its own name and by its officers and agents has been ordered to abstain from the acts they were taking to prevent outside men from interfering with a local strike. No violence or crime was alleged; nor was there any breach of contract, and nothing was said as to conspiracy or molestation. The point was that, for the first time in England, a trade union was made the subject of an injunction and was made corporately liable to an order of A trade union is not a corporation. And, until July 22, lawyers understood that it could not be made the defendant in an action in its corporate capacity and by its registered name. The practical proof of this is—that it has never been tried before, though thousands of employers would have been eager to sue the union and ruin it if they had been advised they had a chance of succeeding in a court of law. When a single judge last summer in vacation did grant an injunction the legal world was greatly interested in the issue.

"On appeal the Master of the Rolls and two Lords Justices, all most eminent lawyers, reversed this order, and held to the then accepted view that a trade union, not being incorporated, cannot be sued. The House of Lords has now reversed the judgment of the Appeal Court, and has laid down that a trade union, registered or not, and though it has no legal existence as a corporation, and cannot in its own name hold property as a corporation can, nor sue as a corporation does, may be made defendant in an action by name, and may be restrained from doing, and compelled to do,

whatever may be ordered by a court of law.

"Until the Acts of 1871 and 1875, which legalised trade unions and strikes, the unions were illegal societies, and could be robbed with impunity. The authors of those Acts assumed that, in making unions legal, they did not make them corporate bodies capable of suing and being sued. When some of the unions were asking for power to sue as corporate bodies, some of us on the Royal Commission told them that, if they had the right to sue, they would be exposed to the liability to be sued, in which case they would very soon be ruined. From that day to this it has been held that trade unions could not be sued as a body and made liable to the whole extent of their funds—benefits to widows and children and all—like a bank, a railway, or trading company. The House of Lords has now astonished the legal and the

industrial world by deciding that unions can be sued, and the whole of their funds charged to make good whatever is lawfully claimed in costs or as damages for the acts of their officers. How soon, or how far, that new law

may ruin them remains to be seen. . . . "

"The Irish case, Quinn v. Leathem, decided on August 5, fills up all the holes left open by the Taff Vale case. If the first was the wedge strong enough to rend any union to which it was applied, the second was the steam hammer to drive the wedge home. Lord Lindley's judgment was subtle. cautious, elaborate in its qualifications, and comprehensive in its purview. and I am not about to discuss or criticise it. In effect, it comes to this, that a combination to coerce a man in his lawful business by persuading others not to deal with him, although no contract is to be broken, no indictable offence committed, and though it is not actionable if done by one person, becomes civilly actionable, though not criminally punishable, when it is done by agreement amongst several. In this case there was no breach of any contract, nothing done contrary to the criminal law as explained by the Act of 1875, nothing but what is done in trade by capitalists more or less secretly every day; but the union officers were made civilly liable in damages. The famous case of Allen v. Flood, on which unionists have relied for some years, was pronounced to deal with a different set of circumstances. The circumstances of all cases differ, and it does not need a whole House of Lords, or the legal genius of Lord Lindley, to prove that A is not B. But Allen v. Flood, they say, simply decided that for one man to injure another's business, even with a malicious motive, is not necessarily actionable. But now comes in Quinn v. Leathern to show that, when several persons agree (i.e., conspire), to do this very thing, it may not amount to criminal responsibility, but it will amount to civil liability. That blessed word 'conspire,' having been a good deal muffled of late on the criminal side, has now got round to the civil side.

"Now put these two decisions together. They come to this :-

"1. When a trade union seeks to drive anyone to its terms by inducing others not to deal, though it may not do anything forbidden by the Act of 1875, it may be civilly liable in damages (Quinn v. Leathem).

"2. A trade union may be made corporately responsible for the acts of its officers, may be sued by name, and its funds may be taken to satisfy all

legal claims.

"If powerful companies cannot smash up the great unions with these new weapons in the industrial war, they must be a dull and timid lot, and not

the men they are commonly supposed to be.

"Now what are trade unionists to do? Hitherto they have been advised and believed that, provided they kept strictly within the natural meaning of the sections of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1875, they could not be made liable in courts of justice. Criminally liable, perhaps not. But it seems now that they may be civilly liable, and the unions may be made defendants in an action and their funds exhausted in damages to the last farthing—with all accumulations for benefits. Well, the only advice I can give them is—not to enter into strikes or lock-outs at all, or if they do (and it seems still to be lawful for tradesmen to agree not to work, or to work only for specific wages) to be very careful to do nothing which can pinch or inconvenience anybody, workmen or employer, directly or indirectly. If they make it unpleasant to anyone, or cause anyone to lose his money or his trade, they run great risk of having their union funds drained dry. So I advise them to take the terms their employers offer them—and be thankful for that."

IMPERIALISM AND THE COMING CRISIS FOR DEMOCRACY.

JOHN E. ELLAM, whose writings are familiar to our readers, discourses upon the above subject in the Westminster Review. The article (which occupies the premier position in the magazine, and covers sixteen pages) reviews the causes which give rise to imperial expansion. These causes he traces to the economic necessities of the capitalist system. Writing on the effect of opening up new countries, he says: "A little unbiassed thought should convince imperialists that, in giving their support to modern capitalist imperialism, they are helping to bring about, not only the elimination of backward and unprogressive communities, but the collapse of their own civilisation by encouraging such reversions to barbarism as we have recently witnessed in connection with the wars in China, South Africa, and elsewhere, and which are but a consequence of the culmination of the capitalist system, when it must shortly begin to prey upon itself. Then will come the time when, by reason of its vitiated economic condition, it must collapse if subjected to any internal or external pressure.

"Capitalism, by reason of its peculiar economy, can only exist so long as it is able to keep on opening up new markets for the disposal of its surplus products. When a limit is reached it must collapse through the limitation of its economic system. Already competition at home, in England and America, has arrived at the end of its possibilities, and, as a consequence, vigorous attempts are being made to consolidate as many previously competing interests as possible, and a new economic factor is being evolved in the trusts. Competition between the Western nations is also beginning to give place to an internationalism that is making patriotism a more or less obsolete sentiment. And with each new market opened up elsewhere are eventually established fresh competitors, some of whom, Japan and China for example, may prove formidable enough to give a finishing blow to the industrial supremacy of the West. . . . There can be no doubt that the serious decline of England as an industrial centre has begun, and that the old workshop-of-the-world dream of the Manchester school will never be realised. The extent to which manufacturing and other capitalist interests are being transferred to America has been recently described in the interesting despatches of the New York Sun's London correspondent. But it is questionable whether the trade union difficulty has so much to do with creating the situation as he would make out, and it is certain that the contemplated attempt to break up the unions would result, not in destroying labour combinations, but in driving the workers into a more extreme and, from the capitalist point of view, more dangerous organisation.

"The capitalist," opines the writer, "is bound to be restricted more and more to his home markets for the disposal of his commodities, and this he will be unable to do at a profit, since the people (whose effective demand constitutes the home market) are utterly unable to buy back even a half of the values they create. Hence the 'profit system' must come to an end, and with it will conclude the economic predominance of our plutocratic classes. There will finally offer but two solutions of the difficulty. Either the system will begin to prey upon itself, and our civilisation will collapse as

many another has done before it, or the proletaire will gain the economic ascendancy, and with it political supremacy."

Reviewing the position of democracy, Ellam writes: "The political system of a given social order is simply the expression of its economic form, and when the latter changes a corresponding transformation occurs in the former. The question of democracy, like that of plutocracy or aristocracy, is one of social evolution, and not of the passing political phases incidental to the process. We may, if we choose, describe the Governments of England, France, and America as 'democratic' in view of the suffrage, but if we believe them to be so, we are mistaken. There can be no possibility of a really democratic administration where class monopoly in the land and capital of the community exists, for political power invariably accompanies control of the revenues. Democracy is, therefore, impossible so long as the economic conditions of society allow of such monopoly. But those conditions are rapidly changing, and the decomposition of the present system which is going on under our very eyes, obvious enough even to the most careless observer, is facilitating the political expression of those tendencies towards the new system which will succeed it, and which will render capitalist, or plutocratic, monopoly impossible. When this transformation is complete democracy will be established, and not before."

TWO LETTERS.

For why should we be ever sad, sweet my love? Trouble comes to us and speeds again, like the shadow of a cloud floating over the surface of the sea; but youth and love, and spring and poetry, the clear blue skies of summer, and the azure sea, these call us to be gay, and you and I, love, should be ever glad, seeing in the night shadows but the vague outlines of the coming dawn.

What though the brightest sun sinks away at last into the west, that glorious youth gives way to withered age, and winter hurries in the path of summer? The night brings rest and sleep, the smiling moon and the starry heavens; age comes with sweetest memories of a youth that is never dead; and what do the winds of winter tell us but the near approach of spring!

So when I whisper to you "farewell" I would that you should heave no sigh of regret, that you should allow no shadow of regret to darken the pathway of the future. I would have you think only that another day is joined with the past, and as the twilight shadows fall around and the stars gleam faintly in the darkening sky, I would have you fold your arms and calmly sleep to rise refreshed and greet another morn.

And as to you who came to me from another world and lifted me from the sordid earth in which I dwelt; to you whose eyes reflect the greatness of your soul, to you I bid "good-bye." Though we shall not meet in the future yet we shall live together in the past, which will be ever with us. Often shall I think of our first meeting; the day that marked the commencement of our bitter struggles with our own selves; the day that told us that we loved, yet whispered that our affection was vain, for I, alas! was no longer free to love. Often I shall be again standing by the little wicket gate, watching the sun slowly sinking into the golden sea. And you—again you shall come to me and look as you did then—and then—oh God! Sweet my love, in that moment when, unable to keep ourselves apart, we joined in one passionate embrace and rained kisses on each other's lips; in that moment did we not feel purer, and nobler, and greater than before?

And what a love was ours! Think what we did for it; what would we not have done for it? Your honour, my manhood—did we not fling it all laughingly aside, contented to lose everything, so that we gained each other. And you, you cared nothing for the censure of the world, being confident that you did only what was right, seeing that you did what I bade you.

And now? The day is glad and glorious, the sun shines brightly in the noon-day sky, and the breezes waft along the songs of the forest-dwellers, and bring to us the breath of the woodlands; yet before us looms the night, when the roar of the tempest shall rouse us from our dreams, and the cold blasts of winter scatter the roses from the path we tread together.

Yet another road stretches out before us, where haply the sun shall light us on our way, and even when sinking down into the western sky, remind us of the glory of the dawn, where the songsters shall cheer us with their lays, echoing the love-songs we were wont to sing. Along that road, my sweet, we, who have drunk together of life's cup, must walk as strangers, trusting that the memory of a happy past will so brighten the future, that though no longer by each other's side we may laugh and sing, content to face whatever may be before us, as we remember what has gone before

Before me lies a letter, and, as I read it, I will strive to feel no regret that it is not from you, and endeavour henceforward to do my duty to her who holds me to her side.

Forgive me for what I am doing, and, if you can, forget me. You have been a good husband, and I have tried to stay; but I could bear it no longer, and to-day I go to join the man I love.

ERN. T. COOMBE.



HOOLIGANS.

HARK! the wild cry that upsurgeth
From hells of the horde!
The heart of the poet it urgeth
To write and record
Of outcasts who care not, who see not,
Brute beasts, for as human they be not,
Bound fast to an earth they can flee not,
Of all earth abhorred.

They cannot tell sin from another,

They snarl at the law;

They curse, should men hail them as brother;

They care not a straw

For the weal of a city or nation;

Theirs but instinct of self-preservation,

Theirs but greediest gratification

Of ravening maw.

And ye!—the world's hard task-masters
Who thrive on their shame;
Who list to your reverend pastors
With fervour declaim
O'er the words of a Man ye would kill
As once upon Calvary's hill
Were He but alive now to fill
The world with His flame.

Will ye point them to Christ, to hereafter
With Christ for a friend?—
But with mocking ironical laughter
How may ye contend?
Will ye warn them of hell where they groan?—
They had rather ye left them alone—
To more hideous hell than their own
They cannot descend!

Shall your glory by what you've created
Not perish again?
When the Monster so feared and so hated
Stalks forth from its den—
When the plundered shall turn to the plunder,
Shall rise up to rend ye asunder
Maugre armies and fleets and the thunder
Of pulpit and pen?

Hark! the wild cry that upsurging
Grows clear and more clear,
Till at last to a frenzy converging
Of fury and fear.
Old Mammon shall reap what he soweth—
Nay! but the end no man knoweth
Though our upas tree groweth and groweth
And year follows year!



ARTHUR HAYDAY.

THE

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OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XVIII. -ARTHUR HAYDAY.

Our comrade Hayday, who is an alderman of the Town Council of West Ham, to which he was first elected in 1896, is a typical London workman. His father has been employed in a chemical works for the past 40 years, while his grandfather was one of the hand-loom weavers of Spitalfields. He was born at Tidal Basin, October 24, 1869, and is, therefore, 32 years of age. Like most of his class our friend Hayday had to begin earning his own living at an early age, and did not get very much schooling. He attended the National School until he was eleven years of age, when he left to go to work on market gardens for a time, and from 1884 to 1893 was employed at a chemical manure works. He joined the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union in 1889, and in 1893, owing to being a delegate and taking a leading part in a dispute between the employers, the Chemical Manure Works, and their workmen, in which for the time being the men were successful, in the slack time he was sent adrift to walk the stones with little more than the food of reflection to feed upon for 17 weeks, during which time one of his children was born in a place very little better than a loft, where he and his family had to go to on account of dire poverty. Later he obtained work at another chemical works, but was hunted out by the manager as an undesirable agitator. He next had a turn as tram conductor, but as the hours as "odd man" amounted to 161 a day, that was not a very desirable situation, and he soon gave it up. For the next three years he was carman with the Trades Union Co-operative Society. Then he did a turn at the Thames Iron Works, where a bonus scheme is in operation, and, as is usual in places where the bonus dodge is in force, its advantages are laid out to the men by the employer in his annual address to them. Accordingly something was said about the men there putting their bonus by for a continental trip, but after the first three months Hayday found that his bonus amounted to $2\frac{1}{2}d$. As an instance of how the bonus

is worked, four men would be sent to unload a barge of coal, the firm allowing so much for labour; the men have nothing to do with making the price, they accept what the firm allows. When the job is done and works out with a margin over their day-work pay, although they have worked as hard as possible, they are surprised to find that the first charge on the surplus is a percentage for machinery, then for the clerks for making out accounts, then for the foreman of department, next foreman of labourers. and lastly the four men get a few extra pence, say 6d., making their money 4s. 6d. for work for which a coal-worker would demand 8s. Hayday was elected bonus delegate by the workmen, but, owing to the very unsatisfactory method of dealing with the bonus, he left the firm, satisfied that bonus schemes are only another way of baiting the human machine into making more profits for his masters. He then went to work as builders' labourer, then for a short time as stonemaker at Poplar, where he was working at the time of his appointment as London Organiser of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union in 1900. Hayday attended the Congress of his union at Leeds, Bristol and Birmingham; at the Leeds Congress he moved the collectivist resolution which was carried and is embodied in the union rules. He also attended the Trades Union Congress at Plymouth.

Hayday is one of the many men who have come into the Socialist movement through trade unionism. When he joined the Gasworkers' Union in 1889 he was very far from being a Socialist, but, through coming into contact with Thorne and other active members of the union who were also convinced Socialists, he soon came to see that it was only by Socialism that the complete emancipation of the workers could be realised. He joined the S.D.F. in 1894, and when, two years later, he was elected to the West Ham Town Council, it was as a definitely avowed Social-Democrat. He was the second Social-Democrat elected to that Council, and has done good work there, long before the advent of the "Labour Group." In 1899, when the "Group" was in power, Hayday was entrusted with the moving of the resolution in favour of an eight hour day for all the employees of the This, to the advantage of the eight hundred workmen employed by the Council, was carried, and has been in operation ever since, notwithstanding the official attempts to evade the rule. Hayday has always been one of the "stalwarts" on the Council, and the defeat of last year would have been avoided if the whole of the "Labour Group" had been of his calibre. As organiser for the Gasworkers' Union he has done yeoman service for the class to which he belongs, and has won the confidence and goodwill of his fellow-workers. This is evidenced by the fact that in 1898 he was elected secretary of the West Ham Trades Council, and was also selected to represent that body before the recent commission on Municipal Trading, although he was not called upon to give evidence there.

"TOWARDS UNITY."

I sincerely hope that the suggestion of our friend J. B. Askew will be carried out, and that there will appear in the Social-Democrat some kind of symposium on points upon which recognised Socialists in Great Britain are supposed to differ. But even then it will, I think, be necessary to have some definition of a "recognised" Socialist, and, perhaps, for that purpose, it will be as well that the discussion be undertaken by, though it need not be confined to, those who are associated with one or other of the two national Socialist organisations, the Independent Labour Party or the Social-Democratic Federation; for when people speak of the union of the Socialist forces of this country, they invariably refer to the coming together of these two bodies.

The unity of the Socialist forces in these islands is one of those objects the desirability of which no Socialist will dispute for one moment. want to see the movement here united if only for the greater strength it will possess and the swifter progress it will make. It is assumed, however, in many quarters outside the S.D.F. that the body of which I am proud to have been the secretary for so many years is the stumbling-block in the way of fusion, or, if it is not the organisation as a whole, it is at least a few of its leaders. I have been reading through the annual reports of the S.D.F. from 1894 up to the present year, and a full record of our relations with the I.L.P. will be found contained in those reports. I challenge any unprejud.ced Socialist to deny that we have pursued a perfectly consistent course with regard to our sister organisation, and that, as we have found it coming along from purely independent political lines to more and more definite Socialist lines, we have exhibited the greatest willingness to be on friendly terms with the members as a whole. The S.D.F., moreover, has been steadily in favour of fusion ever since the informal conference of July, 1897, has been willing to abide by the decision of the members of the two parties on the question of fusion, and has done what it could from its side to see that the child of the informal conference came into the world a healthy and vigorous infant. It is not our fault that it was still-born.

It is impossible at present to go into all the details of what has happened since that informal conference. But it is well known that it was difficult—it seemed to us impossible—to get the I.L.P. officially to move in the matter after the voting papers had been sent round and returned. The vote of the members, though small so far as the membership of both bodies was concerned, was decisive enough in all conscience, and it certainly represented the best as distinct from the more numerous portion of the membership in that it was the expressed opinion of those who took the trouble to record their votes. From that time forward, however, and in view of the I.L.P. Conference the following Easter, the Labour Leader carried on a propaganda against fusion, pointing out what it appeared to consider the

crucial differences between the S.D.F. and the I.L.P., and advocating the federation of the two bodies instead of their fusion.

The S.D.F., on its part, has, and I think rightly, refused to consider the question of federation as in any way an alternative to fusion. are no differences between two bodies then there is nothing to keep them apart, and the federation idea simply means the maintenance of two sets of officers, offices, systems of organisations, and in fact the duplication of the general work of the movement. If, on the contrary, there are differences of views and tactics, then, although co-operation on any given question or event can be adopted, federation is useless to smooth over such differences, and in fact may lead to more wrangling and bitterness than there was before its adoption. A most striking case in point is that of the position of the French Socialist parties at the present time. It is safe to say that, had there been unity, there would have been very little heard of the Millerand question. But the unity of the French Socialists which was supposed to have been brought about previous to the International Socialist Congress of Paris last year was only a federal unity. Its success was exemplified at Paris and since! I do not for one moment wish to pose in the slightest degree as a critic of events in France; I am simply using the facts which are known to all active Socialists in support of my contention that the mere federation of Socialist groups will not bring about unity, and may do just the reverse, and that the existence of various federated groups, each having its autonomy on questions of principle and tactics, so far from being any guarantee of united action upon important matters, enables prominent comrades to take political action with which the majority of the members of the federated party may not agree because their own particular groups may be ready to sanction such action against the rest of the federation. Fusion or independence seem to me to be the only two courses open to the Socialists in any country where there is more than one Socialist Party.

In these few remarks I shall not deal in any way with the object of the proposed symposium, that is to say with the differences which may exist among Socialists. I believe with Askew that they are much less than is generally supposed. But all the discussion in the world will not bring about the fusion of the two bodies unless we on both sides wish it to be brought about. For my part I say quite frankly that the misrepresentation to which the S.D.F. has been subjected in the Labour Leader, especially in regard to our attitude towards trade unions, causes me to have grave doubts whether it is really desired in all quarters. Despite the official expression of our attitude on the question of trade unions passed by the Annual Conference of 1897 to meet the misrepresentation referred to, and our recent manifesto on the House of Lords' decisions, we have it still thrown at us by I.L.P. comrades who know us not that the policy of the S.D.F. towards trade unions is a wrecking policy. There is, too, a certain I.L.P. club where Justice is tabooed on the ground of its opposition to trade unions, and the authority that it is so opposed is given as that of J. Keir Hardie, M.P. Is this one of the crucial differences which are supposed to keep the S.D.F. and I.L.P. apart? At any rate, such misrepresentation, whether done consciously or unconsciously, is prejudicial to any understanding between the two bodies, and the sooner it ceases the better for all

concerned.

I wish it to be understood that what I have written is an expression of my own personal views, and in no sense commits the S.D.F. as a body.

H. W. LEE.

We have also received the following in response to an invitation for expressions of opinion on the subject:—

I do not think that a symposium of the kind suggested by Mr. Askew would serve any useful purpose. I gather that he is chiefly concerned about the differences that exist between the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. That, to me, is not a matter of deep importance to Socialist unity in Great Britain. The great matter is the acceptance of Socialism by the organised workers of Britain, and the unity for political purposes of the Socialist and trades organisations. That consummation is, I am glad to see, being steadily and, I think, rapidly accomplished.

The causes of separation between the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. must be sought for in the history, in the teaching, and in the political—and, I might add, the personal—attitude, of the two organisations. The S.D.F. worries itself with mechanical formulæ of economics, and frowns upon every constructive measure not sanctioned in its precepts. The I.L.P., possessed of the faith of Socialism, boldly seeks to achieve Socialism in the midst of existing society. Subscription to articles of economic dogma, does not, in our I.L.P. opinion, constitute the essential of Socialist belief. The depth and quality of Socialist conviction, and the capacity to make Socialism a converting and practical power amongst the people, is the all important consideration.—Yours faithfully,

- J. R. MacDonald writes: "Your review and letter came to me when I was in North-East Lanark, helping in the election there, and I was then so busy that I had not time to read Askew's article. I have now read it, and it misses every point of any importance which occasions the separate existence of the two organisations. The I.L.P. offered to approach union by federating the two bodies as an experiment. If the S.D.F. would make it clear why that proposal was not adopted we might know where we are."
- J. Keir Hardie writes: "I have never seen much good come of such discussions as you suggest. Sometimes they accentuate differences, and at others create them. In any case, I could not undertake to write anything at present, as I go direct from North-East Lanark to Merthyr."

PHILIP SNOWDEN writes, under date September 28:—"Absence from home has prevented me from acknowledging your courteous note of the 19th inst. till to-day.

"I appreciate the importance of the question you raise, but I doubt if the desirable object of Socialist unity in Great Britain is to be promoted by those who are called 'leaders' discussing their real or supposed differences.

"It seems to me it is not a question for the 'leaders' but for the rank and file; and the members of the I.L.P. have emphatically declared their opinions on the subject.

"I may add that my personal efforts and influence are always exerted to promote good feeling and harmonious relations between the local branches of the two organisations, and this, I think, is the best way to prepare for the national union."

A MENACING FRIENDSHIP.*

In both European and American magazines there is a revival of discussion as to the relative social merits of Christianity and Paganism. In times past the discussion has come from academic or ecclesiastical quarters. Now, however, it is a discussion among the Socialists. The revival may be valuable, if it tends to make clear the distinction between Socialism and Christianity; but if it tends to a confusion of the two, for reasons of sentiment or expediency, the result can only be disastrous to the Socialist movement. For next to the danger to Socialism from the concessions of capitalism is the danger that exhausted religions and ethical systems will fasten themselves upon the Socialist movement, in order to thereby perpetuate themselves.

The so-called Pagan side of the controversy does not need our attention. The world will not return to the Pagan spirit either of the Greeks or the Asiatics. All that is best and elemental in them has come down to us in the slow evolution of social experience. The worship and joy of life, which is our inheritance from the Pagans, is still with us, in spite of the Puritan and the monk. And this worship and joy will bloom again in a new art and a new ethic, in a beautiful deliverance from the hideous phantasmagoria of civilisation. Paganism as a system is dead, and the spirit we have with us for our salvation.

But with Christianity we have, as Socialists, a different problem to face. It is the system of Christianity that we have with us, and the spirit of Jesus that is hid and bound; and the spirit of Jesus cannot escape until There could be no greater antithesis, no deeper Christianity is destroyed. gulf, than that between Jesus and the Christian system. And nothing so surely as Christianity stands for all that is worst in capitalism; for all that is weak and mean in the human spirit; for all that represents the basest and most puerile modes of gaining power. There is no such force making for the destruction of spiritual integrity and courage, and for the unmanning and deceiving of the race, as the system of religion which so monstrously bears Christ's name, and so characteristically misrepresents him. Among no class of men is there so beggarly a conception of what it means to tell or be the truth, as among the official classes of religion; and among no other class is there so parasitical a servility. This has always been so, and it will continue to be so as long as there is an official religious class. It is in the nature of things that it should be so; for organised religion is always the economic dependent of the ruling class. The clergy are the most conspicuous beneficiaries or retainers of the owners of wealth and its sources. The court jester or court chaplain of yesterday was no more surely the pensioner of the king or lord, than is the clergy-

^{*} Written for the Social-Democrat and the Challenge, of New York.

man of to-day the pensioner of capitalism. The very noblest and manliest of the clergy cannot escape the degradation and thraldom of this dependence and the spiritual pauperism that results therefrom. Hundreds of heroic young clergymen in Europe and America have struggled for a free look at life, and for freedom to tell what they see, only to meet with baffled hope or tragedy, or else to fall back into acquiescence and compromise. Christianity is a huge and ghastly parasite, consuming billions of treasure out of the labour and the patience of the people, and is supremely interested in keeping the people in economic and spiritual subjection to capitalism. The spiritual deliverance of the race depends on its escape from this parasite. The world must be saved from its salvations.

It has been the methods of religious systems to fasten themselves upon every fresh coming of life into the world. We can see this by taking any cross-section of history. When the sweet and mighty spirit of Jesus was rising in a cleansing tide of life among the peoples, every decadent religion, every political or philosophical system, fastened itself upon the reviving peoples, and in the name of Christ brought down to us the unspeakable caricature and spiritual tyranny of Christianity. The princes of Europe struck a bargain with Luther and betrayed and massacred the peasants, while appropriating the economic goods of the monks, and thus feudalism came to new power and glory. The communist movement of John Ball and Wickliff was made to prepare the way of Henry VIII. and the long line of robbers and flunkies that have made British history. Christianity and capitalism will alike seek to save themselves by fastening themselves upon the Socialist movement of to-morrow, if not to-day.

So long as possible the religious system will try to preserve itself within its present sources of power. It will be increasingly servile at the feet of capital. It will have annual schemes for "the reconciliation of capital with labour." It will manufacture revivals of religion. It will seek to gain power over the weak and the helpless. How often have I writhed upon funeral occasions, when the officiating clergyman would greedily seek to gain power over the living through a studied sympathy that would tear their hearts with anguish for the dead! How often have I seen the meanest spiritual scoundrelism seeking power in the guise of spiritual ministry!

But soon the Church will have no sources of power left within itself. It will discover that capitalism cannot save it, since capitalism cannot save itself, and will then seek to fasten itself upon the Socialist movement—not for the sake of Socialism, but for the sake of ecclesiasticism, or the religious system. With these approaches of Christianity the Socialist revolution should have nothing to do. To Christianise Socialism would be to destroy it, and to perpetuate a capitalised and decadent Christianity. Every attempt of the Church to serve Socialism will be for the sake of self-preservation, and not for the sake of the Socialist cause, just as churches are established in working-class quarters of the city to "reach the masses," not for the sake of helping them to freedom and justice, but for the sake of exploiting them as spiritual property for the Church. I have listened to

many discourses in religious conventions about ways and means to "reache the masses," but not one of them has had the human interest of the people in view; they have been discussions pivoted upon the question of what is to become of the Church if the people turn away from it. The interest of organised Christianity in Socialism, is a loathsome and menacing self-interest, of which the Socialists should beware.

