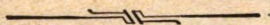
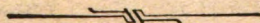


THE
SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

A
MONTHLY SOCIALIST REVIEW.



VOL. VI.
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LABOUR.

Tune : "All People that on Earth do Dwell."

—*Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 166.

ALL people that on earth do dwell
Who boast the glories of your race,
Know what of power or pride ye tell
Hath patient Labour for a base.

By this alone ye grow so great,
By this ye live from day to day ;
This is the prop of all your State,
And want of this is your decay.

Then bend them not to useless toil
Who put your idleness to scorn,
Nor them for greediness despoil
To make like sheep but newly shorn.

For Labour bears no luck in dower,
Sweat needs must run for man's increase
In health and wealth that merge to power
'Mid sure-fast guarantees of peace.

Blest and thrice blest the rugged Face
And noble Front all over scars,
That dies not with the dying race,
That was before creation's stars!

G. W. S.

(RECAP)

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PLATON BROUNOFF.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. VI., No. 1. JANUARY 15, 1902.

A SOCIALIST COMPOSER AND HIS ART.

On a calm and beautiful Sunday evening early in June we gathered together, a few kindred souls, round the hospitable board of two brave and beloved comrades, whose triumphant love-joy we shared, even as we recently had shared the sorrows of their Gethsemane. The life and soul of our little party was a big Russian musician, whose genial humour and almost boyish enthusiasm affected us all. A man of distinguished appearance and bearing, his face bore the unmistakable stamp of genius; it seemed to be perfectly familiar to me, yet I could not recall where I had seen it before, and in vain did I tax my memory—perhaps some picture, half-forgotten, had been recalled and only dimly recognised.

“Play us something, Brounoff,” said someone, when the meal was over, and we were gathered in the modest drawing-room. “Yes, do! Play us something of your own,” we urged in unison.

Brounoff rose without the slightest trace of affectation, and, after making us roar with laughter at one of his lively jokes, took his seat at the piano, and played to us, whilst we listened with breathless interest and awe. First, a selection of dreamy Oriental music of weird and wondrous beauty, then a whole series of delightful compositions—“In the Flower Garden”—each bearing the name of a favourite flower and ending with a brilliant march called “The Dance of the Flowers.” A brief interval and then he began again. This time it is a series of tone pictures representing Russian peasant life. A religious festival procession is the opening picture, and the glad bell-music proclaims it to be a day of rejoicing. Then the merry laughter and songs of children, with sounds of love and sadness following in quick succession. A moment of repose and song-legend, and then the pattering of rain and the dull, heavy tread of passing exiles and their soldier guard. Mid sad farewells and the increasing fury of the storm is heard the clang of galling chains, and we seem to see the pitying peasants crossing themselves in sympathetic prayer. Sleigh bells and the horns of hunters have barely

weaned us from that terrible picture, when the cries of mothers and sisters, as their loved ones depart for the war, and the sad sounds of war itself bring back bitter thoughts of Russian militarist despotism.

As Brounoff played "The Passing of the Exiles" I gazed for a moment at his face, illumined with enthusiasm, and in an instant understood the strange impression it had produced upon me before. I remembered the picture of Rubenstein which hung above my bed in my boyhood's home—this wonderful musician who had so moved us by his playing was like Rubenstein! I thought then that I had made a discovery, and did not know that the great master himself had once noticed it, and taken a great interest in the pupil who so much resembled him. "The passing of the Exiles" was, indeed, dedicated to "The Memory of my Teacher, Anton Rubenstein," and surely it is a worthy memorial of his genius.

"Have you never written any revolutionary music, Comrade Brounoff?" asked someone, and then, though the hour is late, we prevail upon him to play us some of his Socialist songs. With a full, rich voice he sang the words of a song by Francis McDaniels, entitled "The Call of the Workers," a soul-stirring summons that may well become the "Marsellaise" of the world-wide Socialist movement. And before we said "Good-night" he played for us Hood's "Song of the Shirt," with a melody of tearful pathos, and, for an accompaniment, the sound of a sewing machine.

Next day, in his studio, Platon Brounoff played again for me, and told me the story of his career. He was born at Elisabethgrad, South Russia, in 1863. At sixteen he entered the Musical Institute at Warsaw, where he studied for three years under such teachers as Strobel, Rogusky, and Zarzycky, receiving his diploma, and, returning to South Russia, made a most successful concert tour. At the end of 1883 he went to St. Petersburg and entered the Imperial Conservatory of Music, graduating in 1891 and receiving his diploma from Rubenstein, who was also one of his teachers. Brounoff tells the story of his first meeting with Rubenstein with much gusto. He was singing in a choir under Rubenstein's leadership, when something in his voice seemed to attract the great artiste, who turned round and looked at him. Noticing the remarkable likeness to himself he called out in tones of mingled surprise and anger, "Huh! where did you come from?" From that time Rubenstein took a fatherly interest in him, and became his protector and guide. On one occasion some of the students at the Conservatory tried to stir up an anti-Semitic feeling, and declared that they would not sit with the Jewish students at the Grand Opera, speaking in a loud manner so as to attract young Brounoff's attention, he being a Jew by birth, though nominally a Christian. Heedless of all rules he protested with an indignant speech, and was threatened with expulsion. But when he told Rubenstein, who was also a Jew by birth, the circumstances, his protest was upheld, and the anti-Semites warned against attempting to stir up racial feeling.

In July, 1891, Brounoff came to America, where he has achieved considerable success. He made his American debut as a composer in 1894 by the production of a suite for the violin and piano, called "Oriental Wedding,"

which was immediately popular. From that time onward he has been very busy, and has published many compositions which have added greatly to his reputation, and have been produced at some of the leading concerts of the past few years. His cantata, "Angel," for two soloists, chorus and orchestra (1896), and his symphonic overture, "Russia," produced by the Seidl Orchestra, under his personal direction, at the Carnegie Music Hall, New York, in 1896, and repeated the following year, won for him an acknowledged position amongst the foremost living composers. He has also published a small volume of satirical musical critiques, of which a second edition is being prepared.

Brounoff is a Socialist, and more than once has he placed his magnificent genius at the disposal of the movement. He composed the old S. L. P. fighting song, "The Hand with the Hammer," and a "May-day Song," the words of which were written by a little girl. As we talked in his studio he told me that it was his great desire to present to the English-speaking Socialist movement a complete album of Socialist songs. Then he showed me the manuscript with its powerfully written preface, and played to me some of the pieces. There are twenty-one pieces in the book, all of them good, some of them extremely grand and inspiring. Fortunately, there are prospects of its early publication, and it is safe to say that a greater gift of Art to Socialism has never been made. Along with the name of William Morris, the great Socialist artist, who, in deathless verse and beautiful design, gave expression to his genius, posterity will write the name of Platon Brounoff, the Socialist artiste, whose genius found expression in noble and deathless music.

New York, 1901.

J. SPARGO.

SOCIALISM IN HUNGARY.

Socialistic ideas first appeared in Hungary about 30 years ago, but the movement was only organised in 1890, and the first great meeting took place on May Day, 1900, at Buda Pesth, in favour of the shows day and universal suffrage.

It must be remembered that Hungary is essentially an agricultural country, over 62 per cent. of the population being engaged in that industry. It is also a very backward country, for 54 per cent. of the inhabitants can neither read nor write. The suffrage is also very limited, only 55 per 1,000 of the citizens having the right of voting, which can only be acquired by paying at least 21 crowns (17s.) in direct taxation. Public meetings can only be held with the permission of the Government, and this is often refused.

Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Socialism has not made much progress. The chief activity has been in forming Trade Unions, and there are now 126, having 23,603 members. Some of these unions have newspapers.

It is hoped that when the elections take place a great deal of propaganda work may be undertaken, and pamphlets and leaflets have already been prepared.—J. WELTNET in "Le Mouvement Socialiste," translated by J. BONHOMME.

PRO-BRITISH ARGUMENTS.

There are some persons—good men and true—in our own ranks who think the interest taken by Socialists in the Boer cause no less than our indignation at British atrocities as excessive. “Is not India,” they say, “far more than South Africa? Is not the destruction of child-life in our factory towns quite as great, if not greater, than that of the concentration camps? Why, then, wax so indignant over the British raid on the Boers?”

A very pertinent answer to these arguments is—(1) That the horrors of British rule in India have been received as a legacy, like British rule itself, from past generations. They have not been deliberately started by the present generation of Englishmen yesterday, or by any sort of living men. (2) That these horrors are indirect, and the result of a vicious system, and not deliberately and wantonly inflicted as in this war. Take the camps, for instance! These Boer women and children are of malice aforethought imprisoned in these death-traps after the dastardly destruction of their homes, instead of being allowed the friendly shelter which would be so freely offered them outside, or even (if it is insisted on violating the usages of civilised warfare by imprisoning non-combatants), instead of their being confined in the healthier districts round the coast.

The same line of argument applies still more forcibly to the statement about the horrors of the capitalist system as exemplified in the factory town. The British administration of India is a system designed for the blood-sucking of that unhappy country by the British official classes, civil and military, notwithstanding that it has grown up gradually, but might conceivably be changed, even under the present system of society, more or less speedily, by individual administrators. Not so capitalist society itself. No administrator can get rid of the evils of capitalism so long as capitalism exists, and to effect its abolition or transformation requires more leverage than we have been able to attain at present, with all the enthusiasm and devotion of the various national Socialist parties. To point to the evil results of the capitalist system as in some mysterious way rendering irrelevant the natural indignation of Socialists at a hideous crime deliberately committed by a definite set of men for their own interests—using a one-third besotted, one-third criminal nation as their cat's paw—is surely conspicuously beside the mark.

It would be interesting to know the feelings of the comrade who may think the present horror against England exaggerated, supposing he had the following experience:—He is walking peaceably along a London thoroughfare one night, when suddenly he is pushed against by a ruffian, who immediately accosts him with a “Look 'ere, guv'nor, what are you going to stand for shuvvin' up against me?” On his protesting and walking on, his way is

barred by the same individual, who, with menaces, demands his watch and money. In a weak moment, to get rid of his assailant, he offers him a shilling. Thereupon the ruffian whistles to his confederates, who form part of the thieves' "Empire" of the district. They rally to his support, and in a few minutes the harmless citizen lies half-murdered on the pavement, with his watch gone and his pockets turned out. Still more interesting would it be to know the feelings of the aforesaid comrade if not himself were concerned in this adventure, but the wife of his bosom (for men generally, while comparatively indifferent to being knocked down and danced upon themselves, keenly resent such treatment when it happens to their womenkind). I do not fancy our comrade would regard references to the fact that militarism and the capitalist system produced as bad, if not worse, horrors regularly, or that there were other equally bad police crimes committed every day, at all a satisfactory plea in mitigation of his own resentment or punishment of his or (at all events) of his wife's assailant.

Now, the above illustration answers exactly to the case of the treatment of the unfortunate Boer, who only wants to govern himself on democratic methods and cultivate his farm in peace by the dastardly and criminal British power bent on robbing him of his land and political existence to share with cosmopolitan capitalism.

This should convey to the minds of one or two of our comrades, who protest that we are exaggerating the issue, why some, at least, of us regard it as of the first importance, in the interests of international justice and decency, that British brigandage should not only gain no advantage by this war, but should receive a condign punishment in addition. There are plenty of other considerations which enter into the view we hold, but this alone, I think, ought to be sufficient.

E. BELFORT BAX.



The Socialist Party in the Danish Parliament have brought in a Bill to pass measures dealing with the state of destitution in which a considerable number of the working classes find themselves owing to lack of work. The number of unemployed is very large. Out of about 83,000 organised workmen (the whole population of Denmark is only about 2½ millions) there were out of work

In November, 1899	...	...	5,108—6 per cent.
„ 1900	...	...	13,799—17 per cent.
„ 1901	...	...	17,599—21 per cent.

The building trades (skilled trades only) had 4,488 out of work; labourers of all branches, 7,983; and factory workers of all industries, 5,168; so the depression is pretty general over the whole body. Reckoning the same percentage for the unorganised workers, there would be altogether about 30,000 unemployed, without counting home workers, agricultural labourers, and commercial employees.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

An article on the above, by A. M. Simons, of the S.D.P. of America, and editor of the "International Socialist Review," published in America, calls for some comment. I should have been very well pleased if Simons, instead of saying that De Leon and De Leonism have just reached England, had first told us who De Leon is and what De Leonism is not; and at what time the English comrades qualified to provide themselves as matter for the comic papers of America. In the article mentioned I shall take it that Simons means by De Leon the editor of the daily and weekly "People," i.e., the organ of the S.L.P. of America, and that by De Leonism he means the tactics of the S.L.P. of America. To begin with, we shall have to go back to the 1896 Convention of the S.L.P., at that time the only Socialist party in America, and, for that matter, the only bona fide Socialist party yet, A. M. Simons notwithstanding. At that Convention the action of a number of the members was endorsed by the delegates in Convention assembled, i.e., re their action in breaking away from the knights of labour and starting a Socialist Trade Union, instead of standing idly by and endorsing all the crimes committed by that body against the working class of America; and while admitting that Trade Unionism in its earlier stages did to some extent benefit the workers, yet to-day it must be admitted that pure and simple trade unions in America or in England are practically no more than sick and coffin societies; further, that they act as decoy ducks to lead the workers off the straight path of what Unionism should be.

When the new Trade Union idea was first mooted it received considerable opposition from many Socialists in America, as elsewhere, and this was not to be wondered at seeing that a great many men in the movement were practically pillars of the union, and in many instances were the backbone of the union in the particular district to which they belonged. That, taken with the resolution passed at the 1900 Convention of the S.L.P., "that no Socialist could be an official in a pure and simple Trade Union," somewhat ruffled some of the more reform element in the party. That the economic arm of the Socialist party was antagonistic to the old Trade Unions there is no doubt, as in the political sphere the Socialist party is antagonistic to capitalism and all its emissaries, said emissaries better known as reform parties, and that is the position of the pure and simple Trade Unions in America. To-day they simply act as helpers to the captains of industry, i.e., the managers of the trusts to help better fleece the workers by making rules and regulations in line with capitalistic methods of production. Even in this country one Union, to my knowledge, has its rules so constructed that if the men are careless with their work, go off drinking, etc., they are liable to a fine of 5s. By whom? Why, the Union, i.e., they fine themselves for misbehaving themselves according to their masters code of morality.

In America you have Unionism in another aspect—the men in certain districts get their dues checked off their wages at the end of the week. For whom? Why, for themselves! For whom should their masters keep their dues if it was not for the good of themselves? Certainly the men are far more useful to them organised in the Union, where they can be handled much more easily by the labour fakirs who boss the Union, and who use it to further the interests of their capitalist employers, than if they were a disorganised unintelligent mob. The S.L.P. decided that Trade Unionism on these lines was out of the question, and, as I have already stated, started a Socialist Trade Union, by name “The Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance.” De Leon, as editor of the Party paper, voicing the opinions of the Party, advocated the adoption in the “People” of this policy, and more, he gave very good and cogent reasons for this policy. He showed how the Trade Unionists of the American Federation of Labour, which is a combination of Trade Unions, scabbed on their fellow Trade Unionists—in this wise, that when the miners were out on strike you would have the railwaymen in the same federation as the miners running the train with the coal which had been mined by blackleg labour; then the ironworkers in the same federation would use this same coal which had been produced by blackleg labour, and so on, and no later than a month or two ago you had the railwaymen transporting the militia to a town where the motormen were on strike, to protect the blacklegs and at the same time to shoot down the strikers if they dared touch a particle of private property, or even try and induce the men to come out along with them. These are only a few instances of the crimes perpetrated under the name of Unionism. This is part of what was urged against the old style Trade Unionism, and which paved the way for a Socialist Trade Union.

Again, I think A. Simons will agree with me that this idea of having an intelligent Trade Union was the real beginning of the split which took place in the Socialist ranks in America; for Simons will surely not try to prove that De Leon has led the whole Socialist Party of America by the nose. If he does, he must include himself as one of those who were led, i.e., up to July 10, 1899, when he tried to sit on the fence, but was very soon forcibly pushed off by the S.L.P. Now, if he foregoes this contention his whole argument falls to the ground about De Leonism, De Leonism, as I have already stated, meaning the S.L.P. tactics. Further, when the S.T. and L.A. was fairly launched, the Opposition, if it had not died down, had at any rate kept quiet. We do not hear much about them till close on the July, when the Party, through its Press, the “People,” had occasion to take an alleged German “Socialist” paper to task for its anti-Socialist articles, or, to be more exact, its open attempt to undermine scientific Socialism by advocating mere reform panaceas as the tactics for a scientific Socialist Party to adopt to abolish capitalism. At this the reform element were very wrath, probably because they had been found out too soon, as without doubt they had laid cables to capture the Party with its plant, and use it better—for what? “Reform!” Well, these men, on July 10, 1899, declared themselves the Party—dissolved the E.C., and proclaimed to the world that henceforth

the S.L.P. would work smoothly and for the benefit of the whole community. These hard-heads declared themselves the E.C. of the S.L.P., and tried to forcibly take the plant and officers of the Party, but were circumvented by the duly elected E.C. of the S.L.P., and instead of managing to steal the property of the Party they received broken heads for their trouble, which was not too much for prospective thieves, especially when they try to steal the Press from the militant working class movement. These men were designated kangaroos after that attempt, and though not an active man amongst them, A. Simons was at least passive, and from that very fact and from his future actions he was with them in spirit, and he is now one of them.

From this point a new element was introduced into the working class movement in America. The Kangaroos, now named the S.D.P., tried in the courts to stop the S.L.P. from publishing their party organ, the "People," they at the same time publishing another paper by the same name. For a time they were successful in getting support from the capitalist class through their law courts, but this did not in any way prevent the S.L.P. from publishing their party organ; in fact, they just kept on publishing the "People" as if the courts had never interdicted them, and finally won the day in these same courts against the Kangaroos, who, after that, had to change the name of their paper into the "Worker." (And just while I am at this, most readers will remember an article by Winchevsky, an old S.D.F. member, who wrote in "Justice" that we were all glad that the name of their paper had been changed, and by this article tried to bluff the comrades here into believing that they had voluntarily changed the name, instead of being convicted as frauds in the same courts as they appealed to to convict the S.L.P. as frauds). The next we hear is De Leonism through the Kangaroo Press, the "Worker." De Leon is the scapegoat, and the Socialists of America have no intelligence left; whatever De Leon says is law, i.e., according to Kangaroo sources, and even in England, in some quarters, this view is held, though those who hold it dare not openly say so. The "Worker" also accuses the S.L.P. of supplying scabs (i.e., through their economic arm, the S.T. and L.A.) to shops where strikes have been declared. Now, if the "Worker," or anyone who supports Trade Unionism pure and simple, imagines that a Socialist Trade Union is to act unintelligently simply because the old Unions did so, they very much mistake the aim and object of the new Trade Unionism, and when the old Trade Unions declare a strike because a firm is introducing new machinery to enable them to do away with hand labour, all Socialists must agree that this is a case of trying to stem the tide with a shovel, and, further, must agree that no Socialist Trade Union could subscribe to such a strike. But this is what the "Worker" and those whose opinions it voices would like the Socialist Trade Union to do, and for not doing it they are termed scabs. Again, only a few weeks ago there appeared in the "Worker" a most infamous article, charging the S.T. and L.A. with irregular conduct at what is known as the Sprague strike, and this article was unsigned, but was, nevertheless, published. The following week the "People," i.e., the organ of the S.L.P. and S.T. and L.A., published over a hundred names of men who gave their signatories refuting the charges, and the "Worker" said they believed the source of their information was correct, but could not publish

names, etc., and wound up with "We leave it to our readers to judge which of the papers should be believed," etc. This is an alleged Socialist paper, and it is the same paper which has termed the Alliance men scabs. It has further accused the whole membership of the S.L.P. of being "bossed" by the editor of the Party paper owned and controlled by them. This paper is endorsed by A. Simons, if not actively, certainly passively, inasmuch as he has not once attempted to disabuse its readers' minds of the charges it has made against the militant Socialist Party of America.

However, to proceed with Simon's diatribe. American economic evolution refused to be confined within a sect, that sect being De Leonism (so Simons tells us), and I take it that this means that the S.L.P. of America have entirely misunderstood the trend of economic evolution in America. Simons further asserts that the natural result was a clear cut Socialism which was indigenous to the country. When this point was attained, i.e., when economic development pressed to the highest point of capitalism there was no more room for De Leon, and he passed out of existence as a significant factor in modern Socialism. Then he goes on to say that his party, i.e., the S.D.P., are a narrow, class-conscious, and revolutionary party, and, further, if it leans either way it is towards a too narrow interpretation of Marxism. Just imagine a party copying too much from Marx. Further, he says it is apt to be catastrophic and revolutionary utopian rather than opportunist.

It will now be necessary to examine the tactics of the S.L.P., and judge them in relation to what has been advanced by Simons, and, further, to consider how far they agree with the policy of what is known as international Socialism. First, the S.L.P., stand or fall by the "class struggle," all things being judged in relation to the stage of development of capitalism. Holding that the tactics of fifty years ago are no use against present-day conditions; further, holding that to-day there are only two classes in society—the capitalist class on the one hand, who hold all the means of production, distribution, and exchange, thereby holding the means of life in their hands, and, on the other, the working class, who own nothing but their power to labour, and who must sell themselves piece-meal day by day to the capitalist class, so that they may be allowed to live; that there is an irreconcilable struggle between these classes; that there can be no cessation of hostilities between these classes, but that the hostility between them must become accentuated with the greater concentration and development of capitalism; that, further, to expect from the capitalist class any cessation of hostilities is to abandon the principles and precepts of Socialism; that, further, to work for reform parties or old style Trade Unions, to vote for a capitalist party on any pretence whatever, is a desecration of the class struggle. This is probably what A. Simons would term De Leonism, but I think that pretty well outlines the tactics of the S.L.P., and if I mistake not, the policy of International Socialism.

Simons will now be in order with his anti-De Leonistic leanings. I think I have proved that De Leonism never existed, therefore, could never have done any good or harm to the country, and certainly could not have passed out of existence. Next the narrow class, conscious, catastrophic, revolu-

tionary, utopian, Socialistic Party. This must be a curious concern. I shall endeavour to prove that by its actions this party, i.e., the S.D.P., are traitors to the working class, even with all its curious adjectives attached to it. First, it allows in the party a man by name Mr. Carey, who, while President of the Common Council in Haverhill, America, voted for an armoury appropriation, i.e., he voted money to keep a place in good condition so that the Militia may be comfortably housed and fed, so that they may be in good condition to shoot down, at the bidding of their capitalist masters, the strikers, if they try to take back a little of what they have produced, or, it may be, for blocking the street so that the capitalist's lackey, with his master's carriage, cannot get a free passage. This is only one sample of those who have a membership card in the S.D.P. Another, Morris Eichmann, as one writer puts it, ran on everything in sight; his ticket was Democrat, Republican, and Citizen's Union, and he also belongs to the revolutionary Utopian Party. Another, Morris, S.D.P., who ran as a Citizen candidate, and received the support of his party, and to crown all, we have Mr. Herron, so ably described as Spargo. This man is a high and mighty member of the S.D.P., i.e., the revolutionary Utopian Party. Then the S.D.P., through their delegates, supported the Kautsky resolution at the International Congress held in 1900 at Paris. This resolution, which contemplates impartiality between capital and labour, was no doubt a fit and proper thing for such a party as the S.D.P. to agree to. This then is the party to which A. M. Simons belongs, and this, according to him, is the party which is to lead the working class of America to their emancipation, and incidentally wipe out the S.L.P. and its economic arm, the S.T. and L.A., with its 500 braggarts and boasters, which is the number that one prominent S.D.P. man put down the membership of the S.T. and L.A. as. Well, these 500 braggarts will do more for the working class movement than his big, broad, and ample party will do with its middle-class men, who are going to gull the working class into voting the Socialist ticket.

This, I hold, is a fair representation of the S.D.P. and its tactics, and I challenge Simons or anyone else to deny one charge which I have made against them. To sum up, I have shown the part De Leon has played in American Socialism, that other than being editor of the Party paper and a lecturer for the party, he is only a unit of the party; that the S.L.P. are the only working-class party in America who adhere to, and are guided by, the class struggle; that the S.T. and L.A. is the only bona-fide Trade Union in America which is guided by the class struggle, and that A. M. Simons has made most unfounded charges against men who have done, and who are doing more for Socialism than Simons with his big party can ever hope to do against Socialism. Further, if De Leon is taken as such a joke, how is it that we find S.D.P. men debating with him and getting beat for their trouble; surely they must be greater clowns than he, seeing that they know he is simply treated as a crank. I have assumed that A. M. Simons belongs to the Social Democratic Party; in conclusion, does A. M. Simons belong to the Social Democratic Party or to the Public Ownership Party, or to the Socialist Party, or to the Democratic Social Party, and does either of these four conform to the party which he outlined in the "Social Democrat," i.e., the narrow, class-conscious, catastrophic, revolutionary, Utopian, Socialist Party?

W. MCGREGOR.

"WOMAN, AND HER PLACE IN SOCIETY."

Under the above title, Hannah Taylor, in the last issue of this magazine, remarks upon the aptitude of the men in the Social Democratic Federation to neglect educating their womenfolk up to a higher ideal than mere domesticity. I am not holding a brief for the opposite sex, but I do not think so much blame is to be attached to them as might at first appear. That the quality of being a domestic or house-drudge before mentioned should be the sole attainment of our unfortunate sex is the blindly-accepted and seldom-disputed theory of the average person one meets in a civilised (?) community, and this has no better evidence than a recently-published controversy in "Reynold's" newspaper, entitled "The Working Man's Wife." Here the male contributors, with few exceptions (and a good proportion of the female) applauded and advocated the domestic servant as the most fitting candidate for the enviable position indicated by the title. The whole tone of it goes to prove that the average workman (and this applies also to other grades of society) regards his wife as a mere housekeeping automaton. There is, of course, for the unthinking section, the excuse that existing conditions force him to take this view, and also that the woman generally encourages it. But the thinking portion have, too, some obstacles in the way of clearing the woman's mind of these old-fashioned bigotries. Too frequently the multifarious duties of an average workman's wife are such as to render her brain unequal to the task of logical reasoning—her thoughts wander to a hundred and one little homely difficulties that appeal to her far more keenly than economic problems, be they ever so simply expounded.

In the case of the unmarried woman the difficulty is exactly parallel to that of teaching the "hard-headed" British workman (though, of course, there is less excuse for the latter, as they have always had more freedom of thought and better opportunity). She is generally not intelligent enough to listen (or read) and learn, and often the intelligent have no advanced or thinking male relatives to fan the spark of intelligence into a flame.

But it is hard to get young women workers to take an active interest in anything beyond novels and light amusement—and, of course, the inevitable matrimonial gossip. They will contend with all sorts of injustice and hardship from their employers and people with whom they must economically come into contact. But when can they be persuaded to organise themselves into a body with any definite object? Of course they take the view that marriage will be their ultimate emancipation, and so nothing matters meanwhile.

Then there is also to be considered the "diplomatic" individual, who affects an acquiescence in her husband's—or sweetheart's—sentiments, and so gets inside the ranks of those who are working for their principles; once

there, she immediately creates dissent by her narrow misjudgment of unconventional morality. These individuals are detrimental to the movement, and should be weeded out of it; they only discourage other members who would try educating their wives, mothers, and sisters.

The whole thing appears to me to resolve itself into the educational question both in connection with school and home training. When people reach a mature age it is a hard matter to teach them new conceptions, forms, and ideals, but while we are achieving a slow but sure reformation of the school-training of our boys and girls, it is by no means a difficult thing to gradually instil into the minds of these by simply-worded literature and home-teaching the rottenness of a system that produces and maintains men and women who are too harassed by their efforts to obtain daily bread to allow themselves time or inclination to even think for themselves. Fathers and mothers find it interesting to teach the boys games, such as draughts and chess; how much more so should it be to teach them to become fully-equipped citizens, to know that they have reared stalwart men and women, and passed on their heritage of manhood or womanhood to a generation which will not disgrace it, but through early influence leave the world the better for having lived in it?

K. FITZGERALD.



"Civilisation, after having destroyed the rude and simple communism of the beginnings of humanity, elaborates the elements of a complex and scientific communism. Just as in primitive times, labour is to-day performed in common, and the producer owns neither the instruments of labour nor the products of his labour. The produce of labour is not, as yet, shared in common, as was the case with the savage and barbarian tribes; it is monopolised by idle capitalists whose suppression is now but a question of time and opportunity. Let the parasites of property have been swept away, and communistic property will affirm itself and implant itself in society. In primitive society property was common only among members of the same tribe, connected by the ties of blood; every human being not included in the narrow circle of kinship was a stranger, an enemy; but in the society of the future property will be held in common by all the members of the great human family; without distinction of nationality, race, or colour; for the workers, bowed under the same capitalistic yoke, have recognised that brothers in misery, brothers in revolt, they must remain brothers in victory. This final communist and international revolution of property is inevitable; already, in the midst of bourgeois civilisation, do the institutions and communistic customs of primitive times revive."—"The Evolution of Property," by PAUL LAFARGUE.

THE SOCIAL ABYSS.

Under the above title, in the "Contemporary Review" of January, 1902, Mr. C. F. G. Masterman has an article dealing with Mr. Rowntree's book, "Poverty: a Study of Town Life." He first mentions the difficulties a reformer has to face in London, and says that he finds a homogeneous matrix of the proletariat containing imbedded cities of poverty, dingy, stagnant, and lifeless; numbers that defy humanity, a kind of colossal ant heap of stunted life, pent up in crowded ways. Lengthy suburbs of the respectable cut these off from the country; difficulties of transit limit persistent expansion; a thousand vested interests paralyse effective reform. The sheer immensity of the aggregation seems in itself to make all choice impossible, but the less harmful of two bad alternatives. Small wonder if the observer, weighted with the burden of London, has found an ideal ever appearing more attractive in the breaking up of the giant city into towns of reasonable dimensions. The distribution of industry, he thinks, from a city of six millions into sixty cities each of a hundred thousand population, would itself make for social salvation. Here monopoly value would go, land could be obtained for housing at reasonable prices, the whole town would be within easy access of green fields and a clear sky. To those who either implicitly or explicitly had cherished such ideals as these, the revelation of such a study as that recently undertaken by Mr. B. S. Rowntree will come in the form of a thunderclap. "Practically 'poverty' holds the same proportion in the city of sixty thousand as in the city of six million."

The figures of Charles Booth for London during average trade prosperity were 30.7 per cent. In York, according to Mr. Rowntree, when trade was unusually prosperous, the figures were 27.84 per cent. living in poverty. "If in York, why not everywhere?" "In the last census the population of England and Wales was returned at 25,054,268 urban, and 7,471,242 rural. Neglecting the more kindly and assuageable problem of rural poverty, we seem driven to the conclusion that some seven and a half millions of people are at the present moment in England living below the poverty line—"a problem which, if only definitely realised in its squalid immensity, is surely enough to stagger humanity." The writer attempts to minimise the result of Mr. Rowntree's definition of the "poverty" line. This is a result based upon elaborate calculations from the standard of Professor Atwater, and only deals with quantities of nourishment really necessary. But as the writer points out, a great deal of the food the poor buy contains only a small quantity of nourishment. He tries to balance this by the statement that the very poor buy late on Saturday night the remnants, unsavoury or half putrid, very cheap; "the quantity is there, and one must hopefully conclude the necessary nourishment." It would be interesting to know what amount of hope would inject nourishment into half putrid provisions.

"On the whole, however, one must conclude that Mr. Rowntree is justified in his minimum standard."

The following quotation from Mr. Rowntree's Book is valuable, as showing how carefully figures require dealing with.

"Let us clearly understand what 'merely physical efficiency' means. A family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbour that costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join sick club or trade union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The children must have no pocket-money for dolls, marbles, or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco and drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or her children, the character of the family wardrobe, as for the family diet, being governed by the regulation: Nothing must be bought but that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health, and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economical description. Should a child fall ill it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die it must be buried by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day." The writer says: "Frankly, this is abyss."

Referring to the children under these conditions, Mr. Rowntree writes: "The average height of the boys when they leave school at thirteen is less by three and a-half inches in the poorest sections than in that of the highest elementary schools. The weights show a similar divergence of more than eleven pounds." Probably the most remarkable portion of the work is that dealing with the causes of poverty. Out of 7,000 persons living in "primary" poverty, "1,130 due to the death of the chief wage-earner; 370 to illness or old age, 167 only—surely representing a period of abnormal prosperity—due to chief wage-earner being out of work; 205 due to irregularity of work; 1,602 due to largeness of family; and 3,756 in which the father is in regular work, the family is not abnormally large, but the low wages paid never lift them above the poverty line." The writer says "that the unskilled residue in normal persistent exertion should be living, not on the verge, but actually below the means of subsistence is a revelation of graver and profounder import. Their weekly balance shows a total average deficiency on the minimum scale (without, be it understood, one halfpenny for drink, tobacco, or the mild joys of life) of five shillings and a farthing per family. The wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency."

The writer of the article thinks that charity, which he considers almost entirely harmful, one of the causes of the depression of wages. He also thinks that the possibilities of improvement, especially regarding the hous-

ing question, much greater in York than London, as land can be obtained on the outskirts for £60 or £80 per acre, whereas the London County Council pays £800 and upwards per acre.

Mr. Rowntree, while sounding a note of warning in conclusion, suggests no way out of the "Abyss," while Mr. Masterman thinks that if the activities of the Churches were directed to the solution of this problem, instead of being expended in mutual conflict, the social abyss would disappear, but, unfortunately, he does not state how they would accomplish this.

THE EDUCATION PROBLEM.

Writing on the above subject in the "Nineteenth Century Review" Sir Joshua Fitch gives a good deal of detailed information; although very reluctant to move from the beaten track, he vigorously opposes the arrangements proposed by the Government. He says:

"The first thing necessary will seem to be to keep steadily in view the main purposes which a national system of education ought to fulfil. Among these purposes the most prominent are improved methods of instruction, higher qualifications of teachers, security for thoroughness in the work of imparting knowledge; a juster sense of the relative claims of those disciplinary studies which bear on industry and the getting of a living, and of those which tend to form the character of the learner, and enable him to live nobly and think wisely; full opportunities for the recognition and encouragement of merit in the case of scholars in all ranks in life; such a method of public administration as may recognise the best forces the nation possesses—imperial, municipal, religious, and philanthropic—and co-ordinate them in the great task of social progress; and, above all, loftier national ideals, and stronger convictions on the part of the public respecting the value of intellectual power as a national asset, and as the chief factor in the future honour and prosperity of the race."

The writer is of the opinion that the chief desiderata are to be supplied by other means than legislation. Although, he says, it is with such reforms that statesmen are now for the moment principally concerned. He thinks that the recommendation of the Royal Commission of 1894 was not the best; that the difficulty of determining the dividing line between secondary and elementary instruction has not been removed, but only accentuated by the decision in the Cockerton case, and it is becoming daily clearer that one educational authority for both primary and secondary education ought to be created in each district. In dealing with the sort of persons, and the manner of their appointment, in this matter, he says: "Now, public education . . .

. . . is a national concern of sufficient importance and dignity to justify the creation of local authorities charged with its interests alone, and directly responsible only to the ratepayer and to the central Board of Education. To

place such a local authority under the control of another body already charged with multifarious duties would greatly restrict its influence and its powers of usefulness."

Referring to the transfer of educational affairs to the existing County Councils, Sir Joshua Fitch thinks "We have not far to look for a better solution of the problem than is provided by either plan. In Scotland School Boards are universal. Their duties extend to burgh and secondary, as well as to primary schools. They act under . . . the Scotch Education Department . . . and are free to meet the demand for any advanced education which may be required by the people and approved by the Department." He also takes the sensible view that women should be allowed on the bodies. He says: "Of no less importance is the fact that, under existing conditions, each School Board district is free to avail itself of the help of educated women. It is the universal experience that the lady members of the boards have rendered priceless services in the general management of the schools, as well as in the sympathetic and practical attention to the school-mistresses and to the girls and infants' departments. Taking all classes of teachers, certificated and assistant, additional and pupil teachers, we find that, whereas in 1869 the women and girls were not 53 per cent. of the total, they now number over 75 per cent. It becomes obvious, from these figures, that the presence of women on the local educational authorities of the future is indispensable."

Further on the writer deals with the growth and present position of the schools in England and Wales. "In the year of the Education Act (1870) the only schools of which the Education Department had any cognisance were the voluntary schools, and the number of scholars . . . was 1,152,389 . . . in 1900 the number was 2,486,597, the annual number having been practically stationary during the last eight years. In the course of the same period the returns show that from 1872, when the number in attendance in Board Schools was 8,726, there has been a large increase in each successive year, and that in 1900 it amounted to 2,201,849. The total number of these schools in England and Wales is 14,354, of which 11,772 are connected with the National Society or the Church of England, 1,045 are Roman Catholic, 458 Wesleyan, 1,079 are British and undenominational, while 5,728 are Board Schools. "If we take administrative counties alone, excluding London and county boroughs, the children in Voluntary Schools number 1,718,675, in Board Schools 1,031,559. But if we take London and the county boroughs alone, the figures are reversed—Voluntary Schools 767,922, and Board Schools 1,169,490."