The relation of the Socialist movement to the spirit and ideals of Jesus is altogether another matter, and it is of this matter that I have so insistently spoken for several years. We do not need Christianity to interpret Jesus or what he meant to do: nor to interpret any of the Hebrew prophets. before him. It is only by a monstrous effrontery that the Church should. come to Socialists in the name of Jesus, when it completely misrepresents the whole spirit and teaching of Him in whose name it comes. Materialistic Socialism is in a far better way to give Jesus a hearing in the world than ever Christianity has been. I have tried to make the distinction between Jesus and Christianity clear to the Church, and have failed. I can only hope that no part of the Socialist movement will be deceived into allowing itself to be used for the rehabilitation of a religious system that ought to rid the world of its destructive presence. Jesus was not a Socialist, and he came long before any scientific approach to society was possible; but he has left to the world a communistic spirit of matchless strength and masterly sweetness. The Socialist movement will receive this spirit and welcome this strength and power, while rejecting the traditions and authority of Christianity. Indeed, Socialism will have to be realised before the ideals of Jesus can be clearly discerned and considered.

Socialism will have its religion, or, rather, it will become a religion. But it will be a religion of the manifest facts and forces of life. Out of the selected experiences of the race and the individual will the co-operative commonwealth appropriate what is best as its philosophy and practice of life. For, after all, religion is simply the interpretation of life; and we shall have a pure and undefiled religion when we have our common human life interpreted so that we may each co-operate with the best that is in it. It is out of the common labour and struggle of the world that the soul's integrity and freedom have really come, and not out of its religious systems. Life has always been its own saviour and healer, its own lord and law, its own power and revival; and when we learn to freely look at life and trust it we shall walk in that vision for which the prophets have sought.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

[&]quot;LIBERALS."—" As Liberals, we must have a certain respect for men who are fighting thus bravely for their independence. But as Englishmen, we cannot forget that the triumph which they aim at would be fatal to the British Empire in South Africa, and perhaps beyond South Africa."—Westminster Gazette, July 10, 1901.

WAKING UP JOHN BULL.

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THE average Britisher of all classes is possessed of an abnormal amount of conceit which is generally mistaken for patriotism. The prowess of "us Englishmen" has been told and retold by the man in the gutter. Our superior talents and great achievements form the bulk of our history, and The walls of our are set forth by our daily press in its best style. theatres and music-halls echo the sounds of our self-adulation, and we live up to our reputation of being "a wonderful people." We live by ourselves. as it were, and, having no frontiers on which we can stand and parley with men of another nationality, we suffer from no contamination. The dishonourable actions of others are "un-English"; we are the one and only truly great people. It seems in the order of things that the bull should have a cranium of considerable thickness; and it would appear that John Bull having run his head against a brick wall with frequency, nature has responded to his needs also. This may explain to some extent, at leasthow it is that we Socialists find it such an uphill task in getting our fellowcountrymen to understand the tendencies presented by the developments of modern society. Although we have foretold the coming of commercial crises, and explained their causes, these troublesome times have come and gone, and we are as deep in the mire of over-production as ever. "We have always muddled through," says an old leader, and, of course, the followers chant "Yes, we have always muddled through." Where love and mutual help abounds no sounds of alarm can disturb the tranquility of the surroundings.

It has hitherto been deemed traitorous for anyone to say that England is, and has been for some time, losing her commercial supremacy. Surely those who cry "rocks ahead" can have no other desire than to see the ship sink. Such is the sentiment of the day, and although a number of people outside the Socialist ranks see and understand the trend of affairs, only a few have dared to give open expression to their convictions. We of the S.D.F., who see the beginning of the end of capitalism, have perhaps little cause to grumble at the general attitude of the populace on this point, although, of course, we have to deplore this—that when the collapse does come, once again the worker may not be able to turn the circumstances to his own account.

One or two of our competitors are now beginning to make their presence in the world's markets more keenly felt. We are being jostled, and in some instances thrust aside; several of our manufacturers are becoming somewhat alarmed (for to them the best of reasons) because their profits are threatened. Empires may run headlong to destruction, and countries may go to perdition so long as profits are being maintained. Are not these of greater importance to him who knows and appreciates their value than mere will-o'the.wisps, which only serve to distract the attention of his victims? Accordingly we find a number of those profit-mongers casting about for a remedy; and once again, to extricate them from their perilous condition,

the worker is appealed to. Will he respond with that loyalty and fidelity with which he has always served his master in the hour of need? Doubtless so long as he understands his interests and those of his employer to be identical he will do his duty and receive his reward. The latter may be incalculable (on account of its meagre proportions); at any rate, he can always rely on the splendid institutions of a free, liberal, and grateful country, and in the workhouse or Salvation Army shelter, with both of which he is amply provided, he can ruminate on the fact that he saved others but could not save himself.

To further this appeal the Review of Reviews recently published a supplement, which was to be followed by others, and through its medium the Editor loudly trumpeted "Wake up, John Bull." Not only has the slumberer-I had nearly written "slum-bearer"—to be aroused, but the difficulty of keeping him awake has also been provided for; and, accordingly, some tempting sweetmeats have been prepared for him. Of course the "him" referred to is that preponderating element of our society—the worker. Now, one of the dainty morsels recommended to his attention is labelled "greater liberty" -give the worker greater liberty. "Look at his American cousin" we are in effect told, "how free and easy in his manner he is towards his 'boss,' and how happy the results." Go to, study and Americanise! supplement told us that already one firm in England has followed this piece of advice by sending one of their foremen to receive lessons in the United States, the result being that he has returned and now he knows what he never knew before, and that is, how to handle the men. The presiding genius of the workshop has now discarded the old distinctions he used to set up between himself and the men under his supervision, in order to try and induce the latter to slave yet harder. The method of driving and watching has now been replaced by coaxing, and the spreading of the ennobling idea that Jack is as good a man as his master. We are told that the result has been satisfactory, but we have not heard whether any distinction is made at the pay-box between foreman and men. We need not trouble about that, however, as the difference is not likely to be considerable. The real bonne-bouche, however, which is meant to have magic effect in overcoming all difficulties; is the offer of ship profit-sharing to the present wage-earner, extension of same being advocated as a sure means of inducing more intensive production. In the supplement referred to for July some particulars are given us of the Livesey experiment as practised by the South Metropolitan Gas Company. From this it would appear that, by withholding from the workers a small portion of the profits created by their labours—in addition, of course, to the larger portion which goes to pay interest on a capital said to represent £5,000,000—a sum equal to about 5 per cent., or about 2s. per week, has been credited to them, on an average spread over twelve years. How handsome this share is may be readily grasped when we bear in mind the amount awarded to the holders of the capital of five millions, who have had no share in the agreeable work of stoking the furnaces, &c, which falls to the lot of the gasworker. There are shares and shares! By these means this same worker has been induced to make a greater slave of himself than ever, and the unemployed problem, which may concern him some day, still remains unsolved. But listen to the testimony: "The gain to the company from the increased efficiency of the men has more than compensated for the money paid away in bonuses. It has been achieved without the loss of a penny to the shareholders. It has directly increased the value of their property." Such an arrangement is known as "the speeding up of the British labourer," and "the effective handling of the workmen."

The supplement for August is not wanting in figures to show us how the trade of Great Britain is dwindling away. More lessons are given us from America, Germany, and even Russia. A letter from G. N. Barnes, as a contribution to this document, is, in my opinion, disappointing. One naturally expects that he might have viewed the matter in the real and best interests of the working classes, but if he does, he is singularly sparing in saying anything that might lead us to suppose that he did. With the blessings of Earl Grey, a good word from the "veteran co-operator," and a few pros and cons from several well-known manufacturers, and the process of "waking up John Bull" has been disclosed.

The Daily News of August 31 in commenting upon the refusal of the Grimsby fishermen to be caught in the profit-sharing net, because it spells a considerable decrease in the amount of wage hitherto paid to them, says: "There is a form of Socialism which employers are apt to look upon with marked favour, because it prevents the men from taking independent action. Once the workman agrees to share profits and losses with his master, his industrial freedom is gone." A form of Socialism, be it noted; yet from the jumble quoted we learn something. "Once a workman agrees to share profits and losses with his master, his industrial freedom is gone." He never had much to lose, but from being able to move himself within the confines of his shackles he may even yet be cajoled into becoming worthy of greater restraint.

J. G. WEBSTER.

WHAT YOU GET.

THESE statistics are taken from the American Government records.

In 1850 the wealth of the American nation was \$8,000,000,000; the producers' share was $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the non-producers' share $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In 1860 the wealth had increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to $43\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; non-producers' increased to $56\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was $32\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; non-producers' share, $67\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

In 1880 the wealth had increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent., while the non-producers' share had increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth had further increased to \$61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent., the non-producers' share increased to 83.

And now, in 1901, it is estimated that the wealth of the country is \$100,000,000,000, while the producers' share has fallen to 10 per cent. and the non-producers' has gone up to 90 per cent. As the amount of wealth production has increased the producers' share in that wealth has decreased.

THREE PERIODS OF WEALTH PRODUCTION.

(Concluded.)

VALUE is the force form of labour which has crystallised in wealth; it has degree, intensity, but not quality. By the intellectual process of dismissing from view the quality of a commodity one may perceive its value form, which lies hidden within it. But this examination of commodities will disclose to us value only from an intellectual point of view. In order that value may be of service in the economic world it must be brought into physical form. The methods of bringing the principle of value, and value in the abstract, into concrete form are the first steps by which value, passing through an evolutionary process, assumes physical existence, which process extends up to the perfected money form, value itself. Value having no quality, that which resides in different commodities is different only in degree, in quantity. The value in a hat and in a steamship differs simply in volume. It is accounted in the self-same dollar. For example, one may say that the hat has three degrees of value and the steamship has one million degrees of value. Value may be measured only by value—length cannot be measured by weight nor can the property which sugar has of being sweet be measured by the perfume of the rose. Nature is not freakish, she does not confuse nor confound her principles; each has a law unto itself.

An object has three measurements, length, breadth and thickness, and although the principle of each measurement is distinct from the other the three combine to make the one object, which, from a physical point of view, cannot be separted. Just so it is with value; it is associated with wealth and with labour. It is one with them, and only by man's capacity for intellectual recognition and analysis may value be separated from them.

There are many measures for wealth: yards, drams, bushels, inches, pounds, miles, tons, &c. A given volume of the properties of the differing commodities serve to define the magnitude of their qualities, while the one property of value, which is intensity, gives the basis for measuring the volume of value. The volume of value is based upon labour time.

There is but one reason for measuring value: it is for the purpose of exchange.

Exchange is maintained from a physical point of view upon the basis of equilibrium and from the human point of view upon the basis of equity.

The Socialist knows that if but the great mass of mankind to whom equity is ever denied will but hold up the torch of liberty, if they will but combine in an industrial effort to march across the borderland of the known into the unknown forces and substances of nature, and take possession of them, that no man's hand need be turned in spoliation against another, while all may be bounteously provided for.

Up to this point, although we have been able to locate value specifically,

that is to say that we know that value is to be found in each and all commodities, that fact does not reveal value in a form peculiar to itself. Being seen intellectually, only, each person puts his own individual estimate upon it as regards its magnitude. Thus, although one may know that value lies crystallised in commodities, he knows nothing of its quantity. will avail him nothing to appeal to the most garrulous use-value. It is a sphynx; it will not, for it cannot, tell its secret; by itself it is dumb; isolated from all value relation it has no standard by which to judge itself. Nor without a standard can one tell that a tiny diamond has more value wrapped in its gleaming, shining folds than is to be found in a huge country barn. Nor will the time of service give a clue to the magnitude of value; one oak chair is beautifully carved and one is plain and substantial; both have stood side by side in my ancestor's home for a century and a-half. young men don swell silk hats fresh from a London hatter, and go out to view our good old fishing village; crossing Harvard Bridge a gust of wind sweeps one into the Charles, and so not again will it cover the curly head which had little sense of the artistic; but the length of its service did not tell its magnitude of value. Neither a long service nor a short service, neither a large use-value nor a small use-value taken by itself, can reveal value, or magnitude of value. The structure of society and the attainment of man are at one and the same altitude.

A further step, after value in the abstract is brought into the concrete, by the recognition that value is inherent in wealth, is to put two commodities in direct value relation, that by that process value may take objective existence.

Suppose, for example, we have ten yards of linen and one coat which contain the same quantity of value. The linen, approaching the coat and talking the English tongue, says, "I shall relate my value to your value by the process of equation. The value of my ten yards of linen is equal to the value of your coat!" Lo and behold, that which was subjective is now objective; that which lay in darkness is now in the light of day! By this simple transaction the value in the linen has leapt into the bodily form of the coat. The coat is now no longer simply a coat, a use-value, it is the physical form of value itself. But suppose the linen to become weary of standing in the relative relation of value to the coat, and the good-natured coat were to say, "I will take your place and you take mine." change! The coat is now again a mere coat in the relative form of value to the linen, and the linen has now the dignity of being the incarnation of value. Value has physical existence in the ten yards of linen. So often as the coat and the linen choose to change places, so often does value change its physical shape. But suppose, still further, that the linen, being somewhat of a coquette, soon tires of the company of the coat, and presents itself in the relative value relation first to one commodity, which has the same specific quantity of value, and then to another, until the entire chain of commodities be reached, what then? It proves that value, like light, is an entity, that it has no quality, as it is the same in whatever use-value it lies.

The fleeting character of the special equivalent value form, alone, if there were no other limitations, would prevent pure barter from forcing its way up to the next stage of exchange relations, not to speak of modern industry, where the universal equivalent form, value itself, is necessary to production dominantly based upon exchange. At the conclusion of a bargain struck between A. and B., each having owned a non-use-value for which each has obtained the, for him, use-value of the other, there are no traces left of the transaction, nor is there evidence of the intellectual process by which the equation of value took place. So often as exchanges are made by barter so often is the primal process of setting up a physical measure of value and standard of price gone through with, only to fall away out of sight at the end of the transaction. It is this one fundamental method by which all judgments and measurements are made that at last, to a relative degree, become permanent in fixed physical standards—by the higgling in the market over the weight and price of a load of hay, or over the value of a peach crop, by the council in a victorious camp over the spoils of battle, or the deliberations in a legislative hall to secure a just election service. In conformity with the economic law (of which they are unaware), A. and B. desire to exchange their non-use-values for use-values upon the basis of equity, but the reason for their desire to exchange is that of pure individual advantage. Here is a superficial contradiction :-

Equity demands that value shall exchange for value, while advantage declares for a gain over and above one's present condition. Certainly the mere passing from hand to hand will not change the linen or the coat. There will be just as much wealth and just as much value as before, and no more. Nevertheless, this is the parting of the ways, and he who cannot follow the path of value as distinct from the path of use-value will miss the knowledge of the law upon which our vast national and international commercial transactions rest.

Even before one has the knowledge of the law that value is predicated upon the quantity of average labour-power that is then and there socially necessary to reproduce the desired article, and that therefore time is primarily the determining factor in value creation, he has a confused understanding upon the matter, and although he has never analysed the process by which he sets up his own measure by which he judges the volume of his own value, he nevertheless follows the universal law.

How is the volume of value determined, and how is the price established? For although there is no thought of using the word price the principle is thrusting itself forward insisting on recognition. We come again to the Gordian knot; let us untie it. It is natural that the grade of labour which formed the two articles should first come up for judgment. A. concludes that the same degree of skill and intelligence was required both for the weaving and the tailoring. He, himself, could make the coat, while B. could easily weave the linen (they are Jacks at all trades and being Yankees they are good at some); there is no difficulty on that score. The next step is, clearly, to estimate the time spent upon the production of the two pieces of wealth.

If one desire he may see the gilded codfish which hangs in our beautiful legislative hall, in honour of the industry of our Colonial ancestry. The codfish was then used as the general equivalent form of value. It was the unit of value and standard of price. In the pure barter stage there is no need for currency, as the exchange of use-values is direct. A non-use-value passes from the hand of A, to the hand of B, who returns to A, the use-value which he desires. Therefore, the bodily form of the fleeting unit of value may take any one of the many quantities; there is no need to halve it or to quarter it. If there were, the coat would fare badly, as to cut the coat in halves would rend asunder its value.

A. and B. go on with their problem. A. has the linen, he wants the coat. He has already worked to the basic principle of value, labour-time is now the one consideration. Labour-time is certainly an abstraction. For himself he must perform the mystic feat of bringing it to intellectual view in his linen, and of bringing it into the open day in the form of the coat. His linen cost him only a part of his life-work, and it as surely cost him more than the least portion of his labour-time. He has the two magnitudes of labour-time from which to calculate, the greatest volume and the least volume. As he is much more familiar with the smaller end of the pole, so to speak, he naturally selects days and weeks rather than months and years. And, as he is sane, he neither seeks to deal with his entire life-work as a whole nor with the fractions of seconds which, if extended, would embrace his life-work. Like the normal son of a sturdy race, he goes to the core of the problem without "ifs" or "buts." "My linen cost me all the labour-time expended in each and all the different processes by which I appropriated natural materials and forces. in fair proportion to the length of time the tools will last in the further production of linen, and in fair proportion to the yield of flax upon which I expended my labour-time, a part of which flax I consumed to make the linen." Summing up the estimate, he declares the time to be a total of seven days. The fact of the numeral 7 being used to designate the time tells the tale that a day's labour is his unit of value and standard of price, and that seven units of value are contained in the physical body of the linen, and that, as value must exchange for value where conditions are normal, therefore the price of the linen is seven units. A. is equally competent to judge of the labourtime in the coat as B. is competent to judge of the labour-time in the linen, and by the same method of judgment and measurement A. and B. find that the coat also contains seven days' labour-time. Whereupon A. then says, "The value of my linen is equal to the value of your coat."

The basic principles employed in personal exchange and in social exchange are the same. Labour is the creator of value, and labour is merely labour wherever it may be found. It has its twofold social character, abstract and concrete, a lack of the appreciation of which has done so much to befog the classical writers on political economy.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS OF ENGELS TO MARX.

The current number of the Neue Zeit bears the date of the sixth anniversary of the death of Engels. Our readers may, therefore, like to read some message from him on this occasion, especially such relics of the comparatively unknown period of his youth as are found in his earliest letters to Marx.

In November, 1842, they had made each other's acquaintance at the office of the Rheinischer Zeitung, but without yet becoming intimate; in fact, with a conscious reserve. Marx was just then involved in his first critical disagreement with his old friend Bruno Bauer, under whose influence Engels still remained. The point in dispute was whether the Radical section of the Hegelian school should henceforward rest content in the clouds of philosophical abstraction, as Bruno Bauer and his Berlin followers claimed freedom to do; or whether they should occupy themselves with the economic and political questions of the day, as Marx had actively urged in the Rheinischer Zeitung. Distrustful as he had hitherto been of this position, Engels was converted to it before he went to England in November, 1842, almost immediately after his visit to the office of the Rheinischer Zeitung. The articles which he sent a year later to the Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher, and which Marx had further endorsed in the meantime with the help of Ruge in Paris, were the same in substance as those which Marx had published in that journal; and he himself admitted that the closest comradeship in arms was now established between them.

The letters they exchanged as editor and contributor to the Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher have unfortunately disappeared. They met again in person in September, 1844, when Engels stayed for ten days in Paris on his way home to Barmen. It was natural that they should soon come to an understanding as to their attitude towards Bruno Bauer, from whom they had both parted, and to German philosophy in general. And it was equally natural that they should decide upon a combined attack upon the Allegemeine Literaturzeitung, which in the meantime had been founded by the Berlin Radicals in Charlottenburg in order to usurp control over political developments in Germany. Engels at once wrote his share in this "critical critique," and Marx completed what was left to do after his new friend had departed. When the manuscript was nearly finished, but before the actual publication of the volume, the Berlin Radicals published a characteristic, and, in its way, forcible manifesto—Stirner's book on the individual and his property.

On January 20, 1845, Engels writes to Marx from Barmen :-

"With regard to Stirner, I am absolutely in agreement with you. When I wrote to you I was too much under the influence of my first impressions of the book, but the more I get away from it and think it well over, the more

exactly does my finding agree with your own. Hess, who is staying here, and whom I also had a chat with a fortnight ago in Bonn, is as much upset over it as you were; he has read me an article on it, which he will shortly print, and in which, without having seen your letter, he has said the very same thing. I have left your letter with him because he wants to make some use of it. The latest idea is that Hess and I should bring out a monthly magazine, from April 1 onwards, to be published by Messrs. Thieme and Batz, at Hague. In this Gesellschaftspiegel the social misers and bourgeois rulers are to be shown up. Prospectus, &c., shortly. The thing can be edited with very little trouble. As for material, we shall find collaborators enough; we have some work by us and can easily do some more to fill the sheet. Besides, Püttmann, of Leske, is going to publish a quarterly Rheinischer Jahrbücher, in which open Communism is to be advocated. You can easily have a share in this also. My book on the English workman will be ready in a fortnight or three weeks; then I must give myself four weeks for little jobs, and then I must go on to the historical development of England and English Socialism. That you should have got on as far as twenty sheets with the 'critical critique,' is, indeed, astonishing to me. But it is very good; and besides there is still so much of importance to be said about the man, which otherwise would have lain who knows how long in your desk. Now, if you leave my name on the title-page it will be very curious, for I have only written about a sheet and a-half out of the whole."

The Gesellschaftspiegel and the Rheinischer Jahrbücher appeared, as is well known, but they fell under the censorship, and had a very short career. As soon as Hess had printed his criticisms of Stirner and of Bruno Bauer in the form of tracts, these were issued by Leske in Darmstadt, the publishers of the Rheinischer Jahrbücher. It is stated therein that Stirner's ideal is that of the existing middle class, which assumes to itself the functions of the State; and, further, that Stirner's opposition to the State is simply the common opposition of the Liberal bourgeois, which lays all the blame on the State when the people are hungry and cold. Stirner made a very weak answer to this in his reply, but he showed a certain smartness (though without in the least approaching the acuteness of his opponents) in discerning from Marx's articles in the Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher what the source of Hess's criticism had been. In the meantime, Marx was expelled from Paris by order of the Prussian Government, and moved on to Brussels." It was then that he received the letter which Engels wrote him on February 22, 1845 :-

"Dear Marx,—I have just succeeded in getting your address from Cologne, after long writing for it hither and thither, and I at once sit down to write you a letter. As soon as the news came of your expulsion I felt it necessary to get up a subscription immediately, in order to secure that the extra cost to yourself should be borne by us all in common. This has made good progress. I do not know whether this will be enough to complete your household arrangements in Brussels, but it is of course understood that my first English fee, which I hope soon to get paid, at any rate in part, is most gladly at your disposal. I can do without it for the moment; my father must help us to that extent. At all events, the brutes shall not have the satisfaction of bringing you into pecuniary straits through their infamy.

"Now, not another word about the whole contemptible business. Kriege

will be with you by the time you receive this. The fellow is a famous agitator, and will tell you a great deal about Feuerbach. I had a letter from Feuerbach on the day after you left here; I had written to him beforehand. He says he must first demolish the religious residue entirely before he can touch the question of Communism in the way of advocating it in his writings. At Baiern he is too much shut away from life in general to be able to come out very far. Even if he is a Communist, the question remains as to how he could act upon that belief. But, if possible, he is coming to the Rhine this summer, and then if he gets near Brussels we will soon briug him along.

"Here in Elberfeld wonders have come to pass. Yesterday we held our third Communist meeting in the largest hall and first hotel in the town. The first numbered 40, the second 130, the third 200 persons. The whole of Elberfeld and Barmen were represented, from the bankers to the grocers, scarcely excluding the proletariat even. Hess gave a lecture; poems from Müller and Püttmann were read, with selections from Shelley; and even the article on the communal colonies already existing in Bürgerbuche. discussion afterwards lasted till one o'clock. The thing was a colossal success. People are talking of nothing but Communism, and each day brings us more supporters. In the Wupperthal, Communism is a fact; it will soon be a power. You can have no idea what favourable soil it has found here. How long it may take to get any results, I do not know; but the police are in any case entirely baffled, not knowing what to do about it; and the Chief Cemmissioner is gone to Berlin. But even under prohibition, we could easily evade it; and in any case we have made such a stir that everything that is published in our interest will be eagerly read.

"February 25.—Yesterday evening came the order that our next meet-

ing is to be dispersed by the police and the speakers arrested.

"February 26.—Yesterday morning the mayor prohibited Frau Obermeyer from holding any meeting on her premises; and warned me that if, in spite of this, a meeting should be held, an arrest and prosecution would follow. We have, of course, carried out our programme and must wait and see whether we are arrested, which I hardly think likely, for we were sharp enough to give them no handle, so that the whole affair could only end in a complete fiasco for the Government. Moreover, the public prosecutors and the whole county court were present, and the Chief Procurator himself took part in the discussion.

"March 7.—In this local affair a Government rescript has arrived forbidding all future meetings. Hess and Köttgen have protested. Of course that is useless, but still the people can see by the way our protests are made that they can have no case against us. Hess is still tremendously sanguine, since everything else has gone off so well, and our progress is really so immense; the good fellow builds castles in the air, as usual. Our Gesellschaftspiegel goes splendidly. The first sheet is already censored and all is over with it.

"I have a lot more news yet that I should like to tell you as soon as I know a safe address at Brussels, which you must give me anyhow. There are many things happening here which might do mischief if they were read about in a 'cabinet noir.' I shall stay here another four weeks and go to Bonn at the beginning of April. Write to me at least once more before then, that I may know how you are getting on.

"The 'critical critique' is not yet here. The new title, 'The Holy Family,' will involve me still further in family difficulties with my already

exasperated parents. Naturally you could not know this. In the advertisement you have put my name first—why! I have done next to nothing towards it, and everybody will recognise your style."

As soon as the *Heilige Familie* appeared, in the middle of March, Engels complained again, and repeatedly, about the insertion of his name on the title-page and in the first place; perhaps he had already some foreboding of the crushing verdict that awaited it at the hands of the modern university critic, who measures it out with his own formula without ever grasping the real meaning of the book; this may partly account for Engels contributing so little to it, in spite of being named as first author on the title-page.

His intention of going to Bonn a month later for further study (as is to be seen from other passages in these letters) out of disgust for the tricks of his commercial calling, was never fulfilled. He took a much wiser step in going to Brussels in the spring of 1845. There he went through a three years' course of work with Marx, in which he was able to anticipate the academic learning of at least 30 if not 60 years later. It was here that he learned the real value of a communistic propaganda from which the proletariat are excluded—"in theory entirely right but in practice much worse than useless"—as he afterwards described all attempts to convince capitalists of the justice of communistic principles. It was part of the lovable, impetuous and inexhaustible optimism of the young Engels that he considered the little meetings at Elberfeld a wonderful success all the same, and perhaps felt some pity for the "good fellow" Hess who remained absorbed in dreams.

-Translated by ESTHER WOOD from the Neue Zeit.

APATHY REGARDING SOCIAL CONDITIONS.—At the present time there seems to be something in the atmosphere or the spirit of the people, which makes it impossible to obtain an attentive consideration of social questions. Writing of Mr. Hyndman's retiral from the committee of the Social-Democratic Federation, Dr. Stanton Coit, the well known leader of the ethical movement says:—"There probably is not a single democratic or rationalistic leader in England to-day who is not as sick at heart and discouraged as Mr. Hyndman, who now, after twenty years of unflinching devotion to the cause of Social-Democracy, withdraws from the Executive of the organisation which he founded and has helped to maintain. I say, I believe that we are all utterly discouraged; but it is a matter of individual temperament whether disheartenment leads a man to surrender, or, in full sight of failure, to fight like a Boer republican towards an insane death." If co-operators carefully study the signs of the times and the forces at work, their faith in the ultimate triumph of the principle of co-operation will not desert them, and in the midst of apparent failure they will recognise the signs of ultimate success. That success, however, will probably not come in the way they expected, but through the developments of local self-government, which are only higher forms of co-operation.—Scottish Co-operator.

ASSASSINATION A FRUIT OF SOCIALISM.

THE Fortnightly Review has an article on the above subject by Geoffrey Langtoft. The murder of President McKinley, he says, compels him to once more draw the attention of the public to the above subject. October number of 1900, he remarks, he wrote an article in the Fortnightly showing that the endeavour, so often made by apologists of democracy to discriminate between Socialism and Anarchism, however it may be sought to be justified on abstract and philosophical grounds, rests upon no solid logical basis, and is practically futile, inasmuch as Anarchism is found in actual affairs to be the natural and necessary fruit of Socialism, and almost invariably exists in association therewith; and, secondly, to demonstrate that these noxious political growths are the progeny of democracy itself, thus suggesting that the problem of effectually dealing with Anarchism may prove to be insoluble so long as democratic principles are permitted to formulate and dominate the policies of leading nations without adequate check from those higher and more stable elements of national life which are represented by proprietorship and intellect.