The writer points out that the figures for the rural districts are the result of the fact that often there is only one school in a district, nearly always a Church school, and the parents have no choice. He takes other examples to show this "Leeds last year shows an attendance of 48,118 in 61 Board Schools, 16,331 in 38 Church of England schools, and 4,953 in 10 Roman Catholic schools. In Liverpool, where there is an exceptionally large Roman Catholic population, there were 40,708 in 62 Church of England schools, 4,095 in 6 Wesleyan schools, 2,223 in 4 British schools, and 44,644 in 48

Board Schools. In Sheffield 14,564 in Church of England, 2,143 in Wesleyan, 2,868 in Roman Catholic, and 37,908 in Board Schools. In Manchester 38,938 in Board Schools, 27,592 in Church of England, 13,134 in Roman Catholic, 3,395 in British and undenominational, and 2,455 Wesleyan. In Birmingham 51,133 in Board Schools, 24,272 in all non-Board Schools put together. In London . . . the average attendance in Voluntary Schools was 173,937 . . . in Board Schools 446,866. Out of a total of 620,803 in attendance at all the public elementary schools of the metropolis, nearly three-fourths are being instructed in the schools of the London School Board." The writer thinks that this shows the compromise of 1870 was a wise course which we should not abandon. But regarding the demands of some of the clericals, he says:—"As to the proposal occasionally put forth in Episcopal charges, Roman and Anglican alike, as well as in Church newspapers, that all schools, whether denominational or not, should be sustained wholly by public funds, on the same conditions as apply to the schools of a Board, while the management of the Voluntary schools remain in the present hands, it is sufficient to state it to show that it is utterly indefensible . . .

. . . Payment and control must go together . . . The present Archbishop of Canterbury has wisely reminded his clergy more than once that the continuance of voluntary subscriptions is the necessary condition of the maintenance of denominational schools. It is, in fact, the only guarantee for the reality of a demand for such schools, and the only justification of their existence."

Although the writer thinks it wise to encourage voluntary effort, he does not shut his eyes to the fact "that it is, after all, on the School Boards that the future destiny of English primary education mainly rests. Even as at present constituted, it is to them the nation owes all the best educational enterprise of the last few years, the best school buildings and equipment, the most rational and effective experiments in the direction of good organisation and better teaching. In particular it is wholly to their initiative that we owe the higher Board Schools, and the continuation and evening schools, which are so popular in our great industrial centres, and which have done so much to invigorate the life and to increase the power and resources of the people. And it is rather to measures which will improve the constitution of the Boards, and invest them with new powers and responsibilities, than to a revolution that would destroy them, that the best friends of education look for the adaptation of our machinery, to the changing circumstances and the intellectual and social advancement of the nation in the coming century."

The writer then deals with two classes of persons who would welcome any measure to discredit and weaken School Boards. The first being those Tories who believe that any further advance in the education of the "lower classes" will imperil the social order; the second being those who wish to increase the religious teaching. Both these parties have votes, and a Ministry is therefore under the temptation to try and capture these votes, but Sir Joshua Fitch thinks that either party would be a dangerous ally to

any Ministry. He then points out the religious conditions peculiar to England, those conditions being mostly of a chaotic character, and winds up with the hope that whatever change may be in prospect, the principle of Clause 14 in the Act of 1870 (that of the compromise) will in some way be preserved.

SOCIALISM AND BERNSTEINISM.

In the "Fortnightly Review" for January, 1902, Mr. Austin F. Harrison deals with the above subject. In the main this is a remarkably fair article upon the position of Bernstein and the German Social Democratic Party during the last two years, and well worth reading after the distorted statements that have appeared in the English press. Mr. Austin is in favour of Bernstein's position, but gives the pros and cons. very fairly. He opens by saying that the works of Bernstein have been subjected to keen criticism. Finally, brought a second time before the German Socialist Congress, which sat last month at Lubeck, it culminated in the outward submission of the offender to the satisfaction of both parties. . . . The mountain of the party joined hands with the Opportunists, the Orthodox Dogmatists with the 'Intellectuals,' the 'Impossibilists' with the 'Heretics.'

"To understand aright the issues of the congress at Lubeck it is necessary to cast a retrospective glance on the proceedings at Hanover two years ago. . . .

"Bernstein, who was then an exile in England, was arraigned upon a charge of heresy. In his work, "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus," Bernstein had denounced the infallibility of Marx. His criticism was purely negative; his language—and probably intentionally so—obscure; his argument a labyrinth of antitheses, discussions, digressions. There was nothing absolutely unsocialistic in the work, but the tendency was unmistakable. It was as if the author, plunged in doctrinal quicksand, was struggling for firm ground, which, when he thought to grasp it, as suddenly receded. .

. . . It was at once vulnerable and inaccessible. Caviare to the general, it was poison to the theorists. The solution of the question is as remote as before."

"From his long-enforced residence in England, Bernstein has unquestionably been influenced by the English school of thought." The writer then shows the points of difference. He gives a sketch of the materialistic conception of history as laid down by Marx. The writer says: "Bernstein attacked the theory of 'surplus value,' though he admitted that its basis was, in the main, correct, even if the theory was in itself untenable; he attacked the materialistic conception of history, the adherence to the class struggle

. . . the doctrine of any necessary trend in the development of capitalist means of production towards anarchy, and the social freedom of the working classes."

"From the materialistic view of history follows, according to Marx, the class struggle, the cardinal principle of the Socialist propaganda. . . .

Here, again, Bernstein is at issue with Marx. He conceives the idea of class in a less aggressive, less materialistic light." There are two tendencies in the modern Socialist movement—the one reform, creation; the other subversion, destruction. Marx amalgamated the two ideas involving a certain ambiguity. Where Marx apparently saw political revolutionary forces as the motive factors, Bernstein sees economic, evolutionary, and ethical factors.

. . . the conception of class should be eminently peaceful on the basis of order, organization, and evolution."

The writer then describes Marx's theory of the historical necessity of Socialism, with which Bernstein disagrees, for according to the latter "Socialism is not a purely economic, a historical necessity; it is a moral and ethical necessity." The movement should be a democratic, social-reform party. . . . Kautsky, the theoretician of the party, sought, in his 'Antikritik' to prove the unscientific nature of Bernstein's work, and, in a compendious criticism, refuted his contentions point by point. At the Congress at Hanover the debate raged fast and furious. In a speech of extraordinary eloquence, lasting upwards of six and a half hours, Bebel, who is, perhaps, the finest living speaker in Germany—anathematised the work. . . . With a bewildering table of statistics Bebel sought to disprove Bernstein's attack on Marx's doctrine of the trend of capitalistic development. If the movement, as Bernstein contended, was everything, the end nothing, what were they fighting for? If it were not for the certainty that the end was the necessary outcome of the present social state he would long ago have put his rifle into its case. . . . What were they to tell the working-class if there was no certainty of freedom, no definite hope in the end? . . . The revolutionary spirit of the movement must remain." "When Bebel's fiery intellectual face struck his audience . . . it bore down resistance. His resolution was adopted by 216 to 21. The resolution states: 'That the party remains as heretofore on the basis of class struggle whereby the freedom of the working class can alone be effected.' To obtain this end the party regarded it as the task of the working-classes to acquire political power in order to obtain socialisation of the means of production to the welfare of all. . . . The party, without in the least deceiving itself as to the character of the bourgeois parties, does not, on principle, refuse to co-operate with the parties of order from time to time, if the party can thereby obtain some definite advantage, whether for the purposes of election, or in the acquirement of political rights and freedom for the people, or in the event of obtaining some real improvement in the social condition of the working-classes, or in the struggle against elements and measures hostile to the masses . . . and has no reason to change either its principles or fundamental demands, or its tactics, or its name. Now, there is something of the mountain and the mouse about this. The

elasticity of the resolution is obvious. Indeed, Bernstein himself telegraphed his willingness to vote for it. It has been part and parcel of Bernstein's argument that class consciousness should not blind the proletariat to the expediency of coalition with the bourgeois parties, and this the resolution conveniently provides for.

"No one but the most sanguine considered the question settled. Immediately after the Congress the Bernstein controversy re-opened. Bernstein himself took no further part in the polemic until May of this year, 1901, when, shortly after his return to Germany, he delivered a lecture before the 'Students' Scientific Social Associations,' under the title, 'How is Scientific Socialism Possible?' Socialism, he argued, could not be pure science. It could only be truly scientific in the critical sense of the term as postulate or programme. 'Socialism was the movement towards, rather than the conception of, a future state of society.' To be purely scientific Socialism must cease to be the doctrine of a class, the expression of the class interests of the working class."

"This lecture," says the writer, rekindled the polemical flames. The bourgeois press lauded him as one of their men. It at once became clear that another Bernstein debate at the next Congress was inevitable. The attention of political Germany was concentrated on the working men's hall in the picturesque Hausa town of Lubeck. A sudden, but surely not unpremeditated attack from Bebel, who is now the oldest and most influential member of the party opened the attack. Bernstein defended himself with considerable dialectical skill. He was argumentative without any attempt at oratorical effect. In any assembly where two-thirds are literally working-men, the matter is apt to be lost in the manner of delivery. . . . Bernstein's manner is academic, his voice unequal, and he has the tone characteristic of his race. On the whole, he was respectfully listened to. . . . In two short speeches he maintained his attitude. He could not recant, he had nothing to retract. . . . For him the necessity was in great part moral. . . .

The theoreticians of the party were not there to nurse theories; they had rather to criticise, to work, and, where possible, to build upon the theory. He had not attacked the programme, the agitation, the practical working of the party, which criticism of the theory could not conceivably injure. The theory of a chronic state of crisis leading to anarchy . . . and . . . cataclysm . . . he held to be false. Doubtless periodic local crises were prevalent, but the surface of society was, on the whole, non-affected thereby. He believed the day would come when Socialists would be proud of his work. Just as Darwin's theory was still capable of development, so, too, was the doctrine of Marx. He besought them to be less nervous. The criticism to which he subjected the theory was salutary."

Mr. Harrison then continues: "There were two resolutions, one for, the other against Bernstein. The former was rejected. The second, Bebel's, was carried by 203 against 31. The resolution was as follows: 'The Congress recognises the unreserved right of self-criticism for the intellectual development of the party. But the thoroughly one-sided manner in which Bernstein has conducted his criticism in the last few years, while omitting to

criticise the bourgeois society and its leaders, has placed him in an equivocal position, and aroused the displeasure of a large portion of his comrades. In the expectation that comrade Bernstein will accept this view and act accordingly, the Congress passes over the resolutions (there were four demanding a formal vote of censure) to the order of the day.' Bernstein immediately rose and made the following significant declaration: 'As I declared to you at the Congress at Stuttgart, the decision of the Congress naturally cannot cause me to abandon my convictions. At the same time, the decision of the majority of my comrades is never indifferent to me. My conviction is that the resolution is unjust towards me, being based, as I have pointed out, on erroneous suppositions. But since Comrade Bebel has declared that the resolution contains no vote of censure, I declare that henceforth I will respect and observe the decision of the majority of the Congress in the manner due to such a decision.' This statement was received with loud applause."

The writer then points out the difference in the two Congresses. At one "intolerance was the dominant note," at the other opportunism won the day. Bebel, though denouncing the critic, never repudiated his criticism. Mr. Harrison thinks that "In part, no doubt, what is known as 'Bernsteinism' is largely a quibble as to the precise definition of words. No serious people now believe that any street revolution has the slightest chance against modern rifles and Maxim guns. . . . Bernstein, who is the mouthpiece of a small, but influential section, would place Socialism on a truer scientific basis. Some, indeed, are beginning to realise that the freedom of the working classes is no affair of nature, but of man, and of the will of man, and that to this end education, organisation, self-help are the determining factors. It is the privilege of Bernstein to teach his fellow-comrades that this is so, and must be so. If he fail in his endeavour the purpose will not be the less worthy."

AN ARRAIGNMENT OF ENGLISH PERIODICALS.

Mr. W. S. Harwood, an American newspaper writer, has been wandering among the bookstalls of London, examining the wares thereon displayed, and he reaches a pessimistic opinion of the English periodical. In the New York "Times Saturday Review" he writes:

"Outside of some of the larger railway station stalls I did not find a place where any special interest was shown in English or Scotch periodicals of high merit. Indeed, but seldom did I find a stall offering for sale a single representative review, while many seemed to have but slight demand for the few high-grade magazines of London.

"In most cases the proprietor would say that the better class of publications were not on sale because largely they were taken by subscription, by the year; but when pressed to know why there was not a liberal month-to-month sale of such publications, as is the case in similar publications in the United States, he would reply, sometimes testily, sometimes half angrily, sometimes shamefacedly, that, if the truth must be told, the high-class pub-

lications were for the slender circle of the few—the millions cared nothing for them.”

As a class of paintings sold to a nation, continues the writer, establishes that nation's standard of art, so the literature most widely sold establishes the general literary standards of taste. Studying the English periodicals, Mr. Harwood found first, as to exteriors, that they “were printed upon paper of the flimsiest quality, hardly up to that in use in a backwoods newspaper office. The press-work was execrable, even more noticeably poor.” He adds:

“The illustrations, an important feature of a magazine in these days, were, for the most part, not only mournfully amateurish, but inartistically amateurish. In drawing, in illumination of the text, in reproduction, they were alike miserable. I can see some occasion for this in the statement of a very well-known art editor of London, connected with one of the better publications. He told me one day in conversation of the surprise expressed by a young American artist on learning that the editor would not pay one-third as much for some illustrations under consideration between them as the artist would have received for the same pictures at the hands of any editor of a publication in the United States of corresponding prominence.”

The second and most important point noticed by Mr. Harwood was the character of the contents:

“Should one start with the assumption that the mind of the English masses, of the London masses in particular, is incapable of maintaining any coherent train of thought, characterisation of the contents of these periodicals would be idle; but if one holds that this mind is still capable of excellent mental processes, then the situation deserves attention. Take up any of these widely circulated publications, representative of the mental food of the London millions. It has many curious features. One of them is the recital of abnormal events, not in attractive literary form; rather in a bald and humdrum style, an ugly recital of freakish happenings, the more grotesque or horrible the better. Other of the articles, dealing with historical or scientific subjects, show their sad indenture to the cyclopedias. Again, there appears the evidence of a positive craze, pictorially as well as in the text, for the eccentric and uncanny, suggesting how important a part the two-headed calf plays in current English literature. There is also a hodge-podge of personalities concerning actors, actresses, and politicians, with now and then mention of a statesman; a sickening, uninterrupted flow of adulatory comment on the inconsequential movements of Royalty, together with a more or less silly attack on British or continental foibles through the medium of a rather flaccid satire.”

In conclusion, Mr. Harwood writes:—

“That which the United States has in abundance, England has in leanness. While in the United States many strong, clean, enriching magazines are on the stall month by month and week by week, not only exposed for sale in the large cities, but in every wayside town as well, supplemented by the enormous output of the regular subscription lists, in England the literary food offered to the millions is either froth or scum or an unvitalised mixture of both.—“Literary Digest.”

"BACK TO THE LAND."

In the "Contemporary Review," January, 1902, Mr. C. W. Sorensen writes on the above subject. The article opens with the question, "Why don't we feed ourselves?" And he goes on to say, "Were this question put to a referendum it is probable that a majority of Englishmen would answer: 'Because it is physically impossible.'" The writer then gives the following figures:—

"In 1899 we imported into this country 194 million cwts of corn and flour, or, if we exclude maize, as unsuited to our climate, 131 million cwts., of the value of £45,000,000. Of dairy produce we imported butter and margarine to the value of 19½ millions, cheese to the value of 5½ millions, and condensed milk worth 1½ millions. Add to this 16¼ millions for bacon, ham, and pork, and 5 millions for eggs, and we have a total of 48 millions for what is called dairy produce.

We further received close on 30 millions' worth of beef, mutton, and other flesh foods, 11 millions' worth of fruit—of which at least 2 millions might have been grown at home—4¾ millions of beet sugar, which also could be grown in England, and 3¼ millions' worth of potatoes and vegetables. In all, a grand total of imported foodstuffs that could be grown at home of £142,000,000."

The writer states that it is not from the patriotic nor the "fair trade," nor "money-going-out-of-the-country" points of view that he looks at this matter, but from its bearing on the social problem. He says: "There are in the United Kingdom 78 million acres of land and lakes. More than a third of this area consists of mountain, heath, coppice, wood, and water. The remainder, some 48 million acres, constitutes what is generally called the 'cultivated' area, but for which a better term is 'cultivable,' for no less than 28 out of the 48 million acres, or 58 per cent., are laid down in permanent pasture, and to apply the term 'cultivated' to land into which neither spade nor plough ever enters is, I submit, a misuse of language. There are, thus, under tillage, only 20 million acres . . . and of this only two million acres . . . is under our principal crop, wheat. If we look back a few years we see that the tendency is for even this miserable patch to decrease. Ten years ago there were 2½ million acres, twenty-five years ago 3¾ million acres were under this crop. And it is not wheat only that we are ceasing to grow, for if we take the whole area under tillage we find that ten years ago 23 million, and twenty-five years ago 26 million acres were under the plough, as against 20 millions to-day. . . . If you point out that the British farmer of the twentieth century produces 50 million bushels less wheat, 23 million bushels less barley, beans, and peas, 6 million tons less turnips, and one million tons less potatoes than his predecessor of the seven-

ties, you will be assured that he grows a correspondingly greater amount of milk, beef, and mutton. What are the facts? For each 100 acres of pasture in 1870 there were 38 cattle, 8 horses, and 147 sheep. In 1859 we had 40.5 cattle, 7 horses, and 113 sheep. Reducing the different kinds of stock to units of cattle by estimating one head of cattle equals one horse, equals 8 sheep, we find that whereas in 1870 there were 64.7 such units, there are to-day only 61.7 per 100 acres. In other words, although the area under pasturage has increased 21 per cent., the number of cattle units has only increased 16 per cent., and it must be remembered that we import vast quantities of oil-cake, maize, and even hay for cattle and horse food."

The writer next quotes some figures from Prince Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," to show that we do not produce heavier or better crops than some other countries, which have no advantage regarding climate or soil, as Belgium, Denmark, etc.

With regard to other crops, the writer says that "we devote about 7 per cent of our cultivable area to roots of one kind or another, the average crop for potatoes being $4\frac{3}{4}$ tons, for turnips and swedes $12\frac{1}{2}$ tons, and for mangolds 17 tons. In Jersey the cultivation of potatoes has reached such a pitch that . . . the average attained—early and late crops included—is 10 to 11 tons per acre—more than double our average." He also shows that the average yield of milk in Denmark is 590 gallons per cow, against 400 to 440 gallons in England, and this in spite of the fact that the cattle in Denmark have to be continuously housed and hand-fed six months of the year.

The writer next considers "how we should have to dispose of our resources in order to produce on our own soil, without recourse to any improved system of cultivation, the food we at present import." Taking the figures given above, and working out the sum, he says: "We see that to grow the whole of the cereals, dairy produce, beef and mutton, and a good portion of the fruits that we now purchase from abroad, it is only necessary to bring our agricultural methods up to those of the Belgians or Danes to resume the cultivation of the land that has dropped out within the last 25 years, and to break up a further six or seven million acres of our permanent pasturage. This is all very nice on paper, it may be said," says the writer, "but granting that all this produce could be grown on our own soil, why should we be so anxious to grow it ourselves? And if it can be grown at a profit, why has it not been done? The first question seems hardly to require an answer, so self-evident is the superiority of a country life and open-air employment to life in the finest of cities, work in the best regulated factory. Can the physique of our town-bred lads and lasses compare for a moment with that of their country cousins? Can three successive generations survive a town life at all? Can the ranks of the huge majority in our towns be adequately replenished from the minority in the country? Surely history and common sense alike point to the fact that the only lasting wealth of a country lies in the cultivation of her own fields, and that to neglect agriculture is to neglect the source, not only of wealth, but of national and economic, moral, and physical health. The second point, that of cost, is an important one. . . . But looking at it from the hard £ s. d. point of view of the

present, very little thought will convince any earnest enquirer that it would pay us here and now to grow our own food if—yes, of course, there is an 'if,' or it would have been done long ago—if we could secure to the cultivator of the soil his right to his own improvements."

The writer does not definitely state how this is to be brought about, but from his praise of Denmark and Jersey seems to lean towards peasant proprietorship. He says that the prosperity of Denmark is due, not to protective tariffs, but to land law reforms. He also disagrees with the statement that the fall of prices is the cause of agricultural depression by pointing out that other countries have shared this fall and yet continue cultivation. He also quotes oats as being 2s. 1d. as against 3s. 7d. in 1874. Yet we grow as much oats to-day as we did in the seventies. He says: "Low prices, high rents, dear labour, unfair railway rates are as nothing to the basic grievance, viz., the fundamental insecurity of capital sunk in other men's land."



TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM.

The simple fact is that existing laws relating to tariff duties, railroads, patents, and business corporations have offered every conceivable inducement to consolidation, and have complicated the existing situation to such an extent that we are often unable to distinguish the results of permanent economic principles or forces from the effects of our own unwise legislation. Until we remove the abuses caused by laws of our own making, we shall probably secure no general agreement upon the economic principles involved; but our doubts upon many of the economic aspects of the question should not serve as an excuse for delay in removing the evils caused by forces that are in our own control. These evils present practical issues that may well serve as a basis for immediate action; the decision of the complicated economic principles involved in the trust problem may then be reserved more safely for a time when we shall have greater experience and a clearer vision.

And the friend of private property and individual enterprise should not forget that awaiting the outcome of our dealings with the trust stands—socialism. The "billion-dollar trust" seems to furnish a practical demonstration of the possibility of organizing the largest industries upon a national scale, and the socialist applauds the efforts of Mr. Morgan and his associates. The concentration of all the railroads into a few groups, controlled by a single set of interests, is a brilliant triumph for the policy of a centralization and for this too, Mr. Morgan has the gratitude of every socialist. The popular discontent caused by the monopolisation of one necessary of life after another prepares the soil in a manner ideally perfect for the sowing of socialistic seed, and it is a significant fact that American socialism has first become an appreciable force in this era of trusts and combinations. When the people once gained an appreciation of the fact that

monopoly is inevitable in the field of municipal service industries, the question immediately arose, Shall this monopoly be public or private? And the last ten years have witnessed a remarkable growth, among conservative people, of an opinion favourable to public ownership. The same question will certainly arise if thinking men ever become convinced that in manufacturing and other industries competition is impossible, and monopoly inevitable. Only two possible alternatives will then present themselves—public or private monopoly, and those who are now occupied with the formation or justification of trusts will be the persons chiefly responsible in case the balance finally swings in the direction of Socialism.—Charles J. Bullock, in the June "Atlantic Monthly," Boston.



THE EXHAUSTION OF NATURE'S STORES.

The editor of the "Engineering Magazine," in a recent issue of that journal, discusses an article which appeared in the "Engineering News" sounding an alarm concerning the reckless manner in which mankind is wasting the stores provided by nature—coal, iron, food supplies, etc. While this exhortation has weight, the editor of the magazine thinks there is something to be said on the other side:

Considering first of all the vital question of food supply, the doctrine of Malthus, concerning the rate at which population was overtaking subsistence, was first brought to public notice in 1798, and so brought that subject to attention at the beginning of the last century. The theory, as it was epigrammatically put at a much later date, consisted in the statement that "the world would some day wake up to find that the last possible breakfast had been eaten the day before."

As a matter of fact, certain laws have since been discovered which bear somewhat upon the subject. We now know that matter and energy are both indestructible, and that the elements of which subsistence is composed must always exist in undiminished quantity. That the slow processes of nature in the conversion of inorganic material into organic and sustaining compounds may not be equal to future demands may indeed be true, but it does not follow that food products may not hereafter be made in the laboratory on a huge commercial scale, at a rate commensurate with all requirements. Certain it is that the material for such synthetic technical chemistry cannot be lacking, and it is only the methods which need to be developed. If chemistry is to be held responsible for the restoration to the

soil of the elements needed to maintain vegetation, why not go a step further and conduct the entire work in the rapid laboratory rather than in the slow field? The exhaustion of fuel supply has already pointed out the necessity of utilising other sources of energy for mechanical purposes. Of such sources there is no lack. Already electrical transmission has caused a return to water power to become practically commercially possible. Add to this the utilisation of solar heat, of the internal heat of the earth, and of the energy of the waves and tides, and we have sufficient for all future purposes; supplies not stored in the past and subject to exhaustion, but generated continually, or rather derived from that one great source, the sun. When that source begins to fail, the demand will fail with it, and human life will be exhausted long before its supply of solar energy is gone.

So far as the supply of materials of construction is concerned, there is little need for alarm. The metals already extracted from the earth can be supplemented by others whose reduction has only become possible by recent methods. Aluminium will doubtless become of increasing utility as its production is facilitated, and the supply is practically unlimited. Artificial stone will replace the natural article, and will possess the advantage of greater ease of preparation. Other artificial materials will doubtless be evolved to supply the demand, and as the absolute destruction of matter is impossible, so the supply of material for conversion remains constant, and only the method of conversion enters into the problem.

It is by no means intended that this view of the situation should weaken the warning conveyed in the article referred to, so far as urging the reduction of waste is concerned. The work of the engineer in the new century must be devoted both to the reduction of waste in existing methods and to the production of new and better methods which shall be, so to speak, "endless chains," having for the basis of their action the fact that both matter and energy are indestructible, and that nothing is ever lost or useless.

Child labour in the silk factories of Italy seems to be an evil that must be resolutely dealt with. There are altogether 646 factories, employing a total of 93,612 workers, of which 2,247 are children from 9 to 10 years, 8,176 from 10 to 12 years, 18,525 from 12 to 15 years. Of the remainder about half are under 21 years. The Government intend to raise the minimum age, but meet with the strenuous opposition of the manufacturers, alleging, as usual, that the trade must be learnt while the children are very young. Most of the manufacturers are Swiss, and the strange part of this business is that in their own country children are not allowed to work in factories under 14 years. Nevertheless, the silk industry in Switzerland manages to flourish and to furnish considerable profits to the capitalists. Granted that children in southern countries like Italy are generally more developed than children of northern countries, by a difference of a year or two, age for age, there is considerable room for improvement.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BULLETIN.

The International Socialist Secretariat issues the following on the Social-Democratic Party of Austria:—

“We draw from the report of the general Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party the following statistics. The number of delegates of the party in Parliament, which was 15, has been reduced to 10. Nevertheless, the strength of the party has not been lessened on that account. Here is the result of the elections in the 5 curia :

	Direct Votes.		Indirect Votes.
Social-democrats	201,862	.....	3,984
Young Tchecks	27,222	.....	3,676
National Tchecks	9,858	.....	3,438
Old Germans	26,313	.....	2,910
Clerical Germans .....	—	.....	2,338
Social Christians	174,603	.....	759
Liberals	6,560	.....	1,076
German Volkspartei	18,364	.....	931
Others (9 parties)	97,611	.....	9,163

Below is the number of votes of the different parties, with the number (a) of delegates elected, and (b) the number which each should have on a system of proportional representation :

Parties.	Votes.	No. (A)	No. (B)
Social-democrats	759,462	... 10	... 58
Young Tchecks	578,622	... 53	... 42
National Tchecks	525,558	... 5	... 38
Old Germans	462,813	... 21	... 34
Clerical Germans	350,700	... 37	... 25
Social Christians	288,353	... 22	... 21
Liberals	169,298	... 39	... 12
German Volkspartei	157,964	... 51	... 11
Others (9 parties)	2,421,088	... 185	... 162

The Party at present possesses 48 political journals appearing: Daily, 8, of which 3 are German, 2 Tcheck, 2 Italian, and 1 Polish. Three times weekly, 2 Tcheck. Twice weekly, 5, of which 3 are German, 1 Tcheck, 1 Italian. Weekly, 26, of which 19 are German, 5 Tcheck, 1 Italian, and 1 Slav. Twice monthly, 6, of which 1 is German, 2 are Tcheck, 1 Polish, and 1 Ruthian. Monthly, 1 Tcheck.

The organised workers have besides a Trade Union press, consisting of

50 journals, of which 26 are German, 20 Tcheck, 3 Polish, and 1 Italian. There is besides the "Arbeiterschutz," the organ of the societies for mutual aid, and three comic papers, two German, and one Tcheck.

No organisation escapes political prosecution. These prosecutions have been numerous in the last two years, as the following table shows:

Organisations	Peines:			Amendes couron
	Ans	Mois	Jours	
German	10	10	2	3,347.08
Tcheck	10	7	4	2,487.40
Polish	8	11	16	998.00
Italian (Tyrol sud)	—	6	26	436.00
Italian (cotes)	—	—	8	60.00
Slav (sud)	—	3	1	41.00

Altogether: 31 years, 2 months, and 27 days' imprisonment, and 7,369 crowns fines.

The details as to the progress of the party and of its organisation are contained in the reports of the different national federations. In general the most satisfactory progress has been made and the best results obtained. In many communes Social-Democrats have been elected to the Councils, and in some places the local council is composed entirely of Social-Democrats.

VICTOR SERWZ.

LABOUR AND CAPITAL ARE ONE.

"Times are hard," said Picked Chicken.

"Why," said the Rat, "this is an era of prosperity. See how I have feathered my nest."

"But," said the Picked Chicken, "you have got my feathers."

"You must not think," said the Rat, "that because I get more comfort you get poorer."

"But," said the Chicken, "you produce no feathers, and I keep none—"

"If you would use your teeth——" interrupted the Rat.

"I——" said the Picked Chicken.

"You could lay by as much as I do," concluded the Rat.

"If——" said the Picked Chicken.

"Without consumers like me," said the Rat, "there would be no demand for the feathers which you produce."—*Life*.

The Central Council of German Trade Unions (non-Socialist) has petitioned the Federal Council and Parliament to further restrict night work, the chief points being, total prohibition for children under 14 years and for women of any age, the restrictions now in force for boys up to 16 years to be extended to 18 years, night work for adult males not to exceed eight hours, and a change of shift from night to day-shift to be made at least fortnightly.

"THE HEATHEN CHINEE."

IN China bribery and corruption has been reduced to a fine art, so that when the almond-eyed son of Confucius lays himself out to cheat his countrymen, and the European community in general, he usually succeeds.

The mental make-up of the Pagan is peculiar. He is intensely superstitious, and to-day, with but few exceptions, the millions of Chinese are the same as their ancestors were two thousand years ago. Their manners, customs, dress, and habits are in no way changed. Their intense dislike towards Europeans, the scorn and ridicule they have for the foreign devils, amounts to a natural antipathy.

The influx of these Pagans into Queensland arose in this way: In China a man marries and lives on 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a week (millions have to), he has a family (in most cases a large one), and as they grow up they become useful, and will have to support themselves and their parents. The prospects in China for the young men are poor. They are told that Queensland is a sort of terrestrial paradise. But how to get there is the trouble. A father cannot find £60 (four hundred dollars) for outfit, expenses to the port of shipping, then passage money to Queensland, out of 1s. 6d. or 2s. 6d. a week. How is it to be done? Easy enough! The father sells his daughter, a girl of 15 or 16, to some Australian Chow, and thus gets sufficient to pay for the brother's passage out. If no daughter is available, the son is sold for £40 or £50, say, for five years or more, just according to the ability he may have as a carpenter, gardener, cook, &c. The Chinese agents send him out to their representatives here, who either send him to some garden to work, or, as the case may be, to whatever trade he is inclined toward. The local agent here takes particular care to keep him well in hand. The poor devil has to pay so much a week, heavy interest included, off the liability his father has incurred. He has also to keep himself and struggle to send a trifle home to his parents to keep them. It is a joyful day for the new chum when at length, after long slaving, he has bought back his liberty. Cases are known where the Chinese husband has sold son, daughter, and finally his wife, to keep body and soul together.

From the Chinaman's point of view his sale as a slave is only a duty he owes to his parents.—*The Worker.*

A JINGO GEM.—"The progress of my forces in the conquest of the two Republics by whom my South African Colonies have been invaded has been steady and continuous; but owing to the difficulty and extent of the country to be traversed, the length of the military operations has been protracted."—*The King's Speech*, August 16, 1901.

SOCIALIST MARCH.

Tune, "Watch on the Rhine."

WHENCE came all tyranny, and whence
Came slavery save from ignorance dense?
From ignorance that made heaven and hell,
And raised on earth its citadel

Of pride and privilege, when man
With unrestrained power began
To make his brother, Caliban. (*Repeat.*)

And whence came freedom, aye to be
The lode-star of Democracy?
From brooding thought within the brain,
From heart rebellious in the grain;

For rebel from the brute was he
Who rebel from the slave shall be,
And rebel through eternity.

Tell us no longer God doth frown
On discontent in field and town;
Tell us no longer "Blessèd be
Ye poor and lowly." Rather we

Who *live* will rain down stroke on stroke
To rid the dwelling of our folk
Quit of oppression's galling yoke.

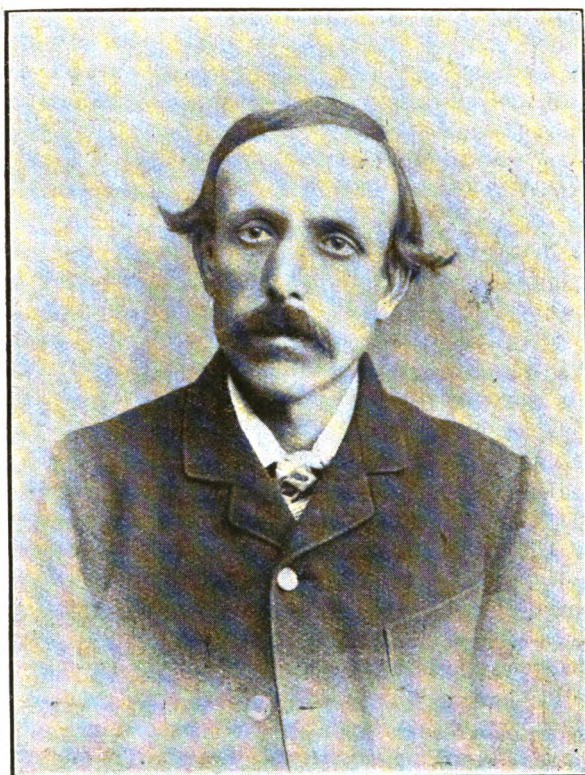
Yet had we never known the night,
We ne'er had prized the morning's light;
And had we never walked astray,
We ne'er had sought for freedom's way,

Where men and women think no shame
To render service, and to claim
As willing service just the same.

We march a new-old world to greet,
Rejoined in kinship close and sweet
With all that lives and moves, well blest,
On mother-earth's unfailing breast—

With all that's thought, and said, and done
With days and nights, stars, moon and sun,
With one in all, and all in one.

G. W. S.



W. J. NAIRN.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. VI., No. 2. FEBRUARY 15, 1902.

W. J. NAIRN.

Our militants pass slowly and surely from us, leaving the breach in the fighting line of the class-conscious proletariat larger and larger. The Glasgow Branch performed the saddest task of its existence on Monday, January 6, when they bore to the grave the remains of Nairn, the proletarian, the fighter, the thinker. For 20 years he had carried aloft, faithfully and victoriously, the Red Flag of Social Democracy, the flag which was round his coffin, now when his labours were finished for ever. His were the eyes that, 20 years ago, from the mountain tops of science, discerned the coming dawn of working class emancipation, the first rays of which are but now visible to us of the plains below. An acute thinker and brilliant logician, he never once lost sight of the essentials of Socialism to immerse himself in the Utopianisms of the moment, of which Glasgow has produced so many. Rather on the contrary. His ever-open and powerful attack on the unright and the unjust brought him that host of enemies which all who adopt his position can only expect.

Hailing originally from Brechin, the son of a sturdy Scotch farmer, he, at the age of 18, after his father's death, drifted south to Grangemouth, and finally to Glasgow. Soon after this his attention was aroused to the class movement by the vigorous land agitation which was then being carried on, and he accepted Socialism from its then international propagandists as the real solution. Working at various forms of employment, from many of which he was systematically driven, due to his revolutionary activity, he finally found himself induced to continue at stone-breaking when no petty hireling of the capitalist class would vent his spite upon him, and where he had a certain amount of freedom to come and go as he willed, and enabling him to carry on his work for the cause which was almost his life. From then onwards for 15 years he was debating, lecturing, writing, and propagating Socialism incessantly, the Socialism he loved so well. His great efforts in September, 1886, when, along with Hutchieson, McCulloch, and others, he

successfully held great demonstrations, numbering sometimes 12,000 persons, on Glasgow Green, protesting against the imprisonment of Williams and the others and for the maintenance of free speech, showed the energy and capacity of this man of the people. Holding at that period seven and eight meetings per week, as the old files of "Justice" show, we can see at a glance the work of this pioneer. His famous controversy with Annie Besant on "What is Capital?" marked him as a vigorous and brilliant economist and student of Marx, the study of whose works was always one of his greatest pleasures. Right down through the years until 1893 the street corners and the green found Nairn hammering at the truth until it rang again. All these years of open-air toil and speaking told heavily on a man whose physical constitution was never of the very best. He came to consider that the younger men, whom he had watched grow up under his hand, should carry on some of the work while he began to take a more active interest in the co-operative movement. Even here he had no false notions as to what might be done with it. He realised, perhaps better than many, the advantages which it offered to train the workers in administrative affairs, in a small way organising the essentials of life. Further than this he did not go. His sound practical sense and business ability soon brought him into the highest post in that body, and at the time of his death he was a director of the Scottish Co-operative Bakery Society, to which he had been elected from director of St. George's Insurance Society. Hunter Watts, in a note in "Black and White" in 1896, referring to Nairn, said truly that when the history of the Socialist movement in England comes to be written Nairn will be one of the working class whose labours it will specially mention as having paved the way for the final struggle. His many writings in "Justice" and his trenchant criticisms show at once the man and his life—a born revolutionist and thinker. His many controversies in "Justice" show the broadness of his education and experience, as well as his knowledge of men and things. Above all things, he was essentially practical and gifted with great common sense, considering coldly and analytically every proposition placed before him for his judgment—a Scot in whom the revolutionary spirit burned clear and bright, tempered by his native caution.

These brief lines indicate roughly—very roughly, indeed—some of our dead comrade's work; and one of his last contributions to "Justice" will remain, I have no doubt, in the minds of many comrades, where he allowed a note almost amounting to a groan to escape him, due to the terrible conditions and misfortunes under which he had braved his life. His last note, written practically beside the death-bed of two of his children, shows how the iron had entered his very soul. He suffered much, very much, and yet he stood ever in the breath. But a few weeks before his death he opened the winter series of lectures for the Glasgow Branch on "Some Things Worth Considering," in his own inimitable and brilliant way. And now he has gone. The comrades of the Branch to about 50 marshalled at the Western Necropolis to pay their last tribute to their valiant dead, and his old colleague, Bob Hutchieson, together with Geo. Neill, E. McColl, and J. F. Armour, bore his remains to their last resting-place; whilst Morris's beautiful hymn, "All

for the Cause," was sung until the grave was reached. At the grave Comrade Yates spoke a few words over the body of the comrade he had known and loved, and, the body being lowered, the comrades sang "The Red Flag." And Nairn is now a memory—a sweet and a bitter memory: sweet, as it showed a man intellectual and capable, full of energy, uprightness, and manliness; bitter, because of the accursed system which compelled Nairn, at the age of 45, to yield up his life—he who should yet be with us to counsel and lead. His struggle for truth and right, at whatsoever cost, will abide in our memories to guide us of the younger generation in the task which he delegates to us, and which he carried on so successfully and so well, serving as a monument to him more real and enduring than those of brass and stone. His battle-cry from first to last was the international solidarity of the human race; when it shall have become an accomplished fact the children may then be told of a brave fighter, a pioneer, a seeker for truth, W. J. Nairn.

G. S. YATES.

A CABINET THAT OWNS COUNTIES.

AN article in a recent number of *Tit-Bits* gives some interesting information concerning the members of the present Government. It is entitled "A Cabinet that Owns Counties." That intelligent individual, the Conservative working man, would do well to assimilate the facts therein contained. They certainly furnish food for reflection.

Of the nineteen members of the Cabinet, nine are peers, one a baronet, and four sons or nephews of noblemen, the remaining five are commoners. The nine peers divide no less than 35 titles of nobility among them. Three of them (the Duke of Devonshire and Lords Salisbury and Lansdowne) can afford to present a coronet apiece to every other member of the Cabinet and still have two titles each for themselves. This most resplendent Cabinet can boast of possessing one dukedom, three marquises, nine earldoms, seven viscounties, and 15 baronies, to say nothing of Sir M. Hicks-Beach's baronetcy. Mr. Brodrick is heir to a barony and viscounty.

To enable our noble rulers to support these overwhelming dignities, the ineffable 19 own 400,000 acres of land, that is to say, an average of 21,000 acres apiece, equal to a slice of land one mile wide and 32 miles long.

Of course, personages of such exalted rank could not be expected to live in a single house like an ordinary mortal—a Conservative working man, to wit. As a matter of fact, their Excellencies inhabit 45 mansions between them, that is to say, 236 mansions per right honourable gentleman.

In order that these establishments may be maintained in the splendour in which John Bull likes to see his lords and masters (not servants, of course) surrounded, it is gratifying to learn that the aggregate income of the Cabinet is £855,000 per annum, or, say, £40,000 for each of these devoted servants of the people.

Coming back to the subject of titular distinctions, it appears that the Marquis of Lansdowne is at once a marquis, three earls, three viscounts and four barons, while his Grace of Devonshire is a duke, marquis, two earls and two barons rolled into one. Poor fellow, no wonder he occasionally yawns.

FACTITIOUS UNITY.

There is an unmistakeable tendency in the present day among political parties claiming to represent advanced principles to erect party unity into a fetish before which everything else must bow. The integrity of principles is quite a secondary consideration provided that the unity of the party be maintained. Anything to avoid a split—that is the motto of the practical politician of the dawning twentieth century. Now, it would surely be well for some of the enthusiastic advocates of unity at any price to ask themselves occasionally for what their party exists, about the integrity of whose unity they are so zealous? Is unity, then, for the sake of the party, or the party for the sake of unity? Wherein lies the *raison d'être* of the party? Is the object of the party the realisation of certain principles, or do the principles exist for the sake of the party in such wise as the green dragon, the name, and the painted signboard exists for the sake of the publican or the wholesale brewer behind him? The green dragon plainly has no reason for its existence apart from beer and profits, and since a patch of red or a patch of yellow on the dragon's tail, nay the metamorphosis of the dragon itself into a sea-serpent, is unlikely to seriously affect either beer or profits, such changes as above may well be regarded with comparative indifference by the eye of the publican, provided the licence remains intact. In the same way, if the principles of a party are like the signboard depicting the green dragon, the unity of the party, like the integrity of the publican's licence, is obviously the one thing needful. If the end and object is money, office, or power for its own sake, then clearly the solicitude of the practical politician, as he is called, to avoid a split in the party, is justified in its day and generation. If, on the contrary, party organisation itself is subservient to certain definite ideals, and has no object or significance apart from such, then equally clearly, whenever those ideals are threatened by the unity of the party, that unity must go by the board.

But, it will be said, a split in a party can hardly fail to impair its efficiency as an instrument for the realisation of its ideals. Moreover, a party cannot afford to lose, maybe, able and energetic men. Hence it is surely much better to patch up differences of opinion that may exist and unite on the basis of some vague and general formula on which all can agree. To this it may be replied, as concerns the first point, that the realisation of the ideals of a party is less likely to be effectuated by the attenuation of those ideals for the sake of mere numerical strength than by the surrender of a certain amount of such strength on behalf of the vigorous maintenance intact of the principles for the sake of which the party avowedly exists. What may be gained by the sacrifice of the integrity of principle is at most the gain or partial gain of some temporary success. For example, by throwing everything else overboard, the S.D.F. might possibly succeed by a coalition with other bodies in realising, say, payment of members or such an undoubted

social reform as the eight hours day in all Government departments. But the S.D.F. would see greater things than these. It is not for these things, or such as these, desirable as they undoubtedly are in themselves, that twenty years of unceasing work and sacrifice have been offered up. It is for something else that well-nigh a whole generation of Socialists in Great Britain has learned to labour and to wait.

Then as to the second point. It is alleged, by practical politicians, so called, as a reason for toleration or compromise, that a party cannot afford to lose an able man or men merely because they happen to be shaky on some vital point of principle. To this it may be replied that the ability of doubtful members cuts both ways. It may be of more danger to party principles when inside the party organisation than it is of advantage to the enemy when working against it outside. A party having any regard for its principles should surely look to it that its able men—those, therefore, most powerful for leading—should be straight even more than the ordinary rank and file—and, hence, if they go wrong, should be the more inexorably expelled. A party that is worth its salt can always afford to lose a man or two without collapsing, but it cannot always afford to have a powerful leader inside incessantly pulling the wrong way. Here, again, we ask, is the object of the party to hold together solely for the sake of office, emoluments, or party tranquillity, or for the sake of its avowed aims?

One illustration of the tendency of the practical politician to sacrifice all to avoid "splitting the party" is afforded by the British Radicals of the present time, and another by the German Social Democrats. Whatever we may think of English Radicalism as a political creed, it has certainly in the past represented some definite principles. These principles were those of the rising middle classes while they were still revolutionary. They involved the negation of nearly everything that modern Imperialism champions. The Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform doctrine meant attention to home affairs, hence anti-expansion, anti-militarism, enthusiasm for the rights of small and weaker nations, and all-round general political rectitude. Now, modern Imperialism, as just said, whether it call itself Liberal or other, means ruthless disregard of all other nations and races where their rights conflict with your own, reckless expenditure on military and naval matters, and a postponement of the domestic reforms, so dear to the heart of the old Liberal, to the Greek Kalends. All this is admitted in so many words in platform speeches by the leaders of the Liberal Party. And yet we find these very same leaders, from Campbell-Bannerman to Lloyd George, literally grovelling on their bellies before a man like Lord Rosebery, the very incarnation of the Imperialism they otherwise denounce, eagerly catching at every insidious phrase let fall by their oracle for the purpose of twisting it into the semblance of a modification of the view the speaker is otherwise known to hold. And all for what? That the Liberal party organisation may reap the temporal advantages believed to ensue from a man of Lord Rosebery's position and influence deigning to re-enter its ranks. The Liberal leaders know well enough that Lord Rosebery at heart has no sympathy with the views hitherto connoted by the term Liberalism, views which they themselves, in general,

profess to still hold. But what of that? If Liberal principles lose the Liberal organisation gains, as they think.

We Socialists of the S.D.F. justly pour contempt on the English Liberal Party for its inconsistency and time-serving. We must not, however, permit ourselves to be too self-righteous. The glorification of mere unity as such, however false and factitious it may be, is unfortunately not confined to Liberalism. It seems, unhappily, a pestilence which dogs the steps of every party that has grown to any considerable proportions in wealth and influence. We see much the same thing at the present time among our comrades of the German Social Democratic Party. It has been of late crucially manifested in the Bernstein controversy. Mr. Bernstein repudiates almost every principle hitherto regarded as "of faith" in Social Democracy. He champions every form and well-nigh every abuse of capitalism. The politico-financial schemes of Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, and the cosmopolitan financiers of the Rand generally have found in him their warmest advocate. English misrule in India he also takes under his ægis. He has systematically attacked every Social Democratic doctrine in turn, to the delight of reactionary readers and hearers. In a word, Mr. Bernstein is incomparably less friendly to Socialism, if any meaning is to be attached to the word at all, than the mildest English Radical. To judge from his expressed opinions, in fact, Mr. Bernstein has no more sympathy with the recognised principles of Social Democracy, and perhaps rather less, than Count von Bulow himself. And yet, wonderful to relate, for fear of causing a split in the party, for fear of jeopardising party unity, the German Social Democrats could not muster up sufficient courage to exclude Mr. Bernstein from their ranks. In this case the mere desire of preserving a formal unity must be alone in question, since it can hardly be alleged that there is any extraordinary ability at stake.

One must admit, of course, the difficulties a large party has to contend with. Differences of opinion on matters of tactics, on minor and outlying points of theory, or even, it may be, in one or two items of the immediate programme—that such must be we fully recognise. But whatever may be said, it is not difficult to distinguish between this and unsoundness of fundamental principle. Social Democrats, at least, of all lands, need to pull themselves together, and wage a war to the knife against the modern accursed tendency to the glorification of Factitious Unity.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE foremost financial organ of Germany announces that all the great steel plants of the empire are forming a combine to include all branches of steel manufacture. A London dispatch says the big British iron and steel concerns are organising a \$10 000,000 trust. International trusts are coming rapidly, and then, if not before, Socialism.—"Cleveland Citizen."

JESUITS AND FREEMASONS.—“KILLING NO MURDER.”

Many years ago Charles Detre came to me with a letter of introduction from our revered comrade, teacher, and leader, the late Dr. Cesar de Paepe. He had been driven out of Belgium by a reactionary and clerical Government, in punishment for some revolutionary articles he had written. In response to such a recommendation, I naturally did what I could to lighten the sorrows and difficulties that constitute the hard lot of the political refugee. After a while he left London, and I lost sight of him for some years; but more recently I met him again in a provincial town, where I was delighted to hear he had obtained fairly lucrative employment. In any case, he had means sufficient to amass an enormous quantity of books on strange and weird subjects. Profiting, doubtless, by the quietude of provincial life, Detre had spent many years in the study of the occult in nature and in politics. He had come to some startling conclusions. To him the politicals whose names daily appear in the papers, and whom we see before us, are but mere puppets, mere marionettes; and those who really retain power, and govern the world, are the unseen and occult personages, who pull the strings from behind the stage. The real rulers of the world were to be found in the ranks of two organisations—the Clericals, especially the Jesuits, on one side, the Freemasons, especially those of the Scotch Rite and of the Grand Orient of France, on the other side. If a politician is mentioned to Detre, he at once proceeds to his library, pulls down several books, and ends by telling you when the politician in question was initiated, to what lodge and rite he belongs, and what degree he has attained. Difficult as it may be to discover the hidden aim and object of these secret organisations, the complication does not end here, for these organisations are being constantly “crossed” by emissaries from rival bodies, and thus it would appear, according to Detre’s reading, that Freemasons, organised to combat clericalism, have sometimes been utilised to carry out clerical objects. To this process of “crossing” is attributed the failure, or, at least, the partial failure, of most revolutions. It will be seen, therefore, that, if these theories can be substantiated, they interest us in the highest degree.

Many a time I have thought of writing something on this subject, but have been staggered by the gigantic nature of the task. Now, however, I may venture on a few words, for I need not go into full details, but can refer those who are interested to a good-sized volume which Detre has recently written. It is one of the “Editions de l’Humanite Nouvelle,” published at Paris, 15 Rue des Saints-Peres, and entitled “Les Apologistes du Crime.” This book is characteristically dedicated to the masses, that is to the people “who ignore many truths and believe many falsehoods, and to the learned, who rack their brains to explain, by lies and subtleties, the reason of our social inequalities.”

This is followed by yet another and an annotated translation of the celebrated pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder," published in 1657, under the name of William Allen, but in reality written by Silas Titus. Indeed, this pamphlet is taken as a pretext for writing the book before us, which has for its purpose to demonstrate that the "Apologists of Crime" are to be found in the ranks of Freemasonry as well as among the Jesuits. But Detre deals first with the clericals, and commences at the date of 1407, when "Jean sans Peur," Duke of Burgundy, ensnared and had killed under his eyes the Duke of Orleans, who was brother of the King, lover of the King's wife, and also "the bed comrade of Madame Jean sans Peur." It will be seen that in these, the first six lines of the book, affairs already get a little mixed. The King (Charles V.) had lost his reason, and the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were rival candidates for the Regency. The Duke of Burgundy, to justify the murder he had committed, employed a certain theologian, named Jean Petit, and the eloquent pleading of the latter constitutes an able precursor of the English pamphlet, "Killing No Murder." Jean Petit said:—"A tyrant, whoever he may be, may, and should, licitly, meritoriously be killed by one of his vassals or subjects, whosoever he may be, even by means of an ambush, a betrayal, flatteries, and other manoeuvres, and this in spite of whatever faith or oath the subject may have taken in regard to the tyrant; and, further, for this purpose, the subject need not wait till the tyrant has been sentenced or condemned by any judge whatsoever." It was in answer to such pleading that the august assembly which judged the case gave unanimously a verdict of acquittal, and this verdict was confirmed by the acclamations of the people of Paris, to whom the speech of Jean Petit was communicated. To support this theory, Jean Petit had quoted the Bible, the works of Cicero, and such eminent divines as Saint Thomas Aquinas, etc. Nevertheless, the governing classes ultimately discovered that the theories of Jean Petit went just a little too far, and we find the Rev. Father Martin Becan writing to the Freemason King James I. of England, and this with the approval of the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, that "the Council of Constance had not defined by a universal negative proposition that no tyrant might be killed, but that the Council had condemned the universal affirmative proposition that all tyrants may be killed."

Such, briefly, are the main points brought forward in the first two pages of the book, and neither time nor space permits a continuation of an analysis of such plentiful contents. The mass of historical quotations given go to prove that the right to kill tyrants has been maintained throughout; but, if the tyrant killed was on the side of the authors who wrote about him, then it was murder, while if he was opposed to them, then it was not murder. Thus for the clerical party it would have been murder to kill the Stuart pretenders to the throne of England, but it would have been quite justifiable, according to Colonel Silas Titus and the Jesuits, to kill Cromwell. Indeed, assassination has always been one of the privileges enjoyed by the privileged classes, but Jesuit and Freemason are quite unanimous in denying this right to the people. We all know how the right to commit crimes, for a consideration, has been proclaimed by the Christian Church. Detre quotes the tax on crime estab-

lished by the Sacred Chancery and the Sacred Apostolic Penitentiary, published at Rome on November 18, 1514, and in Paris in 1520. This precious and official document states what sums must be paid for dispensations for committing incest, rape, obscenities, adultery, bestiality, and crimes against nature, abortion, sacrilege, theft, arson, perjury, falsifying of wills, etc. But on the ninth line of the 23rd page of the Paris edition there is this characteristic and saving clause: "These sort of graces and dispensations cannot be accorded to the poor, because, not having the means, they cannot be consoled." And Detre adds that we need not be much surprised at this sort of excommunication of the poor, for, even in our days, they are kept out of the sanctuaries of Freemasonry, because they have not the means of worthily representing the craft. Governed by such moral and humane principles, it is also not surprising that the Pope John XII. had his father's eyes goaded out and the genital organs wrenched off the reverend person of Cardinal John, or that the aspirant to the Papal throne, Boniface VII., caused his predecessor, Benoit VI., to be chopped up into little bits. Presumably these ecclesiastical amenities, like the black setting to a diamond, are useful as a contrast, and confer greater lustre on the gentle teachings of the founder of Christianity.

After dealing with many political assassinations organised by the Jesuits, the murders of Henry III., Henry IV. of France, and the attempt to murder Queen Elizabeth of England, we are shown the other side of the picture—poison for the Pompadour, the rapid deaths of the Dauphin, who was a friend of the Jesuits, and in 1767 his wife, also a friend of the Jesuits; then, in 1768, the Queen dies, and she was likewise a friend of the Jesuits. This brings us to the fundamental theory. There have always been two main contending forces—Rome, or the Black International, and every conceivable form of national independence. The Church supports the monarchy, but only if it dominates the monarchy; and while, at first, many monarchs have gladly availed themselves of this alliance, they soon tired of playing the part of the inferior partner. But, as it was impossible to govern without the support of some sort of clergy, one monarch after another has encouraged the idea of a national Church, and this bears the name of Gallicanism in France, of Anglicanism in England. The prospect of the creation of a national Church which might rival in importance the Church of Rome presents itself to the Jesuit as such a calamity that, for its avoidance, any crime is justifiable. Therefore, when a king leans that way he finds himself denounced as a tyrant, and the Jesuit fathers begin to preach the principles of Democracy coupled with the advocacy of political assassination. Thus the Jesuit Father Mariana, in "*De Regis et Regis Institutione*," dedicated by permission to Philip III., King of Spain (1598), argues that the king is but the delegate of his people, who retain the right of revoking him if need be. Mariana says:—

"The authority of the people is superior to that of the kings" (in those days the priests led the people). "Subjects are allowed to revolt against their Sovereign and to violate their oath of fidelity whenever they have good cause or complaint against their king. Each individual has the right to kill a man who has seized sovereignty by force and without the consent of the nation. The States have the right to judge the princes. . . . to punish

with death the prince declared to be a public enemy. If the States (Parliaments) cannot be assembled, any individual may legitimately kill a tyrant to satisfy the people. There is courage in attacking him openly, but there is no less prudence in attacking him clandestinely and making him perish in snares prepared for him."

There is a palpable family likeness between this Jesuit pronouncement and the declaration of the rights of man. If I remember correctly, according to the later document, citizens compelled to obey laws that are not of their own making have not only the right, but it is their most sacred duty to revolt.

Detre then proceeds to give a great amount of evidence to show that Masonry of the Scotch Rite was actively supported by the House of Stuart, that it was introduced into France by the English Jacobite party, where it was supported by the Pope Benoit XIV., Louis XV. of France, and Philip V. of Spain; that it adopted, as against the persons of George I. and George II. of England, the doctrine that "killing is no murder," taught by Jean Petit, Francois de Verone, Jean Boucher, Milton, Colonel Silas Titus, Locke, Algernon Sidney, the Bible, Cicero, Plutarch, Aristotle, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Covarrivias, and the most celebrated Jesuits. According to Bro. Besuchet, a Bull for the Institution of a Primordial Chapter of the Rose-Cross, under the title of "L'Ecosse Jacobite," was given in 1747 to the knights Lagneau and Robert-Spiers, advocates at Arras, in reward for the help they had given to the British Jacobites. This Robert-Spiers was the father of Maximilien de Robert-Spiers, known in history as Robespierre. Thus the "sea green incorruptible" was the son of a Rosicrucian Freemason. He was also a pupil at the Jesuit College of Louis le Grand, and had for protector the Jesuit Laroche, Bishop of Arras. Under the Revolution, Robespierre attained one of the highest ranks in Freemasonry, that of Knight Kadosh, and was one of the principal leaders of the Jacobin Club. Now there is a singular resemblance between the words Jacobin and Jacobite, though the one is taken to represent Democratic revolution and the other autocratic reaction. But for the occult wire-puller, were they not both destined to serve the same purpose? The Jacobites of England fought against a monarchy that supported a Church independent of Rome. The Jacobins of France overthrew a monarchy that had expelled the Jesuits and that had a tendency to favour Gallicanism as against the supremacy of Rome. And the Revolution Society in London, which corresponded with the Jacobin Club in Paris, has at its head two fervent Catholics, Lord Stanhope, and Dr. Price. As in France, Democrats and Freethinkers are utilised to overthrow the anti-Jesuit and Gallican King Louis VI., so, in England, Presbyterianism and various forms of Dissent are employed to combat the Anglican Church. Rome may fear the Church of England; it has only contempt for the multifarious forms of the petty Dissenting bodies, and utilises them against its only serious rival. And then, when the trick has been played, the enemy of Rome has been overthrown, all the hidden forces that were pushing on the revolution veer round, and the world is surprised by the force of the reaction that ensues—a reaction of so pronounced a character that even the Jesuits are welcomed back.

Detre says :—"I am not a Freemason, and I hate profoundly the Jesuits," and therefore he claims to be free to criticise both parties.

The theory which he has propounded is put forward in so lucid and able a manner, is supported by such a mass of documents and quotations, that to ignore his work would only be a proof of blind prejudice. But I am also free to criticise, and I also think that Jesuitism is the principal danger we have ahead of us. Now there is a tendency, and this is especially inherent to the French character, to make too much of a theory. The French is essentially a logical mind, and in dealing with history there is a strong temptation to make events fit logically in support of a theory. Nothing seems to happen naturally, by the fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, but even the most trivial incidents are the outcome of deep-laid plots. The English mind is just the reverse. It is essentially practical. It does not bother about theories and fundamental principles. It does not pause to consider whether an event is the logical outcome of some other event or particular circumstance, but simply deals with the event on its merits, as apart from its cause, and without thought of after consequences. Then the Englishman does what may seem expedient, "practical," on the spur of the moment. Therefore French thought, with all its characteristic faults, is a useful corrective to English thought, with all its faults. Consequently, while making due allowance for the special pleading of Detre's book, the mass of information it supplies and suggestions it throws out cannot be otherwise than useful. But it does not follow that we must forthwith set the Freemason on a par with the Jesuit and condemn both alike. Doubtless some sections of the Freemasons have been "crossed" and utilised by the Jesuits. Is it absolutely certain that the Jesuits have never been utilised by the Freemasons? Certainly revolutions have been followed by terrible reactions, but have not revolutions gone further than the people were prepared to go? There can be but little doubt that the Great French Revolution was in the main the work of the Freemasons. The Revolution first established, in 1789, Constitutionalism, and then, in 1792 and 1793, Republicanism. From Republicanism it might theoretically have travelled on to Socialism; but where were the Socialists in those days? As a matter of fact, the country was barely ripe for Constitutionalism, let alone Republicanism and Socialism. If the Freemasons did not go the whole length, in any case, they were in the van of progress. The Freemasons were not Socialists; they are not Socialists to-day. But, just as among the profane there are many more Socialists than there were a century ago, so in the ranks of Freemasonry are there to-day many Socialists. All we can do is to oil the wheels; we cannot force the machine forward quicker than its nature will permit. And the Jesuits cannot do more than this. They do not and cannot create the economic and political circumstances that bring about revolutions, but they may give a push here and there that can make events turn a little more to their advantage than would otherwise be the case. The Jesuits did not create Vanderbilt, Pierpont Morgan, Cecil Rhodes, and other such powerful though unconscious revolutionary agents; but, when the crash these men are bringing about takes place, there is not the slightest doubt that the Jesuits will strive to turn the crisis to their advantage. No

one body of men, however clever, wealthy, and determined, can shape the world's history; and the fact remains that, in spite of "crossings" and shortcomings, Freemasonry has, on the whole, fought against the despotism and intolerance of the throne and the altar. In England the vast majority of Freemasons—those notably of the York Rite—have supported the Hanoverian and Brunswick dynasty, and would resist the encroachments of Rome. This is very far from our ideal, but it is better than the Stuarts and the Jesuits. Did the English people deserve anything better? To-day, in France, at least, Freemasonry is the only organisation at all capable of coping with the Jesuits, and but for them Dreyfus would still be languishing on the Devil's Island. Let us be careful, therefore, how we throw stones at an institution which, with all its faults, has rendered good service; for in doing so we shall certainly be playing into the hands of the Jesuits. To accuse the Jesuits of favouring political assassination is nothing new. This accusation has been flung at them so often that it will do them no further harm to repeat it once or twice more. The Freemasons have not acquired the same unenviable notoriety, and an apparently impartial abuse of both parties would, in actual practice, prove of much more advantage to the Jesuits. When you have not much to say for your client, abuse the other side. It would be more useful, I take it, to strive and recall the Freemasons, especially in England, to a better appreciation of the brotherly principles they profess, to show them that true brotherhood is impossible unless we have Socialism. We should also endeavour to induce them to study the original and real meaning of their symbolism. Then, indeed, we shall have a powerful organisation to fight all that is dangerous in the dogmas of the Churches, whether Protestant or Catholic.

A. S. HEADINGLEY.

RAILROADS OF THE WORLD.

Reports recently issued by the treasury bureau of statistics and the interstate commerce commission show that two-fifths of the railroad mileage of the world is in the United States, and that there are employed in the railroad service more than a million men, a number larger than that of any standing army on the globe. Out of the 484,384 miles of railroad on the earth's surface, 199,378 miles are in this country, enough to build 33 double-track roads between New York and San Francisco, or enough to go around the world eight times, or to do many other improbable and useless things that seem to delight the minds of some statisticians. No other nation begins to approach this country in the matter of railroad mileage, as may be seen from the following table: United States, 199,378; German Empire, 31,934; Russia, 29,894; France, 26,613; India, 25,035; Austria-Hungary, 22,919; Great Britain and Ireland, 21,700; Canada, 17,657; British Australasia, 15,266; Argentina, 10,419; Italy, 9,810; Mexico, 9,603; Brazil, 8,718; Spain, 8,300.—Milwaukee "Social Democratic Herald."

PRO-BOER SENTIMENTS.

Mr. E. Belfort Bax is, by confession, a Pro-Boer. He is therefore anti-British. The latter sentiment is, in itself, a rather harmless idiosyncrasy, and it is only when wedded to the former, and served up as Socialist argument (as by Mr. Bax in last month's "Social Democrat") that I feel myself constrained to protest against it. Pro-Boerism, even when dressed in the subjective garb of "natural indignation," is not necessarily the essence of Socialist political wisdom. On the contrary, even after it has been stripped of its absurd sentimentalism, it is, in my judgment, opposed to every acknowledged principle of Socialist political action.

The Boer cause, defined so prettily, and, I fear untruthfully, by Mr. Bax, as "the Boer desires to govern himself on Democratic methods, and cultivate his farm in peace," is not the Socialist cause. It could only have become so if its advocacy, on purely political lines, was likely to help forward our national movement without prejudicing our relations with the international movement. That is exactly what it has not done, and what it never can do.

All Socialists are agreed that the South African war is an expression of the world-wide war between Capital and Labour, which we call the class war. That war involves, necessitates, in its operations, collisions between nations, as between individuals. These collisions always startle the unintelligent, although they are really the inevitable fruit of present-day material conditions. The small trader in the Bankruptcy Court through economic pressure from some huge industrial combination, the unemployed artisan, the "unfortunate" woman, or the criminal are all looked upon, conventionally, as accidental products, whose misfortunes can be accounted for on the score of some personal delinquency. They are therefore pitied, blamed, excused, or punished. Viewed scientifically, however, their social position is seen to be a true reflection of well-defined material conditions. Each takes his or her place in an unbroken chain of phenomena; each is a unit inseparable from the organism called society, and the condition of each is explainable when we have examined the variety of influences, entirely beyond their individual control, which contributed to their production. The South African war must be viewed from this standpoint, which is the Socialist standpoint.

British Imperialism, which is the developed form of British commercial activity, collided with Republican Conservatism in South Africa. Aggressive in policy, violating every conventional usage,* and truly representative of the dominant impulse of the age, the Imperialist mission was bound to succeed.

Political charlatans—and their name is legion—were ready with their volumes of praise and blame. Books were written; individuals were attacked

*Note:—Mr. Chamberlain, from his place in the House of Commons during this Session, while defending the suspension of the Legislature of Cape Colony, stated that he did not care a scrap for legal form.

and pilloried, and some of them, whom I suspect of having a certain sense of grim humour, accepted responsibility for the war as necessary for the extinction of a corrupt "Oligarchy." Others, again, knew how the impact could have been avoided, and refreshed themselves with eloquent diatribes, directed against the fell destroyers of what might have been. A few, however, Socialists set themselves to trace and explain the relation of the South African war to the material basis of capitalist society, and because they were neither dreamers nor overburdened with "natural indignation" they were able to see that, behind all the political trumpeters, stern Necessity dictated the tune to which Briton and Boer have danced. And thus it is that the fates have ironically summoned the British Liberal Party to protest, in words, against the quality of the fruit of the British Liberal policy, while British Conservatism lays the flattering unction to its soul that it inaugurated the era of "progress" in South Africa! Let us not forget that even Imperialism has in it the seed of Revolution.

The present-day British Conservative Party, conservative only in name, in spite of its historical, static reputation, is used by material necessity as the instrument of commercial revolution, while the Liberal Party, true to its traditional policy of blundering opportunism, "willing to wound and yet afraid to strike," searches its political vocabulary, like Mr. Bax, for quotations from the code book of "civilised" warfare.

Whether Mr. Bax likes it or not, the tendency of this day, explainable on material grounds, is towards the extinction of small, independent nationalities. Internationalism, born of material human inter-dependence, is growing, and no amount of merely national sentiment can check its growth. The weak must go to the wall, the fittest must survive—so long as it is fit. There is always, of course, a pathetic side to the dissolution of effete institutions, but it is always unwise to harbour the unhealthy spirit of pessimism, which would seek their preservation. We live in a real world, a world of unceasing change, conflict, and, as some think, improvement, and, willy-nilly, have to accept the age in which we live, along with all the customs, human relations, and ethical courtesies prescribed by the material conditions of that age. And it is well if we can do so consciously.

I am aware that this conception of the basis of human activity is popularly, even in Socialist circles, derided, since it dissolves the generally accepted myth of individual personal responsibility. Nevertheless, it is the only possible conception wide enough to include the science of human relations, and comprehensive enough to admit of a clear view of the relation of the human society to its material environment. Any reservation or qualification involves a breach of consecutive thought, and is therefore wrong.*

*Note:—In "Justice" of November 2 last, Mr. Bax, commenting on the execution of Czolgosz, wrote: "Obviously the more exceptionally debased the criminal, the more important he is as an object of scientific observation, and hence should be the more religiously preserved." We agree. In the "Social Democrat" of January he pleads for "condign punishment" on the administrators of British South African policy. We wonder what form the punishment would take? Would it be the pains of the searchlight of scientific observation? If so, we should again agree.

Viewed from Mr. Bax's humanitarian standpoint, the concentration camps are no doubt properly described as death-traps. But there are death-traps in London and every industrial centre no less deadly than those in South Africa—even to women and children. And Mr. Bax imputes malice aforethought to those who administer British policy in connection with the camps, while excusing from that charge the British administrators of India, and the destroyers of child-life in factory towns. The camps, he says, have been deliberately started by the present generation of Englishmen, while mere industrial horrors have been transmitted from past generations, and received as a legacy by Society. Is this a valid distinction? It might, I believe, satisfy the mind of a British jurist, but it certainly will not pass the bar of scientific judgment. The extension of British commercial influence in South Africa, with all it has involved, is not an accidental development, but is incidental to the development of capitalist society.

If, therefore, our sense of perspective has not been marred by national prejudice, or some other disturbing influence, we shall be forced to concede that the support which the Boer cause has received from our more sentimental brethren, besides being opposed to Socialist principle, has been quite out of proportion, relatively speaking, to its political or economic importance.

I do not care to indulge in political prophecy, but I think I may predict the return to power, at no distant date, of what the British working class will elect as a Government of "Peace." That will be a Liberal Government, and Mr. Bax's political efforts will have been rewarded. THOMAS KENNEDY.



"INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY."—ECHOES OF THE PEACE CONGRESS.—An "Appeal to the Nations" has been issued by the promoters of the recent Universal Peace Congress at Glasgow. It states that the only way to procure for the masses of the people an existence worthy of humanity is to put an end to international anarchy. "The question," it is added, "of the well-being of peoples is inseparable from that of a judicial union (legal relations) between the civilised nations. By continuing the present condition of international anarchy, not only are millions upon millions of pounds lost in absolutely unproductive military expenditure, but men are hindered from turning to account the enormous wealth contained in our earth. Everywhere the hostility of nations raises a barrier to the free movement (circulation) of workmen from one country to another, and to commercial intercourse and production falling appreciably below what they ought to be, poverty universally prevails. The time is come when everybody must realise that the question of peace is a question of bread. The Congress believes it useful once more solemnly to affirm the general principles laid down by the Peace Congress held in Rome in 1891—namely: The moral right of conquest has no existence. Nations have an inalienable and imprescriptible right freely to dispose of themselves. The autonomy of every nation is inviolable." The appeal is signed on behalf of the Congress, by Sir Joseph W. Pease, M.P., President, and M. Emile Arnaud, hon. secretary.

"WOMAN AND HER PLACE IN SOCIETY."

K. Fitzgerald says, in last month's "Democrat," that she holds no brief for the opposite sex. After reading what she writes in their defence, I have concluded that she defends their cause very efficiently, and if there were a judge and jury in the case I have no doubt but that they would be sympathetically moved by her eloquence on their behalf. She does not defend them in a direct manner, but indirectly, by showing what they have to put up with in regard to the frailties of our sex. It is quite obvious that K. Fitzgerald has studied womankind to some purpose, if the truths she expresses in her article are anything to go by. I must say that I admire the honest way in which she portrays our weaknesses. That the faults of our sex are many and various there can be no doubt, but, at the same time, I do think that if we had had the same chance our men-folk have had we should have been far ahead of them, and society would have been based on a more just foundation than it is at the present time. We are only just beginning to wake up to our social responsibilities, and that we are waking up to some purpose is shown by the good work many women are doing to-day. Still, the fact stares us in the face that the majority of women are not fit for public work. We are too sensitive, and we cannot take criticism with a good spirit, because we think that everything we do ought to be appreciated. We take the "huff" at the smallest provocation, and do not always act our part with that dignity we ought to do.

But why is this? Can we expect a race of strong, bright, intelligent women, fit to take any position in society, when for centuries women have been repressed and hemmed in by ignorant, domestic conventionality? History tells us plainly what environment women have had, and all who read with understanding must comprehend that all the fault does not lie at the feminine door, but that men have helped to make the mass of nonentities we have to-day.

What is the Social Democratic Federation doing for the emancipation of women? The branches magnanimously allow them to help to get money for them, but, as for helping them to higher cultivation in social work, there is very little of it. The Churches are chiefly maintained by women. The ecclesiastical authorities condescend to allow the frail sex to work bazaars and tea parties, but, as for responsible positions, oh, no; that is an apple of another tree. Woman must learn to submit to her superiors (?) Bah! It makes me sick to think about it, and what a fool I was to submit to it for fifteen years. Are Socialists going to demean themselves by perpetuating such humiliating conditions? Will men who profess to understand economics, and who should know that women are just as much creatures of circumstances as they themselves are, say that this Church repression shall be carried on in Socialist organisations? May God and women forbid! If

Socialists generally were as anxious to propagate their principles as Christians are to lay up for themselves treasures in Heaven, in the form of grand churches and chapels, we could very soon get together a thousand pounds, or whatever is required, to enlarge our small weekly paper, and make it a popular organ, with some space in it allowed for matter especially suitable for women. Also women could be got to our open-air lectures in summer, which are an education in themselves, especially if our lecturers would remember at times not to be too long-winded; and if either the women or the branches would provide portable seats that would neither be too heavy nor cumbersome, the difficulty of standing would be overcome. I mean seats for one only, and which could be folded up and carried about with very little difficulty. There are many other suggestions, too numerous to mention here, which, if carried out, would be useful in drawing women into the Socialist movement.

As for parents, they can do a good work amongst their own children by teaching them the principles of equality. Make your sons wait upon themselves, and let them understand that their sisters shall not clean their boots, or in any way be slavey to them. Give your daughters as good an education as your sons, and see to it that their education shall be such as will draw out the ability in them, even though it may not be in a domestic direction. So much for the children, for I cannot enter into details here, as the education of the young is a subject of itself; and it is no use sheltering ourselves behind the plea that the education of the young is our only hope, and, perhaps, allow that sentiment to hinder us from active propaganda amongst adults now. To follow out logically the above notion we ought to dissolve all our branches, and allow evolution to do its own work, or else concentrate all our efforts on improving our educational system. This will not do. Socialism can be advanced in many ways, and there is room for all kinds of workers in our movement; and if our present workers, both men and women, will try, with patience and goodwill, to interest or lead to a higher platform of intellectuality all those who are at present satisfied to remain on a lower, a good work will be done. At least, that is the opinion of H. M. TAYLOR.

One of the latest exhibitions of American enterprise abroad is the acquisition of 5,000 miles of canals in England and on the Continent through concessions to the Erie Canal Traction Company for the operation of the canals by electricity. If the deal is as comprehensive as it is reported to be, it will make it possible to ship by water on one bill of lading a cargo from one of our inland ports, say Duluth, to Brussels, Cologne, and many points in England, France, Germany, and Italy. The quiet manner in which this scheme has been carried out is likely to give another shock to those foreigners who view with alarm the encroachments of American capital.

TRADE UNIONISM IN 1901.

A WORLD-WIDE GROWTH IN NUMBERS AND INFLUENCE.

During the past five years the number of trade unionists in the United Kingdom has increased from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000. While this marked development is regarded in some quarters as a matter for congratulation, in others it is looked upon with feelings of alarm. Under these circumstances it is of interest to ascertain, so far as possible, to what extent labour has organised itself on trade union lines in other countries, and whether on the Continent, in the United States, and in the British Dominions beyond the seas there has been a growth corresponding to that which has taken place in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, exact statistics are not always available, but, so far as figures can be obtained, they tend to show that in no other European country, with the exception of Denmark, is trade unionism such a powerful social force as in our own. Everywhere, however, there has been a marked growth in the number and influence of trade unionists in recent years.