"McKinley was neither an Oriental despot nor a constitutional monarch, but the elected ruler of a free Republic. Out of twenty assassinations, eleven," the author states, "have been actually elected persons. Hence it is clear that Anarchists and Socialists are in revolt against authority per se, against all forms of authority, and not merely against such phases of it as are represented by absolutism: they are enemies of all law and of all order, they are foes of civilisation itself. In their insensate hate and fury they would, if they could, destroy all ordered and civilised society, and as they cannot do this they take their revenge by foully murdering the most eminent representatives of such society. Men and women who are thus at

war with society should receive no quarter."

After a glowing description of the effect of Emma Goldman's speeches upon Czolgosz and the execution of his crime, he says:-" What is to be said of rulers who with their eyes open sanction a propaganda of rapine and murder and allow it to be carried on under their very noses, not spasmodically or sporadically or secretly, but deliberately and openly and continuously by means of organisations, newspapers and other literature, and public meetings ? This at least must be said of them, they are guilty not merely of the folly of placing their own lives in jeopardy, but of the crime of grossly betraying the most precious and sacred interests of their respective nations, of which interests they are put in trust. Their policy is suicidal. Nemesis is sure to dog their footsteps, and in the end he will deliver his blow. President McKinley's assassination is in the nature of a retribution upon the people of the United States for their sins of omission in this matter. Take this Emma Goldman, for example. Ought such a woman to be at large ! Her character is well known. For years she has been lecturing up and down the States, vehemently denouncing all laws, divine and human, and stirring up her hearers to deeds of violence and outrage. She specially singled out Mr. McKinley for attack, contemptuously referring to him as 'Emperor McKinley,' sneering at his supposed friendship for the Czar of Russia, with whom she has bracketed him as an oppressor of the workers. Eight years ago she was sent to prison for ten months for her revolutionary violence. Ten months! And then let loose again! What a farce! Now she has been

arrested again. No evidence, as if the incitements to violence with which her every lecture teems were not evidence enough.

- But Emma Goldman does not stand alone. There is Johann Most, for example, who was sent to prison here for sixteen months for defending the murder of the Czar. This creature continues to carry on his infamous work though perfectly well known to the authorities.
- "American Anarchists are mostly foreign immigrants, Italians and German Jews being specially prominent, and their headquarters are now at Spring Valley, Illinois, whence emanates their journal, L'Aurora, an organ of revolution. . . . According to L'Aurora of April 27 of this year the Anarchist programme is as follows:—
 - " Free work.

" Free use of things.

"'Communal possession of all the means of social wealth, and the machinery of production, of ways and communication, of land, of mines, of water, &c.

"' The abolition of all private property.

"'The doing away with government, with class, with militarism, with judges, with the nobility and bureaucracy. Social emancipation.

" 'Anarchy.'

- "This programme bears a close family resemblance to all the Socialist, programmes which have been issued during the last thirty years, from that of Gotha down to those of the present year. This Gotha programme, issued in 1875, after enunciating the familiar Socialist principles, said: 'Starting' from these principles, the Socialist Labour Party of Germany seeks by all lawful means to establish a Free State and a Socialist society,' &c. The same ideas, and almost the very same words as those in L'Aurora of April last. . . . It is highly significant that in programmes subsequently issued by the German Socialists in connection with conferences at Wyden and Halle, the phrase by lawful means in the second section of the Gotha programme was omitted. This fact indicates that Socialism, as is abundantly proved by other evidence, has entirely changed its character of late years. It has degenerated into a propaganda of violence and terrorism, seeking to effect its end by revolution. There is nothing surprising in this development. It has grown naturally out of the germ of Socialism. Joseph Babœuf, 'the father of modern Socialism, who was guillotined in 1797, set himself to propagate the ideas of Rousseau and Brissot. Proudhon laid down as a principle that 'property is robbery.' Bakunin, who was a friend both of Proudhon and Marx, was a dangerous revolutionist and conspirator, and after being expelled from various continental countries settled down in London to carry on his infamous work. The same thing is true of Marx, who is styled 'the father of scientific Socialism,' and who was the chief founder of the International.
- "In 1848 Mark and Engels wrote a manifesto for the International Socialists, which was, and is, regarded as a sort of confession of faith.

"This document declared :-

"'The Communists do not seek to conceal their views and aims. They declare openly that their purpose can only be obtained by a violent overthrow of all existing arrangements of society. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletariat have nothing to lose in it but their chains: they have a world to win. Proletarians of all countries, unite!'

"This need not be pursued further. Enough has been said to prove-

the point which I wish to drive home, which is, that there is no essential difference between the teachings of Anarchists and Socialists. Both are in antagonism to existing social order, both propose to overthrow all the institutions of society by violence, both mark out rich men and rulers as enemies who are to be destroyed, and both deliberately use outrage and murder to accomplish their ends. The harvest which we are now reaping has grown from seed which was sown during the French Revolution, of which Socialism in its modern manifestation is the offspring. The Reign of Terror has in a sense never ended; it has but assumed a different form and spread to other countries."

The author then gives a list of twenty monarchs and rulers who were murdered during the nineteenth century, which, he says, teaches a serious lesson, that lesson being that as the principles of Democracy and Socialism spread so do assassinations multiply. "Democracy has brought us to rapine and outrage and violence; to murder—murder organised, systematised, cold-

blooded.'

The writer concludes: "My space is filled. Upon the discussion of a cure for this lamentable state of things I cannot now enter. It must suffice to repeat with emphasis my deep and settled conviction that the root cause of the evil under consideration is Socialism, of which Anarchism is but the effect. Wise peoples and rulers will deal directly with the cause and leave the effects to look after themselves. As things stand at present almost everybody is using the word Anarchism where they ought to use the word Socialism; they are mistaking the effect for the cause."

The author quite misunderstands or wilfully misrepresents the doctrines of Social-Democracy. Socialism and Anarchism are as opposite as the two poles, both in principles and in tactics. He would stigmatise Socialists as holding principles inimical to State government. Anarchists, on the other hand, declaim against us as upholders of State tyranny. Probably the writer knows this as well as we. What excites his wrath is that the capitalist system of exploitation is menaced by both Anarchists and Socialists.

THE MAKING OF THE HOOLIGAN.

THOMAS HOLMES, in the Contemporary Review of this month, discourses on the making of hooligans, and draws attention to the extraordinary laxity of the law in dealing with the worst cases. A magistrate may send lads to an industrial school or reformatory, but if they are in any way physically deformed or unfit—and the unfit seem to consist of those who are likely to cause the industrial school or reformatory officials trouble—they are released. Mr. Holmes says they are not even sent back to the magistrates with an intimation that the reformatory authorities do not care to be bothered with them. The consequence is that a great number of lads, whose health or general physique precludes them getting employment, are thrown on the streets, and reappear before the magistrate to be sent to prison and become

confirmed criminals—manufactured by the State. The author, to remedy this, calls for the establishment of receiving houses to which magistrates can commit boys and girls who, they think, ought to be detained either in industrial schools or reformatories. He would have power given to the magistrate, after a report on the character of the boy or girl, to commit the culprit either to an industrial school till of the age of sixteen or to a reformatory school till of the age of nineteen.

The author goes on to deplore the social conditions which produce hooligans, but does not touch the economic cause responsible for their existence. He, however, is prepared to adopt measures which would materially decrease their production. As his proposals are of an essentially practical character, we give the following extract from his article, which will

speak for itself :-

"Municipal playgrounds are absolutely essential if our young people are to be healthy and law-abiding. Of parks we have enough for the present. Our so-called recreation grounds are a delusion and a snare, though to some they are doubtless a boon, with their asphalted walks, a few seats and a drinking fountain. They are very good for the very old and the very young. But if Tom, Dick and Harry essayed a game of rounders, tip-cat, leap-frog, or skittles, why they would soon find themselves before the magistrate, and be the cause of many paragraphs on youthful hooligans in the next day's papers. Now, private philanthropy and individual effort is not equal to the task, and in spite of increased effort and enlarged funds, never will be equal to the task of finding suitable recreation for our growing youth. I know well the great good done by our public school and other missions, with their boys' clubs, &c., but they scarcely touch the evil, and they certainly have not the means of providing winter and summer outdoor competitive games. Every parish must have its public playground, under proper supervision, lit up in the evening with electric light, and open till 10 p.m. Here such inexpensive games as rounders, skittles, tip-cat, tug-of-war might be organised, and Hackney have a series of competitions with Bethnal Green; for the competitive element must be provided for. A series of contests of this sort would very soon empty our streets of the lads who are now so troublesome. I venture to say that a tournament, even at 'coddem' or 'shove-ha'penny' alone, would attract hundreds of them, and certainly an organised competition of 'pitch and toss' would attract thousands. Counters might be used instead of coins, and would last for ever. The fact is these youths are easily pleased, if we go the right way to work. But we must take them as they are and must not expect them all to play chese, billiards or cricket. Football I would certainly add, for it is a game which any healthy boy can play, to some extent, and it gives him robust exercise. Give the lads of our slums and congested dwellings a chance of healthy rivalry and vigorous competition, and, my word for it, they won't want to crack the heads either of their companions or of the public. The public are not aware of the intense longing of the slum youth for active, robust play. During last year more than 50 boys were summoned at one court for playing football in the streets and fined, though in some cases their footballs were old newspapers tied round with string. Hundreds of youths are charged every year at each of our London police-courts with gambling by playing a game with bronze coins Now these youths do not want and long for called 'pitch and toss.' each other's coins, but they do want a game, and if they could play all day and win nothing they would consider it an ideal day. Organised games in public play-grounds creating local and friendly rivalry are, then, absolutely

essential. The same feeling, developed but a trifle further, becomes national, and we call it patriotism. Play they must, or become loafers; and the cound-shouldered, dull-eyed loafer is altogether more hopeless than the

hooligan.

"It will be an estimable blessing to the country, and will inaugurate quite a new era for us, when the minimum age for leaving school is raised to 16. The increase of intelligence, physique, morality and order arising from such a course would astonish the nation. Supposing this were done, and for boys and girls over twelve two hours in the afternoon were set apart for gamesin separate play-grounds, of course—and that the evenings were devoted to school work, the younger children going to school in the afternoon might easily have their turn in the public play-grounds from five to seven. would allow the youths over 16 to have the play-grounds for the rest of the evening. But, having provided for play, I would go one step further, and not allow any boy to leave school till he produced satisfactory evidence that he was really commencing work. Hundreds of boys leave school having no immediate prospect of regular work; a few weeks' idleness and the enjoyment of the street follow, and they are then in that state of mind and body that renders them completely indifferent to work of any kind. Now the difficulty of finding decent and prospective employment for boys is another great factor in the production of youthful hooligans, but a factor that would be largely eliminated if the age for leaving school were raised to sixteen. The work of errand boys, van boys, or cock-horse boys is not progressive, neither is it good training for growing boys. To the boy of fourteen years of age such work has its allurements, and the wages offered seem fairly good, but when the boy of fourteen has become the youth of sixteen or seventeen the work seems childish and the pay becomes mean. requires better wages his services are dispensed with, and another lad of fourteen is taken on. This procedure alone accounts for thousands of youths being idle on the streets of London. What can such youths do? Too big for their previous occupation, no skilled training or aptitude for better work, not big enough or strong enough for ordinary labouring, they become the despair of their parents and pests to society. Very soon the door of the parental home is closed against them, the cheap lodging-house becomes their shelter, and the rest can easily be imagined. But it lasts for life. By raising the school age the great bulk of this demoralisation would be prevented."

The author then argues in favour of absolute purity in malt and other liquors, and for making it illegal for boys and girls under twenty to drink on licensed premises, believing the present system of conducting licensed houses is favourable to hooliganism.

Summing up the reforms which he conceives necessary to the abatement and cure of hooliganism, he enumerates the following items:—

- "I. The State must take on itself the care and training of its young deformed or afflicted criminals.
- "II. Fair rents for the poor, and a fair chance of cleanliness and decency.
 - "III. Municipal playgrounds and organised competitive playgrounds.
 - "IV. Extension of school life till sixteen.
- "V. Prohibition to young people of alcoholic drinks for consumption on the premises.
- "VI. Limitation by law of the alcoholic strength of malt liquors to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and of spirits to 50 under proof."

ANARCHISM.

In the Nineteenth Century Review, George Jacob Holyoake discourses on Anarchism, the theme being no doubt suggested by the assassination of President McKinley. "Anarchism," Mr. Holyoake thinks, "arises from the despair of the good and the malevolence of the bal. There are two kinds of Anarchists, just as there are two kinds of Tories. The social kindof Tory seek power that they may control public affairs for the good of the people, which they believe they can better manage than the people themselves. The political Tories seek paramountcy and authority for pride or interest, and are indifferent or hostile to the welfare of the people-notcounting them of consequence. In like manner, there are Anarchists who seek by reason to supersede public government by self-government—a slow, long-lasting task. There is another and brutal class of Anarchists who are animated by resentment and the baser sort of vengeance. Their motive, so far as they can be said to have one, is to bring about a change. They think any change must be for the better - which shows their credulity. They are under the impression that were authority destroyed things would right themselves—which they never do. Whoever puts this dismal doctrine in practice must be arrested, and the repetition of the offence made impossible Yet it may temper the expression of public wrath to remember that the awful belief that murder is a mode of progress is not peculiar to Anarchists. Charles the Second gave a colonelcy to Silas Titus, who wrote inciting the assassination of the Lord Protector Cromwell. English Tories favoured the assassination of Napoleon, and he in his turn pensioned the man who sought the assassination of Wellington. All the monarchs of Europe praised the knife of Charlotte Corday. Froude has shown that Catholics and Protestants have alike approved tyrannicide and used it. Did not Lord Beaconsfield bless the hand that wields the regicidal steel'?.... If the Anarchists of the dagger or the bullet had their way they would all be destroyed by their own disciples of more 'advanced views,' who would consider their existence an obstacle to further progress. Carlyle, by his dangerous gospel of force, has done more than all the Anarchists to demoralise our national policy and toinspire political assassination with a sense of rectitude. It caused Canon Kingsley, just-minded as he was, and Lord Tennyson, who had as many virtues as gifts, to support, to applaud Governor Eyre's murders in Jamaica. I sat by Governor Eyre in the House of Commons when Mr. Cardwell (afterwards Lord Cardwell) admitted that there had been 'unnecessary executions,' which is the Parliamentary name for murder.

"Anarchism is not a modern invention, is not a foreign device; it is a disease of impatience in policies, and many have it. If, with a free press and a free Parliament, agitators cannot advance just objects, they do not understand their business.

"It was Bakunin who first in modern days proposed to end government by the knife. He was listened to because he was a Russian and belonged to a land where reason was not tolerated and irresponsible ferocity ruled. Wiser and nobler men than Bakunin, men of unrivalled learning, such as Elisée Reclus, his brother Elie, and others, are philosophical Anarchists. Elie Reclus came to me to solicit a scarce engraving of Robert Owen, a

famous advocate of progress by reason. The philosophical Anarchists adopt or accept the name, but have no anarchy in them. They are against conventional government, not from malice, but because they think self-government nobler. What they seek is unlimited freedom, which, if set going to morrow, would not last a month. Anarchism may be described as individuality run mad, as men and things go. Yet it is not a bad theory that a man should be a law unto himself. Others have thought that who are not counted as Anarchists. But he who is to be a law unto himself should

have a perfect self. And society has reared very few of that kind.

"Society would be silly not to distinguish between the anarchy of reason and the anarchy of violence. To the anarchy of assassination there can be but one answer—whether the motive be good or ill, benevolent or hostile, its hand must be arrested, and its further use be provided against. But in a manner firm and self-regarding. Because some Anarchists go mad that is no reason why society should. Insanity is not cured by another becoming insane. The Indian Thug was far more dangerous than any enemies of order abroad now. The cord has gone in India, and the knife will follow in Europe. Public perturbation only inflates the assassin with selfimportance, and incites the emulation of the obscure. The objection to government and lawful order is simply a reversion to the savage state. Mr. Auberon Herbert and the philosophers of absolute freedom cannot make anything else of it. The savage life is bold, brave, defiant and full of original activities—but very inconvenient to others. Its ceaseless watchfulness, vicissitudes and tragedies contain no time for progress. irreconcilable philosopher who is out of it thinks he would be better in it. Let him try it. The opportunity is open to him. There are savages of the purest type who will be glad to receive him-and eat him when meals run short."

THE EFFECT OF INCREASED DIET ON POORLY FED CHILDREN.

On the London School Board opening two new special schools—one in Maida Vale and the other in Bethnal Green—for invalid and crippled children Mary A. Ward seized the occasion to write a three-column letter to the Times of September 26, on the pioneer school for physically defective children at Tavistock Place. Apparently the school was started on the principles of the Charity Organisation Society and we need not therefore be surprised to learn that the parents were charged $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a dinner which—as Mary A. Ward's experience demonstrates—practically starves the children.

The poverty-stricken quality of the dinner being pointed out to the managers, they were at last prevailed upon to try a more liberal diet.

The following is an extract from Mary A. Ward's letter:

"The experiment of a more liberal and varied diet was tried. More hot meat, more eggs, milk, cream, vegetables and fruit were given. In consequence the children's appetites largely increased, and the expense naturally increased with them. The children's pence in May amounted to £3 13s. 6d., and the cost of the food was £4 7s. 2d.; in June, after the more liberal scale had been adopted, the children's payments were still £3 13s. 10d., but the expenses had risen to £5 7s. 8d. Meanwhile the physical and mental results of the increased expenditure are already unmistakable.

Partially paralysed children have been recovering strength in hands and limbs with greater rapidity than before. A child who last year often could not walk at all, from rickets and extreme delicacy, and seemed to be fading away, is now racing about in the garden on his crutches; a boy who last year could only crawl on hands and feet is now steadily and rapidly learning to walk, and so on. The effect, indeed, is startling to those who have watched the experiment. Meanwhile, the teachers have entered in the logbook of the school their testimony to the increased power of work that the children have been showing since the new feeding has been adopted. Hardly any child now wants to lie down during school time, whereas applications to lie down used to be common; and the children both learn and remember better."

The remainder of the letter has much useful information concerning the working of schools for physically weak children, and suggestions of federation of the various schools and institutions existing for the purpose of ameliorating the conditions of this class of children.

LONDON AND PARIS: A CONTRAST.

THE contrasts presented by Paris and London are rather amusingly put by Felix Pejat, in the *Matin*, of the former city. He says:—

- "Paris does most things with the right hand or at the right side; London follows the left.
 - "Parisian coachmen keep to the right, those of London to the left.
 - "Paris grows by absorption, London by expansion.
 - "Paris is built of stone, London of brick.
- "Paris has high houses and narrow streets, London's buildings are low and its streets wide.
 - "The windows of Paris open like doors, those of London à la guillotine.
- "Paris is collectivistic, it dwells in houses which are really caravansaries; London is individualistic, each family having its own house.
 - "Paris has its portièr, London its latch-key.
- "Paris gets up early from its bed which is against the wall; London arises late from its bed which is in the centre of the room.
 - "Paris dines, London eats.
- "London, said Voltaire, has one hundred religions and but one sauce; Paris has one hundred sauces and no religion at all.
 - " Paris is gay, London sad.
- "London has too few soldiers, Paris too many. The soldiers in Paris wear a blue tunic and red pantaloons, while the London man-of-war is clad in a red coat and blue trousers.
- "In Paris priests perform the marriage rites; in London they marry themselves.
- "In Paris the married women are free; in London when a woman marries she ceases to be free.
 - "Paris has more suicides, London more homicides.
 - "Paris works, London traffics.
- "In Paris the street crowds fight by kicks, in London by blows of the
- "The proletariat of Paris refers to the pawn-shop as 'My aunt,' while in London they say 'My uncle.'"

MONSIEUR BADIN

OR, LIFE IN A GOVERNMENT OFFICE.

The Secretary.

M. Badin: a clerk.

Ovide: a messenger.

(Scenc—The Secretary's room. He is busy signing papers, suddenly he pulls the bell rope and the messenger enters.)

The Secretary: It is you, Ovide?

Ovide: Yes, Sir.

The Secretary: Has M. Badin come to-day?

Ovide: Yes, Sir.

The Secretary (astonished): M. Badin is here?

Ovide: Yes, Sir.

The Secretary: Just think before your answer. I ask you if M. Badin, who is an abstractor, is here. Now, just answer "Yes" or "No."

Ovide: He is here, Sir.

The Secretary: Ovide, you have been drinking.

Ovide: I, Sir!

The Secretary: Now, come, speak the truth and I will say nothing this time.

Ovide: Sir, I assure you that I have only had a glass of ginger beer.

The Secretary: It does seem strange that M. Badin should be here. But go and tell him to come here.

Ovide: Yes, Sir.

(He goes out, the Secretary goes on writing. A knock is heard at the door).

The Secretary: Come in.

(M. Badin comes in and bows.)

The Secretary: Good morning, M. Badin. Please come in and sit down.

M. Badin: But, Sir-

The Secretary: Well, M. Badin, you have not been to the office for a fortnight.

M. Badin: Do not talk about it.

The Secretary: I beg your pardon. I want to talk about it, and that is why I sent for you. Now, as you were absent I was afraid that you were ill, and I asked the official doctor to call and see you. He has been six times but you were always said to be at a brasserie.

M. Badin: Sir, the porter told a lie. I will complain to my landlord.

The Secretary: Very well, M. Badin, do not get excited.

M. Badin: Sir, I will explain. I was kept at home by family affairs. My brother-in-law is dead.

The Secretary: What, again ?

M. Badin: Sir!

The Secretary: Now, M. Badin, are you getting at me?

M. Badin: I?

The Secretary: Now you have lost your brother-in-law, and three weeks

ago you lost your aunt; a month ago your uncle died, and your father died at Whitsun and your mother at Easter. Besides, you lose a cousin or some other relation every week. Why it is awful! And I say nothing of your younger sister, who gets married twice a year, or of your elder sister, who is confined every three months. Well, Sir, I am tired of all this. There are limits to everything, and if you think that the Government gives you 2,400 francs a year in order that you may bury some relatives and marry others, you make a mistake.

M. Badin: Sir!

The Secretary: Hold your tongue. You will speak when I have done. There are three abstractors in this Department—you, M. Soupe, and M. Fairbatu. M. Soupe has been here 37 years and is quite incapable of doing any work. As to Fairbatu, he is working as a commercial traveller. This cannot go on. I am sick of your funerals, your weddings, and your christenings. In future, you either come or resign. If you wish to send in your resignation I will accept it at once. If not, you will be good enough to be here every day at ten o'clock. Do you understand? If fate still harasses you, and you cannot come, then I will dismiss you. Do you understand?

M. Badin: Ah, you hurt me, Sir. I can see that you are irritated and are not pleased.

The Secretary: You are mistaken; I am very pleased.

M. Badin: You are jesting. The Secretary: I, Sir?

M. Badin: Yes, Sir, you jest. You are like all those fools who think it a joke to call me a sham clerk. Heaven forbid, Sir, that you should live my life.

The Secretary: Why?

M. Badin: Listen, Sir. Have you ever thought of the hard fate of the poor clerk who systematically and resolutely will not go to the office, and who is terrified all day at the thought that he may be turned out?

The Secretary: No, I have not.

M. Badin: Well, Sir, it is a dreadful thing, and that is my life. Every morning I say to myself, "Go to the office, Badin, you have not been there for a week." I dress myself and I go out towards the office. But I go in to the brasserie. I take one bock, two bocks, three bocks. I look at the clock and I say, "When it shows the hour I will go," but then I wait for the quarter, and then I wait for the half.

The Secretary: When it shows the half you give yourself a quarter's

grace.

M. Badin: Quite so. Afterwards I say to myself, "It is too late, it will look as if I was making fun of my chiefs. I will go to-morrow." What a life! I used to sleep so well and to be so lively, and now I enjoy nothing. If I go out I keep close to the wall like a thief, fearing that I might see one of my chiefs. When I come home I fear that I may find a letter dismissing me. I live as if I were condemned to death.

The Secretary: Just one question, M. Badin. Are you serious?

M. Badin: I do not feel in a humour for joking. Just think, Sir. I have only got my salary. What shall I do if I am discharged, for I am 35 years of age and how can I earn my living? Sir, I have lost 20 lbs. in weight since I do not come to the office. Look at my legs—they are like broomsticks, and you should see my thighs. Sir, I am melting away, I cannot sleep and I have to get up six times a night to get a drink of water. I am dying.

The Secretary: Well, why do you not come to the office?

M. Badin: I cannot do it, Sir. The Secretary: Why not?

M. Badin : I cannot—it is too dull.

The Secretary: If all your colleagues were to say the same ---

M. Badin: I would have you respectfully notice, Sir, that there is a difference between me and my colleagues. They are zealous, active and give their time to the office. I sacrifice my life. Things cannot go on in this way.

The Secretary (rising): That is what I think.

M. Badin (rising): Quite sc.

The Secretary: Send in your resignation.

M. Badin: My resignation! But, Sir, I do not think of resigning, but of asking for a rise.

The Secretary: What, a rise.

M. Badin (going out): Well, Sir, you must not think that I can go on killing myself for 200 francs a month.

G. COURTELINE (Translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

SOCIALISM IN HUNGARY.

Socialism was first introduced into Hungary about 30 years ago, but the progress for years was very slow. There was no organisation before 1890, and the first big meeting was held at Budapest on May Day, 1900, in

favour of the eight hour day and universal suffrage.

This is due to Hungary being essentially an agricultural country, for there are nearly 11,000,000 agriculturists (or 62.45 per cent.) out of a population of 17 millions. It is also a very backward country, as 54 per cent. of the population can neither read nor write. The difficulties of propaganda are very great, as public meetings cannot be held without the Government's consent.

Still, some progress has been made, and there are now 126 trade unions with a membership of 23,603. There are nine trade union organs which also

contain political articles.

A general election is expected shortly and much attention is given to propaganda; tracts explaining Socialism have been issued in the different languages spoken in Hungary.

Though there is not much hope of winning seats, yet endeavours are

made to sow the seed, the harvest of which will be reaped later on.

[&]quot;THESE territories are now a part of his Majesty's dominion. Persons who within those territories are arrayed in arms against us are at this moment de facto and de jure his Majesty's subjects—(Nationalist cries of 'No!' and Ministerial cheers)—yes, his Majesty's subjects."—Mr. Asquith, August 15, 1901.

LA GRANDE COMMUNE.

Stars upon stars from out the skies Laugh at our vain endeavour To read aright their roguish eyes For ever and for ever.

Lo, Mother-Moon, so placid pale Like disc of dazzling silver, Across the roof of night doth sail For ever and for ever.

Red Father-Sun comes forth again,
Of heat the genial giver,
To beam upon the sons of men
For ever and for ever.

And trees that bare in winter's wind With cold do crack and shiver, Returning spring new garments find For ever and for ever.

Thus Nature in her "Grand Commune,"
Through varying endeavour,
Strikes into one harmonious tune
For ever and for ever.

And birds, and beasts, and fishes, all Instinctive service give her, Sane, self-sufficient, natural
For ever and for ever.

'Tis man alone doth idly rave
And stand in question whether
He be a master or a slave
For ever and for ever.

Conscious, and curst with doubt and care,
He thinks on earth he never
May stand within that orchestra
For ever and for ever.

Men and women! tempt and tost
Through days of doubt and error,
Ye may be wrecked, but never lost
For ever and for ever.

Colour, class, creed—let all be said That can be said to sever Heart from heart, but blood is red For ever and for ever.

And know for true that all of true And beautiful fades never, And sin's perversion of the two For ever and for ever.

Empires may crawl from east to west, And north from south may sever, But love is one in every breast For ever and for ever!



JOB HARRIMAN.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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JOB HARRIMAN.

FIFTEEN years ago a young American minister, after three years' service in the ministry of the Campbell Christian Church, created something of a local sensation by giving up his 'pulpit and declaring his inability to continue preaching the principles of the church. He had arrived at that decision from a study of two books, Buckle's "History of Civilisation," and M. Taine's "History of English Literature." "Seeing that economic development has had such an effect upon English literature," he argued, "is it not probable that the books of the Bible, in a similar way, reflect the economic conditions of the age in which they are written?" Two years later, in spite of the social ostracism which it involved—greater then than now—the erstwhile minister declared himself a Socialist, and became a member of the Socialist Labour Party, and to-day is one of the best known and most loved of the leaders of the American Socialist movement. When, recently, at the greatest convention ever held by American Socialists, the unification of the Social-Democratic forces of the country was consummated, it was due in large part to his sagacity and influence that the differences which had so long divided the movement were removed, and union on a sound basis established. Without detracting from the value of the work of the rest of the delegates to that historic gathering, it can be said with truth that the sage counsels of Job Harriman proved of inestimable worth.