The following statement shows approximately the number of trade unionists in each of the undermentioned countries :—

Country	Number of Trade Unionists.
United Kingdom	2,000,000
Germany	1,000,000
France... ..	600,000
Austria... ..	160,000
Hungary	24,000
Denmark	96,000
Sweden	67,000
Norway	14,000
Switzerland	12,000
United States (six States only)	233,000

GERMAN LABOUR UNIONS.

In Germany there are three classes of labour organisations, corresponding in a greater or less degree to what is understood in England as a trade union. These are (1) the Social Democratic Unions, (2) the Christian Trade Unions, and (3) the Hirsch-Duncker Unions.

The Social Democratic Unions have a membership of about 700,000, and a total income for trade union purposes of about £400,000. Their expenditure on strikes in 1899 was £112,000. Unions with a membership of over 600,000 are federated, and these are closely associated with the Social Democratic party in Germany. Their members act with this party in Parliamentary matters, and have succeeded in securing seats for several of their officials in the Reichstag.

The Christian Trade Unions, founded for the most part three or four

years ago, have grown rapidly. They now have a membership of about 166,000. They are in the main Roman Catholic organisations, and have received encouragement and counsel from the Catholic clergy.

The Hirsch-Duncker Unions are called after their founders. Every member who joins these unions has to declare that he does not belong to the Social Democratic party and has no intention of joining it. Their membership is about 100,000. They are not militant organisations, their policy being to gain their objects by representations of a peaceful character.

In Germany the development of trade unionism is regarded with considerable suspicion by the official classes.

THE GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM IN FRANCE.

In France the growth of trade unionism in recent years has been very rapid. In eleven years the number of trade unionists has increased more than fourfold. Previous to 1884 all forms of combination were treated as illegal, but a law passed in that year conceded the right to form "trade syndicates or associations composed of persons belonging to the same trade or to allied trades," such organisations having for their objects "the investigation and protection of economic interests, industry, commerce, or agriculture." The organisations authorised by the law of 1884 included both trade unions and benefit societies, but the two classes of organisations are required to be kept distinct. A trade union may give out of its funds assistance to individual members in distress, but only as an act of grace, no person being entitled to claim such relief as right. If a workman wishes to acquire the right to receive benefits of this kind, he must join a friendly society formed for the purpose of providing such benefits only.

WORKMEN'S ORGANISATIONS IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

In Austria, in addition to the 158,000 trade unionists referred to in the above table, there are a considerable number of trade guilds, which comprise, in the aggregate, a membership of 1,247,000. These guilds are composed of industrial employers and their employees engaged in workplaces other than factories, and they include independent craftsmen. Under the Industrial Code Amendment Law, membership of a guild is compulsory for all persons carrying on a trade or handicraft under conditions excluding their establishments from the technical definition "factories." By a further law passed in 1896 the establishment of trade guilds was made obligatory for the mining industry. In connection with these guilds over 3,000 arbitration committees have been formed, and 3,200 workmen's assemblies have been established in accordance with a provision enabling workmen belonging to a guild to form themselves into a separate body for the protection of their interests, so far as these are not opposed to the common interests of the guild. These guilds, however, although they may perform some of the functions of a trade union, are by no means on all fours with a trade union as it is understood in England.

The trade unions and trade clubs, with a membership of 158,000, are, however, societies composed exclusively of workpeople, and the income and

expenditure of these organisations in 1899 were respectively £86,000 and £80,000. Their expenditure went, as in England, in payments for unemployed benefit, travelling benefit, sickness, superannuation, funerals, defence of rights, and other expenses. These unions and clubs are also the political organisations of the Social Democratic party, and some of their officials sit in Parliament.

WHERE TRADE UNIONISM IS STRONGEST.

The great strike that took place in Denmark in 1899 gave a considerable impetus to trade unionism in that country. At the beginning of 1900 the total number of trade unions was 1,195, with over 96,000 members. Of these 1,094 with a membership of 83,000 were affiliated with the central organisation, known as the United Trade Union of Denmark. Of the total number of trade unionists, over 7,000 are women. It is estimated that seventy-seven per cent. of all adult workpeople are trade unionists. In some trades, notably in the building trade, the percentage is much higher—in some cases ninety-five per cent. These are very high percentages. In the United Kingdom the estimated proportion which trade unionists form of the total industrial population is about twenty per cent. In particular trades it is, of course, very much greater.

There are in Sweden 67,000 trade unionists, 41,000 of whom are organised in federations. In Norway the figures are not complete, and relate only to the trade unions which are organised in a federation. The figures relating to Switzerland also understate the number of unionists.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR.

No comprehensive report dealing with trade unions in the United States has been published. A number of individual States have, however, collected statistics of the trade unions within their boundaries. Of these the most important is the State of New York, which, in 1898, had 1,087 trade unions, with a total membership of 171,000. In Indiana there are 20,000 unionists, in Minnesota 18,000, in Connecticut 11,000, in Michigan 11,000, and in Kansas 1,900.

The most important trade union organisation in the United States is, however, the American Federation of Labour. This federation claims to have a membership of over one million.

LABOUR IN AUSTRALASIA.

There has just been placed upon the Statute Book of New South Wales a measure which regulates industry in the interests of the workpeople to a greater extent than in any other country. The new Act compels the reference of all trade disputes to a competent Court, with power to enforce its orders and awards. Thus the Court will in time determine the wages and conditions of employment in every industry, and will watch that these never fall below the minimum prescribed by it. The Act contains, among other things, an important provision which at one time threatened to cause a dispute between

the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council, viz. : That other things being equal an employer shall give a preference to unionists when two or more men are applying for employment at the same time. This is perhaps one of the most notable victories which organised labour has ever secured.

TRADE UNIONISM AND POLITICAL ACTION.

It is a characteristic of organised labour on the Continent and in the Colonies that it seeks to gain its objects by political action to a greater extent than does labour in this country. In fact, the trade unions of the United Kingdom have rather prided themselves on their capacity to secure good wages and desirable conditions of labour without the intervention of Parliament, whose aid has been invoked mainly in the interests of women and children. But some recent legal decisions have rather shaken this feeling of self-sufficiency, with the result that there has been a rapid growth in the number of trade unionists who favour organised political action and direct labour representation in Parliament.



A BISMARK IN PANTOUFLES.

The current issue of the "Fortnightly Review" contains an interesting criticism of Count von Bulow, the German Imperial Chancellor. The author ("Pollex") says:—"Nothing could be more 'naïf' in itself or more amusing to a cynical observer than the tempest of indignation unloosed in England by the latest performances of Count von Bulow. His reply to Mr. Chamberlain was the most palpable political blunder since the creation of the Empire. In its complacent unwisdom of substance and trivial cleverness of form it was the work of a feuilletonist, not of a statesman. That such a display of dandy debate should have become possible when the successor of the Iron Chancellor discusses a delicate and critical international question in the Reichstag is one more ill-omened instance of the ebb of luck on every side of German politics which has attended the fourth Chancellor's tenure of office. Count von Bulow bears more resemblance to the Duc de Gramont than to Bismark.

"There was neither diplomatic mastery nor sudden revelation about the attempted lesson to the Colonial Secretary. The author, probably more disconcerted at the latest result than anyone, had taken the characteristic slowness of the English people in awakening to the nature of his tactics for a genuine long sufferance of what they already understood.

"Count von Bulow had only meant to do again what he had frequently done before. He had played the game so long with impunity that he had forgotten the danger. England has never been handled in these last two centuries by any foreign statesman after the manner in which this Dresden-

china Chancellor has indulged himself. When he introduced the Navy Bill after the Battle of Colenso his speech was understood to mean that England's supremacy was following that of Spain and Holland. The most distasteful exhibition of the Chancellor's pretty wit was in the debate following the Kaiser's return from the funeral of Queen Victoria, when Count von Bulow explained that the visit 'had no political meaning on the German side, but that if England chose to indulge in sentimental ecstasies it would be absurd for Germany to rebuff her enthusiastic advances.' Upon such refrigerated platitudes he rings the changes, until England feels like Anna Karenina trying to live with her irreproachable and detestable prig of a husband. Every speech made by the Chancellor upon Ang'o-German relations has left them cooler and cooler. They are now below zero, and will there remain unless thawed by the touch of the Kaiser's warm genius. Under the present conditions of European politics the present Chancellor may well claim to rank with Ollivier, Gramont, and Gladstone, of whom Bismark said that if he had done his country so much harm in as short a time as they had to theirs, the remainder of his life would be too short for prayers and penance.

"There is a more serious question than the Anglophobe persiflage of Count von Bulow's speeches—the habitual bad faith of his diplomacy. Whatever may be thought of the devices of Bismarkian craft, they never went beyond the necessary, and were concealed as long as possible. But what the great Chancellor did for necessity the clever Chancellor does for 'reclame.' But let us come to the subject in which Count von Bulow has achieved the double result of making the Foreign Office awake to the tactics of the Wilhelmstrasse and the British nation to the real sentiments of the German people.

"Nothing in the 'Granitrede' gave more offence in this country than Count von Bulow's hint that he had received 'assurances from the other side' as to the innocent intentions of Mr. Chamberlain in the Edinburgh speech. His statement could only mean, not that he had received 'official explanation' from Lord Lansdowne, but that he had tried to get them and failed, the whole tone of the 'granite speech' being an ill-contrived attempt to avenge the failure. . . . There could hardly be a more telling exposure of the difference between the old Jove in jack-boots and the Bismark en Pantouffles. This is not the first incident of the kind, but only the least successful. Count von Bulow made Mr. Chamberlain's acquaintance when he came to England with the Kaiser at the beginning of the war. . . . The result was the Samoa Treaty and Mr. Chamberlain's Leicester speech. That was the one humiliating incident of Mr. Chamberlain's career.

"Count von Bulow's revelation to the world that the Anglo-German agreement touching Portuguese East Africa had to be submitted to and approved by Russian diplomacy before it was signed, was a stinging facer for the statesman responsible for the Leicester speech. But again a fundamental want of judgment and resource is shown in these communications. Count von Bulow is like a juggler who cannot keep even two balls in the air at once, and bound to let one or the other drop. . . . The classic example of Count von Bulow's dealings with England is, of course, the Yangtze agreement. Let us recall the vivid ethics of the matter. At a moment

when the wire between Berlin and St. Petersburg is seriously interrupted, England and Germany make an agreement concerning the integrity of China, understood at Whitehall to convey an unmistakable hint to Russia. The German press spontaneously calls it the 'Yang-tze agreement,' and represents it as a triumph over English diplomacy and proof of the impotences to which British pride has been reduced by an unholy war. Count von Bulow follows this up by declaring Germany's indifference to the fate of Manchuria, and actually uses an agreement with England not only to reduce England's prestige, but to restore the good relations with Russia by representing Great Britain to that Power as the only enemy. Nothing for all short-sighted purposes could be more unscrupulously smart; but the 'Yang-tze agreement' will be the last of its kind, and will exercise the same influence upon British diplomacy as the Flottengesetz oration will exert upon British Naval policy."

Commenting upon the malevolence of the German press towards Great Britain, the writer says "That the entire press of a serious nation is addicted to these childish chinoiseries is a significant symptom of the defects of the modern German intellect and temperament. Count von Caprivi was better than clever. Prince Hohenlohe was other than clever. The fourth Chancellor is clever merely. Count von Bulow has endeavoured to frame himself on the Bismarkian model. This is reminiscent of the not unknown delusion of young men who imagine that they can write like Shakespeare. M. Hanotaux thought to copy Richelieu—with the inevitable result. To always do what Bismark would have done is an excellent principle, like that other of doing as Napoleon would have done—the only difficulty is to know what Napoleon would have done."

The writer points out other instances of diplomatic bungling on the part of the Imperial Chancellor. In twelve months he has made a rapid dispersion of great diplomatic assets. The Russian success in drawing Servia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro together, throwing a racial barrier across the path of German hopes in the East, the present method of governing Prussian Poland, and other examples of maladroitness diplomacy are cited. Concluding, "Pollex" writes: "England can have no desire but to live on good terms with Berlin, but any relapse into sentimental sophistry would be followed by the reactions, unseemly and dangerous to both countries, which we have seen in the last three weeks, and if the nation is wise it will remember that better relations with Russia and France should be the chief object, and a good understanding with Germany a genuine but entirely secondary aim of our foreign policy."



The economist drills us, the politician marches us; but the agitator enlists us.

Centuries of sermons, miles of elocution have appealed to meanness, but oratory never.

"GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY."

A long article under the above title appears in the "Contemporary Review" for February, over the signature of "Ogniben." The writer takes Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham on January 11th for his opening text, and says it is the most significant utterance by any English statesman since Parliament was prorogued, and that "we are in the throes of a crisis . . . which will be the making or breaking of the vastest political community known to human history."

The writer thinks more than one great Power is interested in seeing us broken in the ordeal, and the hope of finding a friend in this part of the Continent, or an ally in that, is a baleful delusion. As Germany is at the head of Europe for intellect, culture, and industrial methods, as well as in military organisation, the greatest danger is from that quarter. "Ogniben" considers that the present outburst of vituperation against England on the part of Germany is only part of an old and deep-laid scheme which has for its object the displacement of Great Britain from her position of world power and the substitution of Germany in her place. A long list of outrages of various kinds committed by Germans, or under German sanction, is given to show that the present outburst against England is unjustifiable on the grounds of humanity, and some other reason must be sought. It was in the Fatherland that the doctrine of "wars to test strength" was first set forth as an argument against permanent peace tribunals. The war with France was one of this character, and England is to be the next. The article states that the German people hate the English to a degree that seems unparalleled and this hatred is the cement that keeps all parties and sections closely joined, and even moderate organs of the Press are forced to follow the people, and join in the refrain, "Delenda est Britannia." Regarding the optimistic views held by some on the Kaiser's visit here, the writer says: "The Kaiser is a statesman—probably the cleverest of the day—who cares nothing for sentimentality," and the motive was to gain by fair means that which is impossible to wrest by violence. The idea that it was to show he would not agree to a triple alliance, formed of Russia, Germany, and France, against England, is ridiculed, and the actuality of such an alliance shown to have been impossible. There was not the slightest hope of Russia's co-operation, and France's consent would have cost a greater sacrifice than Germany was or is prepared to make. It would mean, among other things, a modification of frontiers and a delicate question after of the division of the spoils. "The Kaiser is also aware that our hands are not wholly tied in South Africa, that our fleet still sweeps the seas which would be the only battlefield in the suggested struggle." The policy of Germany is to squeeze as much out of England as possible, and the concession of the Bagdad-Anatolian Railway is simply incalculable. The concessions are belittled and the appetite for more

only whetted. "The point at issue was what amount of concessions, what degree of civility Germany required of this country as the price, not of genuine friendship, but of civil treatment? The reply is that, while ready to snap up anything with which we can be coaxed or bullied into parting, she will be satisfied with nothing but our place in the political and economic scheme of things. . . . It is a question of might similar to that of the Franco-German War that the Fatherland is now preparing for. In view of that struggle, not yet imminent, every party and faction in the Empire, not excluding even the Socialists, is willing and ready to vote for a vast increase of the German fleet."

After showing that this opinion is held by the educated and cultured classes, as well as by the masses, the writer says: "What plain, matter-of-fact Englishmen would like to learn is on what grounds we treat Germany with the same degree of servility which she is wont to display towards Russia, on whose continued goodwill her very existence is dependant. We have given her more than all Continental Europe combined. . . . We have no inducement to make special concessions to Germany, and still less can fear be the motive. . . . Germany is utterly isolated in Europe. The Russian Finance Minister, M. Witte, has more than once of late announced his intention of waging a commercial war upon the Fatherland if the new Tariff Bill should acquire the force of law. And M. Witte is a man of his word. The Hungarians have re-echoed his threat. Italy has already entered within the French sphere of gravitation. Between Austria proper and the German Empire dark shadows have fallen. France has received with a cold smile of courteous incredulity the mailed fist of friendship professed by the 'grabbers of Alsace and Lorraine,' and, except for the butcher of Armenian Christians, Germany stands alone in Europe, without a single friend or sympathiser. Or, rather, there has been one exception—this country, which went on year after year making concession after concession for no intelligible purpose, no reasonable hope or fear, and is now requited by the swelling tide of disgusting calumny directed by the intellectual leaders of the Fatherland against every cherished institution of this country and every person whom the Empire holds dear."

Germany's claim to expansion, the writer considers, is due to her culture and military power—a very justifiable one—but doubts whether the Germans are capable of playing our role in the world. Their record in the Cameroons shows they are unfitted for the work of civilising savages. But this does not alter the fact that that is Germany's intentions. "The writer of this article—who can claim the uncoveted honour of having foreseen and foretold, eight years ago, the popular movement which has now culminated in this infamous campaign against the peoples of these islands, and which has as little to do with Mr. Chamberlain's speeches or acts as with the Transvaal War itself—now ventures to make another forecast, and, unfortunately, with equal confidence and on better grounds. It is briefly this: The next move on the part of our Continental cousins will have for its object the estrangement of the United States from Great Britain, and, difficult though the success of any

such machinations may now seem, the attainment of the object is well within the reach of diplomacy reinforced by those peculiar qualities which have distinguished Germany's foreign policy since Wilhelm I. was Kaiser. The first move in the direction indicated is the visit of Prince Heinrich to President Roosevelt."

The conclusion arrived at is that we have nothing to hope for from any European State and that, "having duly shaped our relations with the other two world Powers, Russia and the United States, courtesy, firmness, and aloofness should mark our dealings with all other States."

The way to this "splendid isolation" has been pointed out by Mr. Chamberlain, showing that he has read the signs of the times aright, and his programme, judiciously put forward, whether by Conservatives or Liberals, would carry with it the nation and the Empire.



BRITISH INDUSTRY AND THE WAGE SYSTEM.

In the "Monthly Review" for February Mr. Ralph Neville contributes an article on the above subject, and says British industry is approaching a dangerous crisis, but that this crisis is not wholly or even chiefly due to the workman's inefficiency, which is only part of the general inefficiency gradually creeping over the nation. Amidst the chorus of abuse against trade unionists no rational desire to find a cause, other than the natural depravity of trade unionists, can be traced.

The important matters for inquiry, he says, are: "Must labour combinations be accepted as essential to the well-being of the working class? Why do they preach the doctrines they do? and why do working men give ear to them? And, finally, is the method of production in vogue calculated to give us efficient labour?"

"The relations of capital and labour must be viewed in the light of the facts that, with us, labour has practically no other resource than industrial employment, and that the supply is always somewhat in excess of the demand."

Mr. Neville then discusses the reason of trade unions and their conduct. In their endeavour to keep the largest number possible in their ranks they have to base their conventions, as far as possible, in the interests of all. This is found in equality. Equality of wages tends to equality in the return; and, as it is to the unions' interest not to lose any member, this return will approximate to that of the least efficient. The writer also shows that piece-work does not eradicate the antagonism between employers and employed, as the

employers endeavour to fix the wage at the exceptional workers' level, thereby driving the average or less efficient workers' wages very low. He is also of opinion that the idea lying behind the "ca-canny" principle is correct, viz., that at a given time there is only a certain amount of work to be done, and if an individual reduces his amount by half that makes room for another worker. He points out that the increased volume of trade idea would take long periods of time for its effect to be realised, and meantime the workers would have to live on hope. "As an illustration, let us suppose that the individual output of the workman to-day is 25 per cent. below his maximum. If he were to increase his output to the maximum 25 per cent. of labour would be thrown out of employment. . . . "It is not, therefore, altogether surprising that the lump of labour doctrine should obtain with some trade unionists, especially when it is remembered that, in the circumstances, suppose the master would make an immediate saving of 25 per cent. in his labour bill, while all he pretends to offer to his workmen for their sacrifice is the salvation of a trade which, I fear, neither he nor they seriously believe to be in peril."

The writer thinks that public opinion would not ensure a fair wage to the worker, and that any attempt to make the competitive system fair would be as sensible as to try to make war humane. These circumstances have driven the workers to combine and the class as a whole to benefit. Even the "free labourer" accepts the advantages won by the unionist, although refusing to be fettered by their rules. The writer is of opinion that the employers could destroy trade unions if they thought it worth their while. He cites the engineers, South Wales miners, and the strike against the Steel Trust as showing that the employers combined can always win. And it is only where the employers' combination is weak, or where the prospect of immediate gain proves too strong for the loyalty of some of its members that trade unions win. He does not think employers will try to crush the unions altogether." Were they to do so, it is very doubtful if their position would be advanced. The working classes could be, if they choose, a great political power, and employers would probably soon find their business restricted by legislation to an even greater extent than by trades unionism.

The writer also deals with the machine question in an intelligent manner, and says, "The skilled hand-work of to-day is the machine-work of tomorrow," and successive inventions disclose possibilities undreamt of before. He cites some complaints of masters that men take no pride in their work, and are only concerned with getting through it with the least trouble to themselves, and follows this by saying: "It is remarkable that while the proposals of Socialists are very properly condemned, on the ground that they offer no adequate incentive to exertion, while it is recognised that under a Socialist regime the whole nation would be likely to 'ca-canny' and 'go easy' into the abyss, the absence of any such incentive under the wage system, affecting as it does the majority of the people, should pass unchallenged and apparently unnoticed." The conditions in America are so different that no good comparison can be made, and, although higher wages are paid, they are not free from troubles of their own. The real solution, the

writer thinks, lies in a division of the profits. Mr. Livesey's scheme is favourably mentioned, but it is not fully developed. Capital and labour being necessary, the former should have a fixed remuneration and the latter receive remuneration in proportion to the services rendered. It is claimed that 15,000 men are already working under this system in England and France is outpacing us. Of course, brains must be remunerated different to manual labour, but the writer thinks that time will settle that point.

MACHINE-MINED COAL.

British coal operators are alarmed at the inroads made by American soft coal, in countries to which they heretofore have had the sole monopoly. The American coal undersells the British. The reason is that the American coal is mined largely by machinery.

The majority of British engineers appear to think that no machine hitherto introduced is suited to all the demands of the British coal seams. But this is a defect that every year goes some way to remedy. The number of new types of machines is constantly being increased. Each new type has some new feature that distinguishes its action and its capabilities from those that went before. It has been shown that in the United States within the last few years the number of firms mining coal by machinery has increased from 51 to 323; the number of coal mining machines in use has increased from 545 to 3,907, and the quantity of coal produced by those machines has increased from 6,211,000 to 52,790,000 tons. Coal is now mined by machines in twenty-two states and territories, so that clearly the system is not by any means limited in its scope and range.

Of late the British capitalists have been holding the working men of Great Britain responsible for the decline of British trade. But the British capitalist is himself so dense that it is hard for him to see why he is losing trade. His density on this topic is nowhere so observable as in the comment in the trade and secular press on the export trade in coal from America. For instance, one may read in an important trade paper printed in London that it is "perfectly true that some cargoes of anthracite have lately been exported from Pennsylvania, but our own output of this special quality of coal is hardly one-tenth of that produced in the United States, and apparently our output is not likely to materially increase, the area over which anthracite is being mined being comparatively small." Ignoring the American soft coal exports, and referring only to the anthracite trade, which has just begun, is typically British.

Yet the correspondence columns of these papers have reference to the consignment of anthracite to France. It is said that the coal is perfect in

every respect. It has, when tested, a distinct metallic ring, looks extremely well to the eye, has a regular fracture when broken, and as regards quality generally is quite equal to the best Swansea anthracites. In bulk the composition leaves nothing to be desired, for it is quite free from the little bits which are so conspicuous a feature of cargoes of Welsh anthracite nuts. "Speaking candidly," says a French writer, "I am seriously of opinion that Swansea exporters will have seriously to consider this new American competition." And the Berlin operator who purchased and took over a large tonnage says: "The import of American anthracite will mean a keen competition to England." This German operator continues: "Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Holland, etc., will follow suit, and one of my friends across the Channel emphatically assures me that, sooner or later, even London will have to export American anthracite."

The principal consuming countries, such as France and Germany, have materially reduced their demands for British coal, while Russia has decreased her requirements by no less than 713,000 tons. On the other hand, there is an increased export to Italy, Egypt, and one or two other countries.

In the South Wales coal trade the year 1901 terminated in a very different manner to that of 1900. Of the few contracts on hand, only a very small proportion are for any long periods, the bulk of the coal business being done for delivery in the early part of 1902. Generally coal owners have found in December their books fairly well filled with orders, which would keep the collieries going for a great part of the succeeding year. This is not the case now, and there is altogether an unsatisfactory condition. The British coal operators lay all the blame on the working men and the export duty. The working men want too many holidays, they claim, and are too ready to strike for higher wages.

The miners' unions are beginning to realise that something is wrong with the coal trade. Taking the cue from the British operators, they have ridiculed the idea of foreign competition. It is not unlikely that British capitalists in general will profit by the lesson given to British industry by the Westinghouse Electric Company in erecting its vast works at Manchester. Under the driving force of an American manager each workman on this job did four times as much as he was in the habit of doing.

With American locomotives not only invading India, Burmah, and South Africa, but England as well; with Germany beating the British on the ocean, the British workman will soon find that if he is to live at all he must follow the pace set by American workmen, then good bye to British pure and simple trades unionism.—"The People," New York.

ELEVEN of the largest independent cigar manufacturing plants of New York are forming a \$7,000,000 combine to combat the big tobacco trust, but it is generally thought that the new company is simply playing a shrewd game to be swallowed by the octopus.

DEBS EPIGRAMS.

The capitalist system places idleness on the throne and industry in the gaol.

Rockefeller's Standard Oil university is a pillared pile of public plunder. Capitalism makes criminals of men; Socialism makes men of criminals.

Government ownership of railroads is better than railroad ownership of Government.

I hope to live long enough to see the term "servant" relegated to the limbo of the obsolete.

Mortgages do not suffer from indigestion; they are never afflicted with loss of appetite.

If the hand of corporate capital could reach Old Sol, there would be a meter on every sunbeam.

With all my heart I protest against a system in which the lap dogs of the rich are the social superiors of the children of the poor.

The millions of wage-earners do not own themselves; they are wage-slaves, and their masters control their lives and subject them to conditions as degrading as those which existed in times of chattel slavery.

Socialism would work out the redemption of the wage-slave without a sanguinary conflict. It unfurls to the wind no battle banners except those inscribed with peace and good-will to man.

Many a man who is poor in purse may be rich in principle.

There is no reciprocity between the machine and the child; while the child feeds the machine, the machine starves the child.

It has recently been computed by a careful observer that if every church and chapel in England and Wales were filled to overflowing there would still be 17,000,000 people left outside. That is to say that for every 100 people only 46 seats are available in church and chapel, and out of every 100 only twelve are church members.

AN ARCHBISHOP ON LANGUAGE.—The Archbishop of Canterbury, in presenting the prizes to the pupils of the Royal Grammar School, Sheffield, referred to the discussions regarding the teaching of science. Science was what the religious man would call the study of the works of God. The most remarkable work of God was man, and man's predominant characteristic was speech. The study of language was as truly a scientific study as the study of chemistry. We wanted men in ordinary life to be able to use their language with perfect accuracy and clearness. What a gain it would be if our legislators knew grammar enough to make laws perfectly intelligible. As it was legislators made laws, and then we employed a highly-trained body of men, and highly paid, too, to say what it was these laws meant. Could we not manage somehow to get language so spoken that people would be able when they read English law to understand it.

SONS OF LABOUR.

A SONG OF PALLIATIVES.

Tune : "Thou art coming, oh my Saviour." (Hymns Ancient and Modern,
No. 203.

Sons of labour, sons of labour,
Sons of labour not a few,
By the memories hovering o'er you
Of your Chartist sires before you,
Freedom bids ye to be true—
True to all that ye have sworn
In your councils blithe and brave :
Mammon's slaves in Mammon's scorn
Scooping out his destined grave.

Let not little children suffer
For their parents' poverty :
Truly they are of the kingdom,
Happy, peerless, priceless kingdom,
Kingdom of the brave and free.
Men and women they shall grow
Rebel blood from top to toe,
Whom old Mammon shrinks to meet
For they weave his winding-sheet !

Shall our old ones die in harness
And in sorrow seek their tomb ?
For the veterans of the struggle
'Mid this competition-juggle
Yet a little breathing room !
Sons of labour ! throw your gage,
Seize ye Mammon's biting whips ;
Make the dastard feel *his* age
Ere he come to his eclipse.

Who sets free Earth's hidden values,
Cramming all her shores with wealth ?
Who upon that wealth ne'er fattens, ?
Like a rat between the battens *priggish*
Scurrying thro' the dark by stealth ?
Sons of labour ! march abreast,
Nought to lose and all to gain.
Will ye feather Mammon's nest
While unbuilted yours remain ?

Sons of labour, sons of labour,
Sons of labour not a few,
Turned from all their tinsel glories,
Tell your little Whigs and Tories
They are stewards most untrue.
Now to that true glory reach
Good as gold, and bright as steel ;
Each for all, and all for each—
Glory of the Commonweal !

G. W. S.



G. W. MELCHERS.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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G. W. MELCHERS.

Our Dutch comrade, G. W. Melchers, whose portrait is given this month, was born on March 26, 1869, at Amsterdam, where he also received his education. He attended the Municipal Gymnasium from 1884 to 1886. The struggle for existence forced him to give up study for directly-paid work. He got employment as clerk for the Dutch Railway Company, which occupation he held until fifteen months later, when he was enabled to continue his studies. In a very frank and instructive "Confession" which he wrote and kindly sent me, he states that the employment on a railway station gave him a useful opportunity to study life and man, which left their impressions on his mind as a serious young man. By the time he finished his study at the Gymnasium, in 1889, his ideal of life was formulated—to serve the poor and oppressed. And, being orthodox in his belief, he felt the best thing for that purpose was to become a preacher, a "Paraclete," one to stand by others. He went to college at the Municipal University at Amsterdam, and became a proponent in 1894. Three months later he accepted a ministry in a little country place in Noord-Holland, at Zuid Scharwoude. Strong was then his belief that all the misery on this good earth was caused by the sins of human beings themselves, and great his wish to help in the work of washing all those sins away, and so making everything right and everyone happy. But, alas, he discovered that the miserables were not always sinners, and the sinners not always miserable. The teachings of life are so different to those of orthodox or official Christianity.

But the first shock to his orthodox faith he received after a study of Darwin's works. How totally different then the Creation appeared to him! No longer was a supernatural being the creative power, but evolution, never-ceasing evolution. He was nursed and bred in Old Testament ideas, which he loved and gloried in. But they had to go, for the logic of the new ideas: All life in Nature is one great chain, in which every part fulfils a function. He had taken one step; therefore, he could not avoid taking more towards a better understanding of life than he had possessed before. And so his views of life changed entirely. The study of science and life taught him

that man, in all his aspect and character, his morals and ideas, is but the product of the surroundings in which he lives. From that source also arise the so-called "sins" of the people. Crime and immorality were the effects from bad surroundings, and not of man's inclination to everything wrong. It was necessary to uplift the people, to place them in better surroundings. But how? By philanthropy? By doing good to the poor? But he felt that the only good that could be done to them was to do justice. And then the question arose: Why are they poor? Are they to blame for that, as official Christianity teaches? But he found in his neighbourhood the poor humble, devoted, sober, everything Christianity demands from them, but still poor. And he saw others who were not humble, devoted, and sober, who yet were rich. No, other causes are at work. He heard of Socialism. He began to study it, and there he found the truth, simple and clear, explained to him: The people are poor because they are robbed of the products of their labour by a small class of men who possess the means necessary to labour, and who are, therefore, rich, whatever their "sins" may be. Surely only Socialism was the hope and good tidings for the poor. When he had found that he did not hesitate long to join the Social-Democratic Labour Party. And how different did he find life in their ranks, compared with the dry, dull, and narrow-mindedness of official Christianity! There was enthusiasm, solidarity, idealism, all that he had sought for in the Church in vain. The discovery struck him. Why, it had always been said: "These Socialists strive only after material things; and materialism is deadly for idealism." And he found that they were the only real idealists. Their enthusiasm sprang from love for righteousness, love for justice, love for freedom, love for humanity, everything that makes life worth living. No, he could no longer keep his place in a Church that was reactionary, and be connected with a body from which the living spirit had fled—although his living depended on it. He found, also, that, notwithstanding their materialism, the Socialists were more ready than Christian people to sacrifice and suffer for their ideals.

It was in 1899 when he left the Church and settled with his family in Friesland's chief town, Leeuwarden. With heart and soul he threw himself into the Socialist movement. In connection with comrade Troelstra he began to edit a Socialist weekly paper, called "Poor Friesland," and, with the written as well as the spoken words, created much agitation. In that town, where I, eleven years ago, found the workers prejudiced, ignorant, and apathetic towards Socialist principles, he has now built up a great labour movement. Under his influence Trade Unions were formed; a co-operative bakery, with additional stores, was founded, with the object of assisting the Socialist movement and the workers' emancipation morally and materially; and in many other respects has he brought life and enthusiasm into the working-class community of Leeuwarden. The workers, as far as they are electors, recognised that last year, when they elected him as a member of Parliament for the Leeuwarden division, and as a member on the Town Council. In both places our comrade will serve well the cause so dear to him.

I first made his acquaintance some four years ago, when we both spoke

at Amsterdam at a meeting in favour of teetotalism—I as a Tolstoyan ascetic, he as a Socialist. Since then I have always enjoyed his friendship. He looks apparently cool, and quiet, and reserved, but in reality he is ardent, enthusiastic, and open when in action or in conversation. He is a powerful speaker, and clever debater, one who has his audience “hanging on his lips.” He appeals to the sentiment, as well as to the reason, of his listeners, and balances both sides of our cause rightly.

It is believed that Melchers will take the lead of the small but active group of comrades in Parliament. He is in every way fit to fill the place that was left open by Troelstra’s defeat, caused by Dr. Kuyper’s secret influences, who was seriously afraid of Troelstra. Our doctor-premier-minister will find, however, that Melchers can make his place equally hot for him, and even more so, for Melchers, as a theologian, will face Dr. Kuyper as a theologian, for which he most likes to represent himself.

J. C. VAN DER VEER.

CANADA, ENGLAND, AND THE UNITED STATES.

UNTIL the recent wave of imperialistic feeling swept over the colonies, Canada discriminated in her tariffs against Great Britain and favoured the United States. England found herself very much in the position of a wholesale merchant who sets up his son in the retail business, to find the unfilial youth buying his supplies from the rival house. To-day Great Britain enjoys commercial privileges which the United States might envy if they were detrimental to American trade. But the plain fact of the case is that the preferential tariff with Great Britain has not appreciably altered the lines of trade that seem fixed by more powerful laws than human statutes. After several years’ experience, the Canadian authorities report that the increase of imports show a little higher percentage from Great Britain and a slightly lower percentage from the United States:—

	Great Britain.	United States.
Imports into Canada	\$45,000,000	\$117,000,000
Exports from Canada	108,000,000	69,000,000
Volume of trade	\$153,000,000	\$186,000,000

Gradually, year by year, there seems to be an increase in Canadian exports to the United States and a decrease in the exports to Great Britain. Comparing the year 1900 with the preceding year, these fluctuations are represented by a percentage of $5\frac{1}{3}$ and $6\frac{1}{3}$; the former is the decrease in exports to Great Britain as compared with the total exports, and the latter the increase in exports to the United States as compared with the total exports. This shows that in her dealing with England Canada has had a large balance of trade in her favour, but the difference has not been paid in cash.

TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICAL ACTION.

We Socialists are face to face with a new development on the part of the Trade Unions of this country. For many years past we have been strongly urging upon Trade Unionists the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines. We have pointed out to them the absurdity of voting politically for the class against whom they strike economically. This constant propaganda has had a considerable effect upon a minority of Trade Unionists, and one of the results of it was seen in the resolution on Labour representation passed by a small "card" majority at the Plymouth Trade Union Congress of 1899, out of which grew the Labour Representation Committee. But a greater influence even than Socialist propaganda has brought the mass of Trade Unionists round to the policy of direct labour representation in some form or other, and that influence is the decisions of the House of Lords, which are meant to cripple the Unions, for the very purposes to carry out which is the reason for their existence. The Taff Vale case is yet to be fought out, but the Blackburn weavers have already given way, and paid compensation to the employers.

In face, then, of the manifest inability of the Trade Unions to conduct their operations on the lines hitherto followed, it is clear that the old policy of eschewing politics altogether as Trade Unionists, whilst being free to make political fools of themselves individually whenever the opportunity offers, has to go. Political action is now about the only weapon left to the Trade Unionists, though, unfortunately, the majority of them do not seem actively alive to the fact. Still, there is no doubt that a large and increasing number are recognising that henceforth they will have to bestir themselves politically if their organisations are to remain anything more than mere trade benefit societies. Apart from what the Labour Representation Committee may be doing, several societies have considered, and are considering, the levying of their members for the expenses of putting members forward as Parliamentary candidates in favourable constituencies. Among such Unions are the Miners' Federation, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and the Ironfounders. Organisations like these, powerful numerically and financially, have the means and the strength, if they only have the will, to return a few members to the House of Commons.

Pressure of events, therefore, to even a greater extent than Socialist propaganda, is forcing Trade Unionists to take political action. But it would be foolish to overlook the fact that there is a great difference between the political action likely to be adopted by Trade Unions qua Trade Unions through the pressure of adverse legal decisions, and that which would be intelligently adopted by a minority of Trade Unionists from Socialist convictions. In the latter case, though the development be slow, it would be as far as possible on Socialist lines; in the former case the action taken is almost certain to be on lines leading nowhere, and carried out without

regard being paid to the immediate objects to be gained and the ultimate end in view; and herein lies a difficulty which Socialists will have to encounter, and to meet which will require for some time to come all the judgment and tact which we are capable of exercising without losing sight of the Socialist ideal.