Harriman was born in Clinton County, Indiana, in January, 1861, and is, therefore, now little more than 40 years of age. He is tall and swarthy, with keen, piercing eyes that reveal the great magnetic force to which he owes his success as an agitator. He lived with his parents upon the farm until his eighteenth year, and at twenty-three, having studied meanwhile at the Butler University, Irvington, Indiana, he entered the ministry of the Campbell Christian Church, in which, however, as stated, he only served three years. Singularly enough, just as he owes his emancipation from the ideas of the Church to chance reading, it was reading a horrowed copy of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" which directed him toward the Socialist movement, of which he had not previously heard. His next book was

Marx's "Das Kapital." Thus the sympathy which had been enlisted by the utopist was disciplined and guided at the outset by the rigid scientist, Marx.

Studying for the legal profession, Harriman was called to the Californian bar in 1898. In that same year he was adopted by the Socialist Labour Party as candidate for Governor of the State of California, and in the following year (1899) he was elected State Organiser of the Party, conducting a remarkably vigorous campaign which resulted in a large accession of new members to the organisation. During the summer months he travelled in a large caravan drawn by two horses, and was thus able to reach the remote towns and villages.

When the great revolt against the policy and tactics of Daniel De Leon and his immediate followers took place in the ranks of the S.L.P., the Socialists of California joined with those of other Western States in a demand that a party convention be called to consider the situation. It was in consequence of the refusal of the National Executive to accede to that very reasonable request that the majority of them, including Harriman, joined the "Kangaroos," as the revolters were called, and were represented at the convention held at Rochester in January, 1900, Harriman being one of the delegates. At that convention Harriman was nominated as Presidential candidate of the party, subject, however, to the provision that if the fusion of the anti-De Leon S.L.P. and the newlyformed Social-Democracy under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs could be brought about, he was to become candidate for Vice-President with Debs as Presidential candidate of the united party. In spite of the fact that the fusion of forces was not then accomplished, the joint convention which met in July at Indianapolis put forward Debs and Harriman as candidates for President and Vice-President respectively.

About a year ago Harriman settled in New York and is now the Secretary of the Labour Secretariat, an organisation for the protection of the legal rights of the working class, which was started in March of the present year. He was one of the representatives of the Social-Democratic Party at the International Congress last year, and has been elected to serve upon the International Socialist Bureau. A keen intellect gives him considerable advantage as a debater, and he has met several well-known opponents in public debate, including Congressman Maguire on the "Single-Tax" and Daniel De Leon upon the tactics of his pet "Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance." Reports of both these debates have been published and widely circulated, the latter being regarded as one of the "historic events" of the American movement. He has also contributed largely to the Socialist press, and his pamphlet, 'The Class War in Idaho," has been a most successful propagandist work.

But it is as an agitator rather than as a writer that Harriman is known, and his untiring energies, directed, as they have been, with so much success have won him the love and respect of his comrades everywhere.

"TOWARDS UNITY."

In answer to the I.L.P. critics of my above-named proposal, I may say that 1 purposely named my article "Towards Unity" because I felt that my proposal could only form a step in the right direction, nothing more.

Respecting the somewhat bombastic letter of Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, I have to reply, firstly, I did not lay down any details at all as to the subjects to be discussed; as far as I can see there seems nothing in my proposal to prevent his including federation among the subjects to be discussed. Secondly, I especially avoided touching on a vexed question which has already been a source of sufficient bitterness, writing as I was in the first place for members of the S.D.F.—a body whose action in the matter has been so loyal and consistent that I did not deem it necessary to dwell on the rôle played by the N.A.C. of the I.L.P. in that unhappy episode. My object was to impress on comrades in the first place the need for leaving no stone unturned which might help to bring about that which we all desired, namely, unity—not to rake up past scandals. I should have thought that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald ought to have been one of the last people in the world to have raised the question. But then that is a matter of taste.

Now, indeed, the situation is so altered that the question of fusion or federation cannot be considered as of first importance. It is now, I think, pretty clear that the great thing is to achieve unity in regard to the larger questions of policy-notably in regard to our relations to the capitalistic parties and the class war. The question of party organisation would present little or no difficulty were it not more or less of a stalking-horse behind which more serious differences of opinion as to questions of policy were In reply to the Chairman of the I.L P., Mr. Bruce Glasier, I do not see that there was any necessity to lecture me in the manner of a schoolmaster, as he has chosen to do. In fact, if I may be allowed to do so. I would give him the advice, "Preach less and think clearly." Had he done that we should perhaps not have heard of the I.L.P. setting forth to achieve Socialism in the midst of existing society—whatever that may mean! Neither did I attach such undue importance to the I.L.P. or the S.D.F. as he imagines, being quite as well aware as he is that the great thing is to get hold of the working man in Great Britain. Also, I did not think so exclusively of the leaders, or "so-called" leaders, as Mr. Snowden somewhat sarcastically puts it. No. But I thought, and still think, that such a discussion-always provided it could be conducted in a proper manner and with strict reference to a definite question, so as to exclude all possibility of those rambling discussions which generate more heat than light-would, even if it did not achieve unity in theory—a thing which is well nigh impossible, and also, I venture to think, unnecessary—would at any rate make it quite clear how far co-operation was possible, because we can only know how far we agree in proportion as we are clear how far we differ; and I maintain that in any case such a discussion would not only be of advantage to our "leaders," but might be a great means of education to us all, and a means of correcting our own theories by the light of the experience of others. Because everyone has theories, and no man is so full of them as the so-called practical man who says he has none-only in this latter case they are generally very confused. But such a discussion has, of course, to assume that those who take part in it are prepared to credit their opponents with honesty, and are content to attack their arguments, not their characters. Secondly, that they wish to understand their opponents' position and to make their own clear to their opponent. Above all, the field of reference must be limited, and it must be made clear what is meant by the terms employed: these latter details should be settled beforehand, and each person who takes part in it should be asked to generalise as little as possible and to bring forward concrete cases to illustrate his points so as to render them as clear as possible. It is quite conceivable that my idea is too utopian. It is also equally certain that the world would not be converted to Socialism because the S.D.F. and I.L.P. came to an amalgamation.

But it is also clear that the better we understand each other, and the more we trust each other, the greater will be our influence on outsiders. Moreover, there is no party which requires relatively less from its leaders and more from the general intelligence of the general body of its members, than the Socialist, and the more we acquire the method of openly discussing our differences in an orderly manner the more will the interest of the members be aroused and we shall gain in strength. We do not so much want clever leaders, though of course these are also indispensable, as members who can think for themselves and know what they want.

I must confess I have been of those who thought that the S.D.F. had at times taken an attitude of antagonism to the trade unions, and I based my idea on the tone of articles, &c., in Justice. However I am glad that Lee repudiates this charge so vigorously as he does, so that the question loses all importance save from an historical point of view, and the action of the S.D.F. in entering the lists with their forcible manifesto makes their present policy sufficiently clear. We certainly do not want to waste our time with useless strife over what "so and so" said or wrote on a certain occasion. Therefore I leave this question, and besides, the main point is how to get the trade unionists to recognise their own interests; and this is much more likely to be achieved the more we, as seems to be the policy of the S.D.F., maintain our own dignity, explain our principles to them, and while doing all in our power to get them to see as we do, do not try to gain their votes by abandoning our principles or calling ourselves by another name. Labour movement and Socialist movement should be synonymous terms, but I confess I do not like what seems to me a tendency in the I.L.P. to play a sort of conjuring trick by accentuating the former term to the exclusion of Labour movement seems to mean everything and nothing alternately. That may be, I admit, only a false impression I have got, but I can only say I have got it from a careful reading of the Labour Leader for

some time past. Personally I think we shall all the sooner win the votes of the unionists the honester we are and the less we hide our convictions in any way.

It is frequently said the policy of the S.D.F. has been a failure, and this is put down to the dogmatism of its exponents. That may be partly true. The S.D.F. has been throughout a fighting body, not a band of philosophers. Over against the shallow opportunist theories of the Fabians it has proclaimed the theories of Marx, and has maintained their validity. That this has been an easy or a pleasant task few can affirm. England has hitherto been just that ground on which opportunism might be expected to flourish. Our upper classes have hitherto been rich enough and in general too clever to fight the class war openly. They have in large measure grasped the idea that it is better to fool your opponent by small concessions than to drive him into opposition by the policy of the mailed fist. That this has had a great influence on the workers cannot be denied. They have not, or at least their natural mouthpiece the better organised workers, have not yet felt the necessity as a whole for class action. They have got to look on politics as a sort of auction, where two parties are each more ready than the other to give them all they want. Moreover, the bourgeoisie, fat and well-to-do, have been only too glad not to disturb things unnecessarily, and are naturally ready to declare themselves in favour of a democracy which puts them in power or at least keeps them there. That all this has been compatible with great misery of great masses of the workers is not to the point. A variety of humbugs-Royal Commissions and the like-have been the remedy for In fact, if the English bourgeoisie could be said to have acted on any maxim towards the workers, it has been, "Don't punch their heads. humbug them." But such a policy is precisely the hardest of all to fight. and it is no wonder if the S.D.F., who have all through seen this clearly, maddened by the blindness of the workers to their own interests, beset by foes, and, worse still, by well meaning if confused friends, has shown a tendency to make a watchword of theories which were not meant as such. Personally I think when one considers the situation one can only wonder that they did not do this to an even greater degree than they have done. But now I think that with the next few years we shall see a change. At least, I feel pretty certain that unless the workers wake up of themselves, they will find the bourgeoisie will wake them up. The English bourgeois may be a very good fellow, with a keen sense of fairplay and democratic instinctswhen times are good. The same people when the crisis is on, and they are pressed by foreign competition-will they be the same? When they are further burdened with a heavy war tax, and they see crowds of unemployed making demonstrations, will they not be tempted into calling on the military? For repressive laws? Tyranny is the child of cowardice and J. B. Askew. despair.

BOURGEOIS EDUCATION AND PROLETARIAN REALITIES.

The Daily News has lately opened its pages to a correspondence started in reply to some suggestive letters signed "Nym," having for their title "About University Settlements. Do they make Headway?" The writer passes in review the various Settlements from Toynbee Hall to Canning Town, and while giving the dwellers in these Settlements every credit for the best intentions, and a real desire to study, and to help in the solving of our complex social problems, he shows that after all is done by those who have devoted themselves to the task of bringing sweetness and light to the dark places of our metropolis, scarcely a ripple can be detected on the surface of the thick stagnant pool of ignorance, hopelessness and helplessness in which our masses live and work and die. The reason of this, he considers, lies in the fact that "the settlers do not understand the nature of the work they have undertaken to do, or the people they wish to influence. Moreover, the position taken up by the settler is generally that he with his scholastic traditions must be the guide, philosopher and friend of the people whose lives he wishes to brighten, whose conduct he wishes to improve." "Nym" then goes on to show with perfect truth that "in all working-class districts there are always a number of men whom necessity and poverty have taught many a real lesson, and who are looked upon by their fellows as men of integrity and grit. These men, with their experience of the world, know more of the realities of life than all the knowledge that is bound up in the volumes of the Bodleian could have imparted to them. . . . These very men, however, are repelled by the methods of the Settlement. They can clearly see that no real effort is being made to break down class distinctions." There is no doubt that this last sentence is the one in the whole indictment which carries the sting, and in "Nym's" second letter he enlarges on the subject, and shows how rigidly class distinctions are upheld in the work of some, at least, of the Settlements. This is no doubt the weak point in all our educational and propagandist work, and the root of the evil lies in our hard-and-fast class distinctions made during the educational and impressionable years of life, distinctions which start each class totally ignorant of, and out of sympathy with, the lives, the work, the joys and sorrows of any other class. To explain exactly what I mean one has only to refer to a little book called "Heart," translated from the Italian; it is the story of the life of an Italian schoolboy (the son of a leading barrister), who, with his younger brother, attends the public State school of the town in which they live. Delightfully human descriptions are given of the various boys attending the same school with whom the little Amicis associates in the comradeship of work and play which comes so easily and naturally at that age, but is so difficult in after life to attain, when habits have been formed and prejudices strengthened. The surroundings and homes

of the engine-driver's lad, of the bright little son of the wood and fuel merchant, who between the hours of study has to help in his father's shop; and even of the convict's son, who lives with his sorrowing mother a life of self-repression and of fear, are all faithfully and sympathetically described from boyish recollections, whilst we are shown how wise, large-hearted parents are able just through this very mixing of classes in ductile youth to develop and strengthen sympathy and understanding between man and man in a way that would be impossible under any other cirumstances.

Those schoolboys who had once sat on the same form, learnt the same lessons side by side, and had settled in play hours their schoolboy differences in summary schoolboy fashion, would never meet in after-life as utter strangers, having everything to learn about each other, as do the Boardschool boy and the Public-school boy in England, although these possess, very likely, equal longings to understand and to help, and an equal sense of the hopelessness of finding a clue which will lead from surface differences to the underlying synthesis. The same rule applies to the Universities, which are democratic in their constitution on the Continent and aristocratic in England; and there is little doubt but that this narrow exclusiveness in matters educational and social impoverishes our literature, our art, and our drama, which in countries of wider sympathies, educational and traditional, are distinctly enriched by the inspiration and aspiration of Demos.

England is the land of patronage, of help offered by the "superior" to the "inferior," but we find very little brotherhood, very little real sense of the smallness of the underlying differences which exist between man and man; but an overpowering, all-pervading sense of the immensity of the gulf which divides the so-called intellectual from the proletariat. might have gone a step further in his description of those leading working men in every working-class district, with whom the Settlements must get in contact if they would make their movement a living growing force—he might have told how many of these men were the superiors in intellect and in brain power to their would-be teachers; though these latter have the advantage of intellectual training and of traditional culture from the fact that England denies an education, in any real sense of the word, to the great mass of unprivileged. He might have told of the libraries collected by many of these men out of scanty earnings and at a cost of incredible personal privation; of an amount of real, not affected, culture and appreciation for all that is best in art and in literature, which may be found amongst their ranks, but which is too often hidden from the ordinary bourgeois perceptions by the existence of the hidebound caste feeling with which the latter approaches any study of men and women outside his own "set."

One could not help being struck at the Paris Exhibition last year with the understanding and the glorification of labour through art that showed itself on every hand. In the sections devoted to mining and smelting industries the slave of labour in some of its most strenuous and brutal forms was depicted, with real artistic and human feeling, in the various stages of his work,

One could see the long strain on the muscles, the sweat dropping from the bare skin, as the miner, stripped of all but trousers, worked with pick in the gloom and sweltering heat. One noticed the great swollen hands, the animal jaw, the heavy, awkward clogs of the puddler, as he sat, lax and inert after exhausting, devitalising toil. The dullest aristocrat, the most unimaginative bourgeois could not fail to be initiated through his sympathies into the long drawn-out horror of lives which are passed in wresting a bare living out of the demon forces of steam, and iron, and coal; of fighting and subduing, with vibrating and thrilling human muscles and nerves, the inexorable, half-tamed forces of electricity, dynamite and steam.

One asks oneself as one gazes at the bowed backs, the stiffened muscles, the hanging, wearied limbs, and in many cases the arrested brain development, what can we give these men and women to compensate them for such toil, which helps to make richer and fuller the lives of others, our own amongst them? And when we look into their lives for an answer to the question, we find that their share of life is a shelter, often much inferior to that of our domesticated animals; food that is always scanty and of the coarsest, and sometimes fails altogether; and an education for their children which ceases at twelve or thirteen, at an age when that of the privileged is barely beginning; whilst when old age is reached, and working days are over, the workhouse, which is a prison in all but name, and the taint of pauperism. which poisons and degrades the closing days of their lives, is all that awaits What a field of inspiration lies here for the artist who wishes to interpret truthfully and vigorously the realities of his own life and times. What a theme for the jaded playwright, or novelist in search of a subject to be treated "sur le vif"! And we have only to turn to continental art, literature and drama to see how they may be treated. Hauptmann and Sudermann in Germany have moved audiences with their plays inspired by the daily life and struggles of the people in a way that even "San Toy" or "Charley's Aunt" fail to accomplish in England.

Octave Mirbeau in France scored a similar success at the Théâtre de la Renaissance when "Les mauvais Bergers," a play in which the life and death of the factory worker, with its endlessly long hours, its exhausting drudgery, its half-successful strikes, crushed out by the military in blood and tears, were all too dramatically represented in 1897. The part of Madeleine, the heroic daughter of the people, who dies at the barricade at her lover's side, was taken by Madame Sarah Bernhardt, and the interpretation of the play so worked on the emotions and passions of the audience that the Government decided to withdraw it, after it had run little more than a week. Though a false note is once or twice struck, it is, on the whole, a loyal attempt to represent the soul and body-destroying uncertainty, as to what the morrow may bring forth, in which the day labourer is habitually plunged; an accident, an illness, an incautious word or action which may offend the employer-and man, wife and children way be driven from their homes and become beggars in the land where they have a right to bread and work and liberty. A fine contrast is drawn in the second act between

the appeal to the crowd of Jean Roule, the young and ardent working-man leader, and that of Madeleine, who has finally to defend him from the attacks of his starving fellow workmen. His appeal is to their reason—and fails; hers is to their emotions, their hearts—and succeeds. It is true to life, but none the less to be deplored; and it may be part of the secret of the slowness with which the emancipation of the masses is being carried forward.

Another remarkable play by Bjornsen, the Norwegian novelist, already well known through translations of his novels to the English public, has of late years been produced, and well received, both in Paris and in Brussels. "Above the Power of Human Strength" is the strange name it bears, and stranger still is the idea to a modern audience of a drama divided into two parts, to be played on two successive evenings. Both parts deal with the life of the people, but the second, more especially, with the struggle of the workmen against their employers for justice and for ordinary human treat-The realism introduced is poignant and convincing to a point that one involuntarily shrinks back at certain situations, and asks oneself if one has the right to sit as one among an audience to whom these revealed miseries come more as a piquant curiosity than as a throbbing ache. The contrast of the thin-chested, hollow-eyed hunger-crushed workmen introduced as a deputation from the strike into the sumptuously-furnished study of their employer, who, master of the situation, answers briefly and cynically, whilst he leisurely smokes his cigar, and, with the biting insolence of one who feels he holds in his hand all the trump cards, gibes and flouts the halfdesperate wretches, is painfully full of force. But this is only an introduction to a far more strenuous demand on the nerves and the sympathies of the audience. Maddened by weeks of slow hunger, and with a brain exalted by a mysticism, half religious, half revolutionary, a poor woman in the village has killed herself and her two children, saying to those who spoke for the last time with her, "Something dreadful must happen in order that attention should be called to their pitiful position, and that the public conscience might be aroused." The martyr spirit is ever contagious, and a young man of means and position, Elie Sang, who has come under the influence of an ex-pastor, now turned Labour leader, named Bratt, after giving away his fortune to keep the strike going, determines that the sacrifice of the young mother and children shall not be unfruitful, and that his life also shall be given in the cause of the people's struggle for freedom. In a marvellous parting scene with his sister, who foresees disaster, he sets forth his belief that all life must have its roots in death, that Christianity only took a living hold on men's hearts because its reputed founder died for his faith; that in nature the same law holds, and that out of death and destruction blossom life and health. He takes advantage of a gathering of capitalists at Holger's castle, which stands on a hill overlooking the village, to undermine the rooms where the meeting of employers is to be held, and, disguised as a servant, he, by locking the doors and throwing the key into the river, prevents all means of exit to the

trapped and fear-maddened capitalists, whilst he perishes with them in a culminating horror of destruction, noise and smoke. The various ways in which the doomed men meet their fate is depicted with all the genius of the northern realist, showing us those same men, who an hour before had been almost facetiously clinching tighter the iron screws of supply and demand of labour, in order to rivet firmer the fetters of their economic slaves, now losing, when face to face with a swift but merciful death, all human dignity and self-control; one moment turning on their host Holger, the next, hunting each other down like wild beasts; some in their desperation offering prayers, others bribes of gold in exchange for their worthless lives; one in abject, uncontrollable terror jumping from the balcony of the locked room, and thus meeting his fate a few moments before the others. could not help contrasting the naked, ungovernable fear in the moment of supreme peril of the men nurtured in luxury and ease with the fatalistic, calm self-sacrifice of the miner and of the day labourer when the hour of danger, which in the very nature of their work ever threatens, becomes a terrible reality.

To sum up, it would seem as if the life, joys, sorrow, and labour of the people were the newly inspiring note of all that is most vital and promising at the present moment in Continental art and literature. Barbezon, an obscure little French village, painting wrinkled old peasant women, in whose patient, wearied, furrowed countenances we may read, as in an ancient chronicle, the story of the oppressors who have for generations ground the faces of the poor; Zols, in the really interesting part of "Travail" which describes present day conditions in and around an iron foundry; Görki in Russia, interpreting for us, with exquisite human sympathy, the psychology of the dock labourer, the tramp, the prostitute, and the "lapsed and lost;" all the crowd of young sculptors and artists. not yet arrivé in Continental studios—all their best work, all their most potent inspiration is based on the life of the masses, the people whose lives they have shared during their years of study and of art training. If the, too often, dilletante settler in the East End could be tempted in the same way to break down class distinctions, and enter more into the life of the people, not only might the East End become more receptive to culture and light, but the settlers' own lives also, touched by the magic wand of a new-born faith and inspiration for which art, literature and life itself are waiting, would be enriched a thousandfold, whilst their interpretation of what has till now been too often looked upon as "common and unclean" would strengthen the bonds of human brotherhood, and hasten forward the "New Order " to which the "Old" is all too slowly giving place.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

A DORMANT DEMOCRACY.

THE term "practical politics" is capable of being construed in ways which vary considerably, according to the demonstrative proof required by those who seek to establish particular schools of thought or standards of morality.

The advocates of capitalism and monopoly have hitherto been successful in controlling popular opinion by means of the widely-stretching and deeply-permeating influence they exercise, by their ability to render the lot of the workers more or less tolerable, as it may accord with their individual caprice or collective class interest. It, therefore, follows that the capitalist classes consider that practical politics means such measures as may be necessary to consolidate the ascendancy of that social clique who manipulate and appropriate the products of labour at the minimum of remuneration to the labourer. The practicability of the measures necessary to secure this result is tested by the astuteness of politicians in creating such an impression on the electorate as to induce them to perpetuate the existing conditions and relative positions of labour and capital.

On the other hand, the altruistic Socialist, the advanced Labour scientist, and the Radical reformer look to the attainment of a higher and a nobler ideal, and the practicability of its realisation by political means would, in their opinion, constitute the true exemplification of pure practical politics. They consider that permanent national greatness would be best secured by implanting on the inmost conviction of every unit of the population of our great commonwealth such a spirit of assertive independence and consciousness of the enormous power attainable by intelligent cohesion and reciprocal fellowship, as to render them capable of understanding and efficiently controlling our legislative institutions so righteously that no class or individual member of the community shall suffer from social, political or material disadvantage or inequality. There can be no greater national stability secured than that which is firmly planted deep down on the bedrock of integrity, with its honour and reputation guaranteed by a populace whose contentment and prosperity result from the establishment of fraternity and equal opportunities of attaining intellectual and social elevation. is, of course, only an ideal, yet it is worth striving for, and practical politics should, under an intelligent guidance, do something towards its realisation. It is utterly impossible for us to grasp our ideal at a single bound; it is necessary that stepping-stones should be laid and firmly secured, so that when the pinnacle is attained, there can be no possibility of falling backward into the abyss which undue precipitancy would leave open.

It might also suggest itself, as a thesis of ethical philosophy, that the term practical might, with equal consistency, be applied to morality. The politician, whose conscience is inclined to be assertive and inconveniently antagonistic to those party and class interests which constitute the basis

of a dominant political expediency, must either quench the divine spark or submit to social ostracism. This, I think, will explain the true reason why morality and the methods of political procedure, under the present condition of party electioneering exigencies, so seldom coincide.

In considering politics as a science very few people take the trouble to investigate the means by which the decision of those vital questions, affecting alike every individual in the State, has been so completely and effectually brought within the control of one particular section of the community. To those who consider it worth their while to study the working of our political machinery, it might appear somewhat of a paradox that this exclusive section should deem it expedient to expend such vast sums as they do at election time, and that, in addition to this expenditure, the rank and file politicians should devote their time and talents, without immediate remuneration, to the management and direction of the multitudinous affairs relating to our national government. The undiscriminating or superficial observer might, possibly, attribute this self-imposed responsibility to a selfdenying and elevated spirit of generosity and disinterestedness, and point to our patrician legislators as the embodiment of magnanimity and benevolence; but I am afraid that a searching investigation would demonstrate that "The trail of the serpent is over them all."

Seeing that an average of something over a million pounds a year, reckening expenses of general and other elections, is expended in financing the various electioneering agencies throughout the country, it would be thought that any attempt to relieve our politicians of this onerous burden would be hailed, by them, with universal satisfaction; but, as we all know, such is not the case. In every instance, when a proposal has been made that the State should defray election expenses or that representatives should be paid a commensurate salary, the holders of political power and the class from which they are drawn have, hitherto, interposed a most uncompromising non-possumus; and yet, under this cloak of simulated philanthropy lurks the wisdom of the serpent, intensified by the experience of centuries.

To control and manipulate the mighty electoral force, which successive enfranchising Acts have called into existence, in the interests of capitalism, a million pounds per annum cannot be deemed an excessive expenditure, when it is realised that it is, de facto, the mere payment of a premium, or baiting with a sprat to catch a whale. The whole system of Parliamentary government has been reduced to an axiomatic syllogism: political power is vested in the electorate, money-bags control the electorate, ergo, money-bags rule the country. The capitalists and monopolists, by a mutual appreciation of each other's interests, have attained a marvellous and effective combination of forces, and are enabled, by this primary expenditure, to place themselves in such a commanding position as to control to their own advantage both the labourer and the products of his labour.

Thus, when we contemplate the almost impregnable barriers behind which plutocracy is entrenched, it suggests to us the pitiable and apparently hopeless condition of those political Esaus who have sold their birthright for such a miserable mess of pottage, and are content to be the recipients of

the few crumbs which fall from the table at which they are legitimately entitled to sit. "Help yourself and heaven will help you," and "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," are doubtless most commendable aphorisms; but when it comes to the question of Democracy striking a blow on its own behalf, we have to recognise the fact that the arm which should strike has become paralysed through a moral labefaction which has superinduced inertia and utter incompetence.

In their present lethargic condition, the highest ambition of the workers is to obtain a slight thickening of their mess of pottage, instead of devoting their whole energies to the acquisition of their birthright. must, ere this, have become apparent, even to the most optimistic, that any attempt to accelerate the awakening and regeneration of those who are content to accept and live under the present conditions of wage slavery, cannot have the remotest prospect of success until the more intellectual and aspiring members of their own class, who have risen above the dead level of the social degeneracy of their fellows, can succeed in educating and vitalising the latent spark of manhood which is co-existent with life even in the most hopeless depths to which poor humanity has sunk. A sudden or violent reversal of the prevailing social conditions could only have the disastrous effect of demonstrating the utter incapacity of the unregenerate masses to accommodate themselves to a condition of life which, to them, would be entirely novel and unappreciated, and would only result in their relapse to a more permanent and deplorable degradation.

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Seeing that evolution cannot be arrested, it should not be allowed to drift, but rather controlled and directed within those channels where it can beneficently influence our entire social system. Social elevation combined with progressive development cannot proceed without collective effort, which is induced and stimulated by the enterprise and genius of individuals, whose intellects are dominated by ethical, theoretical or materialistic influences; so that if we would secure political morality, on a broad and stable basis, it is our duty to give a full and tolerant consideration in construing the motives which have determined or are now determining the principles which actuate those who occupy prominent positions in the various intellectual circles, whose objective is the education of the masses.

If we honestly endeavour to arrive at a sound and just conclusion on this subject, we must make a proper allowance for that still, small voice, that inner consciousness which constitutes the individuality of every human being who claims to be self-respecting and independent; and likewise if we ignore or repel the dictates or promptings of conscience or if we exercise our reasoning powers to justify the subordination of conscience, in order to promote our personal or class interests, we are prostituting and misapplying those faculties with which we have been endowed by our Creator to assimilate us to his divine image and render us worthy to exercise dominion over the great animal kingdom. It is therefore obvious that it is only by a universal appeal to our inner consciousness that we can secure that political honesty on a moral basis, which is essential to elevate the democratic propaganda above those specious but mendacious programmes which, for the want of

something better, have, hitherto, proved sufficient to dupe an indifferent and uneducated electorate.

It must not be assumed that the established doctrine of inner consciousness justifies any person in assuming an attitude of uncompromising infallibility in discussing or dealing with matters which affect the interests of the community at large. In determining questions which are purely personal, it is desirable that each individual should be competent to act with a decision and confidence resulting from conscientious conviction, but a comprehensive capacity and understanding, together with a catholicity of toleration, should constitute the primary qualification in determining such matters as affect our national and social commonweal.