It is obvious from what is going on that the political policy which the Trade Unions at present are likely to adopt is one which no Socialist with any foresight or forethought can regard with entire satisfaction. It will be a policy of miners' representatives for miners, railwaymen's representatives for railwaymen, engineers' representatives for engineers. In regard to details of their own particular occupations their respective representatives will no doubt be able to speak with knowledge and authority. But something more than mere trade representation is required before any material benefit can be secured for the workers; and of working-class representation for the whole labouring population as against the purely sectional Trade Union interest there is little or no sign. There is a strong tendency to follow Socialist advice merely in the letter, whilst neglecting it in the spirit; and the Labour Representation Committee has now retrograded another step, and calls for the confining of the political "independence" of the candidates upon whom it passes its blessing to purely "labour" matters, leaving them free, if elected, to follow the crack of the Party whip into the lobbies of the House of Commons on all the crucial and important questions of the time. There are a number of fraudulent political and commercial phrases invented by the upper classes to assist in cajoling the workers into ignorant acquiescence in their rule; and it really seems, by the manner in which the terms "labour" questions, "labour" matters, and "labour" candidates are now meaninglessly bandied about, that there is rapidly coming to the front another set of fraudulent phrases, invented, not by landlords and capitalists, but by smart and superficial leaders, or would-be leaders, of Trade Unions. It would be interesting to know where a "labour" question begins and where it ends, and how the interests of the workers can be divorced—by resolution—from the great political and social questions and events of the day.

Another difficulty from the Socialist standpoint arises with regard to officials of Trade Unions who are Socialists. They have a very difficult and delicate task in front of them, and it is only right and just to them that those who do not happen to be so placed should recognise its difficulty and delicacy. As Socialists they should undoubtedly insist that all Trade Unionist political action should be taken on definitely Socialist lines, because they know that no other policy can be of any permanent good to the working-class movement. Yet as Trade Union officials they may be compelled, in the ordinary carrying out of their duties, to act otherwise than in accordance with the Socialist policy, though perhaps not in actual antagonism to it. So long as Trade Unions qua Trade Unions took no part in politics, then it was easy for a Socialist Trade Union official to steer a straight course if he chose to do so. Now, however, the case is altered. With the entry of Trade Unions into politics, and, in the majority of cases at all events, on anything but class-conscious lines, the path of the Socialist Trade Union official will

be a thorny and stony one. If he wishes to keep straight he will need all the support from, and the sympathy and advice of, his comrades in the Socialist organisation of which he is a member rather than acid criticism and cold suspicion.

The situation brought about by the new political development on the part of Trade Unions calls for the utmost activity of Socialists in all forms of propaganda. Let us remember that this development is largely the creation of our own efforts, and we have to see to it that, as far as possible, it is guided in the right direction. So far from members of the Social-Democratic Federation being called upon to withdraw from political activity in Trade Unions, it appears to me that that is precisely one of the most useful forms of Socialist work at the present time. Criticism on Trade Union politics will be much more effective from inside than outside, though it must be done outside as well as inside. If we neglect it we are leaving the field open to people who are striving to exploit the Trade Unions for their own personal political advantage, and whose one aim is to get into the House of Commons—somehow. Though political questions have been tabooed at Trade Union meetings, Socialist Trade Unionists have, nevertheless, endeavoured to influence their fellow-unionists in a Socialist direction. Now that the barriers against social and political discussions in Trade Unions must give way before the necessity of political action which is being forced upon them surely we have a greater opportunity than ever for the advocacy of our principles.

Nevertheless, danger to some extent unquestionably lurks in the political steps now being taken by the Unions and the candidates they may put forward, not only for Parliamentary, but for municipal and other local elections, and occasions will very probably arise when the Trade Union official or delegate may find himself bound by his office to take a certain course of action repugnant to him as a Socialist. The forthcoming annual conference of the Social-Democratic Federation will be doing good work by applying itself to finding the best way in which to meet the difficulties which may arise. So far as the general organisation is concerned, the course is clear. We have to remain as we have always been, a thorough-going, definitely Socialist body, placing before the workers a clear conception of their rights, and advocating the ideals and principles which form the basis of the Socialist working-class movement in every capitalist and civilised country. We must avoid at all costs every entangling alliance which might lower the Socialist standard which it is as necessary as ever to uphold. On the other hand, the individual difficulties will, I think, be best met by a clear recognition of their causes, and by a cool and judicial appreciation of the fact that the best possible policy always contains some drawbacks, and the worst possible policy some good points. We must understand that, though it be smart form in debate to oppose a policy by bringing out all its drawbacks and ignoring its good points, and to support a policy by emphasising its good points and leaving its bad ones in the background, that style is the style of the advocate, and not of the judge. We must balance advantages against disadvantages, and adopt or reject a policy according as the former outweighs the latter or the latter the former. And, above all things, I think it is especially necessary that we should bear in mind, in relation to the political action of Trade Unions, and the difficulties arising therefrom, that the physician's medicine should be tried before the surgeon's knife. After all, we, as individuals, do not "fire out" our limbs and portions of our bodies the moment we feel a pain or an ailment in them.

H. W. LEE.

BERNSTEIN AND THE GERMAN PARTY.

It is to me, I confess, a matter of no little astonishment that our friend Bax should consider it worth while to continue girding at the cowardice of our German comrades in their treatment of Edward Bernstein in "Justice" and the "Social Democrat." Would it not be more to the point if, instead of explaining to the members of the S.D.F., who know already, what his views on the question are, and who, moreover, have no power in the matter one way or other, Bax were to turn his attention to the German comrades themselves? This, however, by the way. The question which I want to consider here is how far could the German Social Democratic Party have acted otherwise than they have done in the matter of Edward Bernstein? Was their action merely dictated by fear of a split in their own ranks, of sentimental consideration for a traitor, and so on and so on; or was it the result of a thorough consideration of the whole circumstances of the case? As I think that the latter was the case, I will endeavour, in the course of the following article, to justify my position and also that of our German comrades. In order, however, to do this I am bound to consider what would have been the case supposing the advice of Bax had been followed, and Bernstein had been expelled; or, rather, supposing our German comrades had wished to carry out the policy advocated by Bax, how could they have done it, and what would its effect have been on the future development of the Party.

To commence with, I think I am justified in assuming that Bax would agree with me that any resolution under which Bernstein was expelled must be capable of application in any other similar case. It must also be perfectly clear on what general principles it is based, and what were its limitations, because otherwise there might be no end to the motions for expulsion. Now, in the case of Bernstein we should have to get clearly before us why we think he ought to be expelled. Of this Bax makes very light. "Mr. Bernstein repudiates almost every principle hitherto regarded as 'of faith' in Social Democracy. He champions every form, and well-nigh every abuse, of capitalism. The politico-financial schemes of Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, and the cosmopolitan financiers of the Rand have found in him their warmest advocate. English rule in India he also takes under his ægis. He has systematically attacked every Social Democratic doctrine in turn, to the delight of reactionary readers and hearers. In a word, Mr. Bernstein is incomparably less friendly to Socialism, if any meaning is to be attached to the word at all, than the mildest English Radical. To judge from his expressed opinions, in fact, Mr. Bernstein has no more sympathy with the recognised principles of Socialism, and perhaps rather less, than Count von Bulow himself. And yet, wonderful to relate, for fear of causing a split in the party, for fear of jeopardising party unity, the German Social Democrats could not muster up sufficient courage to exclude Mr. Bernstein from their ranks." Truly a fear-

ful and wonderful indictment! Bernstein the champion of well-nigh every abuse of capitalism—I like the “well-nigh”; why not every abuse, when he was about it? However, it will be much more to the point if we ascertain what Bernstein has said, and then we can come back and appreciate Bax’s statements at their true value.

The main subject of interest in the whole discussion between Bernstein and his opponents was undoubtedly, How far can it be said that under capitalism the upper classes become richer and the working classes become poorer? Bernstein was of opinion that the wage-earning classes, as shown by the statistics, had materially improved their position as over against the other classes of the community; and the question at issue was how far the degree of the improvement, which Bernstein put high, was really a relative improvement compared to the other classes. A heated dispute arose round the interpretation Bernstein put on the writings of Marx and Engels in respect of this question, Kautsky supporting the view that neither Marx nor Engels ever held the views which Bernstein ascribed to them. In fact, it may be said at once that unfortunately a great part of the controversy has been taken up in the task of explaining the misconceptions as to the teaching of Marx and Engels which Bernstein was responsible for spreading in his book.

The next point debated was how far wealth tends to concentrate in fewer hands; the number of independent business establishments to grow smaller; trade generally to come more and more into the hands of a small number of very rich firms; the middle class to disappear, and so on.

Bernstein supported the theory that the original tendency noted by Marx and Engels in the “Communist Manifesto” had been neutralised by others—that to-day the numbers and wealth of the middle class tend to increase; that capitalism itself has produced a new middle class, the class of managers, etc., who certainly are not to be identified in any way with the proletariat, because their sympathies were with the propertied classes, and also that, while in some directions trade certainly tended to concentrate, there were trades where the small capitalist was able not only to hold his own, but showed a tendency to increase.

Then, again, he maintained, as far as the class war was concerned, though he did not deny the class war, that class antagonisms, so far from getting sharper and more pronounced, seemed to be more and more modified by other considerations, ethical and patriotic, and the increasing influence which these were winning among the more enlightened members of the middle and upper classes. He deprecated, consequently, lumping all the bourgeois parties together as reactionary, and advocated seeking alliances with the bourgeois parties which stood nearest to us. He also held that crises, so far from being a necessary feature of capitalism, were rather a sign of its youth, and that capitalism had got over this stage, which theory he called the “Anfassungs fähigkeit” (adaptability) of capitalism, i.e., the power of adapting itself to circumstances and of overcoming the old tendency to over-production, had been achieved by the trusts. Besides, according to him, co-operation and Trade Unionism were destined to play a large part in the emancipation of the workers, which would take place gradually and on Fabian

lines, materially helped through the increasing interference of the Legislature, and their determination to secure a standard of decency for the workers; and also by the placing of monopolies of all kinds in the hands of public authorities. As far as the materialist conception of history was concerned, he practically agreed with Bax's views, and as to Marx's theory of value he was very certain that he held it, but wished to combine it with the Jevons-Bohm-Bawerk theory of final utility, a proceeding of which Kautsky had no difficulty in showing the absurdity, and proving that he had fallen into the inevitable error fallen into by almost all Marx's critics, of confusing value and price, a confusion which is natural to a certain extent to the adherents of a school like the Final Utility School, to whom price and value are the same thing, and whose theory of value, as Bernstein himself had on a previous occasion pointed out, is nothing more than a theory of prices, though, as has been still more recently* proved, inadequate at that, but was a confusion which was as unexpected as it was unpleasant in Bernstein. This, in brief, is what I understand to be Bernstein's theory, which may be summed up generally by saying that he lays more stress on the obstacles in the way of the accomplishment of Socialism on the resisting power of capitalism, and also, I may add, on what he has called the unripeness of the proletariat for political power†, and that he considers that Socialists have been too apt to overlook the remedial forces at work under capitalism and to neglect what can be done in the present for the sake of the future.

Now, it is fairly obvious that this theory or theories is open to dispute, and, indeed, I think that Kautsky has completely proved the worthlessness of most of Bernstein's speculations, but that is a very different thing from thinking with Bax that it was advisable to expel him from the party on the strength of them. It is difficult to get a clear idea of what Bax means when he talks about Bernstein "repudiating every principle hitherto regarded as 'of faith' in Social Democracy," and "attacking every Social Democratic doctrine in turn." What are the principles which we are to regard as "of faith"? I have a lively recollection that the last time I had a controversy on this question with the editor of "Justice," if I mistake not, I was given as a reason for expelling Bernstein from the party that we all think that a parson who sticks to a Church after he has ceased to hold her doctrines is dishonest, and should not blame the Church for expelling him. Why, then, refuse to the Party what we allow to the Church? In reply I ask if the Social Democratic Party is, then, a body with fixed doctrines or dogmas, like one of the orthodox Churches? It must be remembered the Churches claim to have discovered Final Truth. Does Bax claim that for the "doctrines" which Bernstein has so wickedly denied? Is by any chance the materialist conception of history included among those "doctrines"? Would Bax expel Bernstein because he considers that the poor are comparatively better off than they were? Or because he thought that the period crises were things

*M. Beer, "Neue Zeit," January 4, 1902.

†In reply to this objection attention was called by Liebknecht on a then celebrated gambling case, which threw a lurid light on the supposed fitness of the cultivated classes for ruling.

of the past? Certainly somewhat unnecessary when the logic of events gives Bernstein the lie. Moreover, we tie the party down to a formula, which nobody is to be allowed to criticise under penalty of expulsion, a proceeding which is consistent from those who consider that Final Truth has been achieved in this direction, but very stupid from those who do not. After all, what is a political party, or, rather, what is the Social Democratic Party, and what are the conditions of membership? The answer is, surely, we are a body of men and women who have come together to work for the achievement of a series of ideas which we have embodied in a common programme, the most important item of which is that of the socialisation of the means of production and exchange. Membership of this party is conditional on acceptance of this programme and the agreement to work for the common end. Bernstein accepts both these conditions, and the German Party contend that, at least as far as the first is concerned, he must be his own judge. There is a difference, I may remind Bax, between saying that Bernstein is inconsistent in remaining in the Party and thinking that the party would do well to turn him out. Between private morality and public law, as even the most extreme Puritan must agree, exists a wide difference, and the same thing applies to the laws of any body of people. There must always be a certain margin left for the individual to decide. It is all very well for Bax to talk in general terms about Bernstein denying every doctrine of the Party. The same may be said of any critic, and yet we do not, at least I am most anxious not to, wish to stifle criticism in the Party.

I should very much like to see a plain, straightforward answer from Bax to these two questions: Does he think that it is advisable to allow members the right of free criticism of the party programme? If Bernstein were turned out, how would it be possible to retain in the Party the right of free criticism?

Then Bernstein repudiates denying all the doctrines of the Party. Who is to decide who is right? Obviously it can only go by the majority. And Bax disputes at least two fundamental ideas of the Party. He denies possibly that they are fundamental. Who is to decide? Again the majority. That might be awkward for our would-be Torquemada. Hitherto the rule has been that adopted in the German Party in the case of Bernstein. Undisturbed by any considerations of personality, they affirmed as an answer to Bernstein's criticisms—or, if you like, attacks—in a most categorical manner, that they saw no reason to change their theory or their tactic. That was the celebrated Bebel resolution at Hanover. If Bernstein accepted it, well and good; if not, he could go. The same tactic was followed at Lubeck. Here there was a tug-of-war between the Bernsteinianer and their opponents. The latter had a resolution which, while affirming the full right of criticism enjoyed by every member, censured the use made by Bernstein of this. An amendment to this from the former affirmed simply the right of free criticism. This amendment came first to the vote, and was defeated by a large majority; then the resolution was accepted by a still larger majority. The great difference—which Bax naturally completely overlooks—between the conduct of the German Social Democrats and English Liberals is this:

The latter water down their resolutions to maintain the unity; the former lay down their principles in their resolutions, undeterred by any such fear, and leave it to the individuals to accept them. This is practically the policy they have always followed, the Berlin opposition not excepted. Here it was no case of party doctrines. It was a case of four members who were expelled from the Party because of accusations which they made against the Parliamentary representatives, accusations which they could not substantiate and would not withdraw. The fact that they were developing into Anarchism had nothing to do with their expulsion, which is shown by the fact that no one who was not proved to have had a hand in spreading the accusations under question was expelled. That is quite enough, I think, to dispose of the charge raised some time ago, if I mistake not, by Bax in "Justice," that the German Party had treated the Berlin opposition unfairly in comparison to Bernstein.

To come back now to Bax's indictment, I must allow that it is difficult to take seriously such wild exaggerations. We may differ from a man without insinuating that he is a scoundrel, and, much as we may detest the war, it does not follow that everyone who supports it is drawing financial advantage from it. Of course, we deplore that any Socialist should be in favour of an abomination such as the South African War, but still, even in cases of our own members, the great thing is not so much to expel the member as to make it clear that his views are not shared by the bulk of the comrades, by a resolution laying down clearly what we think. If the member chooses to continue membership after that, and as long as they do not come out actively in favour of the war, there seems no reason to do anything. This is in the case of one of our own members, and deals with what is for us a question of practical politics, where the case for expulsion would be at its strongest. It is quite another when the correspondent of a foreign Socialist paper writes in that paper to defend the war in the course of his regular work as correspondent, or writes an article in a small, comparatively little known English paper—that cannot be described as taking an active part in favour of the war. Moreover, Bernstein has never, to my knowledge, defended any of the worse features of the campaign. Besides all this, recent controversies in "Justice" between Bax and Hyndman has shown that even among the strongest Socialist opponents great differences of opinion can arise.

How Bernstein can be described as the "warmest advocate" of Mr. Rhodes's politico-financial schemes I leave to Bax to explain, and ask him not to forget the superlative, "warmest." How many "warmests" has Mr. Rhodes got? And where did Bernstein pour forth his soul in favour of Mr. Rhodes? In "Vorwärts"? When? Or was it in the "Neue Zeit.," when Bernstein and Kautsky so ridiculed Bax's statement that Arab slave-dealing was better than the Chartered Company? The comparison with the German Chancellor forms a fitting climax—folly could hardly go farther. I wonder he did not say William II. at once.

If Bax answers my article, which I suspect he will not, I hope that he will be a little more explicit in dealing with the question than he has been

hitherto, and, above all, that he will answer my question how he could avoid being turned out himself if Bernstein was? A motion for expulsion is a two-edged sword, and his assurance that he is no heretic is no more worth than Bernstein's for that matter. The majority would decide naturally in both cases, but any majority which expelled Bernstein would find it very difficult to avoid a similar motion in the case of Bax.

To sum up. I am against expulsion—as I believe the German Party is—in cases where the theory of the Party alone is concerned, and there is no question of Party discipline or character at stake, because I believe that if we are to progress as a Party, if we are to meet the difficulties which will confront us, our members must enjoy a full, free, and unlimited right of criticism in respect of the Party programme. To deny this is to imply that we have attained Final Truth, and that new circumstances can never arise to alter it, or render a new tactic and programme necessary.

J. B. ASKEW.

SUCCESSFUL CO-OPERATION IN A MINING VILLAGE.

An interesting experiment in co-operative storekeeping has been carried on for some years at the little mining town of Banksville, Pa. Fifteen years ago eighty miners, who were dissatisfied with the prices charged at the company store, determined to set up a co-operative store of their own. Some of them were Englishmen acquainted with the Rochdale system of co-operation, and it was the success of that system that led to the experiment at Banksville. The par value of permanent stock was fixed at 10dols. a share, of ordinary stock at 5dols. a share. Each stockholder paid into the association 10dols. or more, which was invested in ordinary merchandise such as was sold at the company store. The stockholders elected from their own number a store manager and a clerk. There were a president, a vice-president, and a board of eight directors of the association. The manager of the store was at all times subject to the instructions of the directors.

The last quarterly report of the association shows 211 stockholders. For the past five years the store has done a business of about 30,000dols. annually, and each month shows increased business. The last quarterly report showed a business for the quarter of more than 8,000dols. The association now owns the best business lots in the village. It has a large store-room, besides stables and a warehouse. For a time the association did a general hauling business, but the demands upon its teams for the delivery of merchandise from the store have made it necessary to discontinue this branch of its activities. Many of the stockholders have from 50dols. to 100dols. drawing interest in the association's hands, and the association actually has more money than it can advantageously use in its business. The surplus for the last quarter was nearly 1,000dols., and the last annual dividend was 12 per cent. For money of the stockholders held on deposit the association pays 5 per cent. One very important influence of the association has been the lesson it has taught of the moral and financial value of cash buying. Wherever the company stores have existed the credit-hardening process has reached the greater part of the community, with the result that many persons are constantly in debt, and few save anything out of their earnings. Nearly all the people of Banksville who are not thoroughly credit-hardened deal with the co-operative store, and it has many customers from other communities near at hand.—Condensed for "Public Opinion" (New York) from the New York "Sun."

"WOMAN, AND HER PLACE IN SOCIETY."

I am glad that Hannah Taylor agrees with my views on "feminine frailties," but I fear she will have raised a hornet's nest by stating that had we the same opportunities as men we should be ahead of them, and society would be based on a better foundation. On the question of equality of the sexes much has been said in these pages and in "Justice," but I do not think the most extreme "feminist" has gone so far as this. As a matter of fact, we have no evidence in favour of such a statement. Even when nature has asserted herself under adverse circumstances I have never heard of a woman showing herself in any way superior to a man in a like position. The question of equality is another matter; but the writer, in advising the teaching of equality, is surely inconsistent. Why not teach the superiority of woman, if it be an undeniable fact? No, my friend. The opposite sex may have used their opportunities with poor effect, but I venture to assert (at the risk of being considered a direct defender of man) that we should have managed things even a degree worse, if my observations go for anything.

Replying to the query of what the S.D.F. is doing for our emancipation, the querist pointed out in her previous article that equality of the sexes is an item in the "object" of our organisation, and the spirit of this is carried out quite efficiently by the way in which the sex difference is ignored and equal opportunity given to all members. It is altogether an erroneous comparison between our organisation and religious bodies in this matter. Every branch with which I have been acquainted has only been too glad to get a woman to take duties upon her other than the getting of money. The writer says that there is room for all kinds of workers, and this is so. Moreover, women are encouraged to take up all kinds of work. Every office in the movement is open to women just the same as to men, and it is generally the woman herself who hangs back, and will not place herself on an equal footing with her male comrades. If she holds no other office than that of collector it is either because she is unwilling or inefficient. We join the ranks of the S.D.F. to work, and the smallest part is as praiseworthy as the greatest. If collections are to be made, the best collector makes them, and so with every other duty. I know of no organisation which so soon discovers a member's capabilities—and uses them—as ours.

Regarding the lectures, indoor and outdoor, as far as I have seen, the men for the best part do take their women-folk with them. At any rate, they are encouraged to attend the same as anyone else. Surely they do not require a "special for women" and "men only" system when equality is being aimed at. This also applies to the suggestion of a part of our paper being devoted to subjects of interest to women, as such a proceeding appears to me an entire negation of equality. (I am quite in the dark as to what the nature of such a subject would be, by the way.) I cannot see that these

petty distinctions can exist when real progress is desired. The best way to prove the equality of the sexes is to give them equal opportunity, and this I maintain is being done in the workings of the S.D.F.

K. FITZGERALD.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA.

DeLeonism in America is still a joke, although rather stale, but DeLeonism transplanted to Great Britain becomes stupidly silly. Don Quixote may amuse us, but a sober defender of Quixotic tactics as a social philosophy would verge on imbecility.

When your orthodox bigot hears a sceptic deny the existence of miracles he seeks to silence his critic by quotations from what he claims to be a miraculously-inspired book. So when I accuse DeLeon of making mis-statements, McGregor quotes "The People" to prove that DeLeon is a saint. How reliable that source of information is English readers can judge when I tell them that it has persistently, and in the face of all contradiction, adhered to the statement that H. M. Hyndman has withdrawn from the S.D.F., and that he has never been a defender of class struggle tactics. If further evidence along this line is needed, I would ask comrade Quelch to publish Mrs. Keep's letter on the English Socialist movement, which appeared in "The People" a short time ago.

There is scarcely a statement in the entire article of McGregor that has more than the slightest foundation of truth, and most of them are untruths out of whole cloth, which DeLeon has manufactured to instil a sort of "Dutch courage" into his dupes, and which are never taken seriously by the great mass of Socialists. If there is any large percentage of the English comrades who either doubt this statement or wish to examine closer the decaying rottenness of the S.L.P., I will agree to hold my nose and send over as many details as the editor cares to publish.

There is one correction that is worth making. McGregor states, and many new members in America seem to think the same, that there was a time when DeLeon led the whole American movement by the nose. The fact is that the S.T. and L.A. tactics, while adopted under false pretences in 1896, were never forced to the front until a couple of years later, and as soon as DeLeon attempted the leading process he found himself out in the cold, with a constantly-diminishing handful of fanatical adherents, who enjoyed being "led by the nose," while the great body of Socialists went on in their work of organising the American proletariat for Socialism.

If it is replied that the exaltation of the personal element of deception in relation to DeLeonism is contrary to an economic interpretation of history (which is DeLeon's latest philosophical dope for his followers), I would point out, what has often been noted, that times of great social changes are always marked by just such fanatical sects, and would point to Dowieism as

a parallel movement. And if this is thought to be too grotesque a comparison, I would call attention to the fact that DeLeon has succeeded in hypnotising his disciples into believing that one weekly Socialist paper is all that a country as large as the Continent of Europe should be permitted to have, and there is not one of his members that would dare to suggest the establishment of another organ. In the city of New York there are personal and racial quarrels that give a semblance of reason for the existence of the DeLeonites, but these reasons are rapidly fading away, as his decreasing vote shows, and outside New York the sooner the foreign comrades come to realise that DeLeonism is not a part of any Socialist movement, or any other movement for that matter, but is only a rather amusing and harmless, although vituperative and pugnacious, little fanatical sect, the sooner they will be able to understand the Socialist situation in America.

There is no Socialist political movement in America outside the Socialist Party, and the cheap attempt of McGregor to make capital out of the fact that the American politicians and capitalist Governments have made it impossible for us to have a common name (which fact shows in itself which party capitalism fears) is as silly as the remainder of his article. The recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party showed that there were at the beginning of this year over 10,000 members in good standing, not counting half as many more in States who had not yet wholly completed their affiliation with the national organisation, but all of whom are in process of so affiliating. This means that by the time the summer campaign opens we will have between 15,000 and 20,000 members, and will be growing at a very rapid rate. This is at least three times the strength of the present DeLeonite movement, and is double the membership of the S.L.P. in its best days before the membership left DeLeon to his ravings.

A. M. SIMONS.

MR. W. F. FORD, writing in the *Contemporary Review* on "American Investments in England," calculates that the Americans are investing an annual sum of ninety millions sterling in Europe. He thinks that most of this money is invested in English securities, and the tendency will be to increase rather than to decrease. He does not think there was any definite desire on the part of the Americans to invade the English market, but they are driven to do so by the fact that their exports are so much in excess of their imports that they have no option but to buy up European securities. It is obvious, however, that this will tend to increase rather than decrease the difficulty of the situation, for the interest upon securities will have to be remitted to America somehow, it cannot be transmitted in bullion, and if they do not want anything from the Old World, how are they going to be paid?

THE UNITED STATES OF IMPERIAL BRITAIN.

The writer who signs himself "Ogniben," and who wrote an article in last month's "Contemporary Review" on Germany's attitude to England, returns to the subject in the March number of the same review.

He says: "There is, perhaps, no nation on the globe which reckes less of the absolute and makes more of the relative than ours; we shrink from dogmatism in theology, from interpretation in history, from method in education, from coherency in politics, from system in legislation, from rhetoric in oratory, and even from form in art. We are what is euphemistically called practical. From amongst a tangle of possibilities we seize upon what lies nearest or seems most feasible and pressing, and set to work to realise that, leaving the rest to future times and other conditions, careless about logic or consistency."

This rule-of-thumb method is simply disastrous in dealing with our world-Empire, and, in the writer's opinion, will have to be changed. This is rendered difficult by the strangely contradictory fact that the bulk of the nation is more rigidly logical, more fanatically doctrinaire than the French or Germans on national trade and industry and imperial politics. The death-like grip with which we have clung to Free Trade is the grand instance. In reality it is but a means, but we have raised it into a principle the discussion of which smacks of treason. Lessons of all sorts are wholly lost upon our people. When the steel industry of Germany was driven to the brink of ruin by our competition in 1875 to 1879, Bismarck saved it by the high tariffs that he introduced.

The writer does not seek to undermine Free Trade in the abstract, but to treat it purely as a matter of expediency. And, if we view the matter from the higher plane of the British Empire, Mr. Chamberlain struck the keynote of the matter at Birmingham, when he pleaded for co-ordination of the component parts of the Empire, and Mr. Seddon, when he publicly proposed an inter-Imperial tariff. "To-day, more than ever before, do politics hinge upon expanding and declining trade. Ambassadors and Consuls, the complex machinery which they keep going, and even war itself, owe their existence, in the last analysis, to a nation's resolve to hold the outlets for its industry or to win new ones."

The writer points out that, as in industry associated effort ousts individual enterprise, so in political communities the same rule will apply. The future will rest with those States which have vast industrial resources, large corn supplies, tropical plantations, reserve capital, and a rapidly-increasing population. The States possessing these to-day are Imperial Britain, the United States, and Russia. The other Continental States, classified to-day as Great Powers, will recede to the misty background, unless, indeed, one of Germany's many "irons in the fire" has been forged into

an irresistible sword to cut a way to the forefront of nations. Russia, like the United States, is one state geographically, commercially, politically, with free trade for all within her boundaries, protection for native industry, and heavy duties on wares entering from outside; in a word, is stable. Imperial Britain has its parts scattered over the globe. The bodies of which it consists, some of them showing but little affinity for the others, have not yet crystallised into one. Hence the equilibrium of the Empire is unstable.

"Geographically separated by enormous distances, commercially disunited by clashing interests, and by conflicting aims, politically unreduced—and some hope irreducible—to any common denominator, the parts are held together by the gossamer threads of sentiment, which an accident, an intrigue, a military reverse may one day sweep asunder." It is also pointed out that, owing to our treatment of several of the Colonies, their loyalty is strained to the utmost. Jamaica and the West Indies feel a leaning towards the United States, as also does our oldest Colony, Newfoundland, which would obtain the right to use their own coast, refused by the Motherland, in a week from America. In a word, the Empire is in a state of flux not yet hardened. It is based upon its sea power, whose drawback is that it may be destroyed with greater ease and less delay than land armies.

Instead of welding the parts into a whole, we seem to be sharpening the points and corners, so as to render dovetailing impossible. We allow unfair competition from Germany to interfere with our exports to Australia, and allow bounty-fed sugar to crush out Colonial competition with Germany at home. In fact, if England be rich in Empire-builders, she sadly lacks an Imperial architect.

"A vast Empire cannot in the twentieth century be governed by mere rule of thumb. With a policy that is insular in Europe, Imperial in the Commonwealth, anti-Imperial in the Antilles, anti-Colonial in Newfoundland, and even anti-English in Canada, we are but keeping our place warm for our successor in the rank of world Powers." That successor is Germany, unless we coalesce with the United States, merging our interests of Empire into those of race. The danger in practical politics is by no means imminent, which is the reason it is belittled by politicians who will not, or cannot, take long views of the future. But the writer points out that "No greater hatred of any nation in history has yet been felt than that which animates all Europe against Great Britain to-day. Whatever its genesis, its rapid growth is a concrete fact, and its lack of fruits a happy accident. We are detested by the Continent, and the desire of despoiling the world's greatest Empire of its wealth raises in some cases this hatred to its highest power."

This is particularly so with Germany. Desiring to occupy our position, she only lacks colonies beyond the seas and dependencies in the tropics. While pretending friendliness towards the British Court for the purpose of wheedling Heligoland, Samoa, etc., out of us, she is all the while intriguing to embroil us with some other Power, particularly Russia, France, and the United States. It is true that Russia is insatiable; and, although it would

be contrary to the interests of this country that Russia should "manchurise" Southern Persia, we do not seem to be able to grapple with the position. And Germany is getting her foot in there. Moreover, the naval programme of the Kaiser is expressly framed against us, so that, combined with Russia or France, we would be at their mercy. As prophesied last month by "Ogniben," Prince Henry has gone to the United States to belittle England for the benefit of Germany. Despite the Kaiser's anti-Yankee views, he does not mind lying to America to injure England. Germany maintains that Great Britain proposed a sort of coalition against the United States, which was only baffled by honest Germany. Lord Cranborne denied this, but the Berlin Press still reiterates the story.

"Lord Pauncefote," writes the "Berliner Neueste Nachrichten," "proposed to the representatives of the other Powers a step which would have been disagreeable to America," but it was "thwarted by Germany's opposition." And, by the way of bullying the United States into giving credit to this untruth, it added, "In England and America this ought to be taken as established, and official quarters in Berlin should not be forced to prove their case by making the documents public."

Great Britain is the only State that offers a market to Germany, the others adopting a prohibitive attitude. And Germany talks in very threatening tones if England proposes to interfere with her expansion; and even grumbles at American competition not being checked against her, as she wished in Australia. The only statesman capable of dealing with the position, an exceedingly difficult one, is Mr. Chamberlain. If he does not possess the qualities necessary, the man who is thus equipped has yet to win his way to the forefront of Imperial politics. He who compasses this aim will assuredly be an architect among a host of Empire-builders.



BOTHA, DE WET, AND VILJOEN.

Arthur Lynch, the ex-colonel of a regiment of Boer cavalry, and recently elected to the House of Commons from Galway, contributes to the "Revue Bleue" (Paris) some "silhouettes" of Boer leaders, from which we translate the part descriptive of the men best known to American readers.

If the brilliant acts of Botha and De Wet and their followers are known over the entire world, their personal appearance is less known; therefore, I shall try to sketch rapidly the traits of the personality of these heroes. General Botha is still young, too young say some Boers who are only accustomed to giving their confidence to grey beards; but experience has done much to dispel such prejudice. He is great even in his height, towering over the medium height of the Boers, with broad shoulders, and a deep chest, and

very muscular. Everything about him denotes vigour and health. Nevertheless, his appearance is not forbidding. If the word sympathy had not been abused to the point of making it ridiculous, I would say that he is certainly one of the most sympathetic men I have ever met. When I saw Louis Botha for the first time he was surrounded by officers, who were congratulating him on his magnificent exploits at Spion Kop. At that time he seemed several years younger than he really is. To-day he appears older, not that the privations of war have caused this change in his appearance, but because of the continual care of a superhuman task that has given his face an expression of gravity, which matures and improves it. I have never seen Botha depressed, even in the worst circumstances. He never shows the least ill-humour before his subordinates, but always appears confident and resolute. A skilful tactician, he is also a great strategist. I believe that his value would be as great in time of peace as in war. A diplomat on occasions, he is always admirably drawn out by difficult circumstances, displaying the strength of his intelligence, his high probity, and the firmness of his character.

De Wet is a born tactician. A peaceful merchant before the war, he would have passed a perfectly unknown existence if circumstances had not brought to light the marvellous qualities of the warrior. De Wet is older than Botha, being near his fiftieth year. Of medium height or shorter, he is vigorous, solid, hard, and dry as wood. His attitude, his gestures, even his profile, seem to express resistance. He has become more and more taciturn. Formerly he consulted his officers before making a decision; now he keeps his own counsel. Silently, carefully, he studies his plans, nourishing his projects until the moment of their execution. Then he becomes inflexible. It generally happens that, after a long period of reflection, De Wet suddenly gives an order to his men to put themselves in saddle without anyone having the least idea of his intentions. Nevertheless, each one obeys without hesitation. Perhaps he is about to change the camp. Perhaps he is going to attempt some hazardous feat like Sannah's Post or Tweefontein. De Wet fights as he hunts; almost all his great exploits are surprises. He watches for the prey, he glides, he crawls, until it is within reach, and strikes. De Wet has that great quality which also distinguishes Botha, he is never discouraged.

Among the less known chiefs I will cite General Ben Viljoen. Viljoen, born in the Cape, began his career as a policeman. Very intelligent, also very ambitious, he was elected Liberal delegate, and when the war broke out Viljoen was given the command of the troops of the Johannesburg commando. These troops have shown themselves thoroughly efficient as much by their aggressiveness as by their qualities of resistance, and the reputation their young chief has made only increases from day to day. Viljoen is very large, and straight as a line. He is nearly the same age as Botha, and no one would be better qualified to take the place of the general-in-chief if the need arose. Viljoen has the air of a good fellow, open and frank, in battle evincing all the dynamic strength of a soldier of the race.—"Public Opinion," New York.

A PROSPEROUS BRITISH INDIA.

Major Malleson contributes an article in the "Monthly Review" for March, under the above heading. He sneers at the Congress agitator who claims that the distress in India is the result of British rule, and who refuses to recognise the long list of benefits the people of India have received under this rule. He opposes the idea that the people were happier or better off in the past under native rulers and states, that the so-called "Golden Age" was a period of rapine, bloodshed, and disorder. Far from the present distress being the result of the economic drain of wealth from India, it is due entirely to natural causes over which the rulers of the country have no control.

Furthermore, the average native, while thrifty during ordinary times, breaks out into wild extravagances on the occasion of certain domestic occurrences, as weddings. This extravagance has been increased since we took over the country by reason of credit becoming secure. Before our establishment of law and order the money-lender stood a chance of having his throat cut if too importunate in his demands. We have put down such outrages sternly, and provided sure means for the recovery of money lent. The money-lender has flourished, and a large portion of the population are drifting towards hopeless bankruptcy, due, of course, to their increased extravagances on the domestic occasions referred to. "Living perpetually up to the extreme limit of their resources, they have no reserve with which to tide over the bad times when they come."

The writer thinks that the first and foremost remedy is social reform and education. "The reckless extravagance of even the poorest is one of the crying evils of the day." He goes on to show how the people get into the hands of the money-lenders as a result of this, and says: "No statesmen can view with equanimity the gradual displacement of the hereditary toilers of the soil by the 'bannia' and money-lending classes." The leaders of the people must set the example of suppressing the extravagance which obtains; and if congress agitators were to expend one-tenth of the energy on social reform that is wasted on the propagation of ridiculous ideas such as representative government they would do more to bring about the amelioration of the lot of the masses of India.

The irrigation question is dealt with rather well. The writer points out that many districts are on high table-lands, out of the reach of large gravity canals. Again, many of the famine districts have rivers, not supplied by the eternal snows of the Himalayas, which are practically dry just when they are most needed. The geological formation of India gives no promise that artesian wells would be successful, and pumping by means of aerometers has the drawback that the air is generally calm when the water is most required. These objections, of course, do not undervalue the success of

irrigation in more favourable districts, but only points out its limitations. And, as a matter of fact, nearly all the possible large schemes have been completed or are in hand. But, even when these are completed, there will always remain areas subject to scarcity and famine on failure of the rains. For this population the only salvation lies in emigration, and the abandonment of the growth of cereals in favour of other pursuits. Regarding emigration, the bulk of the natives have an insuperable objection to crossing the sea. So the results of this remedy are small. Moreover, the famines are money famines, not food famines, for, thanks to the much-abused railways, there is always plenty of grain to be had at slightly-enhanced rates. But the people have no money or money's worth with which to buy.

The writer then deals with the present industries of India other than food grains. These are cotton, jute, opium, tea, coffee, indigo, and tobacco. Indian cotton is in small demand, owing to its short staple, and, for other reasons, will not help in the remedy. Jute is well looked after, and needs no special encouragement. Opium is a Government monopoly. The tea industry has suffered from over-production and neglect to open up new markets. But the sale of Indian tea in such countries as Persia and the United States, and among the natives of India themselves is showing signs of promise. Coffee is a comparatively small and uncertain crop, and offers no solution to the problem. Indigo has been much depressed owing to low prices and the competition of the synthetic substance made in Germany. There is hope, however, that improved methods of cultivation will place the industry on a satisfactory basis. Tobacco is largely grown for native requirements, and it is only in the southern parts that any effort is made to cater for Anglo-Indian and European tastes. Since the manufacture at Dindigul and other southern centres has been largely taken up by English firms there has been a very great improvement in the quality of the turn-out. But there is ample room for further improvement, and only capital is needed to make India a very formidable rival to the chief tobacco-growing countries of the world.

But it is rather to the dormant possibilities of India that we should look for the true remedies for widespread famine and poverty. One instance is sugar. India imports 200,000 tons of raw and refined sugar, which she could produce herself by the introduction of up-to-date methods and machinery, and leave a good margin of profit. Some extensive experiments in sericulture are being carried out at present by a Parsee capitalist, and if the results are successful efforts will be made to revive the silk industry. Coal is also very plentiful in India, and, although not to be compared in quality and heating results with British coal, it has largely ousted the latter from Indian ports, found its way as far as the Suez Canal, and has a great future before it. With coal so plentiful, and limestone abundant, the establishment of a steel works on a large scale would prove a remunerative business. The Himalaya range also contains immense deposits of copper. There are large quantities of other minerals in other parts of the country. In the past endeavours to work these minerals have been greatly handicapped by a variety of circum-

stances. "The want of proper means of communication, the ungenerous terms offered by, and the great delays experienced in negotiations with, Government have undoubtedly deterred capitalists in the past from embarking money on Indian enterprises. Then, too, the unstable character of the rupee exchange has been a great stumbling-block. But now all these adverse circumstances have been greatly modified, even if they have not entirely disappeared."

A further great asset of India is the enormous power of her vast rivers at present running to waste. It is calculated, for instance, that by tapping the Jumna river near Mussoorie no less than 6,000 horse-power might be made available at the important railway centre of Saharanpore, fifty miles away, at a cost only one-third of that necessitated by the use of Indian coal. Aluminium and carbide of calcium are articles that would form a profitable undertaking, and matches, now imported largely from Japan, could easily be made in India. Money is always forthcoming in London for wild-cat schemes in distant parts of the world, whilst a country with enormous natural resources, immense quantities of cheap power running to waste, and the largest supply of cheap labour in the world, is practically neglected. If the capitalist would turn his attention to India it would be the preservation of the country.



THE NEW FRENCH NAVY.

Ten, even five, years ago the French navy was, in the matter of material, in a state of chaos. It owned a "collection of specimens"—to use the phrase of an eminent French authority—not a fleet. Construction was miserably slow. Battleships were ten years or even more in the dockyards. To-day France is building as fast as England or Germany or America. In fact, she has succeeded in launching a first-class battleship in six months from its commencement. Though the French navy is conservative enough—like all navies—in many matters it has been quick to introduce startling changes in the design of ships. The screw war-vessel and the employment of armour for the protection of water-line and hull had their origin in France, and were copied from her by the world. In the present generation she has been the first to realise the danger of fire in the modern warship; as far back as 1890 she had practically eliminated wood from her new cruisers and battleships. She was the first Power to utilise electricity to any extent on shipboard for purposes other than lighting. She was the first to adopt high explosive shells, and now she claims that she has a fuse of such admirable action that it will allow these terrible projectiles to penetrate thin armour and explode in the interior of the ship. She was the first to realise the importance of protecting the cruiser with armour. Her ships of the "Dupuy

de Lome" class were, as usual, first scoffed at and then copied by the world. She was the first, also, to see the possibilities of submarine craft, and to-day owns more of these dangerous little vessels than all the other Powers of the world combined. The United States may be said to have begun to experiment with the submarine in 1899; ten years before the French constructor Zede had designed and completed the "Gymnote," the predecessor of the "Gustave Zede," "Morse," "Narval," and eighteen other submarines now built or building for the French navy.

But, it will be said, might not the French navy on trial fail as dismally as did the Spanish? On paper the Spanish ships were good enough, and at Kiel the Spanish seamen made an especially favourable impression. The answer to this is that Spain made shipwreck on two things—want of manoeuvres and sufficient gunnery. It had never struck the Spanish authorities that a ship which can steam and hit the target is worth ten vessels which can do neither. But French shooting is excellent, judging from figures published in 1899 relating to the practice of the French Mediterranean fleet. The best figure was 72 per cent. of hits, which verges upon the wonderful, and many others were nearly as good. Great attention is now paid to gunnery, and good shots and captains of guns receive extra pay and various distinctions dear to the seaman's heart. In the future it will not be as at Trafalgar, where the British ships fired three shots—shots, too, which hit—to the French one. Again, the war training of the French navy is thorough and complete. The Mediterranean fleet, containing the best and newest ships, is constantly at work all the year round, working at steam tactics, night firing, the bombardment of coast defences, torpedo attacks, and the great problem of hunting down an enemy and keeping in touch with him. It is the deliberate opinion of British admirals well able to judge that its efficiency is of the highest; possibly, indeed, it is the most formidable fleet of its size in the world. The northern squadron cruises in the Channel and the Atlantic for only six months in the year, and, because of this, and also because it includes older and less effective ships, is not so powerful a weapon. Still it is probably equal to the British reserve fleet, which in war it would have to meet, as this fleet is only fully manned for four months in the year.—H. W. Wilson, in "Collier's Weekly" (condensed for "Public Opinion," New York).



CAPITALISTS of Kansas will ignore the decision of the Supreme Court of the State on the constitutionality of the eight hour law and will appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court.—*Cleveland Citizen*.

J. PIERPONT MORGAN "earned" \$42,000,000 last year at his business, according to those who stand close to him. That sum represents a good many days' work of those who vote to uphold Morgan's splendid system of production and distribution of wealth.—*Cleveland Citizen*.

THE GROWTH OF ITALY.

AN INCREASE OF 4,000,000 IN POPULATION SHOWN BY THE LAST CENSUS.

The popular idea that Italy's population is non-progressive is not borne out by the last census, upon which the following article from the New York "Tribune" is based:—

Italy presents a marked contrast to France in point of increase of population. The returns of the recent census in Italy are now published, and they show a gratifying, though not extraordinary, growth of population in the peninsula, despite the large emigration and the hard times which have prevailed there in late years. In round numbers the population of Italy is now 32,500,000. That is an increase of more than 4,000,000 in the last twenty years. That is not a large increase, but it is, on the whole, satisfactory. It is not, of course, the whole increase of the Italian race. In these twenty years more than 2,000,000 Italians have emigrated to other lands. The actual growth of the race has, therefore, been more than 6,000,000 in twenty years, or more than one per cent. a year.

This does not, however, confirm the common idea that the Italians are an exceptionally prolific race. The growth of other nations has been proportionately more rapid. That of France has not been. That of Russia has been effected by conquest and wholesale annexation. That of the United States has been due to enormous immigration, as well as to a high birth-rate. But, while Italy, in the nineteenth century, increased from 16,000,000 to 32,500,000, or only a little more than doubled, Great Britain grew from 16,000,000 to 41,000,000, and Germany from 24,000,000 to 56,000,000, and each of those countries suffered as great a loss from wars as Italy, and a considerably greater loss through emigration.

It is not to be expected that Italy's population will hereafter increase its rate of growth. Nations seldom do that, and in Italy's case the present density of population is a strong influence against it. With the one exception of Great Britain, Italy is the most densely-populated of the great civilised countries. She has 113 inhabitants to the square kilometre, while Great Britain has 132, Germany has 103, France has only 71, and Austria 69. It seems probable that Italian growth will hereafter be largely in other lands, where millions of Italians are now settled—especially in the United States and in Argentina and some other South American states. The unfortunate thing for Italy is that these emigrants and their descendants are all expatriates, and there seems little hope of the establishment of an Italian colony under Italian rule. The experiment was made in Erythrea, with little success, and, if made in Tripoli, does not seem likely to fare better, neither of those lands being well adapted to the purpose of empire-founding. It is a pity, too, for it would be intensely interesting to see that famous, vigorous, and ambitious race take hold of such problems.—"Public Opinion" (N.Y.).

"DIVIDING UP" THE PRODUCT.

The United States Census Bureau has issued its long-looked-for preliminary report on the manufacturing industries of the country, showing the development of industry from 1890 to 1900. The figures support every contention which Socialists make, support us far more emphatically than could have been expected, especially with such an "artful dodger" as Wm. R. Merriam at the head of the Bureau.

The report does not cover Government establishments (arsenals, shipyards, etc.), penal, charitable, or educational institutions, nor private establishments having a yearly product of less than \$500. These classes of industrial establishments were also omitted in the census of 1890, so that the comparison is a fair one. The statistics cover all private manufacturing establishments large enough to play any effective part in industry.

THE COLD FIGURES.

Here are the cold figures—full, as we shall show, of revolutionary significance:—

Number of establishments, 1890	355,415
Do., 1900	512,585.
Increase, 44 per cent.	
Aggregate capital, 1890	\$6,525,156,486
Do., 1900	9,853,630,789
Increase, 51 per cent.	
Number of wage-workers, 1890	4,251,613
Do., 1900	5,310,598
Increase, 25 per cent.	
Aggregate wages, 1890	1,891,228,321
Do., 1900	2,323,407,257
Increase, 23 per cent.	
Miscellaneous expenses, 1890	631,225,035
Do., 1900	1,028,550,653
Increase, 63 per cent.	
Cost of materials, 1890	5,162,044,076
Do., 1900	7,349,916,030
Increase, 42 per cent.	
Value of product, 1890	9,372,437,283
Do., 1900	13,019,251,614
Increase, 39 per cent.	

Let us now proceed to analyse these figures, and see how they confirm Socialist theory.

WAGE-WORKING POPULATION.

Socialists maintain that the development of capitalism, by eliminating the independent producers (workers owning the means of production which they use), and by reducing the wages of working men, and thus driving

women and children into the factories, brings ever a large proportion of the people into the condition of wage-workers (workers not owning the necessary means of production, and, therefore, dependent upon capitalists for permission to work and to live).

In 1890 the population of the United States was 62,622,250. In 1900 it was 76,303,387. The population increased 22 per cent.

As shown above, the number of wage-workers increased 25 per cent., considerably faster than the whole population.

To put it in another way: Roughly speaking, in 1890 one person out of every fifteen was a wage-worker in manufacturing industries; and in 1900 one out of every fourteen was such a wage-worker.

Thus one Socialist contention is confirmed.

CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL.

Socialists maintain that the development of capitalism, through the workings of competition, tends ever to crush out the smaller competitors and to centralise capital in fewer hands.

As shown above, the number of manufacturing establishments increased 44 per cent. in ten years; the aggregate capital increased 51 per cent.—at a considerably higher ratio.

In other words, in 1890 the average establishment represented a capital of \$18,359; in 1900 the average capital was \$19,223.

In earlier decades the number of wage-workers also increased faster than the number of establishments; that is, the tendency was to bring larger and larger numbers of workers together in each establishment. This tendency, we knew, would sooner or later be reversed, because, with the growth of automatic machinery represented by the growth of capital, the larger establishments could be operated by comparatively fewer men. This stage in the development is already reached; in other words, the effect of labour-displacing machinery in contracting the demand for labour is already counter-balancing the effect of expansion of industry in increasing the demand.

Unfortunately, the report does not give us the number of proprietors (individuals, firms, or corporations) owning the manufacturing establishments in 1890 and in 1900. We know that, especially within the last two years, large numbers of formerly independent establishments have been united in the hands of a few corporations. But even without these figures the report sustains the Socialist contention that capital is being centralised.

PROFITS AND WAGES.

Socialists maintain that, as capital develops the wage-workers, who produce all wealth, get back ever a smaller and smaller share of their product in the form of wages, while the capitalists, who own the means of production, keep ever a larger and larger share in the form of profits.

In order to test this contention we must examine some of the figures a little more closely. We must discover what was the net product of labour in the two years, and how it was divided between wage-workers and capitalists.

In the first place, we must deduct the cost of materials from the gross product. We must also deduct the “miscellaneous expenses.” What remains will be the net product of labour. Out of this net product the wages are paid; and what remains after deducting the wages from the net product will be the profit of the capitalists.

(We here assume that under “miscellaneous expenses” are included only legitimate items of cost of production, such as fuel, lighting, repairs, etc. As a matter of fact, much that is reported under this head is really profit. If we could ascertain the amount of such profit our case would be still stronger. But we give our opponents the benefit of the doubt.)

IN 1890.

Gross product	\$9,372,437,283
Materials	5,162,044,076
Miscellaneous expenses	631,225,035
Total	\$5,793,269,111
Net product	\$3,579,168,172
Wages	1,891,228,321
Profits	\$1,687,939,851

In 1890, then, the wage-workers created a value of \$3,579,168,172, and received out of it wages amounting to \$1,981,228,321, leaving in the hands of the capitalists profits amounting to \$1,687,939,851.

Labour thus received a little less than 53 per cent. of its product; capital received a little more than 47 per cent. of labour's product.

IN 1900.

Gross product	\$13,019,251,614
Materials	7,349,916,030
Miscellaneous expenses	1,028,550,653
Total	\$8,378,466,683
Net product	\$4,640,784,931
Wages	2,323,407,257
Profits	\$2,317,377,674

In 1900, then, the wage-workers created a value of \$4,640,784,931, and received out of it wages amounting to \$2,323,407,257, leaving in the hands of the capitalists profits amounting to \$2,317,377,674.

Labour and Capital, in 1900, divided Labour's product so evenly that the difference between their shares does not amount to one-eighth of one per cent.

Thus the capitalists got an appreciably larger share of the product, and the wage-workers an appreciably smaller share, in 1900 than in 1890. And so one more Socialist contention is proven correct.

—“The Worker,” New York.

(To be continued.)

A VISION OF JUDGMENT.

I walked by the edge of England's white cliffs, and looked out over the ever-rolling sea. Behind me lay the grand soft curves of the South Downs, swelling in grass-clad chine, and sinking into hanging copse or gaping chalk-pit. As I gazed out over the water the wind dropped, and a sea-fret came up, dimming on either hand the heaving distances of wave and down, and hanging like a white silent pall between earth and sky. And it seemed for a space as if all things of the earth dissolved and melted away, and as if I were loosed from the bands of flesh, and saw a vision of things as they are, and heard voices such as are not heard by the dull ears of flesh. For silently, sadly, slowly, there crept out from the damp clinging mist, and passed before me, a great army of men. I noticed first men of my own race, fighting men, and with them walked men of another race, bearded, hardy, and strong; and they also, I saw, were fighting men. But they trooped past together in silent comradeship, and I knew as I watched them that they had all passed beyond the veil of flesh into the land of shadows. By thousands and by tens of thousands they marched mournfully past, and now and again, as I gazed, I noticed that one or two among the bearded warriors walked with a rope round his neck, but with a glory as of a halo round his head. In stealthy, shadowless array they continued to steal past, and in the breasts of some I saw where cold steel, leaping in, had let out life; while others passed, mangled and drooping, with maimed limbs and shattered frames. Boys there were also marching with the men among the moving shadows; and men of black races marched in their thousands and swelled the ranks. But all seemed now as comrades, all moved with one aim, and but one light gleamed from every haggard eye. For, as they passed noiseless and shadowless through the enfolding mist, it seemed as if the eyes of each one of them were turned in pity and in sorrow towards the land where I stood watching, towards the white coast-line of England. Such a haunting, sorrowful, reproachful look streamed forth from those thousand and ten thousand eyes, which I seemed to know had but lately closed on this earth in the agony of violent death. And, whilst I grew chill under that harrowing gaze, lo! other forms loomed silent also from the slowly-swirling sea-fret, as it hid the waves swishing mournfully at the foot of the sea-girt cliff. The forms of women, old and young, but all broken, all bowed, all wasted with want, and with watching, and with sickness. They passed by in their hundreds and turned also with that strange reproachful light as of pity and of sorrow towards England's shore. Oh, the weariness of those wan women, as of those who had long lacked, and wept for, home and happiness and loved ones! And the look that streamed from their tear-swollen, sorrow-strained eyes spoke of long, slow death-agony, of hope deferred, but also of a spirit unquenched and unquenchable.

And as the last shadowless woman-form swept silently past me, lo!

another army of little ones, halting, stumbling, and gasping, moved through the ever-thickening mist. Hunger, gaunt, gnawing hunger, had stripped their childish limbs and pinched the baby outline of their cheeks. Their fluttering bodies shook as with a palsy, and the look in their hollow eyes as they turned them likewise in pity and in sorrow on the England that I loved burnt into the soul and scorched it as with a white-hot iron. The look in the men's eyes as they turned them towards England's shores was an accusation of endless reproach. The look in the eyes of the women chilled the blood with sorrow and remorse; but the look in the eyes of the little children made my knees rock and my head bow; and I covered my eyes with my hands to keep out the sight of the questioning accusing horror; whilst in my ears surged the words of the Jewish Teacher of old: "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones . . ."

Then, as the pitiful army of hunger-racked, disease-tortured children tottered forward in the steps of those who led the way, my tongue was loosed, and I cried out to the sea, and to the sky, and to the dear soil on which I stood: "Turn, turn away their eyes from England! . . . Why do they curse and shrivel and brand it with their silent, dead gaze?" And the voices of the sea, and of the sky, and of the dear earth replied, as I hid my eyes and crouched on the ground: "These are they who have testified! . . . Life is the best that man or woman or child can give; and they have given that life to buy for others what they believed was best worth having. . . . The men that walked first were men who have all died on the soil of South Africa. . . . Some died fighting for England's Ideal—territory and gold-mines and power over the weak. Some died fighting for the Boers' Ideal—the right to live their lives under their own Government, in their own land, according to their own traditions. They loved liberty and independence, just as the English nation used to love them, and they reckoned that death was sweet when their country or their Ideal claimed for its own their lives. Those who, escaping wounds and disease, were caught alive by the English, and were hanged and shot as criminals, met death as martyrs have ever met it, in the sure and steadfast belief that their blood was not spilt in vain, and that man could but destroy the body; he could not trample out the effulgent faith. Death now has mingled the dust of Briton and of Boer, but, as their restless wraiths mingle with the earth's vaporuous mists, they circle round in wind and mist and wave, their haunting eyes rending aside the veil of materialism with which England has wrapped herself around, and they dumbly bid her, ere it is too late, to cease living for luxury and lies, and to choose rather death for a higher ideal and for truth. And these women, in their fluttering, scanty rags, they also have testified. Theirs was the choice, and they chose the better part. They gave their husbands, their lovers, their fathers, their sons, when, by a weak word, a tender caress, they might perchance have kept them. But their sacrifice was not then consummated. Women in England have given as much, and have stifled their weeping, because they felt that the dear one died for England and her cause. But these women of South Africa had to watch homes laid waste, and all that made life bright

destroyed. Then, one by one, they gave their little ones. Some gave all. All gave some; till at last their own call came, and they rendered up the life which now had become worthless, for it was bereft of love. So they, also, have testified, and their sorrowful, reproachful eyes ask of England and of England's mothers: 'How long? Ah! how long?'" "But the children," wailed the voices round my bowed head; "the children, in their tens of thousands, they also have testified, and have sealed their testimony their thousands; and their eyes, though scorched and dried with weeping, with their baby blood. That is the blood which cries the loudest to heaven; those are the eyes whose pleadings wring the heart of every just and strong man. The child's curse is shrill and unnatural; and the look in the eyes of a dying child, whether it pants out its little life in a pestilential tent in South Africa or in a sweltering slum in England, is the look that silently damns a nation, and tells us that the hour of its destiny has struck. Woe to the men and to the women who have 'offended' these little ones! Woe to those who have hardened their hearts, and stifled their consciences, and who say 'peace' when they mean 'desolation,' and who, strong in their own strength, tread down the weak in their own ruthless struggle for supremacy!" And the surging voices of the waves and of the earth mingled with the swirling mist, and wrapped me round as with a gathering, clinging curse—me and the land of England that I loved; and, though my head was bowed, and my eyes were hidden, the look in the eyes of dead little ones gnawed and ate into my soul, whilst a wailing, weeping, accusing voice was wafted past me on the rising wind: "The testimony that is sealed with the blood of babes is the testimony that cries for ever to heaven!"

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.



THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

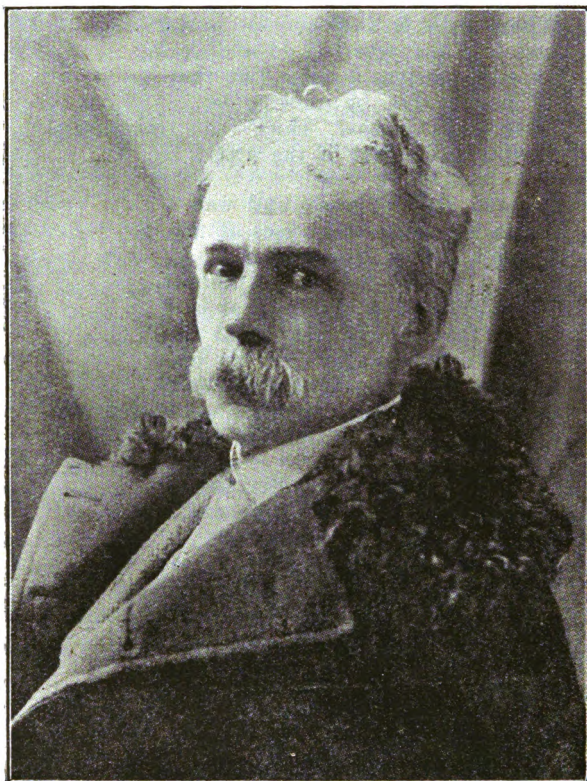
In northern zones the raging bear
Protects himself with fat and hair ;
Where snow is deep and ice is stark,
And half the year is cold and dark,
He still survives a clime like that
By growing fur, by growing fat.
These traits, O bear, which thou transmittest,
Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions, waste and wan,
Comes the encroaching race of man ;
A puny, feeble little lubber,
He had no fur, he had no blubber.
The scornful bear sat down at ease
To see the stranger starve and freeze ;
But, lo ! the stranger slew the bear,
And ate his fat and wore his hair !
These deeds, O man, which thou committest,
Prove the survival of the fittest.

In modern times the millionaire
Protects himself as did the bear ;
Where poverty and hunger are
He counts his millions by the car ;
Where thousands suffer still he thrives.
The wealth, O Cræsus, though transmittest,
Proves the survival of the fittest.

But, lo ! some people odd and funny,
Some men without a cent of money,
The simple, common human race,
Chose to improve their dwelling place.
They had no use for millionaires ;
They calmly said the world was theirs ;
They were so strong, so wise, so many—
The millionaire ?—There wasn't any !
These deeds, O man, which though committest,
Prove the survival of the fittest.

—CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.



JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. VI., No. 4. APRIL 15, 1902.

THE SOUL OF AMERICA.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

The following article appears simultaneously in the columns of "Wilshire's Magazine," by the favour of whose editor we publish it here:—

My Dear Wilshire:—Before entering upon the critical enterprise of trying to hatch-out the pregnant suggestion you recently made to me—to the effect that our surprising industrial supremacy may involve consequences in other directions which we had little contemplated—I will premise a few things concerning what America means to me, what it originally was, and what it should naturally become. In so doing I will bear in mind that no topic is (to me certainly) nearly so seductive as Socialism; since it points to a marriage between the ideal and actual, the theoretic and the practical, and thus promises to every one who considers it the fulfilment of his most generous and reasonable hopes:—and is thus prone to lead one into interminable argument and exposition. If I prove less concise than I intend to be and ought to be, blame in part yourself, who afforded me opportunity.

Other nations got their bodies first, and their souls later only, if at all. But this American Nation, so-called, reversed the common procedure, and began with its soul. It is therefore unique, and it is also the only nation normally constituted, if we concede that the man is the type of society, or the state. The Pilgrims came here in obedience to a spiritual impulse, and against all considerations of a material sort; they did not care to be comfortable, but they were under a cogent necessity to be free. Disgorged from their cockle boats after a trying voyage, they stood knee-deep in snow, but happier than any other group of people then alive. They faced one another, man to man, and none desired advantage over the rest. They had the instinct of order, but no craving for dominion. Whether religion, politics or industry were uppermost in their thoughts, their interests and their aims were common. The situation was not only delightful in itself,

but it had the stimulating charm of novelty. Nothing of the sort had happened within historical memory before.

America was then a Socialistic community in the full sense of the term; and though Jameses, Charleses and Georges might make remote trouble, that three thousand miles of salt water prevented them from getting taken too seriously. The undeveloped land was worth nothing at all, and therefore there could be as yet no danger that selfish persons would try to exploit it for pecuniary advantage. In a vague and remote way the people acknowledged formal fealty to a king over-seas, but it preoccupied them no more than does fealty to God an imperfectly religious individual. They did not too much concern themselves about the future; they had no conception of the enormous size of the cantle of the globe's surface which they had got hold of, or of its incalculable potential wealth; their notions were modelled on the scope of tiny England, and they knew enough of human nature to surmise that they were not likely to be overcrowded by persons of like character and aims with themselves. In short, they were a spontaneous and inevitable democracy, and thought to remain so. The soul was strong and mighty in them, the flesh or material part scanty and feeble; and to such a community the principle of each for all and all for each was a matter of course. The selfish and inhuman side of their nature was—not eradicated of course, but as yet quiescent, because there were no temptations to draw it forth, on the one hand, and very entrancing inspirations to keep it down, on the other.

It was as a church, primarily, that they regarded themselves; and the Christian church has been a democracy from the beginning, in that it makes all finite creatures equal before the infinite Creator. I do not mean to say, of course, that the administration of the church has been democratic, for it soon appeared that it had property of worldly value, and hogs and tyrants were early in its councils accordingly. But religion and democracy are in essence indissoluble. This religious democracy of our forefathers prompted them to accept social order and administration in harmony with it; and so far as industries were concerned, the only possible provision was that each man should do his own work as far as he could, and should help or be helped by the others when necessary. They governed themselves, that is, they obeyed individually and collectively the dictates of justice, reason and decency; and they chose administrators to carry out jobs given to them in the common behoof. This, I say, was the original America; and I have always believed that, "*mutatis mutandis*," to that we would (as well as ought to) come again, when all this rigmarole and diabolical disorder which we have in the long interim brought upon ourselves has been declared unsatisfactory and been finally done away with. The soul of the true America is now, as at first it was, Socialism—or I don't mind calling it Industrial Democracy, if you prefer—and though during the past century or two we have grown upon our clean body all manner of goitres, carbuncles and cancers, leprosies and small-pox pustules, outcome of our spiritual sins of capitalism, oligarchies, trusts, bosses, civic indifferences, and the like, that true and inalienable soul will at last avouch itself, and restore our primitive

healthy complexion. The nation, being a soul, was bound like individual souls to pass through hell on its way to regeneration; but is even more certain than the individual soul is to get there. For the individual soul is subject to free-will, but the national soul is under unconscious and therefore inevitable Divine guidance, and must come out right anyway.

You will not, however, understand me as adventuring any special prophesy as regards this visible and palatial place we call the United States; for aught I can tell, that may be going straight to the devil. But the fact that America is a spiritual proposition implies that it may become incarnate anywhere; in Turkey, Tibet, Morocco, New Zealand, any old or young place, according as the mortal clay wherewith it is to be clad fits it. The only reason we have for expecting the embodiment shall be here rather than elsewhere is, that this continent is not encumbered with any past steeped in traditions that have to be disowned and errors that must be rectified. We began on virgin soil, and practically in the present; all our virtues and sins are of to-day, and therefore we have a better chance than others of developing the former and sloughing-off the latter. Besides, all we have done or suffered has been the corollary of evolution—or, I would rather say, of normal progression; for since you cannot evolve from the egg anything not originally or beforehand contained in it, evolution, strictly speaking, is a chimera; the things brought into existence in this world are first created in the spiritual world or world of causes, and from that forced through into this. But that is another story, and if you value your ease, don't let me tell it here! But America is certain, here or elsewhere, to exist, and to oust and supplant everything else in the way of human society. It is significant that we are physically a conglomerate of all races and nations; there is no sense in our calling ourselves a nation, except as a superficial convenience; other nations are based either on race or on a natural division or modification thereof; but we are the great mongrel of time. There is no possibility of our ever showing a legitimate genealogical tree on the physical plane; it is only spiritual, in the realm of mind, that we can look back clearly and steadily from this Now to the dawn of things. You cannot become a Hindu; you lost your chance at least four thousand years ago; but anybody can become an American at will, even in the severe technical sense; and in the larger and more vital sense, he can, and numberless persons have, become American all over the globe. I have met good Americans who never so much as heard of the western hemisphere; but to be sure they were children under ten years of age. An American who calls himself patriotic is either a fool or a philosopher. And I am bound to admit that, in this country, the philosophers do not preponderate.

Well, then, I look for Socialism, or the spirit of America, to dominate and possess the earth; and I see no good reason why this result should not be reached pretty soon. As you yourself remark, the thing will come whether we like it or not; it is not a matter for us to pick and choose. If it were a matter of choice, I would not be nearly so much at ease about it. And yet, if the question were put to the vote in this country (together with the proviso that the voters should have the faculty of comprehending the pro-

position submitted to them)—Are you in favour of Socialism?—I should expect a negative answer from the following persons or classes only:—First, from all thieves, with the possible exception of those legally catalogued as such, with photographs in the Rogues' Gallery actually or prospectively; for these thieves are made such by social and industrial injustice, and if they understood that Socialism would eradicate abuses of this sort, they might be willing to come in:—but including three-fourths (let us be charitable and say) of legislators and other administrative officials, because they are blind hogs for power and the wealth and worldly consideration they bring; and a yet larger proportion of office-holders or employees, because having sold their souls for a livelihood, they fear to irritate those who have bought them; and captains of industry, all but a handful. I wish I had space to tell you of a talk I recently had with one of these gentlemen, who exclaimed, among other things, with heroic gestures, "And do you suppose, for one moment, that if ever it did come to a question of force between labour and capital, that capital would fail to crush labour to the earth once and for all?" Pretty near, but not quite all these gentry, I say would vote in the negative with a will. Then, practically all men of considerable wealth, who mean to bequeath the same to their unhappy offspring; and I cannot except artificial and dramatic freaks like Andrew Carnegie, in comparison with whose hat a sieve would be air tight, so volubly does he discourse through it; let him heap libraries and universities heaven high, he will never persuade me or anybody else that he will come to the honest point where he would be obliged to touch a friend for five. I hear rumours, by the way, my dear Wilshire, that you are a millionaire; and I shall observe your career with tender solicitude. Next, old ladies, no sex barred, will be in the opposition, for they dislike rude behaviour and loud noises and lack of consideration, respectability and reverence for tradition. Socialism will ultimately, no doubt, include these desiderata; but there is going to be an interval during which we shall think the bottom is falling out of things and the roof falling in. Democracy, in its first accost, is doubtless repulsive. Next, I count as anti-Socialistic more than two-thirds of the parsons; the majority of those on our side would be identical with the individuals who are in danger of being read out of the church for heresy. The social and political record of the clergy is as a whole very disappointing to those who expected anything better of them; they are anarchists upon occasion, but the occasion is generally when the susceptibilities of "the great" are at risk; for example, a great many of them recently burst into the newspapers frothing at the mouth to lynch Czolgosz. "*Tantane animis coelestibus irae!*" The church, as I said, is in the marrow straight Socialism; but the clergy contrive somehow to keep out of the church to a surprising degree, or at all events away from the marrow of it. Are there any others? Probably; but let these suffice; you perceive that we have left the bulk of the human race. If 99 per cent. of the population own, as some statistician announces, one-fourth only of the national wealth, we may rest assured that our foes will never be in the majority. And you—or some folks at least—would be astonished to discover how many persons of seemingly the strictest respect-

ability and quiet propriety are at heart rampant Socialists, and even anarchists. I have picked up elderly physicians, of large practice, not to mention many esteemed scientific gentlemen, fathers of families, persons of gigs and broad-cloth, who would, in confidence, utter sentiments which you and I would hardly venture to countenance fully. I would glance aside at the Turkey rugs on the floor and the Sargent pictures on the walls and think, "Can such things be?" But so it is; society is honeycombed with sedition.

And yet, as we were saying, if our brains instead of our bellies had to decide, it is likely that the Socialistic consummation might be indefinitely delayed. But when these valiant bellies of ours do take the field, if we do not behold an Armageddon, it will be only because the battle will be won before it has time to be fought. Meanwhile our friends the enemy have, as we all know, kindly prepared the way for us; Hanna and Morgan, with their little pig-eyes twinkling on the jack-pot, have been wonderfully slipping the trump cards up—not their own sleeves, but—ours! The trusts have been organising the affair of Socialism. Little do they know it, and still less can they help it. And not only have they done our job for us here, but they have been spending their precious money to lay its foundations abroad. The American invasion of Europe—what does it mean? This, by the way, reminds me of the alleged theme of my letter; it seems nearly time that I should say a word or two about it.

Had Karl Marx and every extant Socialist been entrenched in these United States do you suppose we would have received a visit from Prince Henry? No; it is these Johns the Baptists, Hannas, Morgans and rockefellers who have brought him. King Edward would follow him hot-foot, were he not detained at home by circumstances over which he has no control. It makes no difference that our Johns the Baptist aforesaid do not know what Messiah they herald; His shoe's latchet they are unworthy to unlace, but He is coming, and they have made straight His path in the wilderness. The poor little Prince arrived expecting to be introduced to a wealthy plutocracy, an oligarchy, a kingdom may be in the making; and he will probably go home with the conviction that he has seen it; but he will be disillusioned ere long. American brains and money and machinery and produce have burst their boundaries here and under the shrewd guidance of the plutocrats have stepped appallingly across the seas; but with them has also gone, unseen, the mighty spirit of America, which is Socialism. That spirit is already announcing itself in many ways. Under the guise of American girls it is marrying itself to European nobles; in the shape of Schwab, it is making Monaco ridiculous; as William Waldorf Astor it is rendering American snobbishness impossible by illustrating its degradation; as Carnegie it is causing the British proletariat to look askance at the stately homes of England, built on the proletariat's neck; as the every-day American tourist it is sowing the seeds of the open prairies in the bleached gardens of Old-World conservatism. American artists, horse-jockeys and pugilists, novelists and actors follow in the wake of the kings of American finance, of the railroad men, the oil and sugar men, and all the rest of the

capitalistic and industrial pageant; and no other wake would they have followed. It seems a sordid introduction, perhaps; but in this age it is the normal one. The history of Americanism in the Old World is like that of vice as portrayed by the poet in the human bosom—seen too oft, familiar with its face, it is first endured by those hide-bound conservatives, then pitied, now embraced. And when the embrace has made it incorporate with the embracer, its features will be transfigured, and it will declare itself divine. That is the document for which Hanna, Morgan and Co. are so innocently laying the pipes.

In other words, no Socialistic propaganda could have been devised by Socialists themselves so effective and cogent as that which is being managed by those of our citizens to whom Socialism is most abhorrent. They create interest in America and sympathy with her by exhibiting her in foreign lands as the thing which they imagine her and intend her to be; they make her power felt, and her style tolerated; they create for her the respect which is based on fear. They are wholly preoccupied with the idea of getting rid of our industrial surplus, of making money, of owning things; and they impress this preoccupation upon their foreign customers. But all the while the silent masses of European folk are looking on, and taking notes. They are training themselves, largely in unconsciousness, of course, for the part they are to play. Ideas are secretly filtering into their brains, cravings, and impulses into their hearts, apparently disconnected with the gaudy business that is going forward, yet of kindred generation. All of a sudden, that crisis which you have specified takes place; our bellies go forth to battle. The individual captains of industry and the system which they represented, are unhorsed, submerged or otherwise annihilated; but the industries survive so far as they are genuine and have pith, and a new system dawns upon the night. And that it will dawn not here only, but all over the civilised world at the same time, we shall have to thank our self-seeking little Johns the Baptist. They were blind instruments of a higher destiny; impotent pieces, as Old Omar would say, of the game He plays. It is a lovely comedy, and it is needless to point out that the wider the theatre of it is the less danger there will be of its acquiring a tragic complexion. The Americanization of Europe, begun by American capital, confirmed by American infiltrations of all other kinds, is a fact impending or accomplished. But Americanism is an idea, and that idea is Socialism. Sooner or later—not much later I think—it will drop its mask; possibly its real features may be recognised abroad even before we discover them ourselves. Those good old Pilgrim Fathers of ours, who have of late so often had occasion to despair of their offspring, will welcome the prodigals at last. We shall not externally resemble the Pilgrims, any more than the oak resembles the acorn; but the essence will be the same. The fatted calf will be served up—and such a calf! And deeply will our remote posterity ponder the problem how they, so enlightened and sane as they are, could ever have descended from a race of imbeciles and maniacs like us!

But I suspect, my dear Wilshire, I have written quite as much as your lusty little magazine will care to print; so I hasten to sign myself cordially
yours,

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

RUSSIA IN REVOLUTIONARY THROES.