It is by collectively insisting on a free intercommunion of the intellectually developed and honestly expressed convictions of the masses of the electorate and likewise by a competent and thorough ventilation of all matters affecting the public interests, that those abuses and corruptions incidental to executive bodies, who are liable to be swayed by class or self-interested motives, can be exposed and counteracted.

One of the most essential conditions of successful propagandism is that free and open discussion should not only be tolerated but invited; the vindication of purity requires that the suspicion of any tainted or self-interested motive should be eliminated from the democratic programme; therefore we ought to recognise that the most unsparing critic, whatever his intentions may be, is rendering good and necessary service to our cause. If a bushel of criticism contain only a grain of truth it is to our profit and advantage that that grain be manfully recognised and effectually dealt with. Falsehood and deceit embellished by the gilt which conceals social corruption, are the most powerful elements of disintegration; therefore a thorough process of sifting and winnowing is necessary before any speculative proposal, however attractive, can be finally accepted.

An earnest and impartial study of the advantages of federation should result in demonstrating that an effective and concerted co-operation is in every way more likely to secure a just and desirable rearrangement of our legislative institutions on a democratic basis than the chaotic pandemonium of conflicting cliques and coteries so inimical to the educated progressive forces of Democracy.

The most potent influence which has, hitherto, militated against democratic federation has been the notorious and deplorable lack of insistence on the part of those who are primarily interested in the purity and integrity of our legislative institutions. A torpid and apathetic disregard of individual responsibility has, under skilful and persuasive electioneering influences, developed into an unintelligent docility and falsified the rosy forecasts of those honest but over-sanguine apostles of progress, who fail to make allowance for such mental stagnation. The high pressure of scientific progress has, latterly, had a tendency to benefit only that portion of society whose private means enable them to profit by the march of civilisation. Deep down in the social scale the normal conditions under which so many thousands of our population have to exist show signs of deterioration

rather than improvement; apathy and ignorance are the outward and visible signs of the torpidity of the soul; hope and honourable incentive have, under existing conditions, become diminishing quantities, and the miseries and privations of life are uncompensated by an intelligent and reasonable ambition. The recurring diurnal necessities of these submerged thousands can have no other result than that of emphasising those sordid conditions of life, calculated to excite the animal instincts, which see no remedy but physical force, and thus, eventually, prove a menace to our national stability.

One of the principal aims of scholastic and political education should be either to assist or counteract, as the case may be, the influence of heredity. It is possible that vice or virtue may, either of them, be acquired qualities; but experience has shown us that hereditary predilections exercise a most powerful influence in the formation of character, either by intellectual development or by the perpetuation of dogmatism and prejudice. There is yet another phase of heredity, which is, perhaps, to the earnest and honest politician, the most disheartening of all; this is the mental vacuum and utter negation of the spirit and consciousness of individual responsibility, likewise the entire absence of moral vertebræ, which reduces that which should be a vitalising and regenerative force to the deplorable condition of an amorphous mollusca or jelly fish.

It will thus be seen that the essential elements of democratic regeneration must be developed and organised by an education which is not under the control of those who seek to maintain their social position by keeping the physical executive of our wealth-producing organisations in ignorance of their personal interests and collective power.

The great argument, which has ever been urged in favour of the maintenance of the status quo, is the ignoble and servile acquiescence of the masses in their helotism, which has become intensified rather than mitigated by the efforts of ameliorative legislation. Why attempt to regenerate a people against their will? is the question which is perpetually being asked, not only by the extreme pessimist, but also by politicians who seek to obtain certain results by accepted methods of expediency.

The elevating influence of improved social surroundings is the only incentive which can induce a consciousness of responsibility, and reveal the possibility of attaining a better and a happier life. With this object in view, it cannot be deemed unreasonable to urge that the various democratic organisations should endeavour, not to subordinate their principles, but by a reciprocal appreciation of all that is good and noble in the aspirations of every section formulate a practical basis of federation.

Economic immorality, which is the buttress of plutocracy, has degenerated into an offensive vulgarity, a contemptible vanity and a competitive ostentation, mostly feminine, which result from spending large fortunes in the gratification of sensuality and arrogance. The moral stamina, by this means, becomes corrupted, and a nation which is thus built up may, possibly, occupy a prominent historical position for a few centuries, but let us remember that morality is essential to durability, and that this period is not equivalent to a single grain of sand taken from the Sahara of eternity.

It should be understood by this time that, under the existing system of class government, it must be purely accidental if the great moral qualities which are essential to just and equitable legislation find any scope for active operation; and yet it is unreasonable to anticipate that democratic emancipation can be effected by other than political means. It would be as consistently feasible to imagine that a cast-iron bar could be softened by the application of a bran poultice as to assume the possibility of influencing our present Parliamentary executive by moral suasion. The ballot-box is not a sham, it is an efficient and practical reality, and places in the hands of the masses the means by which effectual pressure may be brought to bear either on the present or any future organisation, and, with an equivalent representation, the term democratic should be synonymous with that of national; but if democracy remains in a moral and intellectual trance, the cause of purity, progress and social emancipation is indeed hopeless.

JOHN GOODMAN.

"It is not excessively severe to tie people together by their pigtails and throw them into rivers in thousands, providing you drown them in the name of some king or emperor, and 'for the greater glory of God.' But if you do precisely the same thing in the name of the People, and in the name of the Goddess of Reason, as Carrier did in 1793, it is an atrocious massacre, and its instigator is a devil. 'If I knock you down, mind, it's nothing; but if you hit me back again its a dastardly outrage.' This observation Punch has represented as addressed by a special constable to a Chartist, and it wittily sums up the whole humbugging and hypocritical position.

"At the beginning of the year 1859 it was estimated that 360,000 Indian natives, officers, soldiers and civilians had paid with their lives for their participation—often doubtful—in the fearful Indian Mutiny. Terrible reprisals these, and, perhaps, Mr. Gladstone had some reason on his side when he protested so vigorously against them in Parliament. Three hundred thousand victims, that is to say fifteen times the amount of victims who perished in the ten months (October, 1793—July, 1794) of the Reign of Terror in the whole of France. But observe! the 300,000 victims in India were victims to an old constituted authority; the 20,000 in France to an entirely new one. Hence we hear much of the 'atrocities' of the Reign of Terror, and scarcely anything of the "reprisals" in India in 1857-58.

"In objection to my remark that no outcry is raised about wholesale executions and massacres if perpetrated in the name of a crowned man, it will be urged that not long ago a terrible hubbub was raised against the Sultan on account of the notorious Armenian massacres. The reason of that hubbub is, however, easily explained by an acute observer. Abdul Hamid II. is a Mahommedan, not a Christian prince; and the victims were Christians. Had the positions been reversed, no notice would have been taken of the little affair. It makes all the difference in the world if you massacre people in the name of a Christian Czar, or of a Mahommedan Sultan."—The Anglo-Russian.

SOCIALISM AND THE MODERN NOVEL.

THREE at least of the most popular—though not the greatest—of living English novelists have now given us in some here or heroine their conception of a Socialist, or have taken what they conceive to be the Socialist movement as the background to a story of contemporary life. Of these writers two may fairly be reckoned as thinkers also, and these are women. One is both a thinker and an artist. Two of the three make no pretensions to be Socialists; the third, though hailed by the *Clarion* with open arms and columns when "The Christian" was published, would stand (we suspect) a very poor chance in a political discussion.

We have not here included the so-called Socialistic novel written a a year or two ago by the Duchess of Sutherland, who by no stretch of courtesy can be counted for more than a literary amateur. Personal considerations doubtless shielded her from the sharp criticisms provoked by Mrs. Humphry Ward when she gave us in "Marcella" such a gallery of seriously-intended caricatures as might issue from a hasty brush round the outside edge of the Fabian Society, and a pathetic picture of a tender-hearted and half-enlightened woman's struggles with the "social problems of the hour."

In fact, it is not until we come to the brilliant and in most ways admirable work of Mrs. Craigie ("John Oliver Hobbes") that we, as Socialists, find a foe worthy of our steel. In her last novel, "The Serious Wooing," Mrs. Craigie has left the field of religious and ecclesiastical life, in which she is master, to essay the theme made popular by the Duchess, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mr. Hall Caine and others, and with scarcely less disastrous results. Instead of taking—as in the "School for Saints" and "Robert Orange"-subjects on which she can write with knowledge and authority behind her high imaginative and psychological power, she deliberately sets her story-or at least the hero of it-in a world of which she knows no more than she could pick up from a partner at a ball. One would think, for instance, that the student of a great revolutionary movement would begin by learning correctly the names of its leaders. Mrs. Craigie describes her hero as a disciple of "Marx, Bebel and Schäffle" / The last is chiefly known to Socialists as the author of a book entitled "The Impossibility of Social-Democracy"-an opponent of Marx in the early nineties, whose name has practically dropped out of contreversy for the past five years. more startling is the confusion that reigns in the hero's own household between opposite schools of "advanced" theory and practice. His servants in the fashionable mansion at Queen's Gate "are also members of the Movement, especially trained, and equally efficient as messengers, cooks, agents, or valets"-a phenomenon we have never yet observed in the homes of wealthy Socialists. But when his wife is called upon to explain to her

friends his sudden financial difficulties, she says, "Jocelyn has given nearly all his money to the Cause. We both believe in the Movement. We are both in absolute sympathy with Tolstoi" /

At this time of day, after 20 years of clear and open fight between the forces of Anarchism and of Social-Democracy, it is hard not to lose all patience with such perverse obscuring of the issues, or to believe that even the rankest outsider still takes the two legions to be practically one. well might we name the bulwarks of English Toryism as "Lord Rosebery, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Labouchere," as sum up the social revolution under the heads of "Marx, Bebel, Schäffle and Tolstoi," But falling back finally upon her conception of Socialist propaganda as a vast network of secret organisation, held together by "agents" in an international body, who say to a converted millionaire, "Come," and he cometh, and to another, "Go," and he goeth (by the way, what is a "Socialist agent"?—we have never met one), Mrs. Craigie remarks: "The Jesuit organisation is admirable; the Socialists have learnt a great deal from their example." She then goes on to describe the arrival, at the house of the newly united lovers, of one Beylestein, a "Socialist agent" as aforesaid, who promptly orders the hero, Jocelyn Luttrell, to Marseilles on business for the Cause, and leaves "Rosabel's eyes swimming in tears and Luttrell gnawing his underundecided, but because because he was in the least he command." was under Beylestein's Before going, however, "the agitator whispered something hurriedly but most seriously to Luttrell," who said afterwards to Rosabel, "I must go down to my I went security for a very large amount. The bankers at once. money will be used for a good purpose."

From this point the plot thickens. We get glimpses of a mysterious messenger rising "as if out of the earth" before the Bank of England, to slip a note with "fresh instructions" into the wealthy Socialist's hand; of his hurried journey to Marseilles with "two individuals—one supposed to be a Swedish Baroness, the other a traveller in fancy silks—entrusted to his care"; of scheming relatives intercepting telegrams and letters, and finally the injury of Luttrell in a riot. And here, quite apart from the blunders in her Socialist background, Mrs. Craigie makes what seems to us an extraordinary lapse in her usually sound and penetrative psychology. would think that, in the circumstances just hinted at, the heroine—a clever and well-educated woman deeply in love—would surely doubt the fidelity of the Post Office, of her relatives, her servants, and of the whole Socialist movement, rather than doubt the fidelity of her lover. But now, under the impression that he has fooled her completely, she drifts into a platonic marriage with a middle-aged admirer, who takes her on her own terms in the hope that she will "come round" at last to the more ordinary ideals of conjugal bliss. A better fate intervenes before she has "come round" in any compromising manner, and she leaves her middle-aged husband to go and live with her Socialist lover, salving her conscience with the murmur, "God would understand."

No. The great novel of the Social Revolution in England has yet to be We have no Tourguenieff; the genius of Russia flows more easily than ours into artistic moulds. There have been at best two or three convinced Socialists who have given us novels of the second rank, and of these the nearest approach to greatness is in that powerfully-conceived and earnestly-wrought story, "The Image-Breakers," by Gertrude Dix. Here we have a genuine and first-hand portrayal of certain phases of the movement ten years ago. But neither here nor in the equally sympathetic novels of Emma Brooke, nor even in the wholesome and charming story, "The Crowning of Gloria," by Fred E. Green, which appeared last year, do we get behind the individual problem—how the life of the hero or heroine is to be brought into harmony with, and into the service of, the Social Revolution. None of these less popular but far better-informed writers on Socialist themes have really gripped them from the national and political side, throwing the personal difficulty into its true proportion against a larger strife, as Tourguenieff has done for us in "Smoke," "On the Eve," and "Virgin Soil." To do for the Socialism of the twentieth century what Mrs. Humphry Ward did for the theology of the nineteenth, in "Robert Elsmere," is the task of the novelist of to-morrow.

ESTHER WOOD.

THE BOERS AS SEEN BY WEBSTER DAVIS.

Mr. Webster Davis says that he issues his new book on South Africa in the hope that it may "aid in some manner in saving two little Republics from destruction," and although the reports from the seat of war make it seem likely that his wish will meet with disappointment, that very fact lends a good deal of interest and value to Mr. Davis's description of the culture and manners of a people whose government may soon perish from the earth. Mr. Davis, who was formerly mayor of Kansas City, resigned his position as Assistant-Secretary of the Interior in Washington, about a year and a-half ago, to go to South Africa to investigate the Boer cause for himself, and his book will give the future historian a view of the Boer people decidedly different from the idea of them commonly expressed in the British periodicals. He describes the public buildings of the Boer capital as "magnificent," and compares the new court building, which was just nearly completion when Mr. Davis was there, with the new Congressional Library building in Washington. The churches and schools, he says, were "first-class in every particular." The schools "were public and private, and the churches were of all denominations." The hospitals and asylums were excellent, and "in fact, the whole appearance of the city was equal to that of any city in the United States." The modern improvements and appliances, the electric lights, gas, waterworks, street-cars, workshops, parks and market-places "made one feel as if he were in one of the prosperous cities of America."

More important, perhaps, are the characteristics of the people. Mr.

Davis says :

"I found the Boers possessing the very characteristics which we most

-admire in our own people, namely, the good nature, the generous spirit, the kindheartedness, the affection for their families, and the frank and manly

independence.

"During my travels throughout the two republics, meeting the people in the public places, in their offices, in the hotels, in their homes, in villages and cities, and on the farms, and mingling with the soldiers on the march, in the camp and on the battlefield, I met but few persons who could not speak the English language. Almost all of those who did speak it spoke it quite as well as the citizens of our own country. I found them clean and neat in their appearance—their homes in as perfect order, as clean and as comfortable and as convenient as the homes of Americans. Sitting at their tables, attending their little dinners in our honour, even private dinners as well as public dinners given by officials of the Government, we found the men and women in evening dress, and when all the guests besides myself were Boers, yet I would not hear a single word but English spoken during the whole evening. I found many of them cultured and refined. Some of them were authors, some had written books, some had written poems, some had produced excellent paintings, many were artists, many were fine musicians, and it was indeed a very common thing to find in camp and on the battlefield many a stalwart Boer with long hair and long beard, apparently rough and uncouth, who surprised me by telling me that he was a graduate from one of the great English universities. Noticing their beards I asked them why so many of them wore whiskers, and one of them answered: 'We do not have time to get our hair cut or to be shaved, for we are busy all the time fighting for our lives and our homes against the savage native or the still more savage Britons, fighting to save our country and to save our independence,' And thus frequently among these brave and chivalrous men of the mountain and veldt would I be surprised so agreeably. And yet these are the kind of men whom the British press and the American sympathising press would have us believe are untutored savages.

"The two leading newspapers of the Transvaal, the Volksstem, at Pretoria, and the Standard and Diggers' News, at Johannesburg, are published in the greater part in English, and they are bright and newsy papers, and to my mind much better papers than the papers of England. . . . The fact of the matter is that I could get, even during those times when the British cables were keeping news out of that country that was of much importance, more news in those papers about my own country than I found in the English dailies. I must commend the Boer papers of the Transvaal for their energy and enterprise, and I do believe that the editorials that appeared in those papers will rank far above those of the London dailies and will compare very favourably with the editorials in the columns of the best American

newspapers."-Literary Digest, New York.

Kings are class conscious. Why should not working men be? Not one of the kings of Europe will meet the former President of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, though the people they rule over sympathise with him. A fellow ruler, King Edward, might be offended. A similar spirit among working men would give them possession of the earth in a short time, in fact in our day.—Worker's Call.

THE NEW SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

THE Contemporary Review has an article on the above subject by a Mr. J. H. Harley. He writes in favour of Bersteinian Socialism, and congratulates his readers that the hard-and-fast theoretical dogmas of Marx are being questioned. The writer also thinks highly of Böhm-Biwerk and of all economists of the Austrian school. The following are extracts from the article:—

"If we look," says the writer, "in a general way at the religious, social and philosophical movements of the latter part of the nineteenth century, we cannot fail to be struck by the extent to which they owe their first inspirations to German influences. The early decades of the nineteenth century were in Germany periods of unparalleled brilliancy. Fifteen or twenty years ago it might have seemed that no connection existed. between German thought and the main movements of English Social-Democracy. Karl Marx was the all-important and dominating personality in the European countries; but in England, the place where he wrote his most important work, he was scarcely known at all. H. M. Hyndman, indeed, in a book, 'England for All,' which was published in 1881, and was called 'The Text-Book of Social-Democracy,' spoke of being inspired in two of his main chapters by 'the work of a great thinker and original writer, which will, I trust, shortly be made accessible to the majority of my fellow-countrymen.' But it is scarcely much more than ten years ago that the ideas of Karl Marx began seriously to disturb labour developments in this country. Then arose the movement which was called, more or less properly, 'The New Unionism.' The leaders of this movement did not put the name of Karl Marx in the forefront; they did not, in so many words, claim kinship with the German thinker, but in their convictions that a great social upheaval was near we see the influence of the fundamental thoughts of the great German. 'Year by year,' said Keir Hardie, 'the returns to labour continue to dwindle, while the returns to capital, whether in the form of land or of stock, grow even more and more marked.' John Burns illustrated another side of the German movement—its hostility to religion—by quoting before the Scotch railwaymen on strike the words of his namesake. the poet :-

A fig for those by law supported, Liberty's a glorious feast, Courts by cowards were appointed, Churches built to please the priest.

"All this is very significant. It shows that the ideas of Karl Mark were beginning to filter into the practical Social-Democracy of this country.

"If, then, we see in Karl Marx the inspirer of a forward movement in English Social-Democracy, we may ask, has his system of Socialism remained firm against the assaults of time and fate, or has it sustained such important modifications that we are compelled to predict a similar tendency in the English movement as well?

"The reply is that a reaction against many of the leading thoughts of Karl Marx has been a marked feature of German thought during the last ten years. Not that any disrespect has been shown to the great Socialist.

Even his bitterest opponents have acknowledged the power of his thinking, and the names of Hegel, Darwin and Marx are among the very greatest of the nineteenth century. But every year during the last decade has added to the number of books accumulating reasons against him. Economists like Menger and Böhm-Bawerk, sociologists of the rank of Paul Barth, historians of philosophy like Ludwig Stein, of Berne, and disciples of the master himself, like E Bernstein, have all joined in the chase. Perhaps the Social-Democrat may retort that most of these are professors, and he cannot pay much attention to thoughts that are simply cradled in cloisters. But the thought of to-day is the practice of to-morrow. Bernstein, indeed, tells us in the preface to the French translation of his work, written at the end of 1899, that an important move had been made in this direction. A Conference of the Social-Democratic Party was at that time being held in Hanover, and an attempt was made by those who swore by the words, the whole words, and nothing but the words,' of Karl Marx to secure a declaration that he was guilty of heresy. The Conference, however, while not always approving of the form, made some important concessions to the essence of Bernstein's ideas. It affirmed (1) that in electoral matters compromise was allowable; (2) that the co-operative movement was a useful one; and (3) that a Social-Democrat gave his assent to fundamental principles and not to details.

"The fact is that, even among the German Social-Democrats themselves, the cry is being raised, 'Back to Lassalle.' The latter Socialist, indeed, was not nearly such a patient and laborious thinker as Karl Marx. But he was a German of the Germans, and his practical though audacious intellect saw the necessity of reforming on the basis of present This is exactly what the deliverance of the conference at Hanover amounted to. Whilst sharing the German love of abstract principles, and demanding assent to the cast-iron theories of Marxian orthodoxy, it at the same time acknowledged that, so far as time and season and the practical working out of details were concerned, the agitator must take refuge in expediency. Since then, however, an important advance has been made on the Conference at Hanover. Within the last few days the Social Democratic Party has met at Lübeck, and it is now admitted that even the theories of Marx are not beyond attack. Bernstein, indeed, was blamed for not dealing with the bourgeois so sharply as he dealt with the Democrats, but so far as free criticism of theory was concerned the Conference admitted that it was absolutely necessary in the interests of Social-Democracy itself. The Social-Democrat cannot, in fact, afford to despise the national politician in the same lofty way in which he may have been accustomed in the past. Marx made the Socialist movement international, but he accomplished this internationalism of Social-Democracy at a terrible cost. He rode rough-shod over every consideration of local patriotism. He would not, or could not, see that a nation is a nation, and that so far as the present state of Europe is concerned, the national spirit of a people can maintain such a loyal standing army that revolutionary Socialism is impossible. He forgot that if you work along the lines of least resistance you can always accomplish more than if you seek to scandalise those 'fixed ideas' which environment and fatherland have made a part even of the proletariat.

"The influence of Marx has been seen, indeed, in a disregard of every kind of patriotism, in a depreciation of all but manual labour, and in an underlying materialism which has too often found its way into English trade circles. But the Socialistic manifestoes of Karl Marx were not simply declamatory; they were appeals resting on a foundation of strict theory.

There have been few more systematic thinkers in the history of the world than this great Social-Democrat. If you grant his premises you are almost

irresistibly pushed forward to his conclusions."

The writer then goes on to show that Marx was too much addicted to Hegelian metaphysics. "As Hegel looked on history as the evolution of the idea, so Marx looked on history as the evolution of matter." The author admits that economic conditions exercise a commanding influence in the early youth of the world's history, but considers, as the world ages, that complex influences appear, and says that Marx "hardly ever gets further than the stage when conditions are everything and man is little or nothing." The author then gives a résumé of Marx's evolution of capital to the trust stage, and the conclusion is given that as "capitalism is organised for private ends, whereas in strict reality it is dependent on society for its continuance, a higher unity must be evolved, the instruments of production and distribution falling into the hands of society generally."

Against this view the author urges that subsequent history has not fulfilled Marx's predictions. For instance, the small dealer has not totally disappeared, as Marx would have us believe, and he quotes Bernstein's authority as showing that where there is artistic work to be done and varying wants of customers to be catered for, the individual who can make a study of the business will-have the advantage. Marx, he thinks, neglected too much personal agency in his analysis of society, and especially the agency of law and legislation. Municipalities, by their labour policies and sanitary reformers, by their administration and co operation—to which Bernstein, he says, gives great weight—can do a great deal to break the shock of merely impersonal

agencies.

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The author concludes his paper by attacking Marx's labour theory. For this purpose he selects for his authority Mr. Rae's work, "Contemporary Socialism," in which Mr. Rae says, "Marx proposed to express all value in terms of a certain standard—the labour of a man of average strength working a socially necessary time with his hands at a certain work." "But to this theory," says Halley, "the Austrian school of Menger and Böhm-Bawerk very properly object that it forgets the psychological element in value—the estimate which other men put on the product of your work.

. . . It is not, and cannot be, possible to estimate brain work in terms of a standard borrowed from hand work."

"There has been too much tendency in the past to obliterate the difference between hand and brain work, and to assume that the hand workman if promoted to Parliament and metamorphosed into a labour member will most efficiently serve the interests of his class. No greater mistake can possibly be made, and here the influence of Karl Marx has led Social-Democracy sadly astray."

JINGO GEMS.

Killed with Kindness.—"A good deal of nonsense has been talke about the Concentration Camps, with reference to which he thought there had been an excess of conciliation."—Mr. Brodrick, July 10, 1901. (Death

rate, 360 per 1,000.)

The End Justifies the Means.—"The whole nation is agreed that we must carry through the task we have undertaken in South Africa. There should be no hesitation in adopting the policy and the means necessary to attain the end in view with the utmost rapidity and completeness."—Times, September 11, 1901.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CONSUMPTION.

THE Edinburgh Review contains a very long article on the above subject. The reviewer places great importance on fresh air, and considers that lofty rooms are not so desirable as those with a low ceiling, as they are more

troublesome to properly ventilate.

"What, in brief," says the writer, "are the modes of overcoming the plague which are not only indicated by theory but proved successful in practice? There is no difficulty or mystery about them. We know that a single patient may eject in the course of a day twenty million bacilli, and that when the sputum dries these may be blown about in the dust of the street, or settle upon the walls and carpet of his room. Exposure to fresh air and sunlight kills the bacilli in a fortnight or a month, but in a closed room without much sunlight the organisms retain their vitality for many months. The first object, therefore, must be the prevention so far as possible of indiscriminate expectoration, especially in rooms and crowded places. The place of spittoons must become general; the consumptive must use those which are especially made for the pocket, and the infected matter must be promptly destroyed. The extreme importance of fresh air must be insisted upon, and good ventilation provided in workshops, workrooms, factories, schools, and places of assembly. Ventilation has the threefold effect of diminishing the vitality of the microbes deposited on walls and floors, of diluting the air containing the pernicious dust, and of rendering the human body less liable to infection. Stuffy air acts as a good conductor, fresh air as a nonconductor of disease. The open-air cure shows that ventilation, besides saving others from danger, has the best influence upon the patient himself. When all precautions are preserved there is little risk even in occupying the same bedroom with a consumptive."

REFORM THROUGH SOCIAL WORK.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT discourses on the above subject in this month's Fortnightly Review. As illustrations of the social work he admires he takes the lives of several prominent reformers in New York, and also the record of some institutions. We select the life of Mr. Goddard, for whom Mr. Roosevelt appears to have a sincere admiration. The work of Mr. Goddard is also particularly interesting at the present moment as it deals with political as well as social reform in New York.

"Politics have been entered by a good many different doors, but in New York City Mr. F. Norton Goddard is probably the only man who ever entered on the career of a district leader by the door of philanthropy. Mr. Goddard, feeling he ought to do something serious in life, chose a quarter on the East Side for his experiment, and he entered upon it without the slightest thought of going into politics, simply taking a room in a tenement house. After a few weeks he joined a small club which met at first in a single

room. From this one room sprang, in the course of a couple of years, the Civic Club, at 243, East Thirty-fourth Street, than which there exists in all New-York no healthier centre of energetic social and political effort. Very speedily Mr. Goddard found himself brought into hostile and embarrassing contact with that huge and highly organised system of corruption, tempered with what may be called malevolent charity, which we know as Tammany. Every foe of decency, from the policy player to the protected proprietor of a lawbreaking saloon, had some connection with Tammany, and every move in any direction resulted in contact of some sort with a man or institution under Tammany control. Mr. Goddard soon realised that organisation must be met by organisation, and, being a thoroughly practical man, he started in to organise the decent forces in such fashion as would enable him tocheck organised indecency. He made up his mind that the Republican Party organisation offered the best chance for the achievement of his object. There were three courses open to him: he could acquiesce helplessly; he could start an outside organisation, in which case the chances were a thousand to one that it would amount to nothing; or he could make a. determined effort to control for good purposes the existing Republican He chose the latter alternative, and began a serious campaign. to secure his object. There was at the time a fight in the Republican organisation between two factions, both of which were headed by professional politicians. Both factions at the outset looked at Goddard's methods with amused contempt, expecting that he would go the gait which they had seen so many other young men go, where they lacked either persistency or hardcommon-sense. But Goddard was a practical man. He spent his days and evenings in perfecting his own organisation, using the Civic Club as a centre. . . . At the primary he got more votes than both his antagonists put together. No man outside of politics can realise the paralysed astonishment with which the result was viewed by the politicians in every other Assembly district. Here at last was a reformer whose aspirations took exceedingly efficient shape as deeds; who knew what could and what could not be done; who was never content with less than the possible best; but who never threw away that possible best because it was not the ideal best; who did not try to reform the universe, but merely his own district; and who understood thoroughly that though speeches and essays are good, downright hard work of the common-sense type is infinitely better.

"It is more difficult to preserve the fruits of a victory than to win the victory. Mr. Goddard did both. A year later, when the old school of professional politicians attempted to oust him from his party leadership in. the district association, he beat them more overwhelmingly than before; and when the Republican National Convention came around he went still further afield, beat out his opponents in the Congressional district, and sent two delegates to Philadelphia. Nor was his success confined to the primary. In both the years of his leadership he has enormously increased the Republican vote in his district, doing better relatively than any other district leader in the city. He does this by adopting the social methods of Tammany, only using them along clean lines. The Tammany leader keeps his hold by incessant watchfulness over every element, and almost every voter in his district. Neither his objects nor his methods are good, but he does take a great deal of pains, and he is obliged to do much charitable work, although it is not benevolence of a healthy kind. Of course Goddard could have done nothing if he had not approached his work in a genuine American spirit of entire respect for himself and others and for those with whom and for whom he.

laboured. Any condescension, any patronising spirit would have spoiled

everything.

"It is thus that Mr. Goddard has worked. His house is in the district and he is in close touch with everyone. If a man is sick with pneumonia, some member of the Civic Club promptly comes around to consult Goddard as to what hospital he shall be taken to. If another man is down on his luck it is Goddard who helps him along through the hard times. If a boy has been wild and got into trouble and gone to the penitentiary, it is Goddard who is appealed to to see whether anything can be done for him. The demands upon his time and patience are innumerable. His reward comes from the consciousness of doing well work which is emphatically well worth deing. A very shrewd politician said the other day that if there were 20 such men as Goddard in 20 such districts as his, New York C ty would be saved from Tammany."

In summing-up, President Roosevelt says that "No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down as to the way in which such work must be done, but most certainly every man, whatever his position, should strive to do it in some way and to some degree. . . . If such a worker has the right stuff in him he soon grows to accept without effort each man on his worth as a man, and to disregard his means and what is called his social position; to care little whether he is a Catholic or a Protestant, a Jew or a Gentile; to be utterly indifferent whether he was born here or in Ireland, in Germany or in Scandinavia, provided only that he has in him the spirit of sturdy common-sense and the resolute purpose to strive after the light as it is given

him to see the light."

GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA.

In the Nineteenth Century Review A. Rustem Bey de Bilinski discusses very ably the future of Great Britain and Russia in the East. He sums up in favour of Russia, and thinks England will eventually consent to her taking Afghanistan when she realises (as she soon will) that it will not really affect her position in India. Russia aims at taking the Ottoman Empire, and the writer is of opinion that the present policy of England towards Turkey means a victory for Russia. India, he thinks, can never be taken by Russia, which, even if it were given her, she could not hold it more than Great Britain, who will within a few generations have to recognise its claims Egypt, the writer thinks, is the most likely province to for independence. remain in the possession of England, which, with South Africa, Anstralia and part of America, Mr. Bilinski thinks, will still make England a strong and mighty nation. The following extract will be interesting to our readers as showing how Russia is superior to England in the art of assimilating itself with Asiatics :-

"The faculty possessed by the Russians of consorting with Asiatics and eventually assimilating them provides the Slav Empire with a weapon against its Anglo-Saxon rival. Russian rule is neither humane, nor just, nor honest. The British is. But, for all that, the natives of Asia prefer the former. All their life, as nations, they have been accustomed to arbitrariness and cruelty on the part of their chiefs, and they entertain a distinct fancy for the licence of anarchy. Where they are vulnerable is in their amour-propre. Their social dignity is dearer to them than most things.

It is in this connection that the Russian scores. Far from asserting any superiority of race over the Asiatics, he will not only mix freely and familiarly with their kind, but actually lower himself before them by flattering them. In the inferior grades of society this absence of ethnic pride leads to the marriage of the Russian with the native and to the gradual fusion of the two. Thus Russia, in her onward march, may devastate and commit other horrors, but at the same time she propitiates and assimilates. Her reputation for tact and good comradeship precedes her and facilitates her Great Britain, on the other hand, confers all the blessings of an enlightened rule on her subjects, but the impression of it is effaced in their hearts by the disdain of the Anglo-Saxon for the 'nigger' which appears in his aloofness, his literature, and often in deliberately-perpetrated acts. The British present themselves in Asia as irreducible strangers, not even as permanent residents, but as flitting shadows, ever replacing one another on account of the climate. Opposition of ruling to ruled is the visible symbol of their government in the East. They have nothing in common with the Under these circumstances, it is natural that the undercurrent of abstract native sympathy which goes to the Russian as to a half-congener should be denied to Great Britain, adding to the other difficulties which cripple her with regard to her rival."

IS RUSSIA PREPARING TO INVADE INDIA?

A BROCHURE entitled "The Probability of a Russian Campaign against India," written in a bellicose vein by General Soboleff, of Moscow, has again raised the question, Is India prepared to resist invasion? The general outlines the whole course of the political differences between Russia and England, and asserts that England's intrigues in Europe against Russia have almost exhausted the great patience of the White Czar and of his nation. Russia, therefore, will soon be compelled, with sorrow in her heart, to invade India, if England does not cease her aggresive policy in Europe. The time is very near, he says, when Russia will appropriate Afghanistan. "We have old accounts to settle with England, dating from the Crimean war, from which time England has been trying, in all possible ways, to involve Russia in European political intrigues." He says further that the campaign in India will be an unusually easy one for Russia, and "in less than ten years she will add 450,000,000 inhabitants to her empire."

The Polish journals published in America, which claim to have "inside sources" of information as to what is occurring in Russia, regard this brochure, published openly as it is, as partaking of the nature of an official announcement. Zgoda (Chicago) explains why this view is held. It says:—"Elsewhere a brochure scribbled by some erratic general has not the slightest political significance, but it is different in Russia, where the censors pass only that which is approved by the Government. It is the established practice of the Muscovite Government, in 'important and irritating' matters, to ascertain the disposition of the nation by the use of articles written designedly in certain papers or published as brochures, the authors of which are usually pretty authoritative personages. Such an article, or brochure, appears unexpectedly and looks like the innocent production of some luxuriant imagination. But the censor has already received directions to let that production pass and not to prohibit the press from

commenting upon and criticising it. From the voice of the press and the reports of the spies upon conversations in public places, the Government

concludes whether or not the question raised is a popular one."

As to the subject of this pamphlet, Zgoda continues: "We are very glad that the Russian Government has recognised it as proper to set forth the question of India so distinctly and intelligibly. England knows well the danger threatening her, but, in her fashion, she is tarrying and putting off energetic action from year to year. Each year Russia is growing in population, in power, in wealth; each year she is becoming a foe more difficult to overcome. It is well that the voice of a Muscovite soldier has reminded England and the whole civilised world, with such absolute sincerity, of what awaits them in case of negligence and lack of courage. Russia has already taken Manchuria without opposition on the part of Europe. To let her take Afghanistan and India would be suicide for all European civilisation."

General Soboleff's brag that Russia will soon seize Persia, India, and the Balkan peninsula, says the *Dziennik Narodowy* (Chicago), has been "reflected with a loud echo" in many American journals. The *Record-Herald* (Chicago), however, recently remarked that, in the event of an invasion of India, Russia would find herself confronted by all Europe.

The Handelsbiad (Amsterdam) believes that India is in imminent danger from Russia, and declares Thibet is the door through which the invasion is likely to come. The Kreuz-Zeitung (Berlin) has an article to the same general effect. The World (Toronto), however, believes that India is quite able and prepared to take care of herself. It says: "The Boer war has demonstrated that an army of 100,000 men, acting on the defensive, can keep in check an offensive force of half a-million men. India has a regular army of nearly 75,000 men, which could easily be raised to a strength of 250,000, and with this force available the actual invasion of India would be a difficult matter. Besides, Russia is always crippled financially and would not be able to sustain a lengthy campaign, whereas Britain, now stronger than ever before, and with unlimited credit, could play a defensive game until her adversary was exhausted."—The Literary Digest, New York.

Population Statistics of the United States.—In the population of the United States males still continue to be in excess of females, as they have been any time this half century. As shown by the final census report on sex, nativity, and colour in the population, the males numbered 39,059,242 and the females 37,244,145. To express the relations proportionately, the males constituted 51.2 per cent. and the females 48.8 per cent. of the total population. The proportion of females is a shade larger than in 1890, but smaller than at any preceding date for half a century, as will be seen by reference to the following table:—

Census.	Males.	Females.	Census.	Males.	Females.	
1850	51.04	48.96	1880	50.88	49.12	
1860	51.16	48.84	1890	51.21	48.79	
1870	50.56	49.44	1900	51.20	48.80	

There has been an increase in the total population since the last census of 13,233,631, or 21 per cent. Of this increase, 6,744,179 consisted of males, an increase of 20.9 per cent., and 6,489,452 were females, an increase of 21.1 per cent.—Bradstreet's, New York. Condensed for Public Opinion.

RESULTS OF THE RECENT FRENCH CENSUS.

M. JACQUES BERTILLON, of the Paris police, the inventor of the well-known Bertillon system of measuring criminals for identification, published in a Parisian journal a résumé of the results of the last French census and a comparison of France with other countries in point of growth. The number of persons in France on the day of the census, March 24, 1901, was approximately 38,600,000. The population was found to have diminished since the last census in all departments that do not contain large cities. The population, exclusively of the department of the Seine, was a little less than 35,000,000. At the last previous census, in 1896, it was 34,961,000, so that the increase in five years amounts to 39,000 only. The department of the Seine (including Paris) shows an increase of 292,000, but this was largely due to the Exposition, the same sort of increase having also occurred after the Expositions of 1878 and 1889. The total increase of population for the whole of France is, therefore, about 330,000, due for the most part probably to immigration. During these five years Germany gained 4,000,000, a number equal to that of the aggregate population of Wurtemberg and Baden, or to that of the eleven French departments included in the old districts of Burgundy, Champagne, and Franche-Comté. The following table shows the growth of the six great European Powers in the last halfcentury :-

				Millions.	Millions.	Increase. Millions.
France		 		35.3	38.6	3 3
Great Brita	in	 •••		27.4	41.5	14.1
Germany		 		35.4	56.3	20.9
Austria-Hu	ngary	 		30.7	45.1	14.4
Russia		 •••		66.7	128 9	62.2
Italy	•••	 		23.6	32.4	8.8

In 1850 France was still the largest nation of Western Europe, and its population equalled the combined populations of the countries now forming the German empire. Since that time the truly French population has remained nearly stationary, for of the increase of three millions more than a million is due to immigration. The rapid growth of the other countries and the stagnation of France have been most striking in recent years. In 1899 the excess of births over deaths was, in France, 31,000; in Great Britain, 422,000; in Germany, 795,000; in Austria-Hungary, 531,000; in Italy, 385,000. France has fallen from the second to the fifth place, and is not far ahead of Italy. "Some optimists," says M. Bertillon, "console themselves by maintaining that the individual superiority of the French makes up for numerical inferiority; but this proud delusion, unfortunately, has no firm foundation. From the economical as well as from the military view-point one European is as good as another, or very nearly so. Number is an important element of the power and of the productiveness of a nation." -The Literary Digest, New York.

DOOLEY ON DISQUALIFYING THE ENEMY.

"Well, sir," said Mr. Dooley, "th' English ar-re goin' to end th' Boer war. They've taken th' final steps. It's as good as finished. Lord Kitchener's a gr-reat man. He's kilt more naygurs thin annything but watermilons. He thried concilyatin' th' inimy. He hanged thim whin he caught thim. Whin an English marksman gets that kind iv a dhrop on a man, he niver But sthill th' Boers rayfused to come in. Thin th' war was renewed with gr-reat inergy. Ye r-read in th' pa-apers ivry day iv a threemenious Th' column undher th' Hon. Lord Gin'ral T. Puntington-Canew met to-day an' defeated with gr-reat loss th' Kootzenhammer commando, consistin' iv Mr. and Mrs. Kootzenhammer, their son August, their daughter Lena, an' baby Kootzenhammer, who was in ar-rums, an' will be exicuted accordin' to the decrees iv May tinth, fifteenth an' sixteenth, an' June ninth, whin caught. Th' Hon, Lord Gin'ral Puntington-Canew rayports that he captured wan cow, wan duck, wan pound iv ham, two cans iv beans, an' a baby carredge. Th' commando escaped. Th' gin'ral larned fr'm th' cow, who had been shot, that th' Boers ar-re in disprate condition, an' cannot hold out much longer.

""'Tis manifest,' says Lord Sal'sbry, 'that this thing has gone as far as it can go in dacency,' he says. 'They'se a time f'r all things,' he says, 'an' iverything in its place,' he says. 'I wondher if thim Boers don't think we have annything to do but chase thim f'r th' r-rest iv our lives. I move we put an end to it,' he says. An' 'twas fin'lly decided, afther a long an' arjoos debate, that th' war mus' be declared irrigular. Yes, sir, fr'm now on 'tis a non-union war, 'tis again' th' rules. Anny wan engaged

in it will be set back be th' stewards iv Henley.

"Lord Kitchener wrote th' notice. He's a good writer. 'Ladies an' gintlemen, he says, 'this war as a war is now over. Ye may not know it, but it's so. Ye've broke th' rules, an' we give th' fight to oursilves on a foul. Th' first principle iv a war again' England is that th' inimy shall wear r-red or purple coats, with black marks f'r to indicate th' location iv vital organs be day, an' a locomotive headlight be night. They shall thin gather within aisy range, an' at th' wurrud "fire" shall fall down dead. Anny remainin' standin' aftherward will be considered as spies. Shootin' back is not allowed be th' rules, an' is severely discountenanced be our ladin' military authorities. Anny attimpt at concealment is threachery. Th' scand'lous habit iv pluggin' our gallant sojers fr'm rocks an' trees is a breach iv internaytional law. Rethreatin' whin pursood is wan iv our copyrighted manoovers, an' all infringemints will be prosecuted. At a wurrud fr'm us th' war is over an' we own ye'er counthry. Ye will see fr'm this brief sketch that ye're no betther thin guerillas an' pirates; an' now, be th' r-right vested in me be mesilf, I call on all persons now carryin' on this needless, foolish, tiresome conflict, whin I ought to be home dhraggin' down th' money fr'm Parlymint, to come in an' be shot,' he

"Our Anglo-Saxon cousins acrost th' sea ar-re gr-reat people. They're a spoortin' people, Hinnissy. They know how to win. Whin it comes to war they have th' r-rest iv creation sittin' far back in th' rear iv th' hall. We have to lick our inimy—they disqualify him."—Public Opinion (New

York).

BROKEN ON THE WHEEL.

A MODERN SONG OF THE SHIRT Three children played on the attic floor. The babe that lay in the cradle made four

A widow sat at her wheel and sewed. Many her wants and much she owed.

And all must be met from what she made, The pitiful pittance the sweatshop paid. The eldest came running, " Mother, dear,

The milkman with his bill is here.

She emptied her purse. "Whatever betide, Baby must have his food," she sighed.

She sewed and sewed, not lifting her head, The smallest pause would mean less bread.

"O, mother, the grocer asks his pay."
"Tell him 'to-morrow'—I've nothing to-day."

And on she sewed, the sad-faced one. Who buried her husband a twelvemonth gone.

- "I'm hungry, mother!" "There's bread on the shelf; Give to your brothers, and help yourself."
- "Do you not want some of the wee bit here?"

"I have no time to eat, my dear."

With hand above and with foot below, She wrought—no thought save to sew and sew

"O, mother here is the mortgage man."

"Tell him 'to-morrow'-I'll pay if I can."

A growl-he was gone. Her face was wan, And weary was she, yet sewed she on.

"The landlord, mother!" "To-morrow," said she; Nor ceased in the least, nor turned to see.

Thus, all the morning, and all the day, In her carpetless attic, she sewed away.

"Mother, some supper!" "To morrow," she said,

"My task will be done and I'll bring some bread."

To-morrow, the answer to all would give: Money for debts and food to live.

The children slept, and sobbed as they slept. Still at her dreary task she kept.

They woke in the sunlight; she was seen With head sunk low on the sewing machine.

The wondering little ones looked from the floor: The wheel was still and she sewed no more.

Forgetting in wonder to ask for bread, "Mother is resting at last!" they said.

All through the morning and near to noon, They wondered and waited: "She'll wake up soon."

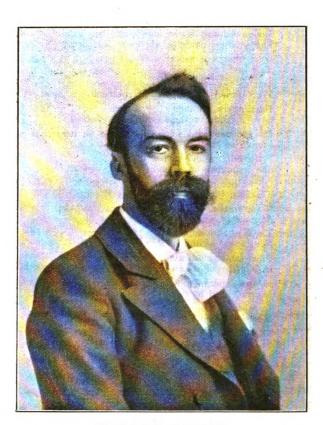
The mortgage man and the landlord came, Sharp to the second. 'Twas all the same.

She moved not, spoke not as they drew nigh: She gave no heed to the children's cry.

They hailed her, touched her, lifted her head, And fell back abashed. She was dead! She was dead!

The morrow she hoped for had freed her indeed From this dreadful world of cant and greed, Where the wise men tell of delights in the sky, While of need right here the people die!

W. R. Fox, in the Workers' Call.



GEORGE D. HERRON.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

Vol. V., No. 12. DECEMBER 15, 1901.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

The vast well-lit hall is filled to overflowing with earnest-looking men and women. Here and there a diamond flashes, but the great bulk of the people are of the working class and do not wear such costly adornments. Pale-faced girls from the sweat-shops; careworn mothers from the crowded tenements; horny-handed mechanics and labourers from the factories and mills—all have denied themselves a brief rest in order to be present. As a tall, spare man with a dark, well-trimmed beard makes his appearance on the platform, they burst forth with a mighty cheer that reverberates again and again.

He bows slightly, then sinks into a chair, and, as the cheering dies away, the chairman steps to the front and briefly opens the meeting. A few preliminaries, and then the man with the beard rises amid the plaudits of such an audience as only this metropolis of the Western world can furnish. Slav and Teuton; Saxon and Celt; Jew and Gentile—all join in the mighty shout. It is truly a noble reception—royal in its magnitude, but fraternal, not slavish, in its character.

His white face, drawn with suffering, and the great, dark hollow that encircles his eyes, tell of terrible anguish and agony of soul. For long, weary weeks a corrupt and prostituted press has been pouring forth a very tornado of virulent and slanderous abuse of this man and a noble weman—abuse which they have borne in silence. "Though they torture me yet will I not break silence," he once said, and he has not. A few evening papers with great black and red scare headlines may be seen in the hall evincing a fresh attack, and one feels that the loud outburst of cheering may be interpreted as a warm message of sympathy to the persecuted and of fierce defiance to the cowardly persecutor.

Again and again do the people cheer, but at his first word they are hushed into silence, and as, for a full hour, he talks of liberty, there is a breathless, almost painful stillness, save when some inspired and inspiring word is met with an answering shout of acclaim. It is the familiar truth that he speaks with such prophet-like fervour. Our so-called liberty is a

monstrous sham, and we are an enslaved people. There can be no true liberty so long as the means by which all must live are in the hands of a few. Not mere reform but revolution is needed to free us—a great re-formation of society along the lines of the class-conscious Socialist movement. Then an eloquent peroration and more cheers, and the great audience gathers round the platform and the doors to catch another glimpse of the man whose burning words have so moved them, and then hasten away in the darkness. Those of us who gather afterwards and talk over the teacups in the dingy editorial rooms of the Commonwealth, with the long rows of books covering the walls, feel that this man will come forth out of the fire of persecution to be the greatest leader of the American Socialist movement. The unanimous call, weeks afterward, that he preside at the opening of the great "Unity Convention" bears witness to the growth of that feeling.

In 1862, a time of civil strife and great moment in the history of the nation, George Davis Herron was born in the little village of Montezuma, in the State of Indiana. His father, descended from an old Scotch Covenanter family, and his mother were both intensely religious, and so, from infancy, he breathed an atmosphere of religious influences. As a child he was left much alone to play in the fields, and, like Olive Schriener's boy, Waldo, he pondered much over problems that wise men shrink from. Those lonely hours of childhood are in part, no doubt, responsible for the spirit of restless enquiry and independence which marks all his work.

When he was ten years of age a change in the family fortunes brought him face to face with poverty and hardship. From then, until he was 20, life was a stern battle with penury, and often he had not where to lay his head, his health suffering in consequence. Hence his knowledge of social misery and distress has not all been derived from books. He went to work as errand boy in a small printing establishment, and contrived to learn the trade, but there was always a restless yearning for a college education, and at 20, without any resources, he set out for the nearest college town. Throughout a whole night he walked alone, the way being through a dark forest, arriving at the college next day. Thus, without funds, he began his college career. Two years later he was ordained a Congregational minister. and never, perhaps, was greater faith in the power of the pulpit than his. His first three years were spent in city mission work, during which period he was first drawn by the sights he saw to study social problems. It is characteristic of the man that he was not satisfied to study the writings of others, he must investigate for himself, just as when dissatisfied he journeyed to Dakota, and there on the open plains made his own translation of the Greek Testament. Then followed six years as pastor of a small country village, in the last year of which he preached his famous sermon on "The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth," which brought him fame and revealed to America the fact that a greater than Emerson had arisen; greater than Emerson, because of the greater soul-passion which moved him and the greater truth of his message.

The publication of that sermon brought him many tempting offers of lucrative positions from some of the most prominent churches in America. Declining some more lucrative offers, he accepted the pastorate of the First Congregational Church of Burlington, Iowa. But his pastorate was brief. He was unconsciously nearing a crisis in his own life that was destined to be of historical importance. His preaching became more and more radical and more and more did he insist upon the immorality of the present system, till the more wealthy members of the church began to grumble. But the wealthiest member of his congregation was a woman of broad views and intense humanitarian sympathy. Mrs. E. D. Rand sided with the young preacher, and, sharing his views, decided that she would open up a way for him to continue propagating them without fear. Accordingly she proposed to the authorities of Grinnell University, Iowa, that a "Chair of Applied Christianity" be established with Dr. Herron as its first incumbent, she herself providing the necessary endowment. To this they agreed, and the young minister became a college professor. The trustees thus defined the purpose of the new department: "To develop a social philosophy and economic from the teachings of Jesus, for the application of his teachings to social problems and institutions." But when they found that his interpretation of the teachings of Jesus led him to deneunce private property in the means of life as immoral, and "a crime against God and man and nature," they naturally complained. But he stood his ground bravely for seven years, struggling all the time against the authorities, and wielding through his books and lectures and a voluminous correspondence a greater influence than any other academician of the age.

But even greater than the struggle with the authorities was the struggle in his home-life, sacredly hidden from the world's rude eyes. In the year before his ordination as minister he had married a Miss Everhard, of Ripon, Wisconsin, and four children were born of the union. But the marriage was a most unhappy one, the wife having no sympathy with the views and work of the husband. Never robust, he bore the double strain under which many stronger men would have been crushed, with heroic fortitude and courage. Then, in 1899, matters at the college reached a crisis, and, finding it impossible to continue, he resigned. With characteristic generosity he left behind him the whole of the endowment fund, and his calm, dignified letter won the admiration of friends and opponents alike.

Thus one part of his life-struggle was disposed of, but the other, and more painful, remained. Distressing as living under such conditions was to both, financial ties made separation impossible. Meanwhile a new element had come into the case. Miss Rand, the daughter of his former parishioner, had shown great interest in his work and became his constant companion. Companionship deepened into love, and, for the relief of all concerned, Mrs. Herron obtained, in March of this year, a divorce, on purely technical grounds of "desertion," Miss Rand, with noble generosity, giving all her inheritance to Mrs. Herron for the support of herself and children. Then, on a Saturday evening in May, in the presence of a few friends, Dr.

Herron and Miss Rand were wed. All the legal requirements were fulfilled, but in other respects the wedding was an unusual one, beautiful in its simplicity. No costly gifts were offered by those assembled, but a few brief words of loving goodwill from each. No "Wedding March" from costly organ or pealing of bells—instead the bride played as a fitting close to a memorable evening one of Beethoven's beautiful sonatas. Over their love and its triumph the "yellow journals" and some of the leaders of the metropolitan pulpit vied with each other in a carnival of slander and cruel abuse. But those who knew the man and the woman knew that they were above reproach and needed no defence. In July he was expelled from the Congregational Church of Grinnell, Iowa, for "conduct unbecoming a Christian and a gentleman," said conduct being his marriage with Miss Rand under the circumstances described. His letter to the Church Council, in which he first broke silence on the subject, was a quiet, dignified production, characteristically frank and open.

On his return from his European tour in 1900, Professor Herron made a notable declaration for uncompromising Socialism at a mass meeting held in Chicago by the Social-Democratic Party—the first meeting in the Presidential Election campaign—when he confessed that for eight years he had been voting for the candidates of the Socialist Labour Party. Since that time he has thrown himself heartily into the work of the party, and his later writings show that his emancipation from the bonds of ecclesiasticism is complete. A clear, cultured thinker, equally powerful with voice and pen, he has laid all his magnificent powers upon the altar of the class-conscious revolutionary Socialist movement of the world.

New York, September, 1901.

J. SPARGO.

THE NEGRO NOT DYING OUT .- There are twice as many negroes in the United States to-day as there were when Lincoln set them free, and the last census, as the New Orleans Times-Democrat remarks, proves "that we have the negro still with us, and that he is likely to remain with us for many years yet." The census returns show a white population of 67,000,000 and a negro population of 8,850,000, with about 500,000 Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. The death-rate among the negroes in the cities, where they live in the congested districts, and "where every law of nature and sanitation is defied," is nearly double that of the whites, and is far in excess of the birth-rate; and this high mortality has led some to think that the negrois dying out. The census figures show that this belief is erroneous. The increase of negro population in the rural districts more than makes up for the loss in the cities, and the rural surplus flock cityward in sufficient numbers to fill up the ranks. The negro population is increasing rapidly, not as rapidly as in slavery days, but as rapidly as the whites. In Arkansas and Mississippi the negroes are multiplying more rapidly than the whites, and in the latter State, as in South Carolina also, they are in the majority. In South Carolina, however, the proportion of blacks is decreasing, and the other Southern States show a similar trend. The negro does not seem to show much inclination to leave the South.

THE COMING OF THE STATE.

It is absolutely necessary, if our action in the near future is to be not merely empirical, but guided by intelligence and foresight, to understand what Imperialism really means, and what is its place in the sum total of forces that are likely to mould England's destinies in the coming period of her history. That it has come to stay, and to exercise a dominating influence over the whole course of English political life, can no longer be doubted. But it would be a grave mistake to conceive it under that particular form and in those particular terms under and in which it has been exhibited to our gaze and recommended for our acceptance by its Birmingham high priest and exponent. It is just because that high priest and exponent happens to be a vulgar political parvenu, bereft of all the great traditions of English statesmanship, and merely endowed with a shrewd mind and a pushful temperament of a third-rate commercial traveller, that Imperialism has become clothed in such a mean, repulsive, and frankly-brutal garb. With the impatience and the ambitious greed of a genuine screw manufacturer, who deals in small articles and is used to small profits and quick returns, Mr. Chamberlain could not or would not understand that social processes require time to work themselves out to fruition, and that a true statesman will confine himself to merely leading them on their course, gently, patiently, though steadily. He seized them with a rough hand, brought them violently to an issue, and with peacock-like shrieks of triumph dragged out into broad daylight the fruit that was yet unripe and altogether unfit either for the eye or for the taste. No wonder that everybody was shocked—some by the hideous sight, thus cynically displayed before the eyes of the world, others by the novel method of dealing with political problems on shopkeeping principles. Even his own colleagues, one cannot help thinking, must secretly blush at this vulgarity and mischievous ignorance of the upstart, and when he goes-and go he must and will, together with his thoroughly un-English ways—a sense of relief will possess even them.

What, then, is the genuine Imperialism, that Imperialism which is to rule the future?