SCENES AND PICTURES.

The following excerpts have been taken from the documents and letters received and published in their periodical bulletins by the Foreign Committee of the General Jewish Women's Union of Poland, Lithuania, and Russia (London) by the Union of the Russian Social Democrats (Paris), and by the Circle of Revolutionary Socialists (Bern).—Th. Rothstein.

The following description of the disturbances in Moscow on the 9th (22nd) of February, is taken from a proclamation issued to the public by the students:—

“ . . After the publication by Gen. Vannovsky of the “temporary by-laws,” repudiated not only by all the student's organisations, but even by the Professors, the tension of the public mind at Moscow became extreme. We were preparing a demonstration. From the 30th of January up to the 9th of February domiciliary police visits were taking place every night, their total number exceeding one thousand. For fear of being caught at their lodgings the students, who had not yet been arrested, decided not to cancel the meetings which had been fixed for the 9th of February a month ago for the purpose of considering the demonstration. They decided to organise a street demonstration in which the masses of the people could join, remembering well how last year the crowd several times broke the doors of the prisons to let out the students. The extreme sections proposed to appear armed. The meeting was appointed for mid-day. Long before that time students, male and female, began to gather from different educational institutions. The gates and doors of the university were open to all. There were no strengthened police-cordons. When about 500 persons were already in, the gates of the university court-yard were closed. The troops and the police, who were lying in wait, came out and surrounded the whole of the university site, as well as the adjoining streets. The “loitering public” began to be pressed back, while the students who stood in the courtyard were being driven into the university building. The recreation-hall happened to be open, and in there the meeting at once was held. Two parties formed themselves—the academists and the politicians (i.e. those who wanted to keep the movement strictly academical, and those who desired to lend it a political character). The small group of academists wanted to leave, but was beaten by the police in the court-yard and partly driven back, partly taken to the riding school. A few succeeded in making good their escape through some back doors. The rest went to the inspector's office, broke the desk and destroyed all the secret “characters” of the students, as well as the rest of the secret documents. As the troops, who were hitherto hidden, began to fill the university building, the remaining students decided to assemble in the recreation hall, fastened all the doors by

nails, made barricades of the furniture, broke the window panes and threw out red banners inscribed "Liberty." Seven students who had escaped from the police, rang at the door of Mr. Tchistyanov, and, on entering, locked the door behind them. Thus matters rested till midnight. The police, fearing an armed conflict, removed all the witnesses by clearing the streets and taking to the Butyrki (a local prison) all those arrested in the riding-school. Then, about one o'clock in the morning the doors of the recreation hall were broke open by the police and entered by soldiers with their bayonets fixed and firemen with the lighted torches. The besieged were offered to surrender and given a quarter of an hour to consider. After a hot discussion the besieged, numbering 517 men and women, surrendered, having previously thrown out of the broken windows the proclamations and thrown into one heap the arms they possessed. In the same manner—through breaking the door open—were the seven students got hold of who had escaped to Mr. Tchistyanov's house. The arrested were brought out in the street, placed in columns, surrounded by an armed convoy, and thus taken to Butyrki under an escort of a squad of the Sumy Dragoons. The police, fearing lest the crowd might liberate the students, demanded that the Dragoons should move at a trot pace, but the commander, Prince Trubetskoy, declared, "There is no such a command as trot pace for foot-goers," and made twice a halt on the way to Butyrki. . . ."

"This year the 'street' has not come to the aid of the students. The police has taken good measures to prevent it. A number of factories were surrounded by police cordons. On others a new police measure was introduced for the 9th and 10th of February, namely, a double rate of wages. The public was already before terrorised by the mass-arrests and by the compulsory by-laws (such as not to gather in the streets in groups of more than three, etc.). The crowds that approached the cordons were terrorised by the most arbitrary and senseless seizures from among the crowd of individual persons and by taking them into the riding school. . . . Thus about three hundred persons have been arrested. The people were all the time kept in the riding school standing, without food, the police permitting themselves to shower the vilest abuse. The soldiers, however, who were posted in the riding school, behaved themselves, as the prisoners related, good-humouredly, some even sympathetically expressing their wish 'for the success and luck of the students in their cause.' By 11 o'clock at night they were put into cabs of the Red Cross, prepared beforehand, and were furiously driven to Butyrki, followed by cries of indignation on the part of the crowd that still succeeded in assembling. At three in the morning two battalions of the Litovsky Infantry Regiment emerged out of the torch-lit university building. On the next day the arrests of by-standers near the University continued. Trepov (the chief of the Moscow police) several times remarked:—'We have made a clean job of it.' On the 11th a meeting of the medical students of the three higher grades took place, at which it was unanimously decided to declare a strike. The authorities were given official notice thereof and the work in the cliniques stopped. The University, however, is not closed."

It may be added that the sentence on the above arrested students has already been pronounced: the "academists"—about 150 in number—will be

sent to their native towns for the period of two or three years, without the right of leaving. The rest, i.e., the "politicians," are divided into two groups: those arrested with arms or a few days previous to the meeting, are, as ringleaders, to be sent to the eastern parts of Siberia for five years, the remainder to the same places for three years.

A letter from the Butyrki Prison states:—

" . . . On the 10th (23rd) February a demonstration was to have been held in which both students and working-men were to take part, and on the 9th a preliminary meeting at the University. Previously a proclamation was issued, inviting to the demonstration, as well as an appeal to military men. On the eve of the ninth numerous arrests took place. The students came to the meeting at the University armed. They succeeded in obtaining arms in spite of the recently-published regulation by the Governor-General that shops must not sell arms (revolvers, daggers, knives, etc.) without permission of the chief of the police, and then must enter in special book for the purpose the full name and address of the customer. The arrested were brought to us in parties—some in cabs others on foot. Altogether about 1,000 persons were brought in: over 700 male students, 84 female students, the rest all different people, even *tohinovniks* (officials) arrested on the streets. Also 21 officers have been arrested, but where they have been placed we do not know. The first few days the prisoners were not allowed any interviews, nor given anything, whether linen or money or books. A group of 184 men have, therefore, declared a hunger strike. They did not have any food for $1\frac{1}{2}$ days. It is only then that things began to be given to the prisoners. . . ."

The following hectographed fly-sheet was issued in St. Petersburg on the 8th (21st) of February:—

"Again a bloody slaughter of students by the police and the house-porters. This time not on the street, but in the Peoples' Palace, under the eyes of but a few witnesses. . . Everything was prepared by the police beforehand to carry out the attack. In the library of the People's Palace about 200 house-porters were hidden. They were given sixpence each and promised a reward. As they themselves boasted afterwards, they were each treated to a good glass of vodka and advised to hit 'nicely'—preferably on the neck so that 'no traces should be found afterwards.' In the hall, amongst the audience, another couple of hundred of house-porters were seated, some dressed in student's uniforms. The police and mounted gendarmerie cordons were trebled. The platform on which they usually recite in the entr'actes was removed beforehand. A short play was substituted for a long one. Detectives were placed at the doors. About 300 students were counted all in all. They came, with female students, evidently straight from the party which was proclaimed. The adjutant of Claygels (the St. Petersburg Governor) was frequently called up to the telephone, and asked, 'Is there sufficient police?' 'Twas quite sufficient. . . Everything was quiet and orderly.' At 10.30 the play ended. The band began the usual, 'Glory to Thee, Glory!' The audience left for the entrances. The police began swiftly to clear the Palace of the lingering public. At that moment the male and female students assembled in a corner of the hall and unfolded a black banner.

'Anathema to the reformers' (i.e., to the Vannovsky party) shouted some one. The crowd lustily cheered and cried 'Hurrah!' Within a minute confusion, cries of help, blunt hits, curses, blood. . . . The drunken porters were carrying out Claygels' orders. The wild melee lasted but a few minutes. The police drew their sabres and pressed the students towards the exit doors. A male and female student fell to the ground. The crowd, in panic and in terror passed over them. . . . Both remained on the spot. Outside the driven-out were met by the gendarmes and driven before them at a trot. The snow hills helped to save oneself from the horses. In the empty palace eighteen persons remained, seriously wounded, bleeding and unconscious. They were all carried into a separate room which was soon entered by the chief of the police, Nolde. 'Scoundrel,' they cried to him, 'could you not do without bestialities, without murder?' 'It serves you right, you brutes, villains,' he replied coolly. The floor, on which the battle took place was covered by pools of blood and numberless students' caps. . . ."

The following is an account by an eye-witness of the demonstration in St. Petersburg on the 3rd (o.s.) of March:—

"Long before that date thousands of leaflets had been distributed by the local League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-classes, in which the latter were invited to prepare for a demonstration, viz., 5,000 appeals describing the events in the south (Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev), 6,000 appeals to hold themselves in readiness (for Monday the 25th of February, and for Friday the 1st of March), 8,000 invitation tickets, not reckoning the numerous invitations distributed by the students' organisations. The place of demonstration was the square in front of the Kazan Cathedral. Between 10 and 12 one could have seen on the Nevsky Prospect an extraordinary crowd. Numerous workers were going towards the Kazan Cathedral one by one and in small groups. Towards 12-12.30 an immense crowd was assembled there. A great number of people were hiding themselves in the two churches opposite the cathedral. The steps of the churches, the broad sidewalks, all were dotted with working men, students, and outside public. The bulk of the demonstrators were working men. One could but seldom meet students' uniforms. It is possible that students were present in civil clothes. Up till noon no special measures could be seen to have been taken by the Government. Only a few solitary policemen could be met here and there. About a dozen policemen were occupying cabs near the Kazan Cathedral. At 12.15, when shouts and cheers began to resound in the crowd, there emerged from various places of concealment a host of mounted gendarmes, mounted police, a score of constables, and behind them a number of house-porters. . . . The mounted gendarmes, brandishing their sabres, threw themselves on the trottoirs and began to disperse the demonstrators and the public. They soon got hold of the trophies—two red flags. . . . The whole immense distance of the Nevsky Prospect from the Anichkov to the Police Bridge was swarming with demonstrators, sympathetic public, and foot and mounted troops. There were, however, no soldiers, no Cossacks. The Prefect Claygels was present and directed the battle, sitting in his sledge. The big three-storied cars were packed with people from top to

bottom. . . . At 12.45 the traffic of cars and cabs was stopped. Barriers were thrown across the Nevsky at the two bridges and at all cross-streets in order not to let out the public and to facilitate the clearing of the field. The mounted police behave, comparatively speaking, orderly, but the foot police and the constables acted in some places savagely, beating with their fists and sabres the students and dragging along girls by their hair. At 1.30 the public were let out on the Nevsky, and an immense crowd streamed there. The mounted and foot patrols filled the street the whole day. At 2.30, near the Gostikni Dvor, the police attacked a student and began hitting him with all their might. The public at the sight threw themselves at the police with wild cries of protest, but mounted gendarmes arrived on the scene, and the crowd was pressed back. . . ."

Here is what has happened in Ekaterinoslav:—

"The local committee of the Russian Social Democratic party issued a proclamation inviting the workers to demonstrate on the 15th and 16th (o.s) of December. On Saturday, the 15th, at 4 p.m., about four hundred working men and a few dozen students (there is no university in that town) assembled at the Prospect. The crowd had scarcely begun to move when it was surrounded by police, who endeavoured to get hold of some of the demonstrators. The superintendent and the constables who tried to stop the crowd were dragged down from their saddles and were beaten severely. Then the crowd was attacked by a detachment of Cossacks, and a savage execution followed. The police and the troops were beating everybody without distinction, they beat even the public that stood at the crossing of the tramway lines waiting for the cars. Individual demonstrators were dragged out from the crowd, beaten down senseless, thrown into vans and carried to the police stations. The workmen defended themselves by what they could—sticks, knives, stones—there was even some revolver shooting. After a melee of about fifteen or twenty minutes the crowd dispersed along the neighbouring streets, but the beating continued even there. At six p.m. the Governor himself appeared on the scene, and stopped the slaughter. One hundred and four workmen and seventeen students have been arrested. The number of wounded is very great. Several policemen have been beaten and severely wounded. Fragments of songs were heard in the crowd, revolutionary cries resounded frequently, and the general noise was most frequently of all covered by the cry of 'Liberty!' This was each time lustily cheered and met with an 'hurrah.' After the affray the street looked like a recent battlefield—pools of blood, broken fences, pulled down trees, irregular groups of workmen with the traces of the fight. On the next day the Cossacks were everywhere dispersing the public on the streets, not permitting them even to congregate in two's. Towards the evening about 300 workers assembled in the square at the other end of the Prospect. They were prevented from entering the street. They then decided to go to the working-class quarter, near the Briansk metal works. There they met, raised the red flag, and several times marched up and down the street loudly singing revolutionary songs. They dispersed ere the police and numerous late workers could appear on the spot. . . . The excitement in the town is extraordinary. A scientific society,

which was holding one of their members' meetings at the Governor's house and under his chairmanship, decided by 80 votes against 15 to close the sitting, as, they said, it is impossible to remain indifferent at a time of street battles."

The events at Kharkov are thus described by a local group of students:—

"On Saturday, the 1st of December (o.s.), obstruction was proclaimed at the University. Since then the regulation course of university life has been stopped, in spite of the energetic activity of the organised opposition which collects signatures of those willing to attend the lectures and presents them to the Rector. In a particularly sharp form this antagonism between the two parties has shown itself at a lecture of Professor Sagursky. In the lecture-room where he spoke there were present a good number of the opposition (about 50). During the lecture the obstructionists came in and began entreating the professor to stop the proceedings. A long, stormy scene followed in an atmosphere of extreme tension and mutual enmity of the two parties. Sagursky is inexorable; some of the students shout: 'Go down!' One of the students steps forward and, entreating the professor with tears in his eyes to stop the lecture, asks, 'Are you really prepared to step over the corpses of those who may perhaps to-day be killed in the streets? Does your heart tell you nothing in view of the terrible hecatomb—the expelled 150 veterinary students?' The speech of the student filled the cup. A deafening cry arose, 'Down!' The two parties threw themselves at each other, but the thing did not go so far as actual fighting. From mental agitation several have fits of hysterics and swoon. Sagursky himself swoons, and a doctor is sent for. Sagursky is now very ill. The Rector appears on the scene, and asks them to disperse. The students, singing revolutionary songs, set out for the Sunesky Street, where again a demonstration takes place. Towards six p.m. the street is again swarming with people. Cossacks arrive like a wild storm, drive the people into narrow streets and there belabour them mercilessly with their whips. Besides them there are several detachments of police, drunken, savagely yelling, swearing and hitting right and left with their fists. Every evening fresh victims, maimed and wounded, are brought to the hospitals. Yesterday a student appeared at the university the head and face all bandaged, only the eyes could be seen. The lectures cannot go on; each attempt finishes in heartrending scenes. At one lecture a student threatened to cut his own throat if the professor does not desist from the attempt to lecture. At another the proceedings were simply broken up. Officially the university is not closed. At a joint meeting of the obstruction and opposition it was, therefore, agreed to ask the Rector to close the university officially in view of the stormy scandals. The Rector promised to lay a request in that sense before the Minister. The meeting was attended by over 500 students. It was a sight unparalleled. The professors took part in the discussions; they all talked long, but not convincingly. They tried to show that the movement is premature. The replies were numerous, hot, and throughout political. The professors were simply annihilated. They were reproached for their hypocrisy. 'You are torches,' they were told, 'but overturned.'

The professors were taken aback, confused, made concessions; many of them wept replying to the students."

Of the Kiev demonstration on the 2nd of February (o.s.) an eye-witness writes:—

"It began at 12.30 at the Kreschatik (the chief street). The whole distance from the Alexander Square and up to Bessarabka was filled with people, also the balconies. Exactly at 12.30 there appeared before the Hotel Bellevue two red flags, and the song started, 'Courage, friends!' The crowd moved, the sabres of the foot and mounted policemen flashed in the air, the whips whizzed, and the affray began. The first attack of the Tsar's henchmen was parried. In about twenty-five minutes a group of students was seen bringing out from the crowd the polytechnical student Volsky. I saw myself the pale, ghastly face, evidently cut by the sabre. I saw suddenly a host of Cossacks rushing on the students and literally tearing out of their hands the half-dead comrade. A crowd of a few hundred pressed back by the Cossacks to the Fundukley Street, continued the procession and singing, but carrying no flags. The mounted police again brought into action their whips, and dispersed the public. At the same time at the Kreschatik, before the university, before the Opera House, at Luteran Street, before the Vladimir Cathedral, everywhere thousand headed crowds. By order of the authorities a regiment of soldiers was sent out to seize all the exits of the streets. The Cossacks, wild with rage, galloped straight at the people, hitting, trampling under hoof and driving from one place to another. Whips were in full play at the corner of the University and the Karavan Street, at the corner of the University and the Boulevard, beating was going on near the Opera House, at Luteran Street—in a word, they were beating everywhere and everybody—more especially the students and the working men. The indignation is universal. Near the Theatre the Cossacks trampled under hoof a child. Under my own eyes an elderly lady had a nervous fit at the sight of the bestialities and screamed: 'Beating, beating, what for?' They say also that a student of the university has been killed. Of Volsky some say that he has died at the police-station, others that he is still alive. I and a friend of mine also scarcely escaped. As we were passing from the Proresky Street to the Vladimir Street, we were suddenly attacked by some soldiers and literally dragged forward in spite of our protests. I was seized by the sleeve by a soldier and thrown, I don't know how, to a distance of about 30 feet from the cordon. My friend was attacked by five soldiers, and the sergeant, seizing him by the arm, hissed: 'Move on, scoundrel, student.' Then, on seeing how a student near the Hotel Metropole was wriggling under the whips of five Cossacks, I could not hold out any longer, and, tormented by a feeling of impotence and rage towards the miscreants, I dragged myself home. . . There is any number of arrested students, working men, women. . . I even saw a little boy of a secondary school conducted under an escort of military. The number of maimed and wounded is still greater. What will happen in the evening it is impossible to foretell, since, in spite of the efforts of the police, the streets are crowded with people. The soldiers have become brutalised, and

so have the Cossacks. One particularly zealous superintendent of police has his face mutilated and one eye knocked out. I saw myself how a mounted policeman, coming in full gallop, knocked down and trampled under hoof the superintendent. Another policeman, raising his sabre, hit a student with its flat side, cutting off at the same time the thumb of a constable who chanced to stand near. There were in all four flags—one of the revolutionary socialists, another of the Social Democrats, a third of the workmen's banner, and a fourth of the students. The last held out longer than any of the former. This is all that I am able to write down. For fatigue and nervous excitement my hand does not move any longer." (Written at 5 p.m.)

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BULLETIN.

ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU, BRUSSELS.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN NORWAY.

We have asked our comrade, Olav Kringen, delegate for Norway to the International Bureau, for some information on the late municipal elections in his country, where, for the first time, the women have been allowed to vote.

In a former communication, which appeared in the "People" of November 24, our comrade gave some information on the progress of Socialism in Norway, and of the existing electoral system.

It was there stated that "the electoral suffrage was based upon a property qualification, which conferred the vote only upon those possessing a certain income, and also that the mass of the workers did not vote." But this state of things existed before 1898; since that year the suffrage has been made general for men in regard to legislative elections, and general for men and women in communal elections.

The first time that the Socialists took part, without any alliance, in municipal elections was in 1898; when they succeeded in winning twenty-eight seats. Up to that time the Liberal party had succeeded in electing a number of labour candidates, and municipal politics had been generally Radical. The Conservative party has always pronounced in favour of private enterprise in all things; it remains in the same position to-day, that is to say in complete opposition to the Socialist theory. Up to 1898 the Liberal party had a majority of two-thirds in Parliament, and also the majority in the greater number of the municipalities, although in the latter the parties were more nearly equal and party divisions not so clearly defined.

At the end of last year, for the first time, the municipal elections took place under the new electoral system (men and women voting). The result of the election showed at the outset that the Socialists had elected 150 councillors in the place of the twenty-eight they had before. As the election was for the same number of councillors in all as before, our gain is an absolute one.

In the principal towns, and generally also in the smallest, the Liberal party has suffered a severe reverse; its forces are reduced by one half, while the Conservative party has gained a considerable addition of strength in a number of localities.

Christiania, the capital of Norway, with 226,000 inhabitants, electing 84

councillors, affords an excellent example of the transformation which has been effected by the new electoral regime.

After the elections of 1898 the respective strength of parties was as follows :—

Conservatives	42 seats
Liberals	35 seats
Socialists.....	7 seats

In the elections of 1901 the results were as follows :—

Conservatives.....	48 seats
Liberals	16 seats
Socialists	14 seats
Other parties.....	6 seats

The six seats are occupied, one by an independent Socialist, whose wife is elected by the Socialists; two others by councillors who vote with the Socialists on all main questions; two others by councillors who support the Liberal party, and the last by a woman of Conservative opinions.

It can be easily seen, says our comrade Kringen, that the women have without a doubt handed over the control of municipal politics to the Conservative party.

At Bergen, a town of about 70,000 inhabitants, the Conservative party has secured the same number of seats as before, while the Socialists have more than doubled the number of their members, from six to sixteen. Here again the Liberals have lost.

These results have obtained, generally speaking, in all parts of the country.

That which the Socialists have gained they have gained at the expense of the parties whose ideas approximate most nearly to their own.

The Conservative party, as is the case in Christiania, has gained by the new system of voting, and especially from the vote of the women. That is due to a number of reasons. In the first place the right of women to vote still depends upon their payment of taxes; a condition which deprives many married working women of the vote, and, further, upper-class women, being less taken up with their household work, have less difficulty in getting away from their homes to vote, while, finally, it is often the case that many people who have the opportunity of using a vote for the first time, use it in favour of the Conservative policy. (As an example take the United States of America.)

At Christiania the women have constituted a party of their own; they have elected two; two women have been elected by the Socialists and two by the Conservatives. The Liberal party has not elected a woman at all, and it is generally admitted that this party has but a very small number of feminine votes.

Amongst militant Socialists the general opinion is, that, of the great mass of women voters, the majority will go Conservative in the first elections; a smaller contingent will vote Socialist, and only a very few will take the middle course; but that the Socialist contingent will grow after the first election, and the Conservative forces, coming from the body of women voters, will steadily diminish.

As the elections only took place a little before Christmas, complete statistics are not yet available, but in a short time it will be possible to exactly define the new electoral situations as well as to state the official opinion of the Socialist party on Woman Suffrage. All that will be sent to the Bureau at the earliest possible moment. But that will not alter the facts stated above.

Our comrade, Kringen, concludes with the following:—We are assured that in this election the feminine vote has increased the power of Conservative municipal politics in Norway.

DISPOSITIONS RELATING TO THE COMMUNAL ELECTIONS IN NORWAY, CONFORMABLY WITH THE LAW FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITIES AND MUNICIPALITIES.

The legislative power of Norwegian cities and municipalities are vested in a communal council, which chooses a fourth of its members as a sort of executive, to undertake the preparatory work. This special committee is called "Formanshab" (committee of presidents). Generally the council meets once a fortnight to discuss the questions the presidents submit to it (the presidents taking part and voting with the other members.) The council, including the presidents, is composed of twenty members in the towns of less than 3,000 inhabitants, 28 in the cities of 3,000 to 5,000, and the number increases up to 84 for the cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants (Christiania having 226,000 inhabitants has 84 councillors). All the mechanism of the legislative power of the cities is very democratic.

The law for these municipal elections, which take place every three years, is as follows:—

1. Right of the suffrage to every man who fulfils the conditions demanded by the national constitution, that is to say, who is a Norwegian by birth or naturalisation, is 25 years of age, has been five years in the country, and two in the place for which he wishes to vote.

2. Right of suffrage to every woman of 25 years of age fulfilling the same conditions of residence. The other conditions which exclusively affect women are: If they are married, the husband must have paid the current tax for the year of the election; if they are single, they must have paid the tax on an income of at least 400 crowns (about £24). The law adds that if the laws relating to taxation exempt an income so low as that, or even one much more considerable, the taxes will be collected in such a way that the right of the suffrage will not be lost. But in that case each one would have to pay as tax a nominal sum, not less than 50 ore, 7½d., nor more than 2 crowns, 2s. 6d.

Thus the franchise for men does not depend, as does that of women, on any property qualification.

The right of voting, for both sexes, is suspended (conformably with the constitution) if the elector has received any relief from public charity either for self or family, during the year of the election. It is also suspended in cases of mental aberration. A sojourn in the workhouse does not affect it. Criminals lose their right to vote. It is restored to them, on request, generally five years after the expiration of their sentence.

The population bureau of the municipality prepares a list of all the municipal electors. The names of those whose right is suspended are also shown, together with the reason for the suspension. The names of the electors are placed in the lists without any application on their part. The elections are to take place every three years, in December. The list of electors has to be prepared by the middle of September of the year of the election, and has to be placarded for the examination of the citizens in the most convenient places of the city (the town hall and the meeting places of the political parties).

The lists have to be displayed for four weeks in order that every citizen can examine them and see that his name is duly inscribed therein. Errors are afterwards corrected. Disputed claims are decided by the magistrate

and the Committee of Presidents in the latter part of October. The corrected and definite list is then posted at the town hall on the 1st of November.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

When a fifth of the electors in municipalities of 8,000 electors, or less, and when 1,600 electors, at least, in the more important municipalities address a request demanding that the elections should be decided by proportional representation, this system is applied. The request must be presented to the electoral bureau before the 15th October. Once this system is adopted it is not necessary to make any further request to secure its application in subsequent elections.

1. At the time for the commencement of the election the electoral bureau will ask the electors to present lists of candidates, conformably with the proportional system. These lists must be in the hands of the bureau before November 15th.

2. Each list must, in order to be accepted, contain as many distinct names (or at any rate none to be more than twice repeated) as there are vacancies. Each list must be signed by at least twenty electors. No one is permitted to sign more than one list, or to be a candidate on more than one list.

3. All the lists accepted are to be announced as official lists. The electors cannot make any other lists than those announced and printed as official, but the elector can erase names and replace them with others, or even repeat (but not more than once) any names on the official list, to replace those he has erased. In no case can any name be inscribed more than four times, three times, at most, on the list as printed, and once more, at most, by the elector.

The other conditions relating to proportional representation concern rather the technical points which necessarily appertain to the system. It is essential for each list to bear a heading showing clearly the group or party from whom it emanates.

The proportional system is in operation to-day in all the towns and in many of the communes. The same law applies to the towns and, with slight and indispensable modifications, to the rural communes. The elections in the country take place earlier than in the towns. The system of proportional representation is very popular in all parts of the country, and is definitely admitted.

We use the Australian system for the elections in its most perfect form, and nothing could possibly work better.

Women are to-day electors, and can be nominated for municipal offices, but for the national elections we have yet only universal suffrage for all men who fulfil the conditions of the Constitutional law and are over twenty-five years of age.

OLAV KRINGEN.

THE ELECTIONS IN BULGARIA.

Sofia, 4-17, March, 1902.

Dear Comrade.—

In reply to your letter of the 8th instant, I am pleased to give you the following information concerning the elections in this country.

Since the first time, 1894, in which our party took part in the legislative elections, the tyrannical regime of Stambouloff has disappeared. In the first election our comrades Janko Sakyzoff and Nicolas Gabrovsky were elected. At that time and still later our party had no clearly defined electoral policy; consequently the 3,000 votes, or so, secured by our candidates

could scarcely be regarded as a real success. During the period from 1895 to 1898 the party worked at perfecting its organisation and in elaborating an electoral policy and plan of campaign for independent action. In the elections of 1898 it succeeded in obtaining 8,000 votes and secured six seats in the Chamber. This success could not be considered by us as durable unless we continued the work of serious organisation of the Socialist party. That has, fortunately, been clearly understood. As a result, the local organisation, which in 1897 only numbered thirty, have steadily grown since then, and now we have seventy-six organisations, with 2,600 members. Parallel with the growth of the organisation, thanks to the efforts of the Central Committee, and several comrades, particularly the editor, George Bacaloff, we have become possessed of a very valuable literature, composed, in the main, of translations.

In the elections of 1901 the party had to struggle alone, and succeeded in returning but one representative to the Chamber, comrade George Kyrkoff, elected at Slivno, an industrial town, but the number of votes we secured was 10,000.

In the last elections, which took place on the 17th February, we have fought everywhere on an independent list, and succeeded in capturing eight seats. At Slivno two, George Kyrkoff, the secretary of the party, and George Vassileff, a weaver; at Jamboli three, D. Blagseff, one of our oldest comrades, editor of the "Socialist Review," Novo Vreme; Janko Sakyssoff, editor of the "Review Obeto Delo," and Vladimir Dimitroff, advocate. At Pavlikeni two, Janko Sakyssoff and Nicolas Gabrosky, advocate; and at Syhindol one, Andre Konoff, advocate.

This success corresponds to an important increase in the number of votes, the Bulgarian Socialists now number 18,000 votes.

Here it may be remarked that our success is not solely due to the active agitation and propaganda carried on by the party, but also to the social and economic condition of the country, which has been passing through a severe crisis, the most striking result of which is the disappearance of the small proprietors. This represents, on one side rapid proletarianisation, on the other the slow evolution of capitalist production. Such is in two words the spectacle which our country presents to-day. This lamentable situation is due to our Government and to our parties. These latter, thanks to the undeveloped state of social relations, are merely coteries; their struggles have no class basis, they have no other motive than the satisfaction of their appetites and of their thirst for power. In other terms, Bulgaria has been passing through the period of the primordial accumulation of capitals and, as you know, this accumulation is accomplished exclusively by theft, with the complicity of power.

We believe that we are at the end of this period; in effect among our young bourgeoisie there is manifesting itself a desire for a stable Government with a definite economic policy. The bourgeoisie begins to listen to us attentively when we speak of the economic evolution of the country; they endeavour to profit by our discourse to find their way out. But a very great obstacle presents itself; that is the deplorable financial situation of the nation, caused by the incapacity of our rulers and by the spirit of cliqueism by which their administration is dominated. Our debts are the consequence of their mal-administration and of their stupid foreign and domestic policy, a policy which has taken no account of the resources of the country.

We have a numerous bureaucracy and a colossal army, which consumes more than half our budget. Furthermore the system of imposts accords

neither with the wants of the State nor with the power of the population to bear these burdens. For that reason fiscal reform is imperative. But it is precisely to this labour that our bourgeois parties will not apply themselves.

The stir raised recently in regard to the subject of the Par's loan, shows that they have no desire to undertake either fiscal reform or any other.

After these explanations we believe that you will easily understand the causes of our success.

At the present moment, this epoch of social formation, our party plays the role not only of a proletarian party, but, with its exact criticism of facts, shows the way and the utility of the social evolution.

In constantly demonstrating its class character the Socialist party aids the definition of the bourgeois parties and compels them to transform themselves from coteries into class parties. By its intense propaganda and the constant development of its programme our party is creating a consciousness in the working class; it is extending to the small proprietors, to the artisans, and to the agriculturists. And as these latter compose the majority of our population, and in consequence, the majority of the electors (we have had universal suffrage ever since our political emancipation), they are leaving the bourgeois parties which have deceived and robbed them and are coming to us.

Naturally our party is under no delusion as to its degree of power, nor is it intoxicated with the success it has gained. The most evident result of our action has been the bringing together and organising a number of our workers in giving them a consciousness of their interests as a class; on the other hand, in having made known to the small proprietors our programme and our demands. We have thus created a favourable atmosphere for our future action in the limits of the social and economic evolution of the country which, at the present time, is enduring the birth-pangs of capitalism.

In conclusion it may be noted that our party has for its central organ the "Rabotnichesky Vestnik," edited by Comrade Gabriel Geiorgieff. Of this we are printing this year 3,000 copies. We also issue each year a workman's almanack, of which this year we have published 30,000 copies.

Accept, dear comrade, our fraternal salutations,

G. KYRKOW,
Secretary-Treasurer.

"DIVIDING UP" THE PRODUCT. (Conclusion)

In 1890, out of every dollar the wage-worker created he gave the capitalist 47 cents for the privilege of working. In 1900, out of every dollar he created he gave the capitalist 50 cents. But it must be remembered that, when the wage-worker comes to spend his remaining 50 cents, he does not buy goods at factory prices, but has to pay two or three profits in addition. So that another 10 or 15 cents probably slips back to the capitalist in the process of trade. It must be remembered, too, that out of that half-dollar the working man has to pay the capitalist about 12 cents in the form of rent (tribute for the privilege of living on the earth)—for rent generally averages one-quarter of the working man's income. Thus, at the present time, the working people do not, in the long run, actually get back more than 25 cents out of every dollar they create, the other three-fourths of the product going to the capitalists in various forms of interest, dividends, and rent. This is evidently the most moderate estimate that can possibly be

made. Complete and accurate figures would probably show a still greater disproportion.

And yet the defenders of capitalism have the impudence to accuse the Socialists of wanting to "divide up" the wealth of the country. What we want is to stop this process of "dividing up" between producers and parasites.

WHAT LABOUR HAS PRODUCED.

In these ten years, then, this is what the working people of the country have done:

They have created all that they used for their own subsistence.

They have repaired and replaced the machinery and the instruments of production as fast as they were worn out.

They have added more than three billions of dollars to the capital owned by their masters—buildings, machinery, and the like.

They have given the capitalists, over and above all this, at least twenty billions of dollars in interest and dividends.

And yet the working class lives in poverty! And not only in poverty, but in greater poverty than they ever suffered ten years ago—and this brings us to the last point in this analysis.

WAGES ACTUALLY REDUCED.

We have not previously claimed that "the poor are growing poorer," preferring to err on the side of moderation rather than on the side of excess. We have been willing to admit that, on the whole, money wages were probably increasing somewhat (although this is balanced or overbalanced by the increased cost of living), and have only insisted that, as shown above, the working class is getting ever a smaller share of the increasing amount of wealth it creates. But the figures now presented by a Republican Census Bureau compel us to assert, not only that the workers are getting a smaller share of their product; not only that, owing to the increased cost of living, it is growing harder for them to maintain themselves; but that there has been an actual decrease of money wages.

Here are the figures:—

In 1890 there were 4,251,613 wage-workers in the manufacturing industries. Their aggregate wages were \$1,891,228,321. Their average yearly earnings, therefore, were \$444.83.

In 1900 there were 5,310,598 wage-workers. Their aggregate wages were \$2,323,407,257. Their average yearly earnings, therefore, were \$437.54.

The difference is not very great, indeed. But it is a difference upon the wrong side, a positive loss. And when we take into account the largely-increased cost of living, it becomes a most serious matter.

What is true of those five million wage-workers in the manufacturing industries is no doubt equally true of the million railway employees; it is true of the four of five million wage-workers on the farm, in the mines, and in the large and small commercial establishments of the country. There, with their families, taken together, form the great majority of the people. These millions toil in deepening poverty that a few thousand may become multi-millionaires. What are you going to do about it, fellow-working men?

There is only one way to set it right. You, who create all wealth, are always poor because the means of production—the land, and mines, and railroads, and factories—are held as private property for private profit. You can, by your political power, make these things public property, to be used for the public good. Only when you do that will you get the full product of your labour.—"The Worker," New York.

THE COMMERCIAL NEEDS OF THE EMPIRE.

Dr. E. J. Dillon, in the "Contemporary Review," writes at great length on the above subject. "A single nation may, no doubt," he says, "as England has done, adopt free trade with success, just as an insular state may enjoy the blessings of peace, but only if, and so long as Nature renders it practically invulnerable to attack. The moment an armed invasion by sea in the one case, or successful and artificial competition in trade in the other, enters into the sphere of the practical, the maintenance of Free Trade, like that of peace, is no longer a matter of mere choice to the isolated state. For trade is at bottom bloodless war, protective tariffs are offensive weapons, and he who girds his loins to do battle while proclaiming that he will not return blow for blow is as wise as the Irishman, who having made a bet that a sharpshooter could not put a bullet through the middle of his top hat at a certain distance, suddenly pulled the hat down over his face after the marksman had taken aim, in the simple belief that the bullet would strike where the centre had been a moment before.

"History, if one could only spare the time needful for studying it, would make it clear to the dullest that the foremost place in international trade is not won by a chosen people nor held a decade longer than the conditions endure under which it was attained. . . . Florence, Genoa, and Venice owed their preponderance mainly to their geographical position. They carried the Crusaders to Asia Minor, and obtained the Indo-European trade in consequence. Spain's commercial power needs no elaborate explanation: the discovery of America accounts for its rise, the lack of productive activity explains its fall. England's prosperity in its origin was the result, not—as many fondly imagine—exclusively of moral fibre, mental superiority, or unrivalled skill, but also of her coal and iron. The main factor in the struggle for commercial supremacy has changed in the course of ages, the items of transport, warehousing and technical skill having lost their former importance in consequence of the betterment of ways and communications, and the introduction of labour-saving appliances. First, production is now the decisive element, and that country which is endowed with the most advantageous conditions of primary production has a considerable start over its competitors in the race. As coal and iron occupy a foremost place in these natural products, it follows as a matter of course that a great commercial nation in the twentieth century must of necessity be possessed of vast territories, whereas in bye-gone days tiny States like Genoa or Venice were enabled, owing to the different conditions then prevailing, to outrun their unwieldy rivals.

"The explanation of England's prosperity must not be sought in the superior characteristics of our race, but in spite of them. In the fifteenth century we were still dependent, in trade and industry upon Flanders and the Hanseatic States. In those days raw stuffs formed the staple export of this country to the industrial nations of the mainland. The skill and labour of foreigners were largely instrumental in introducing trade and commerce into this country. To Flemish weavers we owe the cloth industry, to the Brothers Elers, of Flanders, the manufacture of stoneware; Spellmann, a German, erected the first paper mill at Dartford; Baumann, a Hollander, brought the first coach to England; Venetians and Jews laid the foundations

of our commerce and banking, and so on to the end of the chapter. Not from within, but from without, came the first impulse; the only credit we can claim is to having yielded ourselves up to it, and to have made good use of the opportunities which chance and the feuds and the weakness of our rivals afforded us. Had it not been for the Spanish War of Succession, for instance, Colvert's plan for assuring to France a closed market in America would have become a reality, and European history would have read very differently from the version current to-day."