The genuine Imperialism, however paradoxical it may sound, is inseparably bound up with some sort of State and municipal Socialism. It is no mere accident that the shining lights of that bastard movement, Fabianism, have joyfully wedded themselves to Imperialism; that Lord Rosebery, the democratic ex-chairman of the London County Council (reputed to be the forerunner of the "London Commune"), the popular arbitrator in the great miners' strike, and one of the three "Socialists" in the last Gladstonian Administration, is and always has been an Imperialist; that the same creed has been openly proclaimed by the other "Socialist" in the same Administration, who has lately been

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" social programme," busy with sketching out a Mr. Asquith; and that, for instance, that "Socialist" Eldorado, New Zealand, is brimming over-with Imperialist enthusiasm. Imperialism-I mean the concrete English Imperialism of the near future—is in its essence nothing but the application outside the British Isles of that socio-political principle which, when applied at home, leads to "State Socialism." That principle is the organisation and the consolidation by the power of the State of what is euphemistically termed the interests of the community, but is in reality nothing but the interests of the capitalist classes. That this principle is quite a new thing in modern English life, need scarcely be mentioned. It has long been noticed by shrewd observers-among others, I believe, by Bagehot—that neither in the political system of England, nor even in her political vocabulary, is there, properly speaking, such a thing as a State. There is an English people, there is an English Government, but there is no English State. That is substantially quite correct. Of course, it is nowa-days an altogether exploded notion, shown to have been largely based on false assumptions and false interpretations, that capitalism in England is a natural growth, whilst on the Continent it is an artificial product created by the State; we know now from innumerable facts, that throughout the earlier centuries, but more especially so since 1688, the State in England was using every then available and known means to encourage, to foster, and to protect her industries. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that since the industrial revolution of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the State in England has for all positive industrial and social purposes ceased to exist. The capitalist class, which had at that time attained to power, wisely calculated that, sufficiently strong and resourceful as it was to manage its affairs by its own individual efforts, it was not worth while purchasing the additional resource afforded by the support of the State, by allowing, as it was bound to, the same support to be given to the land-owning class. And so a hue-and-cry was raised against the interference of the State with the "eternal" economic laws, and the State was abolished. We all know how brilliantly the expectations of the capitalist classes had been justified by the events. With their individual initiative and resourcefulness left untrammelled, with the feudal restrictions and agricultural tariffs abolished, and with the practically unlimited command of the world's market assured, the capitalists of England soon formed the richest and most powerful class of private individuals ever known in history. That the result should have reacted on the theory and the practice was only too natural. Manchester doctrines gained ascendency in economics and social philosophy, while "State Nihilism," decentralisation and democratic liberty of the individual and nation became the main principles in the domain of practical politics. It is, as we know, on these doctrines and practical principles that the great Liberal Party was formed—the party that made England the watchword all the progressive world over.

To say that this state of things could not last for ever is but to say that all human affairs are, in general, unstable. Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, while capitalist England was resting on her oars,

the other States-more especially Germany and America-were using the whole of their collective efforts to work out the various problems of industrial organisation, and to forge, in the shape of protective tariffs, export premiums, national systems of technical, commercial and general education, model factories, effective consular services, experimental laboratories, &c., such weapons as could with advantage be used by their respective capitalist classes in the struggle for the world's market. Of course, those efforts were at first much derided and condemned by the English economic and political school as "paternal State tutelage" and "mischievous meddlesomeness," but the derisions and condemnations gradually ceased as the nations one after the other entered the international arena of industrial and commercial rivalry, and, equipped by the weapons placed at their command by their States, little by little worked themselves up to challenge England's supremacy. That was no longer a matter for joke. It meant, in the eyes of the more thoughtful, the bankruptcy of the laisser faire doctrines and of the whole individualistic philosophy, as reflected in economic and social theory and practice. was just then that the Socialist teaching of the insufficiency of individual effort, and of the necessity for collective action, met with a certain amount of perverted recognition among the more intelligent section of the middle classes and gave birth to the Fabian movement—a thorough bastard and a mongrel, which was bound to be popular with its wench of a mother, the bourgeoisie.

And so the idea of the State began to make way in the minds of the The more the economic peril that was threatening England became realised, the deeper and the wider the conviction grew that the atomic theory and practice in industry and commerce is a failure, and that under modern conditions it is the whole of the consolidated forces of the State that must be brought to bear on the question of economic survival, let alone supremacy. The Liberal Party—the party of laisser faire, not only in economics, but also, as is but natural, in politics, home and foreign and colonial, national and local—began, as a consequence, to rot (for 25 years, we know now, Mr. Gladstone was mainly engaged in mending old clothes, that is, resisting the disintegration of his party), and a new current, fed by the new requirements, began to make itself felt both among the leaders and the rank That current has given and file. this itself and still wears of the name Imperialist is very natural, seeing that it is consolidation or non-consolidation of \mathbf{of} the that has hitherto had the occasion—first and feebly in Egypt, then stronger in Ireland, and now, strongest of all, in South Africa—to assume an acute form and to bring to consciousness the differences between the old and new parties; but that name is too narrow. Even as it is, even within its own and proper domain, it gives no expression to the fundamental and really important fact that it is the desire for the general organisation and concentration of the forces of the State which lies at the bottom of the desire for the more particular consolidation of the Empire; but over and above this it simply leaves out of all account the other items of the programme that

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are of a still greater import and constitute a more direct application of the principle which rules the whole. But that is only for a time; even at the present moment, when the deep shadow of the war is cast over the whole of English public life, we can hear in the speeches of the various Liberal-Imperialists and read in the articles of their allies, the Fabians, some hints as to their "social" programme; and though much in them must be put down to mere demagogy or self-deception, nevertheless their general trend must be accepted as perfectly genuine and expressive of the future policy of the party.

It is, then, this party, the bearer of the State-idea, which is destined shortly to man the English ship and to steer its course through the troubled waters of the next historical period. Its captain, there can be no doubt, will be-at least, for a time-Lord Rosebery, whom all the Circean arts of the grand old clothes-mender could not prevent from escaping from Houndsditch, and whom all the frantic and clumsy efforts of Sir Campbell-Bannerman will not prevent from safely arriving at Downing Street. programme will be all directed towards the strengthening of the power of the State by means of an Imperial Federation, of a greater centralisation of the administrative functions of the State, and the subordination to them of those of the municipality, of a radical army reform on conscription lines, and, perhaps, of an enhancement of the power of the monarchy; further, towards the limitation of the rights of the subject by means constitutional, judicial, administrative, and otherwise; and, lastly, towards the entrenchment of the economic position of the ruling classes by direct means of protection-tariffs, export bounties-perhaps nationalisation of the railways, &c .- and by indirect means of social reforms, calculated to raise the physique and morale of the working classes. Such will be an improved system of national education, some grappling with the housing question, old age pensions in some shape or other, a further development of factory legislation, &c., &c.

Of course, this is all in the nature of surmise; it is so much easier to foresee the general direction in which a movement will proceed than the particular forms which it will assume at the different moments of Besides, what is intended here is not so much to sketch out the possible or even probable programme of the Imperialist Party as to illustrate the different measures which it may try to carry out in conformity with its fundamental principles. And this, after all, is to us Socialists the most important. We need not concern ourselves at the present stage with the particular shape and smell of the various red herrings that are going to be trailed across the path of the working classes in their march towards emancipation; what we have to do is to ascertain beforehand the general species of those herrings, and, by interpreting it to our public. thus forestall the Imperialist demagogues. Happily, as far as can be seen, the danger from the movement is not so very great. The resuscitation of the State from the oblivion of the past can easily prove to be a Frankensteinian experiment; and what with the burden of militarism and increased taxation pressing upon them, with the enhancement of the cost of living,

consequent upon the fall of Free Trade, and the curtailment of the various liberties, inevitable with the growth of State-power, the working classes may yet grasp the simple truth that the utilisation of the organised forces of the community for class interests is a game which two can play at, and that if self-help is an exploded panacea for the ills of the middle classes, it must be so for the proletariat, too. The working classes will then form a distinct political party of their own, and, like their continental brethren, enter the lists and compete for the valuable prize. It is this process that we Social-Democrats have to accelerate by our timely propaganda and carefully-directed action.

Th. Rothstein.

TRADE UNIONISM IN AMERICA.

A ROUGH estimate of the aggregate membership of the trade unions in America is given as follows:—

Unions affiliated	with th	e Amer	ican Fed	leratio	n of Lal	our	950,000
Custom-clothing	makers						3,800
Lithographers					222		2,100
Bricklayers							39,000
Plasterers							7,000
Stonecutters							10,000
Box-makers							5,500
Piano-workers	•••						7,700
Engineers, marin	ae						6,000
Engineers, locom						37,000	
Firemen, locomo			1.0			39,000	
Conductors, railway							25,800
Trainmen, railroad							46,000
Switchmen							15,000
Letter-carriers							15,000
Knights of Labo	unenu	merated	organ	isations,	say	191,100	
		Total					1,400,000

[&]quot;Thus we see that everywhere property in land and its produce, in domestic animal, serfs and slaves, was primarily property common to all the members of the clan. Communism was the cradle of humanity; the work of civilisation has been to destroy this primitive communism, of which the last vestiges that remain, in defiance of the rapacity of the aristocrat and the bourgeois, are the communal lands. But the work of civilisation is twofold; while on the one hand it destroys, on the other hand it reconstructs; while it broke into pieces the communist mould of primitive humanity, it was building up the elements of a higher and more complex form of communism."

—"Evolution of Property," by Paul Lafargue.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

I have noticed from late numbers of Justice that De Leon and De Leonism have just reached England. As De Leon has come to be largely a joke in America, there is a tendency on the part of American Socialists to consider this action of the English comrades as another proof of the statements of our comic papers of the great length of time it takes Englishmen to see a joke. De Leon has for over a year ceased to have any importance in the Socialist movement of America, and at the present time attracts almost no attention from active Socialists. His vote grows smaller with each election and has already reached the point in several States where he is no longer able to secure the very small number of signatures which the law requires to enable his nominees to be placed upon the official ballot. Hence, it is possible that the time has come when it is worth while to discuss the part which his movement played in American Socialism from an historical point of view.

Comrade Beer, who writes in a late number of Justice, is much more accurate in his statements than the majority of those who have attempted to interpret American Socialism to European comrades. Yet even he writes from the New York point of view, and it is a commonplace in America that New York is much more like Europe than it is like the rest of America. Hence it is that comrade Beer's analysis of the points at issue is only a trifle less narrow than the one which he imputes to the American comrades. He states that they considered it a purely personal fight. In this, again, he is speaking as one of the New York comrades, for thousands throughout the country knew far better, and took little interest in the personal fight. But comrade Beer sees in the whole matter nothing more than a struggle of nationalities, and from a Socialist point of view this is only a trifle less erroneous than the position which he criticises.

A brief sketch of the more general features of the evolution of Socialism in America will enable us to understand the peculiar place which De Leonism occupied in it. Ten years ago, there was very much ground for comrade Beer's statement that "American party Socialism is pre-eminently a foreign growth." Up to that time it had been almost exclusively German. In every city there had been little organisations, Saengerbunds, Turnvereins, and social clubs of various kinds which were composed of Socialists who had emigrated to this country. These bodies never had any effect whatever on American society save to prepare a small literature which later became of value. But about this time capitalism reached the stage of development which in every nation has produced Socialism. In America, however, no two portions of the country reach the same stage of social evolution simultaneously. The frontier was savage at a time that eastern cities had passed through competition into a monopolistic society. Then the most advanced capitalism passed from the extreme east to the inland manufacturing cities. This confusion in economic conditions produces a corresponding confusion in Socialist ideas. Bellamyism, populism. and a host of other freak movements sprung up. of these inclined co-operative ideal. more or less toward a None of them were intelligently Socialist. When the doctrines of international Socialism began to escape from the sectarian seclusion in which they had been held by the foreign comrades and began to take form in a political party, it was necessary that they be differentiated from the confusion that reigned round them. The result was the formation of a political sect having in its charge the "mysteries" of scientific Socialism. De Leon was the incarnation of this movement; that, personally, he was a master of vilification and falsification was not essential. European comrades take his epithets too strongly. They are like the young school girl who is frightfully shocked when learning to read French at the profusion of "mon Dieus." De Leon has used up all the strong phrases that he has in petty party disputes, and the result is that when he does find a man who is dishonest and who has betrayed the working class, he can call him nothing harder than he has already called those with whom he has had a simple intellectual disagreement. His epithets of traitor, fakir, &c., are no more significant than the French use of the term for deity in ordinary literature is comparable to the English or American oath.

But American economic evolution refused to be confined within a sect, whether that sect be De Leonism, Judaism, or German social organisations, when economic development pressed to the highest point of capitalism. The natural result was a clear-cut Socialism which was indigenous to the country. When this point was attained there was no more room for De Leon, and he passed out of existence as a significant factor in modern Socialism. De Leon's only reason for existence was the confusion which existed outside his movement under the name of Socialism. strenuous efforts to make it appear that the new Socialist Party still represents that confused movement. The fact is that there is not a Socialist Party in Europe which stands upon anywhere near as "narrow class-conscious and revolutionary" a position as does this new Socialist Party. I am not offering this as a proof of the superiority of the American Socialists, but simply as a fact. The farmers' programme of the Parti Ouvrier, or even much of its very desirable municipal activity, would not be endorsed by the dominant thought in the Socialist Party of this country. I have frequently heard the position of the S.D.F. criticised by members of our Socialist Party as "not being sufficiently clear." Under these circumstances, it will be seen that if the Socialist Party leans either way it is towards a too narrow interpretation of Marxism. It is apt to be catastrophic and revolutionary utopian rather than opportunist.

Just a word more that may help to give the European comrades something of an idea of the American Socialist movement. It must be borne in mind that in no other single country is there anything near as great a complexity of economic conditions as prevails here. Not only do we have these gradations from frontier savagery to concentrated city capitalism, but there are a large number of problems peculiar to America, each of which is so tremendous

as to exceed anything known in Europe. The negro problem, for example, with race prejudices, is one of these. In a large number of States the labouring population is black and disfranchised, and largely outlawed because of its colour. Yet they possess a majority of votes in those States. Scattered among this negro population is a white population known as the "poor whites" or "crackers," who are at a stage of intellectual degradation scarcely equalled elsewhere on earth. It must also be remembered that an ex-slave holding population, with their antagonisms and prejudices, are still quite powerful, and preserve the position of a landed aristocracy. To be sure, these are being rapidly crushed out by the progress of capitalism in the South. But their prejudices will continue to influence thought and practical action in the South for some years to come. The great ranch question is also peculiar to America, with its millions of acres of land with a society the inhabitants of which are still living in what is more nearly a nomadic than a capitalistic stage. The irrigation question, again, is a tremendous problem. The coal regions of America cover a territory nearly twice as large as the entire British Isles, and the difficulty of unionising the men, or of creating any sense of social solidarity among them, is correspondingly great. Into the midst of this complication comes a heterogeneity of nations such as has never been known. In the Nineteenth Ward of Chicago, for instance, in a population of about 50,000 in less than a square mile of territory, there are 17 colonies, quite distinct as to locality, and each one speaking a different language. instance will give some idea of the complexity of the problem which an observer, who has spent a few months in New York, considers himself so fully capable of discussing.

I have given these sides of the problem rather than the ones which are usually brought out in order that the English comrades may understand that there is something else in America beside great trusts and the most highly-developed capitalism on earth. These are here and are forcing Socialism forward with great rapidity. They have created American Socialism, so that to-day the predominant element in the Socialist movement is rapidly becoming American born.

There is just beginning to be a Socialist literature dealing with American problems and written by Americans. This does not mean that chauvinism or jingoism is having any voice in the Socialist movement of America—on the contrary, the foreign-born comrades are as gladly welcomed as ever—but simply that the Socialist movement has at last adjusted itself to American conditions.

A. M. Simons.

Editor International Socialist Review.

[&]quot;The use of products is determined by the social conditions in which the consumers are placed, and these conditions themselves rest on the antagonism of classes."—"Poverty of Philosophy," by Karl Mark.

WOMAN AND HER PLACE IN SOCIETY.

Why should it nearly always be assumed that women are only cut out for domestic work? We might just as logically take it for granted that all men are born to occupy the same position in life; that is, all be tailors, or mechanics, or some other particular kind of workmen. For if nature brought forth women all cut after one pattern, and all predestined to do the same kind of work in society, why did she not follow out the same stereotyped style in the creation of men? "Oh, but," I hear some exclaim, "the needs and necessities of life are so many and so varied that men are bound to do all kinds of work in order to supply the wants of humanity."

Why should the supplying of human needs be chiefly monopolised by men? Why should some people be so anxious to relegate women to the care of the oven, the running of the sewing machine in the making and mending of garments, and the turning of the mangle; and coupled with these, the nursing and training of children?

"Oh!" these same people reply, "it is because women show the greatest adaptibility for this kind of work." This is questionable, for some men have attained very high positions as cooks, and it is a well known fact that men with plenty of money to spend and who wish to have the very best of culinary arrangements will not have female cooks, and on all sea-going vessels men cooks are invariably employed. Also, in the realm of fashion men have proved themselves equal, if not superior, to women in the designing and making of garments; and, as far as the care of children is concerned, many men have shown themselves as capable of exercising love and patience toward them as any woman could.

If more women than men do show a greater adaptibility for domesticity, they have had centuries in which to cultivate it, as history proves, for our savage forefathers, with lordly consideration, in their periodical flittings would consign to their squaws the greater portion of the domestic utensils to carry, while they strutted along in ease and comfort. Whether this was to enable the man to fight any wild animal that might come in his way, or to give him more liberty to fly to save his own skin, the historian does not say, but keeps discreetly silent. We see a little of that spirit to-day, but in a more refined way. Men like to have places to which to resort where domestic worries cease from troubling, and children's voices are at rest.

Through ignorance and want of knowledge as to the real adjustments of life, women in the past have been made to cultivate one side of their nature alone, and that is the reason we have so many one-sided women to-day. But though custom demands that all women be domesticated, I assert that nature never intended all women to be so, even as she never intended that all men should do the same kind of work. Why have we so many slatterns and gossips amongst our womenkind? Is it not most reasonable to think that these women are in the wrong place, or doing the wrong kind of work?

Well, it may be said, these women should make the best of a bad situation, and not make bad worse by neglect. Let us remember that everybody is not imbued with a strong sense of duty, and therefore does not feel obliged to do what they do not like. All mothers do not love their children. Some mothers are no more fit to nurse and train children than the giant gorilla is fit to take a human baby and nurture and train that baby for human society, for mothers of this description have no sympathy and no innate understanding as to the requirements of a child, either mentally or physically. Therefore, society will show wisdom when it demands that children shall be taken from under the care of such women and put in the care of those who do understand them.

At the same time, I maintain that these women are more to be pitied than blamed, for they are the victims of a bad organisation of society. Suppose they had been taken as children and placed in institutions where they could always have been under the care of sympathetic and competent teachers, whose duty would be not to cram a lot of useless knowledge into their minds, but to draw out or develop any talent or ability the girls may have had, and, after cultivating this to the best advantage, to see to it that when the time for work had arrived they were put to that for which they were really adapted. Thus congenial work would have been found for them, and much misery and unhappiness would have been avoided.

When a baby girl is born into the world, what are the first surmisings about her? Ah, the baby is a girl, is it? Ah, well, she will be useful to her mother; she will be able to help her with the housework, and with the children, and when she is old enough she can go out and do some kind of work suitable for a girl; and, finally, when the right man comes, she can marry and repeat in her case the same process as those before her, only with this difference, that when she marries she very often has more work instead of less. What are the comments when a boy is born in the same sphere? Ah, a boy! Oh, I wonder what he will be when he grows up; a butcher, a baker, or a candlestick maker. Perhaps he will be none of these three, or perhaps the mother may have settled in her own mind what she would like him to be; still boys, even in working-class communities, have more liberty to choose congenial work than girls have.

But evolution is working out the problem of woman's emancipation in spite of the walls of prejudice and bigotry built up by past customs and habits. Women are working their way into every department of industrial and professional life. Necessity forces thousands out of their homes into the vortex of labour; they are obliged to come out of the seclusion of home because the men do not earn sufficient to support a family. This breach in the narrow circle of family life will grow wider and wider, for even if men could earn sufficient to keep all womenkind at home, which is very improbable, women will refuse to take the bit between their teeth again, having once kicked over the traces; and, indeed, they will have no other option left to them but to choose some life's work. For as all other branches of industry have been socialised, so will housework become socialised, and the present insane way of housekeeping will be abolished. In the present

system of housekeeping, thousands of women's lives are sacrificed to the Moloch of Make-work, which demands that the majority of working men's homes shall be made unhealthy and not fit to live in by the fumes arising from the oven and the washtub. Municipal restaurants, where food will be cooked on the best scientific principles, and by the best appliances; and municipal laundries, where clothes can be washed chiefly by machinery, will be established, and human beings be spared those diseases so prevalent amongst those who work in damp, steamy atmospheres. Also the time will come when all children will be looked upon as belonging directly to the nation, and the nation will undertake to care for and train them in such a way that will redound to the honour of its name. We see this tendency growing in the formation of such societies as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and in the School Board system. The tendency may be slow in developing, but nevertheless it is there, and is bound to develop in time.

What should we Socialists do in the face of circumstances of this kind? One of the rules of the S.D.F. distinctly states that, along with other objects, the members of that organisation are expected to work for "equality between the sexes." We do not see the spirit of this object carried out in our branches to any great extent. The men of our organisation do not care to try to educate the women who belong to them by the ties of relationship to higher ideals than many of them have, for if they did we should see more activity amongst them than we do. We hear at times such sentimental expressions as "the queen of the home," "the presiding genius," &c., but I am afraid that when Socialists who thoroughly understand the question give vent to these expressions they do so to excuse themselves from the duty which they can clearly see devolves upon them—namely, to teach their mothers, wives, and sisters the principles of Socialism.

We have not social or economic equality in society, but by the united effort of both the men and women of our organisation, or the Socialist Party generally, we can do much to educate the public on this subject, not so much on the question of the political franchise, or the right of women to have the same wages for the same kind of work as men, as for the establishment of a system of society where education will be put upon a right basis, when children will be educated according to individual ability, and not according to sex, and where economic liberty will be established, and men and women will not be forced to do uncongenial labour, or else starve.

A great deal of waste, a great deal of unhappiness, is caused by men and women having to do work that is utterly distasteful to them, and where their inclinations are constantly on the rack. If a system of society can be established where this evil can be mitigated, or abolished altogether, humanity will have done something to establish permanent happiness amongst the people.

Then let us not carp at each other, or one assert a superiority over the other, but let us work with a true spirit of comradeship for the realisation of that ideal state where the oppression of the weak will be unknown, when humanity will live together in brotherliness, and where men and women will have noble aims and gentle love to enable all to live in harmony.

HANNAH M. TAYLOR

ON SELFISHNESS.

I once heard a Socialist orator declare that a woman who worked for herself, and thereby filled a post which might be occupied by a man who had a family to support, was selfish. So she is. And a man who keeps a wife and family is selfish. A man does not keep a wife and family out of philanthropic motives, or for the benefit of the community; he keeps them to please himself. We are all selfish creatures—we all think ef our own interest first, because our strongest instinct is the instinct of self-preservation; if we did not, we could not continue to exist. What a very selfish act it is to eat one's dinner! and yet we all do it, every day, and do not feel ashamed—those who have dinners to eat; and those who have not complain that they are badly treated by society. But this is very selfish of them! Why are they not satisfied with the knowledge that other people have enough to eat? And why do not those who have dinners to eat carry them to those who are starving, and remain joyfully hungry themselves?

If we were all to neglect our own interests and run about looking for opportunities to help other people, what a state of confusion it would bring about! Without a good solid foundation of selfishness no society would be possible. Nature has given us these instincts for our protection; our first wish is to be happy, why should we be ashamed to confess it? We have just as much right to be happy as have the birds and insects. But we cannot be happy while we see others suffering, therefore we try—some of us, at least—to make others happy. Nature has fostered this instinct, too, because it is for our interest; a man living in a prosperous and well-regulated community has a better chance of happiness than one who does not; therefore it is to his interest to work for the good of the community.

Selfishness, therefore, is an evil only when it is carried to excess, as it very often is. And unselfishness, too, may become an evil when carried to excess, for it is often merely a form of selfishness common to weak natures, who practise it to gratify their vanity, that they may win the admiration of others. Those people who form themselves into societies for the furtherance of some philanthropic object, to which they devote all their spare money, time and energy, are very often so busy helping causes that they have no time to help individuals. "exaggerated altruism" is spoken of by Lombroso as a symptom of mental disease, in his "Man of Genius" (Contemp, Science Series.) But the people who are most beloved and who have most influence over others are the strong, the vigorous and well-developed, who are selfish enough to work out their own intentions in spite of all opposition, and who carry others with them by the force of their own individuality. Which women are most admired and beloved by men-the meek, unselfish, ministering angel, who spends all her time in studying the needs of others-or the strong-natured woman, who asserts her own individuality,

by expecting happiness for herself, makes others happy? Who is to lay down laws for us about duty, and right and wrong? There is no such thing as absolute right and wrong. When man first conceived the thought of right and wreng, he brought confusion into the universe. For what a man thinks right is right only so long as he is strong enough to maintain it so, either by his arm or by his brain. The strong man or the strong race makes the weak his servant, and he takes care to prove that it is right for him to do so. The stronger sex has chosen to impose a sterner code of morals on the weaker than they care to aspire to themselves; having pronounced them to be mentally inferior, they yet require women to be morally superior to themselves (who profess to be their protectors), and hold them responsible for their own misdeeds—for it is always the same old cry, "The woman tempted me, and I did eat."

For convenience sake, we call right or wrong what we think will add to the general happiness, or take from it. But these terms are relative, and not absolute. In a general way, what a thoroughly healthy and welldeveloped man or woman feels impelled to do, that is right and expedient. What the mean, depraved, starved and ill-developed man wishes to do is frequently injurious to himself or others, and therefore wrong, though not always, for we cannot blame him for wishing to have enough to eat. And the same may be said of good manners, for manners are only a branch of Lord Lytton, in one of his novels, makes a lady of rank remark. when speaking of the tendency of the middle-classes to ape the manners of the aristocracy, "The fact of the matter is that we have no manners, we simply say and do what is natural." Now this is a pregnant saying. It is surely natural if we cause any inconvenience to anyone to apologise for it. And here we see the difference between the gentleman and the cad. If a cad accidentally knocks down anything belonging to you his impulse is not to apologise but to run away. If a gentleman, when dining at a restaurant. finds that he cannot reach the salt or the mustard he politely asks his neighbour to hand it to him. But the cad stretches across his neighbour to reach what he requires without making any apology.

In some public garden, I forget where, a notice may be seen to this effect: "Ladies and gentlemen will not, others must not, pluck the flowers." Probably the intention in putting up such a notice was that those who felt impelled to pluck the flowers would restrain themselves from doing so, in the hope that they might thereby be taken for ladies and gentlemen.

Alas, the trouble is that so very, very few of us are thoroughly healthy and well-developed! How many people are restrained from being cheats and liars by a selfish dread of the consequences to themselves—for they are too ignorant to care for the consequences to society, which would reflect indirectly on themselves. I have known people who, when about to leave a neighbourhood where they had lived for some time, suddenly begin to cheat and lie, leave their debts unpaid, and make themselves otherwise disagreeable. We must all have observed the sudden change of manner of the man who finds that he is not going to be tipped for pointing out the way; and many a woman can tell of the same metamorphosis from the aspirant to

the satisfied lover (whether married or unmarried). The natural tendencies of some men, therefore, being such, it is plain that we cannot do without some kind of moral code by which to regulate our conduct, and which must be constantly revised, inspected, and renovated, to suit the changing needs of different generations. That is why we are obliged to make laws, and write books, and hold meetings, in order to arrive at some general understanding as to what is right and wrong.

If, therefore, a woman cannot find a suitable man to support her, decidedly she must be permitted to support herself in her own way just as much as a man. If men find it more convenient to remain unmarried, and to employ women who can be hired for a mere trifle, then the women whom they would naturally marry must be allowed every opportunity and liberty to work for themselves. If all men and women led healthy and natural, lives, and had a fair chance of developing themselves, these unnatural contingencies might not arise; but the millennium is still a long way off, and at present we can do no more than help each other to escape from the trammels which tradition and custom have wound so firmly about us, and by giving mind and body fair play, to try to bring about a better state of things.

NEXT SESSION'S EDUCATION BILL.

T. J. Macnamara writes on the above in the Fortnightly Review. He opens his article by stating that the Government is pledged through the Leader of the House of Commons to give "an early and honourable place" next Session to the question of national education. He says the process of stimulating this Government "into something approaching concern for this vital problem" will not be an easy one; and he quotes Sir John Gorst as saying at Bristol, "the many and pressing education reforms so urgently demanded were not attended to because the members of the Government were selected from a class which was not entirely convinced of the necessity or desirability of higher education for the people. They held the opinion, which was sometimes expressed by great professors of universities in their speeches, that there were certain functions which had to be performed in the modern life of civilised communities which were best performed by people ignorant and brutish."

Mr. Macnamara says: "Many members of the Unionist Party are quite as keen on the education question as their political opponents. . . . They recognise that mere physical superiority will avail little in the acute intellectual struggles of the immediate future. The lesson of the consular reports of the past ten or twelve years has not been altogether overlooked by them; and they are eagerly ready to admit that it is to the proper education of the children of the people that we must look if we are to maintain our position amongst the nations of the world." He says that "whilst the Government itself has no educational policy whatever Sir John Gorst knows exactly what he wants and is not over-scrupulous in the methods he adopts to secure his ends. When Parliament refused in 1896 to set up the principle (of municipalising the control of education)

which his Bill sought to introduce, he immediately set to work with considerable ingenuity, and a success, by-the-bye, that was a striking testimony to the public indifference as to what happens in the educational world, to work that principle in through the agency of departmental administration.

The writer takes up the sane standpoint that the most pressing problem is to place primary education on a satisfactory footing, and he quotes from the Consul's Report, 1898, in support of the opinion that Germany's great success is due largely to the high state of her general education, rather than her superior commercial and technical instruction. "The facts that need immediate, attention in respect of the primary school is finance. There are on the registers of the schools about five and a half millions of children. The schools are of two classes, 'Voluntary' and 'Board.' Roughly, three millions of the children attend 'Voluntary' schools, two and a half millions 'Board' schools. The main differences in these two classes of schools are: (1) In the form of local management, (2) in the character of the religious instruction given, (3) in the amount and nature of the local finance support accorded."

Mr. Macnamara then examines the financial support given to Board and Voluntary schools. "The School Board last year," he says, "found it necessary to supplement their central aid by a sum equal to £1 5s. 6d. perchild of the children in attendance in the schools. The conductors of the Voluntary schools were only able to secure a local supplement to their central aid in the form of a voluntary subscription equal to 6s. 5d. per child. It is this serious difference in the local income of the schools which must in some way or other be removed before the education problem can be considered to be finally settled."

After criticising the absurdities of unequal payment arising out of the voluntary schools and of unequal rating due to the parish system, a parish being sometimes ridiculously small to secure effective local management and financial support, the writer sums up what he considers the Bill of 1902 ought not and should be.

"1. It ought not to create a local authority simply for the purposes of secondary education.

"2. To thrust the municipalisation idea unwillingly upon a locality.

"1. The Bill should provide for the creation in each area of suitable size—preferentially a county or county borough—of one effective local Board of Education for all grades of schools.

"2. The constitution of the local Board of Education—whether to be elected ad hoc, or to be a committee of the Municipal Council—should be a

matter for the locality itself.

"3. The case of London should be treated specially, as in the Education Act of 1870.

"4. The Board of Education (if it be not decided to make the education charge exclusively national) should be empowered to levy a rate over the whole of its area for all purposes of local education in supplement of exchequer grants which would be received by it and which should be of such an amount as to provide at least three-fourths of the entire cost of the education of the locality.

"5. The terms under which the Local Education Board would offer public aid to primary schools now conducted under private management and by the assistance, more or less, of voluntary contributions, to be setforth in a Code of Regulations determined by Parliament and the local authority, such code to be additional to the general Code of Regulations

issued by the Board of Education."

MILITARISM IN POLITICS AND LORD ROBERTS'S ARMY REORGANISATION SCHEME.

THAT eminent authority on military matters, M. Jean de Bloch, criticises in the Contemporary Review Lord Roberts's new army scheme. Lord Roberts admits that the day of the bayonet charge has gone by, but he still favours the policy of attack by rifle fire instead, and to make this method effective men are to be taught to act within certain limits more on their own initiative. To this scheme M. Bloch takes exception, and his long article is practically an indictment of Lord Roberts and of the narrowness of the military authorities, blinded by ancient traditions. The writer thinks "that the methods of training now in vogue on the Continent are not conducive to the ends in view, that a modification of the Swiss system best harmonises with present and future needs, that long service is neither requisite nor desirable, and that the reorganisation of the British army on the lines sketched by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts are calculated to drain the economic resources of the country to no useful purpose. How can an attack be made with anything like the effect formerly produced by a bayonet charge? The bayonet charge of bygone days was at bottom a psychological phenomenon, so far as the results are considered. The enemy were scattered by fear. A living wall of men bristling with gleaming steel swept rapidly forwards against another compact body of soldiers. At the first clash, and sometimes before it, the weaker side - weaker in nerve force, in courage - turned panic stricken fled. Therewith the work was done. Now, no operation remotely comparable to that can any longer be carried Smokeless powder, the extended battlefield, loose formation good cover combine to hide a man from his assailant. If we seek to blend Lord Roberts's scene of close firing as the brilliant finale of a hard-fought engagement, with that of a vast plain, destitute of human beings, the resulting picture would need two canvasses. 'When the army comes home,' remarked Sir Howard Vincent in his lecture at the United Service Institution, you will be surprised to find how few members of it have ever seen a Boer, save with a flag of truce or as a prisoner. I did not meet halfa-dozen officers in all Sir Redvers Buller's army who saw one at the battle of Colenso." And citing an extract from the book, "The Work of the Ninth Division": "No human interest, a bare plain, and, 800 yards off, a line of trees, not a Boer or even a puff of smoke to be seen all day. Only if one raised his head, the ping of a bullet, and the sight of another dead or wounded comrade," he says: "In one sense there is ample room on such a vast plain for the bayonet charge in deciding the day—but very little opportunity. At the battle of Stormberg the British advanced to within a few hundred yards of the Boers without seeing them, and the result was not that they fired at a close distance, winning the day, but that they were totally routed, leaving one third of their force in the hands of the enemy. War correspondents informed the readers of their papers that even after the Republicans had opened fire the British were unable to locate them. At Magersfontein the dauntless Highland Brigade approached to within 300 yards of the foe without once suspecting that they were within range, and by the time they grew aware of their position they had lost a quarter of their

force as the result of a few volleys from unseen rifles. At the same engagement the Guards fought for 15 hours against an invisible adversary, and even when the enemy's whereabouts was known it was no easy task to determine how far he was away. The Austrian Military Attaché, Captain Trimmel, says in this connection, 'the fire of the British was generally ineffacious owing to the difficulty of appreciating distances, for it was never possible to see the enemy's fire (except at night).' Surely, all this looks almost as unpromising for the brilliant finish which close firing is to effect as for the historic bayonet charge itself. Perhaps in a war with one of the great Powers the conditions would be less disappointing? On the contrary, they will be found to be much more so. The German artillerist, General Hauschild, who may be credited with knowing intimately what he is writing about, says that the art of dissimulating the trenches will be immeasurably more perfect in European armies than it is in those of the South African This being so, when and where, one may legitimately ask, will the tactics preconised by Earl Roberts come in ?

"His lordship would not, of course, send forth his men without strong support. I trust I am bearing the cardinal fact in mind that help in question would assume the form of 'a powerful artillery and rifle fire from the flank.' The idea, I hasten to say, is admirable, the only difficulties lie in its execution. I venture to single out one. Among the leading facts of latter-day warfare, one of the most salient is that artillery fire has little effect against entrenchments. This unwelcome lesson has been taught over and over again during the South African war, but it evidently has not been

thoroughly learnt as yet.

"Whether the guns were Boer or British, their effect against entrenchments was meagre in the highest degree. The action at Paardeberg against Cronje and his men on the one hand, and the attacks made by the Boer artillery at Spion Kop on the other, are typical cases. At the former place the strongly-entrenched Republicans were subjected to the bombardment of from 50 to 100 guns for ten days. Yet, out of 4,000 men, they lost but 179 in all, most of whom were killed or disabled by rifle fire. casualty list traceable to the bombardment did not exceed 40. The secret of this comparative immunity was their entrenchments. Calculated on the basis of an hour and a cannon as unit, we find that the Boers were exposed to the action of 18,000 hours' cannon, with a result so paltry that it hardly deserves mention. Now take the case of men being bombarded who are not entrenched, and the difference is brought out in bold relief. The British at Spion Kop were in this position. artillery fire therefore had free play. Hence although the Boers had ten times fewer guns than the British possessed at Paardeburg, the latter lost 1,500 men. In other words, the entrenchments Paardeberg British rendered the artillery fire 900 times less effective than it would have been without them. This is fully borne out by what occurred at Ladysmith, where the Imperial troops were entrenched; the casualty list caused by four months' bombardment amounted to somewhat less than two men killed or wounded a day. The story of Kimberley and Mafeking confirms this observation. All this was known before, and to some extent published. Specialists were so impressed with the fact that General Hauschild writes: 'Nothing remains for the attack but to have recourse to trenches and earthworks.'

"Now that, I venture to submit, is a state of things which leaves very little scope for Lord Roberts's substitute for the bayonet charge, and it needs no special initiation into craft mysteries to perceive that it dovetails

with all the surprising vicissitudes of the hour which have any bearing upon the subject. And no scheme of army reform which leaves these lessons unheeded will prove other than a broken reed to the nation which leans upon the so reformed troops for its defence."

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THE CRISIS WITH GERMANY—AND ITS RESULTS.

An article in the Fortnightly Review by "Calchas" under this title, takes the recent antagonism shown in Germany to this country as a text on which to discuss the relations between Germany and England, and, indeed, the whole foreign policy of this country in relation to other Powers as well. This subject has been dealt with in previous numbers of the Fortnightly Review, and after referring to what has been written the author says:—

"German hostility, in a word, does not depend upon the Boer War. It was not excited by that cause and will not disappear with it. It is permanent, because rooted in a conscious rivalry of interests such as has hardly existed before between two peoples. The fundamental point may be illustrated by one broad contrast. Russia and France do not desire the overthrow of this country in order to establish the commercial and naval supremacy of Germany. They are far from wishing to kill Charles to make James King. With the latter country, upon the other hand, the hope of superseding us in both respects is the governing idea of her national imagination. Only by the displacement of England can she hope to realise her newest and dearest ambitions. It is not in the indomitable nature of German thoroughness and perseverance to be content with a second place in anything once seriously undertaken. She is bound to aim at the victory in trade; she cannot be content that her fleet should remain second, and will not easily abandon the dream that it may one day be first. The Germans, in short, are the one people who have an overwhelming interest in breaking down our sea-power. If that is ever done it will be done by their assistance and could not be done without it. That is the essence of the question. 1870 is a distant memory. Every subject of the Kaiser hopes that a conflict with the Dual Alliance is an equally distant hypothesis. It is an idea also which everyone dreads, not only in Germany, but throughout Europe. To prevent a war fought out upon her frontiers, perhaps within them—which, whatever the military issue, would mean a colossal economic disaster to the industrial organisation which has grown up since the Treaty of Frankfort—is the one pre-occupation which overrides every other for the statesmanship of Berlin. The Wilhelmstrasse lives under the perpetual necessity of creating a diversion, and all its efforts are used to keep the attention of its rivals fastened upon other quarters. Count von Bülow and Count Waldersee alike have used every legitimate and some illegitimate opportunities to draw ostentatious distinctions between the complaisance of Germany towards Russia in Far Eastern affairs and the

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obstructive attitude of England. The Anglo-German Agreement was used with more sharpness than scruple, to make the best of both worlds—to hypothecate half the Yangtse basin to Germany, should the question of the reversion of that territory ever arise, and at the same time to make the diplomatic position of Russia in Manchuria secure in defiance of the pained protests of Whitehall against that amazing interpretation. But a more continuous and systematic course of statecraft has been followed in another direction."

The writer then recapitulates the "benevolent support extended to us by German policy, wherever British enterprise seemed likely to embroil us with France," instancing Bismarck's encouragement of our occupation of Egypt, and the Kaiser's urging on us the reconquest of the Soudan. But "Fashoda was the settlement of the struggle for the Nile, not the beginning of a wendetta;" and on the occasion of the recent trouble in the East between France and Turkey, "it was instantly realised in Berlin that the benevolent neutrality of this country towards the occupation of Mitylene was a warning that the Wilhelmstrasse could no longer count upon the

automatic antagonism of Great Britain and France.

Europe.

"But the resources of diplomacy are not in the least exhausted by the fact for which the Wilhelmstrasse in reality was already prepared. It is still indispensable that a diversion should be created in Europe, and that every nerve should be strained to convince the neighbours of Germany that the antiquated issues of 1870 and 1878 are superseded by vital questions which can only be met by the solidarity of the Continent. This idea has become the best card of the statesmen of Central Europe, and its diplomatic value may prove immense. The 'American danger' in trade has been enormously exaggerated, and there may be a reaction if the movement of Atlantic commerce in the next few years should show that there was no cause for panic, and that nothing like Niagara is upon us. But, in the meantime, the American ideal of monopolising the New World and exploiting the Old is regarded with intense apprehension and resentment throughout

"Upon this point nothing could be more opportune and suggestive than the remarkable notes of an interview with the German Emperor which have appeared in the Revue de Paris for the first part of November from the penof M. Pierre de Ségur. The first impulse of the reader was to expect a prompt denial from Berlin. For a considerable time past a more vigilant watch has been kept at the Wilhelmstrasse upon unauthorised reports of the Kaiser's utterances; and whenever remarks erroneously attributed to him are in the slightest degree embarrassing for his advisers, they are vigorously discredited. But in this case the expected démenti has never appeared; and when we remember that we are dealing with a statement of the most striking character published in so conspicuous a quarter as the Revue de Paris, the conversation described by M. Pierre de Ségur must be accepted as being given with substantial accuracy. In July last, according to this account, a party of Frenchmen were invited by Kaiser Wilhelm, when in the Odde Fiord upon his Norwegian holiday, to visit the Imperial yacht, the Hohenzollern. The Emperor spoke with even more than his usual freedom and suggestiver and was full of America and the trusts. The following passage deser.es attenton from every point of view. 'Think,' said the Kaiser :-

""Think that a Morgan might go so far as to bring under his power several shipping lines from ocean to ocean. . . ." Where is protection to be found? To guard against this danger the Kaiser believed it to be

necessary to establish in the future a European Zollverein—a Customs League against the United States, similar to the bleckade instituted by Napoleon against England to maintain the freedom and interests of Continental trade. He explained, and without circumlocution, that in such a case England would be under the necessity of making her choice between two clear and opposite policies, either to throw in her lot with the blockade or to make common cause with the European Powers and to stand on their

side against America.'

"The Kaiser is one of the prophets who has more power than all his hearers to promote the fulfilment of his own vaticinations, and it is not difficult to recognise in this new conception of the solidarity of Europe a fresh presentment of an idea which has long dominated a mind that pursues through the most exalted dreams only such thoughts as, if realised, would be infinitely to the practical advantage of his Empire. 'The Yellow Peril,' represented as the common danger in the famous cartoon, has now apparently given place to the 'American Peril.' The solidarity of the Continent against the United States or England, or both combined, could mean nothing more nor less than the economic supremacy of Germany upon the Continent and the naval leadership of the Continent by Germany. The limitation of military budgets might be effected by arrangement, and the European Powers would be free to concentrate all their resources upon the otherwise almost hopeless problem of the successful development of their fleets against the Anglo-Saxon. Now, if there be any ultimate purpose behind that activity of Germany at all points of the compass which suggests simultaneous designs upon China, Asia Minor, South America, and upon sea-power generally, and is well calculated to confuse the judgment of other countries, that master aim will not be disclosed until the work of creating the fleet is complete. It will be the second or third navy in the world. And if we are not insured by that time against possible danger from Germany it may be too late. Let us again recapitulate the argument. avoid war in Europe which, whatever the result, would be an inconceivable catastrophe for the industrial Germany created since 1870, must continue to be the supreme object of Teutonic statesmanship. To secure that end the cultivation of amicable relations with Russia and France is indispensable. This can only be done effectually by promoting the theory of European solidarity against the two great Anglo-Saxon powers who are outside the continental area—England and the United States. War at sea, however hazardous, would be beyond comparison preferable for Germany to a deathgrapple with her great neighbours in the heart of Europe. If it were a war against England, waged in concert with Russia, Germany would lack neither food for her people nor a market for her products. The land route to Asia would be open to her troops, and compensation might be found there to any extent for the probable loss of the comparatively insignificant colonies she at present possesses."

The writer says: "These may appear far fetched and fantastic visions if looked at from the point of view of our relations with Berlin alone, but the problem cannot be isolated in that fashion," and he proceeds to discuss possible breaches between Eugland and European Powers, and Germany's probable action thereon. "We could not keep India against a Continental coalition by sea-power or by anything but the utmost resources of conscription," and this last, he says further on in his article, "is an empty

dream."

The author's advice is to make a settlement with Russia by the unreserved relinquishment of Persia to her influence.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF AMERICAN EDUCATION.

MR. CLOUDESLEY BRERETON writes in the December Monthly Review on the above subject. We give below some extracts from the article:—

"Elementary and secondary instruction alike are free in accordance with the democratic creed that, given equality of opportunity, the man who is worth his salt is certain to come to the front. This policy of the open door in education, through which the able children of the poorer classes have risen and can rise to positions of wealth, has, no doubt, greatly contributed to the expansion of the United States. But most thoughtful persons will also admit it has been largely conditioned by it. In European countries, where the rate of expansion is far slower, notably in France, and, even in such a quick-developing country as Germany, we see the State obliged to organise the selection of careers in order to prevent or diminish overcrowding in the liberal professions. Democratic France has deliberately technicalised her high primary schools while the State in Germany, in establishing a scholastic monopoly, has adopted the most drastic measures for the elimination of the unfit. Now, even if the United States continues to expand materially as quickly as heretofore, there are not wanting many competent judges who believe that the opportunity for getting on is not nearly so great as it was 30 years ago. Of what avail is it to keep the school-door wide open, if the door out into the world is closing? However efficient the school may be, it cannot make chances, it can only prepare its alumni to take them when offered. cannot bring off a catch unless the ball comes one's way. Should America, therefore, persist in her splendid endeavour to give each child that stays on in her schools a general education, the question naturally arises, is she not in the long run likely to raise up that undesirable hybrid that other nations have produced—a literary proletariat."

The writer is evidently alive to the fact that the capitalists in their endeavour to lower the cost of educated labour, mental as well as physical, is producing a section of the proletarian class likely to be exceedingly dangerous (to the capitalist) when the pressure of misery has reached a certain point. He proceeds:—

"One important factor that profoundly modifies the American problem is that commerce is not generally looked down on socially, as it is in most European countries. There is little of the cant of soiling one's hands with trade, which, on the contrary, is rather regarded as one of the chief avenues to success. . . . The highest University honours will not prevent the most brilliant American scholar from entering commerce, perhaps because the biggest prizes are to be found in it. The classic instance is that of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, whose attainments in mathematics were such as to induce the authorities at Göttingen to offer him a University lectureship. The fact of the nation's schools being open to the lower orders does not prevent their being patronised by the better classes, who freely send their children to these schools. Nothing is more noteworthy than the way in which there has been a positive stampede among millionaires to devote a liberal share of their immense fortunes to the cause of education. Only this year the President at Harvard read out at commencement a list of donations to the

University of over a million and a half dollars, and the same day at Yale the President of the college announced the completion of their two million dollar fund. How small in comparison with this is the sixty thousand odd pounds collected for Cambridge University! Some unkind persons have suggested that this outburst of generosity is due to the desire to obtain a lien on the teaching of the Universities."

In this connection it is well to remember that four professors lost their appointments in the last few months for teaching contrary to the endowers' wishes. The writer proceeds:—

"It is impossible to read the hearts of men, but it may, at least, be stated that in many cases the money has been given for objects into which the teaching of such debatable subjects as political economy or social science do not enter at all."

The two sexes are taught together, which the writer thinks is an advantage to the females :-- "The principal characteristic which marks off American" from European schools is the presence of the female sex in their midst, both as pupils and teachers. Co-education is the rule, except in the New England States, where it is not universal. The great mass of independent witness seems to be in its favour, though there are not wanting a certain type of critics who urge that after all if the school is a preparation for life, the life that a majority of girl pupils will have to lead is that of the wife and the mother, and that the training for this state of life should not be completely sacrificed in the higher classes by giving the girls identical courses of study with those of the boys. Be that as it may, it is probably certain that co-education renders women more self-possessed and self-reliant, while the higher instruction they receive makes them the equal, if not, as some assert; the superior of the male sex. There seems, in fact, some show of danger that if the American woman continues to enjoy this preferential treatment the American nation may one day see itself converted into one of what Bismarck used to call the feminine nations. In this the American woman is like to be unconsciously aided and abetted by the female teachers who, apparently for economic reasons, have largely ousted the male element from the teaching profession."

Regarding male versus female teaching, Mr. Brereton writes:—"It is just perhaps in the question of judgment that the difference goes as deep as anywhere. The mind of the male teacher is essentially arranged on a logical plan; women, on the one hand, however gifted, are rather intuitive than soverely rational. Hence the boy pupil who comes too exclusively under female teaching will probably in some things be more sensitive to influence and suggestion than his harder-headed brother, but on the other hand he will be more deficient in mental balance and logical power. There appear to be already signs of this deficiency showing in the American schools in those classes where the pupil is passing from the receptive age to the age of reason. The American teaching, admirable as it is, in rendering the child sensitive to externals, and aiding his senses to store up abundantly a mass of mental impressions, seems halting and inconclusive just at the point where the transition has to be made in the pupil from the state of sensuous to that of logical knowledge, which means the setting in order and arranging the previously gathered stores of facts and deducing from them the truths implicit in their newly-framed formulæ."

As regards the effect of the national system of education on the negro, he says:—"One of the most promising movements for the regeneration of the negro is the great educational work with which the name of Brooker T.

Washington, who is himself a negro, is identified. He frankly admits that for the present, at any rate, the negro had better resign his claims to exercise the franchise, or at least leave them in abeyance. Let the negro show he can be a useful member of society, and society will find a place for him.

"It is curious," proceeds the writer, "to note that while we in England are attempting to-day to bring the local authorities into closer touch with the schools, the tendency in the States seems to be in placing the school outside politics. Not the least interesting chapter in American education is that which deals with the long and victorious struggle by which American democracy, in order to safeguard itself against itself, has been driven to call in the aid of the expert. In a recent official publication a writer on educational organisation wrote as follows: 'In the City of Buffalo, New York State, the school affairs are managed by a committee appointed by the City Council, but happily the case stands by itself, and the evil consequences possible under such a scheme have been much ameliorated by a most excellent superintendent.'

"If we compare the attitude to-day of the parent in every country towards the school with what it was fifty years ago, we shall be at once struck with the great and increasing claims made on the school. Under the stress of modern competition the American father is often unable to exercise effective oversight over his child's bringing up. Early away in the morning, late home at night, he frequently passes the whole day without seeing his child, except for a few moments. The women, again, are often absorbed in other pursuits. In this case the school becomes more and more

the sponsor for the child's upbringing and education.

"The American schools have so far sturdily maintained the paramount necessity of laying a firm basis of general education, and refused to sacrifice the education of the citizen to the training of the worker. This has not prevented them, in technical education, from introducing specialisation, and that of a very high order, but they have carefully kept it till the end of the pupil's career; and there is none of the smattering in technical instruction of immature papils which has such an unhappy vogue in England."

We must conclude with the following:—"There are three things which are essential, not only to the military, but also to the educational forces of a country; money, men ready to go anywhere and do anything, and an experienced leader. The educational forces of America are fully equipped in this respect. They can count on being fully supplied with the sinews of war, their personnel is singularly enterprising and enthusiastic, and in the present head of their education bureau they possess one who may well be described as the Nestor of educationists. The reverse of a roi fainéant, who rules, but does not govern, Dr. Harris governs because he does not rule. His writ 'runs in no State,' yet is read in all. His direct jurisdiction over American education is nil, yet, unofficially, he exercises over the minds and souls of the teachers all the spiritual suzerainty of an educational pontiff.'

[&]quot;The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonism in civil society."—"Poverty of Philosophy," by KARL MARX.

M. SEGUIN'S GOAT.

M. Seguin had always been unlucky with his goats. He always lost them in the same way—one fine morning they broke away from their rope, they went on the mountain, and the wolf ate them. Nothing kept them back; they cared neither for their master nor did they fear the wolf.

The good M. Seguin could not understand it. He used to say, "It is no

use; my goats get dull with me; I shall never keep one."

Yet he still tried to do so, and, though he had lost six goats, he bought another. But this time he bought a kid, so that it might get used to his place. It was such a pretty kid; it had gentle eyes, a pretty little pointed beard, black polished hoofs, beautiful horns, and such lovely hair. Then it was gentle, affectionate, and it let itself be milked quietly; it was a perfect dear.

M. Seguin had behind his house a field surrounded by a hawthorn hedge. That is where he put the kid: he tethered it to a stake, giving it plenty of

rope.

Now and then he went and looked at it to see if it was comfortable. The kid was very happy; it nibbled the grass as if it liked it, and M. Seguin was delighted. "At last," he said, "I have got one that will not be dull in my field."

M. Seguin was mistaken; the kid was dull.

One day, looking at the hill, it said: "How I should like to be up there! How fine to gambol in the heather without this blessed rope, which chafes my neck. That may suit a donkey or a cow, but it will not do for a goat."

From that moment the grass seemed to be stale. The goat was dull, it grew thin, it gave little milk. It was sad to see it drag on its rope, turning its head towards the mountain, with its nostrils wide open, saying "Me!"

so sadly.

M. Seguin could see there was something wrong, but he did not know what it was. One morning, when he had milked her, the goat turned round and said in her dialect:

"Listen, M. Seguin. I am pining away here. Let me go on to the

mountain."

"What, good gracious; you, too!" said M. Seguin, quite taken back, and he let his pail fall. Then, sitting down on the grass, next to the goat, he said:

"Do you wish to leave me, Blanquette?"
Blanquette replied, "Yes, M. Seguin."

"Have you not enough grass?"

"Oh! yes, M. Seguin."

"Is the rope too short? Shall I make it longer?"

"It is not worth while, M. Seguin."
"Well, then, what is it? What do you want?"

"I want to go on to the mountain, M. Seguin."

"But don't you know that there is a wolf there? What will you do when he comes?"

"I will butt at him, M. Seguin."

"The wolf does not care for your horns. He has eaten older goats than you. Don't you remember old Renaude, who was here last year? She fought for a whole night with the wolf and he ate her up."

"Dear me! Poor old Renaude. But, still, let me go on to the moun-

tain, M. Seguin."

"Gracious!" said M. Seguin, " what has happened to my goats? The wolf will get this one, too. Well, I will save her, after all, and lest she should break the rope I will shut her up in the stable and she shall always stay there."

Then M. Seguin took the goat into a very dark stable and double-locked the door. Unfortunately he forgot all about the window, and scarcely was

his back turned when the goat went away.

When the white goat arrived on the mountain everything there was delighted. The old fir trees had never seen anything so pretty before. She was received like a young queen. The chestnut trees stooped to the ground to caress her with the tips of their branches, the golden broom greeted her as she passed, all the mountain was joyful. She was so happy, there was such fine grass, as high as her neck, and no beastly rope. And the flowers were a delight to see and smell. The white goat, half drunk with joy, turned somersaults just to show how happy she was. Then she would dart off from an imaginary wolf and away she would go, now on a hillock, now in a valley. She made as much noise as if there had been ten goats on the mountain.

Blanquette was afraid of nothing. She jumped over torrents which covered her with foam as she passed. Then she went and dried herself in the sun on some rocks near by. And she could see in the distance M. Seguin's house and the field. She could not believe that she had ever lived in such a

place.

Suddenly the wind became colder. The mountain became violet, evening was at hand. Below, the fields were veiled in mist. The field of M. Seguin was hidden, but she could see the smoke from the chimney. She could hear the tinkling of the bells of a flock being brought back to the fold. She felt sad, then she heard a "how" in the mountain. She thought about the wolf and at the same moment she heard the blast of a horn in the valley. It was M. Seguin calling her back. "How! How!" said the wolf.

"Come back, come back," cried the horn.

Blauquette thought of going back, but she remembered the stake, the rope, and the hedge, and she thought that she could not go back to the old life.

The horn was silent.

The goat heard the leaves move behind her. She turned round and saw in the gloaming two short, straight ears, quite stiff, and two shining eyes, It was the wolf.

There he was, a monster, motionless, squatting on his haunches, looking at the little white goat and already eating her. As he felt certain of his prey, the wolf was in no hurry, only when she turned he laughed sardonically: "Ha! ha! M. Seguin's little goat," and he licked his wicked

jaws with his big, red tongue. Blanquette felt that she was lost. Thinking about the fate of old Renaude, who had fought all night and yet was eaten in the morning, she wondered whether it would not be better to let him eat her up at once and have done with it. But, thinking it over, she determined to fight, not that she hoped to kill the wolf—for goats do not kill wolves—but only to see whether she could hold out as long as Renaude.

Then the monster came on and she butted at him.

She was a brave little goat and she fought well. She made the wolf go back several times. The fight lasted all night. Now and then the goat would look at the stars and would say to herselt, "I hope I can hold out till dawn!"

One by one the stars went out. Blanquette fought with redoubled vigour. A pale light appeared in the horizon and a cock crew. Then the poor dear said, "At last!" and she lay down on the ground in her beautiful fur, all stained with blood.

And the wolf rushed at her and ate her up.

ALPHONSE DAUDET.
(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)