The author then goes on to raise the issue between Free Trade and Protection, arguing in favour of Protection.

"Concerning the advantages of Free Trade for this country," says the writer, "and the ability of our people to hold their own against fair competition from abroad, there are not, there cannot be, two opinions. The facts which stand out in bold relief in the commercial history of Great Britain speak for themselves. But foreigners, refusing to compete with us on the basis of equality, have handicapped our trade, dammed up its natural channels, and compelled us to struggle at an unfair disadvantage. It may be desirable from a high ethical plane of conduct to offer no resistance to our assailants, to allow ourselves to be worsted in the fight. But on no other grounds can our present meekness and resignation be justified. Certainly not that of fair play, and still less of interest. We are gradually losing ground, and are doomed to go on losing until such time as the chance of retrieving our losses has vanished for ever.

"The introduction of protective duties, say on corn, coming from countries other than our Colonies would, it is urged, raise the prices of the necessities of life, and to that extent lessen the purchasing power of the workman's wages. And I am not prepared to dispute the statement. . . . No man wishes to see the staple food of the workman raised in price, especially in a country which for long years has enjoyed the inestimable advantage of possessing the cheapest necessities of life of any nation in Europe. But the alternative is the gradual loss of our foreign markets, the consequent closing of our works and factories, and the complete drying up of the sources whence the working man drew and draws the wherewithal to purchase his cheap food. Cheap corn and meat are assuredly great boons to the poor man, but only so long as he has the money to buy them. If the prices of bread and meat could be reduced 50 per cent. by measures which would increase the difficulty of obtaining work, or would diminish wages by 70 per cent., what would it profit the poorer classes? If our industrial class be worsted in the struggle with their protected rivals of Europe and America it is cold comfort to tell their unemployed or underpaid workmen that food is cheaper here than on the Continent or in the United States."

The author then cites the prohibition of cattle from abroad, the Merchandise Act, the facts given at the Sugar Conference as all effecting breaches in the sacred system of Free Trade. "Free Trade," he says, "was never more than a practical expedient."

Mr. Dillon then deals with the political aspect of the question and points out that our navy can no longer be regarded as holding the supremacy of the seas against combined Continental forces. "As the colonies are determined not to give in their adhesion to the system of Free Trade," he continues, "it is for Great Britain to consider the advisability of adopting Protection, and Mr. Chamberlain is doing excellent work by preparing the country for the new era. There are doubtless other plans which would provide for the defences of the Empire while respecting the principle of no taxation without representation—although none of them will relieve us of the

necessity of breaking with the Free Trade traditions—and one of them is some form of Imperial Federation with a truly Imperial Parliament. To my mind an essential condition of the success of any such scheme must be an increase of the power of the Crown mainly on the conduct of the foreign policy and matters of military organisation. But the details can be worked out to a successful issue when once the adhesion of the Colonies has been obtained to the plans elaborated by the Government.”

The rest of the article is devoted to showing the possibilities of an European combination by instituting custom houses against England and her Empire.



PROGRAMME OF IMMEDIATE REFORMS ADOPTED BY THE SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT TOURS.



I.—DEMONSTRATION OF POLITICAL POWER.

- 1.—Direct universal suffrage for men and women in all elections.
- 2.—Shortening of period of residence; one list of candidates and proportional representation.
- 3.—Secret voting.
- 4.—Right of initiating legislation and referendum.
- 5.—Suppression of the Senate and President of the Republic. The powers of the President and the Ministers shall be exercised by an Executive Council elected by Parliament.
- 6.—A member of Parliament to resign if requested by a majority of his constituents.
- 7.—Women to be eligible to all public functions.
- 8.—Absolute liberty of the Press and of meeting; all civil associations to be free.
- 9.—All departments and communes to have absolute liberty.

II.—FREE CHURCH.

- 1.—Separation between Church and State; Church not to receive any public money. Freedom of worship.
- 2.—Religious associations to be suppressed and their property confiscated.

III.—JUSTICE.

- 1.—Judges to be elected; jury to be called in always.
- 2.—All justice to be free.
- 3.—All cases to be heard in public.
- 4.—Punishments to be humane and to aim at reform of prisoners.
- 5.—Capital punishment to be abolished.
- 6.—All court-martials to be abolished.

IV.—FAMILY.

- 1.—Women to be equal in the eyes of the law to men; illegitimate children to inherit property.
- 2.—Greater freedom of divorce.

V.—EDUCATION.

- 1.—All education to be free.
- 2.—All children to be maintained by the State.
- 3.—All education to be by the State.

VI.—TAXES.

- 1.—All indirect taxes to be abolished.
- 2.—Progressive income tax on all incomes over £120.
- 3.—Progressive death duties.
- 4.—Right of State to take over certain monopolies.

VII.—REGULATION OF LABOUR.

- 1.—One day's rest a week.
- 2.—Eight hours' work a day.
- 3.—No children under the age of 14 to work.
- 4.—No women or young persons to work during the night. All night work to be abolished unless absolutely necessary.
- 5.—Work at home to be inspected.
- 6.—Prohibition of sweating and truck system. Boycotting to be legal.
- 7.—A minimum wage to be established.
- 8.—No fines to be allowed.
- 9.—All factories to be inspected by inspectors elected by workers.
- 10.—Special tribunals for all disputes between masters and men.
- 11.—All work in prisons to be paid for at current rate of wages.
- 12.—Women not to work six weeks before and six weeks after confinement.

VIII.—SOCIAL INSURANCE.

- 1.—Insurance against illness, accident, old age, and out of work.
- 2.—Workmen not to subscribe more than a third to the assurance fund.
- 3.—Law as to accidents to be revised.
- 4.—Workmen to be on council for managing assurance funds.

IX.—PUBLIC WORKS, etc.

- 1.—Nationalisation of railways, mines, Bank of France, insurance companies, sugar refineries, mills, and distilleries.
- 2.—Labour bureaus to be organised.
- 3.—Agricultural banks to be instituted by the State.
- 4.—State to organise co-operative farms.
- 5.—Communes to undertake lighting, water, and to build houses.
- 6.—All State employees to be allowed to join unions.
- 7.—Amendment of laws relating to public health.

X.—FOREIGN POLITICS.

- 1.—Army to be replaced by the armed nation.
- 2.—Military code to be revised.
- 3.—No wars of aggression; no alliances for war.
- 4.—No colonial military expeditions; the acting colonies to be organised and worked by and for the benefit of the native population.

AN AUTUMN NIGHT.

By MAXIM GORKI.

I found myself one autumn night in an uncomfortable and awkward position. I had just arrived in a town where I did not know a single creature; I had not a penny in my pocket, nor a corner where to lay my head.

For a day or two I kept things going by disposing of all such articles of clothing as were not absolutely indispensable. When the proceeds of my wardrobe were exhausted, I determined to set out for a place called Oustya, where I knew there were some wharves and dockyards, which would offer a chance of work. When, however, I arrived there the stir and bustle of the year were over—for it was already the latter end of October, and the place was now empty and deserted.

I tramped about the wet sands, sending the water splashing at every step I took. Eagerly I scanned the ground under my feet, hoping to find some refuse that might be eatable. I had arrived at that state when I would have eaten anything. I prowled about the deserted huts and stalls, thinking how pleasant it would be to feel my hunger satisfied for once in my life. Under existing social conditions it is so much easier to quench the hunger of the mind than it is to satisfy the hunger of the body. As one wanders about the streets, with their richly decorated buildings, which one feels certain are just as luxurious inside as they are outside; exulting thoughts arise in one's mind, as one contemplates the wonders achieved by architecture, sanitation, and many other elevating and improving arts and sciences. One meets people warmly and comfortably clad—they are well behaved, they always make way for one, anxious, to the point of fastidiousness, to avoid even the knowledge of the existence of beings such as we are. But, thank God, the souls of the starving are often far better nourished than are those of the rich and prosperous! Such a state of affairs gives the rich many a chance of drawing witty comparisons in their own favour.

Evening drew on, the rain pattered down, the north wind blew in fitful gusts; it whistled among the empty stalls and sheds, and rattled against the boarded windows of the deserted vodka-shops. The waves of the river turned to spray under the stroke of the blast, as they dashed boisterously against the sandy shore, throwing their white crests high up into the air; then, as if anxious to return to the vast expanse they had just left, they jostled and leaped back one over the other. The river seemed to have a presentiment that winter was near, and to be making nervous attempts to escape the icy bonds, which the bleak north wind might lay upon it that very night. The sky was dark and lowering, a cold, cutting drizzle, so fine that the drops were scarcely visible, swept through the air. The depressing landscape which surrounded me seemed sadder still for the stumps of two disfigured, broken down willows, and the overturned boat lying near their roots. A battered, overturned boat, and two melancholy old trees stripped naked by the cold wind. Everything suggested ruin, desolation, and disuse. The sky, shedding endless tears, gave a last finishing touch to the whole mournful picture. So desolate and so gloomy seemed all around, that it began to appear to me as if everything in the world, with the exception of myself, were decaying, and that very soon, I alone should remain in the world—the only living being left—I, for whom cold death might be already lurking somewhere near.

I was only eighteen then, and what beauty there is in that age! Thus I walked about the cold damp sands, my teeth chattering an accompaniment to my thoughts in honour of hunger and cold, when suddenly as I turned sharply round the corner of a stall I came across a stooping figure wearing the dress of a woman. Her clothes were wet, and hung closely around her. I stopped and tried to find out what she was doing; and then I discovered that she was scraping a hole in the sand with her hands under one of the market stalls.

"Why are you doing that?" I enquired, sitting down beside her. She uttered a low cry, and sprang quickly to her feet. As she stood up facing me, her large grey eyes full of terror, I noticed she was a girl of about my own age with a very pretty face, which, I regret to say, was somewhat disfigured by three large bruises. The bruises, though placed in symmetrical order, still had the effect of spoiling her beauty. One bruise was just above the bridge of her nose, the others consisted of two black eyes. All of them were exactly of the same size, and had been evidently inflicted by an artist in the art of disfiguring people's faces. The girl stood staring at me, but the expression of terror gradually disappeared from her eyes. She shook the sand from her hands, straightened the cotton handkerchief on her head, and said, with a slight shiver in her voice:

"Well, I suppose you are hungry also; if so, come and dig for a little while, my hands are aching. Look there," she continued, nodding towards the stall she had been trying to undermine, "in that stall we shall be sure to find some bread, and maybe some sausage. You see this stall has not been regularly closed yet."

I started digging. After some few minutes rest, spent in watching me, she squatted down beside me, and began to work as well.

We grubbed away for some time in silence. It is difficult to say at this distance of time whether any thought of the civil code, any considerations of morality, or of the rights of property, or of other good things, which wise people tell us should ever be present in our minds, troubled me at that moment. But as I desire to keep as near as possible to the truth, I fear I must acknowledge that at the time I was so engrossed with my work of undermining the stall, that no room was left in my mind for anything but expectation of the treasure I hoped to discover, as a reward of my toil. Evening came on apace. The gloom, damp, cold, and raw, grew every moment more and more dense. The swish of the waves was heard less distinctly, but the rain beat louder and more insistently against the boards of the stall. Not far off we heard the night watchman's rattle.

"Has the stall a floor or not?" enquired my companion in a low voice.

Not understanding exactly what she meant, I did not answer.

"I am asking you if the stall has a floor or not; because if it has there is no use in our going on digging—if we come across thick boards, what can we do? In that case had we not better break the lock; it's a trumpery little thing."

A bright thought seldom comes into a woman's head; but still, as in this case, "happy thoughts" do come into their minds occasionally. I always have a respect for "happy thoughts," and try and avail myself of them as well as I can.

Acting on this principle, I felt for the lock, gave it a wrench, and pulled it off, screws and all. My accomplice immediately stooped down, and gliding like a snake through the square, raised the lid of the stall. When there, she uttered a cry of encouragement.

"Well done, my brave lad!"

A word of approbation from a woman is worth more to me than a hymn

of praise from a man, even if he be as eloquent as all the orators, ancient and modern, put together. Under the circumstances I am describing however, I was not in such an amiable frame of mind as I am now; I paid no heed, therefore, to the girl's exclamation, but briefly and impatiently queried:

"What have you found there?"

Instead of replying, she began to enumerate in a monotonous voice the various articles she had discovered.

"A hamper of bottles, some empty bags, an umbrella, an iron pail."

None of these, however, were eatable, and my hopes were fast fading away. Suddenly she shouted joyfully:

"I have found it at last!"

"What have you found?"

"Bread! A whole loaf! Only it's a little damp. Here, catch!"

At the same moment a loaf of bread rolled at my feet; and my brave little friend soon stood by my side.

Meanwhile I had broken off a hunch of bread, and, cramming it into my mouth, devoured it greedily.

"Come, I say, give me a bit, too. We must get away from this place at once. Where do you think we had better go?" Her searching glance tried to penetrate the gloom of the dark, damp and stormy night.

"Over yonder there is an old boat turned upside down; let us get under it."

"All right; come along!"

We made for the boat, breaking off and eating pieces of bread, and cramming them into our mouths as we walked along. The rain fell ever more heavily, and the river roared louder. A prolonged, derisive whistle sounded some way off—it seemed as if some strong, desperate being were laughing mockingly at everything on earth—at the wretched autumn night, and at us, its two heroes. Our hearts throbbed painfully at each shriek of the whistle; but nothing prevented me from eating my bread greedily; the girl walking by my side did the same.

"What is your name?" I enquired, vaguely.

"Natasha," was the curt answer, as the girl continued to chew her bread noisily.

I looked at her, and my heart ached for her. Then I turned my glance ahead into the gloom, and it seemed to me as if the mocking face of my fate were smiling at me, with a cold, enigmatic smile.

Ceaselessly the drops of rain beat against the timber of the old boat, and their soft patter awoke many a sad thought. The wind whistling through the crevices of the timber howled fiercely; a chip of wood hanging loosely inside rattled and quivered out an anxious, sad dirge. So monotonous and so despairing was the sound of the waves as they dashed against the river banks, that it seemed as if they wished to confide the story of some oppression, of some insupportable grief, of which they were utterly weary, and of which they desired to unburden themselves, so that it might be shared with someone else. The noise of the rain, mingled with the rush of the waves, together produced the effect of a long, endlessly deep sound, floating in the air—the sigh of the earth, weary of the never-ceasing changes of the weather—the hot, bright summers, succeeded by the damp, cold and dreary autumns. The wind still continued to sweep and howl over the desolate shore; the foaming river moaned its sad monotonous complaint. Our shelter under the boat was destitute of anything like comfort; it was damp and narrow, and ice-cold drops of rain, mingled with piercing gusts of wind, penetrated through the

rotting timbers. We sat in silence, shivering with the cold. I remember getting very sleepy. Natasha, who had curled herself up into a ball, leant back against the side of the boat; her arms encircled her knees, on which rested her head. She gazed steadily out towards the river. Her wide-open eyes shone brightly, and seemed to grow larger for the black bruises beneath them. She neither spoke nor moved, and her silent, motionless figure inspired me with awe. I longed to say something to her, but did not know how to begin. At last she broke silence.

"What a wretched business our life is!" She spoke each word distinctly, slowly, and with deep conviction. She did not seem to be complaining; there was too much indifference in her voice for that. Apparently she had been reviewing her life, and had put into words, as well as she was able, the conclusion she had arrived at concerning it. A conclusion that I at least could not dispute without being false to myself. I preferred, therefore, to leave her words unanswered, and she once more assumed her silent and motionless attitude, taking no notice whatever of me.

"If one could but croak, and have done with it all," she murmured, in a low and pensive tone. But still there was no note of complaint in her voice. It seemed as if she had reviewed her past life, and had come to the conclusion that there was no use in continuing to live; and that the only way to escape the mockery of existence was, as she expressed it, "to croak."

Her clear, cold reasoning made me feel thoroughly sick at heart. I felt I had no alternative but either to speak or burst into tears. To cry before a woman, however, seemed disgraceful, the more so, as she herself had not shed a single tear.

At last I managed to speak.

"Who has been knocking you about?" I asked, unable to find a more delicate way of alluding to her disfigurement.

"Why, Pashka, of course!"

"Who is he?"

"He's my lover. He's a baker."

"Does he behave like that often?"

"Yes, very often; every time he is drunk."

Then leaning towards me she began to tell all about her relations with Pashka. She was a "girl of the town," he, a baker with an auburn moustache; he played the accordeon splendidly. He had met her at the "establishment," had charmed her by his gay manners, his smart, well-polished top-boots, and his splendid clothes. Why, he wore a coat that was worth at least fifteen roubles! She fell in love with him for all these fine qualities, and put herself under his "protection." No sooner did he renege his position than he began to appropriate the money she earned from the other "visitors"; this money he would spend in drink, and when drunk he beat her without mercy. All this, she explained, would not have troubled her much, if it were not that he shamelessly courted other girls under her very nose.

"That was what hurt me most! I saw he was only making game of me, the rascal; and I was no worse looking than the other girls! The day before yesterday I asked permission of my 'mistress' to go out. I went straight to the house where Pashka lives, and found him there with Dounija; she was full of drink, and he not much better. I went for him, I can tell you. 'You rascal, you dog!' I shouted. Then he began. He knocked me down, he dragged me about by the hair, he abused me in every way he could think of. But even all that would not have mattered so much. The worst part of the business was that he tore my dress and jacket to pieces. Now I do not know

what to do! I dare not go back to my mistress in this state, with all my clothes torn. I paid five roubles for my jacket. He dragged the handkerchief from my head. Oh! great God! what can I do now?"

The last few words were uttered in a plaintive, trembling voice. The ever howling wind grew louder and colder. My teeth began once more to chatter. The girl shivered and crept closer to me—so close that I could see her eyes flashing in the gloom. "What brutes you men are! I should like to crush you all under my feet! I would disfigure you all if I could. If I saw any of you dying in the gutter I would only spit in your faces, and leave you there without a spark of pity. You miserable wretches! You come cringing and fawning to us like mean dogs, but as soon as some silly girl trusts you, and gives way to you, all is over. You spurn and deride her, you dirty rascals!"

She possessed an endless stock of abusive epithets, but none of them were uttered with any force. One felt they expressed neither anger nor hatred for these "dirty rascals."

The tone of her voice was not in harmony with the words she spoke, but what she said made a deeper impression on me than could have been made by the most eloquent, forcible, and pessimistic book or argument that I had ever come across, either before that night or since. I can only express it in this way; and compare it to the death agony, which must itself be always more real, more poignant, and truer to nature than the best description by a master-hand can ever be.

Well, I was suffering acutely, though whether my sufferings were caused entirely by the cold, or by my companion's words, I cannot now exactly say. I uttered a low groan, and gnashed my teeth. At the same moment I felt two cold little hands fluttering near me—one of them touched my neck and the other my cheek, and a soft, caressing voice enquired sympathetically:

"Will you not tell me who you are?"

It seemed almost for a moment as if someone else were speaking, and not the Natasha who, only a few moments before had been reviling all mankind, and calling down evil on the heads of men. She was speaking now, however, in quick, hurried tones.

"What is the matter with you? Are you cold? Are you freezing? Poor fellow! Why did you not say so? Why did you not tell me before that you were cold? Come and lie down here. Stretch yourself out like that, and I will lie down also. Now, just put your arms round me—come closer to me. Now you will be nice and warm. By-and-bye we will lie back to back, and so warm our backs. And so we shall manage to get through the night. Why are you in such a miserable state? Have you been drinking, or have you been dismissed from your situation? Well, whatever it is, it does not matter! Don't fret about it."

This girl was actually trying to comfort me. She was even trying to encourage me!

Damn it all! What frightful irony there was in all this! Just when I was busily occupied, settling the destiny of the whole human race, when I was dreaming of reforming the whole social order of things, and plotting all kinds of political revolutions; reading also extremely wise books, the meaning of which, in all probability, was never quite clear, even to their authors; just when I was endeavouring in every way to make of myself a prominent social and active force, just, in a word, when I seemed to have fulfilled the greater part of my task, and presumed that I had at least won a right to existence by making myself indispensable to the human race, and by taking a prominent place in the history of mankind—to think that such a person

should stand in need of warmth, lent by the body of a fallen woman, an unhappy, shattered, persecuted creature, for whom there is no room and no place in the world! A woman whom I ought to have protected and cared for, instead of allowing her to console and comfort me, though, indeed, if the thought of my duty toward her had ever entered my mind, I confess I should not have known how to set about accomplishing it. I tried to make myself believe that it was all only a dream, an absurd nightmare, which had come across me during heavy sleep.

But, alas! The cold rain drops continued to pour down on me; the warm breast of the girl was pressed close against mine; her hot breath, tainted, it must be acknowledged with the faint odour of vodka, but oh, so wonderfully revivifying, awoke me to reality; and proved to me almost against my will that it was no dream. The wind howled and moaned pitifully. The rain beat ever louder against the old boat, and the waves outside hissed, whilst we, lying still in a close embrace, shivered still from the cold. This was indeed stern reality. I felt convinced that no dream, however monstrous, however unbearable, could ever have vied in oppressiveness with this crushing actuality. Natasha continued to talk softly, soothingly, kindly, as none but a woman can do.

Her simple gentle words caused warm feelings to creep into my heart, and I felt it melting within me.

A flood of tears poured down my cheeks, washing away the anger, the grief, the self-conceit, the evil that had accumulated in my heart in the course of that terrible night. Once more Natasha endeavoured to comfort me.

"Do not weep like that dear. Do stop crying. Please God, something will turn up. You will find another place. You will be all right soon." Kisses, hot, caressing, and soothing mingled with her words.

They were the very first kisses I had ever received from a woman; and they were the best. All those I received later were bought at much too high a price.

"Come, come! Stop that noise; what a strange fellow you are. Tomorrow I will try and find you some work, if that's what's the matter."

The low, soft, persuasive whispers came wafted to me as though through a dream. Thus we remained in each other's arms till daybreak. As soon as dawn appeared we crawled out from under the boat, and made our way towards the town. There we bid each other a warm farewell, and parted—never to meet again; though for more than six months I searched for that sweet girl through all the slums of the town—the girl with whom I had spent an autumn night.

If she is dead—the best thing that could have happened to her—may her soul rest in peace. If she is still alive, God grant her a quiet mind, and may she never realise her fall; for that would be only a cruel and futile suffering, and would serve no useful purpose in this world.

(Translated by Emily Jakowleff and Dora B. Montefiore.)

THE RED BIT O' BUNTING.

Tune : "Bonnie Dundee."

To the lords of oppression 'twas Freedom that spoke :—
"I have sworn that my people shall cast off your yoke,
And behold, for a signal, on land and on sea
Here's my red bit o' bunting, the flag of the free!"

Then perish your pride, your bluster and brag,
Perish your classes, make way for the flag
That waves o'er the Worker wherever he be—
Our red bit o' bunting, the flag of the free.

Some rose up in anger, some laughed her to scorn,
While the drowsy-heads murmured—"Nay, leave us till Morn.
Would that all men to slumber as deep might agree
As the Dead who have reddened your flag of the free."

Chorus.

"Mid storms unaffrighted"—fair Freedom replied—
"They upraised my red symbol, beneath it they died;
But this is not theirs, the bright blood that ye see,
And To-morrow was made for the living and free."

Chorus.

"From the north to the south, from the east to the west,
I have rallied my children who'll couch not to rest,
Till,—The World for the Worker, the Worker for Me—
They stand in the sunrise and know they are free."

Chorus.

G. W. S.



M. GORKY.

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THE VOICE OF THE OUTCAST IN LITERATURE.

"I have come from below, from the nethermost ground of life, where is naught but sludge and murk. . . . I am the truthful voice of life, the harsh cry of those who still abide down there, and who have let me come up to bear witness to their suffering." In these words is embodied the message of Gorky, the Russian "tramp-novelist," the portrayer of the vagabond, the criminal, and the outcast. Remarkable as are the types that he describes, his own life has been no less remarkable, as readers of the "Social Democrat" already know. "The ups and downs of his desperate struggle for mere existence," declares Mr. E. J. Dillon, in "The Contemporary Review" (February), "as contrasted with the perfect ease with which, on emerging from the subterranean depths, he swept everything before him, winning world-wide fame and taking the commanding heights of literature by storm, have, in truth, more of mystery and of palpitating interest than the vicissitudes undergone by the most heroic figure in the long procession of strong-willed vagrants whom he has caused to defile before our eyes." Mr. Dillon continues:

"The types of Gorky's sketches were a new set of men unknown to Tolstoy and Turgeneff—a class one can not call them—blessed or cursed with very different aspirations from those of the enfranchised serfs. Stalwart, mobile proletaires, they might in a certain sense be classed as idealists. Despising and abandoning the pleasures, the comforts, and the prizes of civilised life for the sake of absolute liberty, they were unfettered by the criminal code of the State or the tables of the Mosaic law. They would march along for days in Arctic cold or tropical heat, half naked and hungry, cowering on rainy nights in upturned boats, under walls, or in stables, or working or robbing for a frugal meal. And like Chelkash, the type of the group, they are ready to give up hundreds of roubles, to fling them with loathing in the face of the craven-hearted peasant comrade who has made money his god.

"It is around this central ideal of personal liberty, exuberant strength, and fierce rebellion, as embodied in types like these, that the entire cycle

of Gorky's sketches revolves. On the savage champions of this lost cause, with whom he does not shrink from identifying himself, he lavishes his sympathies; for them he bespeaks the admiration of his readers. He loves beings who once were men, not merely despite their vices, but because of the qualities from which those vices emanate. They are almost denuded of the instincts and principles with which we are accustomed to identify morality; they ignore conventions and scorn every species of fig-leaf; but, although aware of their nakedness, they are wholly unashamed. They pride themselves on being earth-men, rugged realities, products of nature, endowed with more of her sincerity than the sleek citizen who masquerades in the garb of morality and sucks the life-blood of his fellows. Strong-willed, iron-thewed, yet highly sensible to the beauties of sea and sky, and steppe and wood, they long for an opportunity to put forth the almost creative force which thrills their being, delighting not only in the tepid breath of southern nights and the warm wooings of sunny days, but also in the howl of the hurricane and the very boom of the thunder which may prove to be the blast of the trumpet calling them to death and judgment."

Gorky, continues the writer, is a master of the short sketch, the genre. He paints "a waste of water or a wilderness of grey land as background, and two or three human figures as *dramatis personae*; and the picture is complete." He gives us "idylls of squalid beggars and hardened criminals," and allows them to gather a certain quality of nobility from the vast steppe or the boundless ocean. We quote again:

"There are two distinctly defined types of character in the cast of Gorky's psychological studies: the men and women who, by the sheer weight of their gross, tainted nature, sink insensibly to the lowest depths of pandemonium whence there is no hope of redemption, and the superior but restless spirits who, impatient of restraint, hold, like Satan of old, that it is better to reign in hell than serve in heaven, and are swayed by impulse and stirred by hatred whithersoever they go. On the one hand we behold the dregs of society, the heirs of physical and mental disease, the slaves of drink, the victims of misfortune, the bondsmen of vice—in a word, the flotsam and jetsam of the ocean of life, washed upon the beach and left there to rot in the rain and the sunshine. And on the other we are confronted with the born rebels who relish nought that life can offer or promise, who are seeking not merely the unrealisable, like the alchemists of yore, but the unknown and unknowable, who hurry from thought to thought, from impulse to impulse, from place to place, and from crime to crime, as if lashed by unseen furies for forgotten sins, finding no haven of rest except such end as may come to the beasts, or deliberate suicide."

What is the drift of Gorky's philosophy? What lesson are we to learn from his "barefoot brigade"? Mr. Dillon answers:

"A careful study of everything which the new Russian prophet has given to the world will convince the unbiassed, even among his warm admirers, that the net result of his teaching is largely negative. Vagrancy and crime, allied with hunger for freedom and hatred for shams, are no new revelations, hardly indeed a fresh point of view. That men and women

who have defied the rudimentary laws of morality should proclaim the identity of might with right is from their own point of view suicidal. The 'Over-tramp' Chelkash and his likes pour out the vials of their wrath or scorn on the social classes who build up their well-being on the drudgery of others. Yet that same Chelkash follows their example very closely when he terrorises the weak-willed Gavrila and forces him to become the accomplice of his crime. . . .

"It is hardly worth our while to descend to the depths whence Maxim Gorky has emerged, where there are no barriers against evil, no stimulus to good, where there is neither fear nor hope, nor sympathy nor sorrow, in order to bring up such dismal teachings as those. Having read through all the volumes of his writings, and met the same Titanic champion of might and the same pitiable craven-hearted follower of Jesus of Nazareth, one feels disposed to accept the estimate given of these creatures by Konovaloff, who ultimately hanged himself:

"We are people apart. . . . we are not included in any order. There ought to be a special account for us. . . . special laws. . . . very severe laws, in order to root us out of existence. We are of no use, yet we take up a place in life and stand in the way of others. Who is to blame? We are guilty in our own eyes and guilty in the eyes of life! For we have no taste for life and we possess no feelings for our own selves."

—From "The Literary Digest."



The elections in France have resulted in a great victory for the Republicans, despite the most strenuous efforts of the Imperialists, Royalists, and Nationalists to defeat them. Millerand, who was in the late Ministry, has again been returned. It was generally thought that he would be unseated.

Co-operators and the Corn Tax.—The committee of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society have issued a circular to show how the new taxes of 3d. per cwt. on grain and 5d. per cwt. on flour will affect co-operative societies. It is pointed out that the new taxes will increase the cost of flour to the co-operative movement in England and Wales by at least £124,000 per annum. The Wholesale Society has two flour mills in England, one at Dunston-on-Tyne and the other at Silvertown on the Thames. At the former of these the tax will mean an annual charge on the flour produced of £22,219, and at the latter of £7,769. The full effect of the tax on all the articles manufactured by the society has not yet been ascertained, but a rough estimate shows that the Wholesale Society's trade will be taxed to the extent of £13,000 per annum. Thus the new taxes will cost co-operators at least £137,000 per annum.

—"Scottish Co-operator."

SOCIALIST UNITY.

Although by the action of the I.L.P. Conference, Socialist unity, so far as it involves the fusion of that body with other Socialists, has been again indefinitely deferred, discussion is still going on in various quarters as to the steps which it is now possible to take to help forward the formation of a united party. This fact, and the great importance of the subject, afford sufficient excuse for dealing with it again here. Of the desirability of bringing together all the Socialist forces in this country into one party there can be no doubt whatever, and that being so, it is somewhat surprising to find so much bitterness evoked by any proposal having unity for its object, and so much anger and suspicion displayed towards those who formulate such proposals, or endeavour to take any step in this direction. To witness the angry efforts made by some of our friends to maintain existing divisions, one might suppose that the Socialist motto was "divide" instead of "unite," and that the cry of Socialism to the "workers of all countries to unite" was uttered in mockery and derision. Socialism involves unity, and to hotly contend for the maintenance of the existing absurd divisions among Socialists is to afford the enemies of Socialism an opportunity, of which they are not slow to avail themselves, to hold our principles up to derision. The refusal of the I.L.P. Conference to entertain the proposal of the Kelmscott Club for the formation of a joint committee to promote a national Socialist Convention was heartily welcomed by all enemies of the movement, who were eagerly ready to point the moral of the inconsistencies of these "quarrelsome Socialists." Even if we cannot agree to unite, we ought to be able to discuss any proposal for unity without heat, and without calling each other names. If the members of the I.L.P. are really not Socialists—as the action of their Conference in dismissing the question of uniting with other Socialists, without even taking a direct vote on it, while at the same time acclaiming alliances with non-Socialists, would seem to imply—then the sooner that is understood the better. But in that case the complete alliance which exists between the branches of the two bodies for electoral purposes in so many places is inconsistent and absurd. On the other hand, the existence of these local alliances is a demonstration of the practicability of unity, and of the folly of wasting our none too abundant substance on two separate organisations.

The S.D.F. at its Conference reaffirmed the position it has taken up ever since the organisation agreed to consider the question of fusion with the I.L.P. at all. It agreed to accept the invitation of the Kelmscott Club by 61 votes to 15. From that day when the body voted for amalgamation, in the terms of the resolution formulated by Keir Hardie, setting out the acceptance of fusion, "provided that there was no question of principle to keep the two organisations apart," the S.D.F. has remained steadfastly committed to the principle of unity. Some of those on the I.L.P. side who are opposed to fusion have suggested that the adoption of that resolution was

due to some sinister design on the part of the S.D.F. against their organisation. But up to that time all the overtures in favour of amalgamation had come from the I.L.P. It is now asked why we were deaf to these overtures for so long, and it is further urged, as an objection to unity now, that for some years we displayed considerable hostility towards the I.L.P., and did our best to prevent its formation and growth. This allegation is largely true. In the interests of unity itself, it was natural that the S.D.F. should oppose the formation of another party, even if that party had been an avowedly Socialist party at its inception. But the object of the I.L.P. at its inception was not to form another Socialist organisation, but to bring together Socialists and those non-Socialists who were outside the ranks of the two capitalist parties. As it stood for Socialist unity, and not for a hybrid amalgamation, the S.D.F. naturally refused to be a party to the proposed combination, which, after all, was not accomplished, as the I.L.P., instead of bringing together the different sections, simply developed into another organisation. There was then no particular reason why the S.D.F. should welcome this new party, whether it was Socialist or non-Socialist. If the former, it was only bringing division where unity was essential, and if the latter, it was simply another of the many half-way houses which have been set up from time to time to keep the working class back rather than to lead them forward. It is not the duty of the Socialist party to eagerly welcome with open arms every new movement which may be set on foot, or to amalgamate with every new organisation, which, mushroom-like, springs into existence only to die as rapidly as it grew. It was perfectly reasonable to assume that the new "Independent Labour Party" would go the same way as such similar organisations as the Labour Representation League and the various Labour Electoral Associations had gone. In the interest of Socialist unity, and of its own integrity as an organisation, the S.D.F. was necessarily in opposition to the I.L.P. If the latter was a Socialist body, the S.D.F. was right to oppose its formation, as tending to create division and strife; and if it was not a Socialist body, the S.D.F. was necessarily in antagonism to it, as a misleader of the people.

Thus much it was necessary to say, not out of any spirit of hostility to the I.L.P., but as explaining the action of the S.D.F. in this matter of unity in the past; and because some little knowledge of the growth of the present situation is essential to an impartial consideration of the subject. Our change of attitude was justified by a change of circumstances. The very considerations which led us to hold aloof from the I.L.P. in its early days dictate our desire for amalgamation now. The I.L.P. has not gone the way of similar organisations. It has definitely established itself as a Socialist organisation, and whether we regard it as such, or not, it is so regarded generally. The majority of its members are as fully convinced Socialists as the majority of the members of the S.D.F., and in many cases it is the mere accident of place which determines whether a man is a member of the one organisation or the other. It is sometimes attempted to show that there is a difference of theory and principles; but if that is so, then it is absurd for the two bodies to work together to the extent that they are doing at the

present time. If, as we contend, that is not so, then it is ridiculous for them to remain distinct and separate. The question, then, to determine is, what are the essential principles, agreement upon which is necessary to unity. It is perfectly clear that if we are to have a united party there must be considerable liberty of individual action in non-essentials, but agreement upon cardinal principles is absolutely necessary. The principles which may be regarded as essential are: A recognition of the class war as the basis and reason of existence of a Socialist party, and the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange as its ultimate object; that object to be secured by the relentless prosecution of the class war, and the conquest of political power by the working class, organised as a political party, in opposition to all capitalist parties. If we are agreed upon these principles, there should be no obstacle to unity, and those who are not agreed upon them can scarcely claim to be regarded as Socialists. But if our friends of the I.L.P. do not accept these principles, there is more at issue than fusion with the S.D.F., because these principles are laid down as the basis of representation at the International Congresses, and no organisation which repudiates them can be recognised as part of the International Socialist movement, or has any right to be represented at its Congresses. It is necessary, therefore, that if there are differences of theory and principles between the I.L.P. and the S.D.F., these differences should be made known as widely and as speedily as possible.

If there are no such differences, there can be no insuperable obstacle to unity, and the continued rivalry and hostility of the two bodies is little short of a scandal. The pretence of difference of temperament and methods as reasons for division will not bear serious consideration. There are men of all temperaments in both organisations, and under similar circumstances the two bodies adopt the same methods. To talk about a difference of temperament in two organisations is absurd, unless the members of the one were of a different race or a different class altogether to those in the other; and as to difference of method, there can be no difference here unless one or the other organisation were to repudiate public meetings, political action, or the distribution of literature as means of propaganda and organisation. Apart from questions of principle there is but one obstacle to amalgamation, and that is the relation of the two bodies to the Labour Representation Committee. Of course, if the I.L.P. prefers an alliance with non-Socialists, or even anti-Socialists, to Socialist unity there is nothing more to be said. But that is for the members of that organisation to determine. Co-operation with the trade unions for any specific object no body of Socialists could possibly object to, but a permanent alliance with them, or with any other non-Socialist bodies, must, unless the Socialist organisation is the predominant partner, be harmful to the Socialist organisation and to the Socialist movement. The I.L.P. will have to choose; continued adherence to the Labour Representation Committee must lead it further away from Socialism, unless that Committee adopts a Socialist platform, which it is less likely to do now than at its inception. In any case, we shall get unity. Either the I.L.P. will break away and help to form one Socialist party, or it will allow itself to be led further and further away from Socialism, and then the Socialists in the organisation will leave it, and combine with other Socialists. In the meantime those who are for unity have but to work and to wait.

H. QUELCH.

A LIFE-STORY.

Some four or five years ago it was my lot to lecture to a large audience in a British seaport town.

Like many a greater man, I had gone intending to teach, but remained to learn. I did not know then that one of the greatest men that ever lived had said, "The surest method of learning is by the endeavour to teach."

That may not be finally true, but of one thing I am certain: I learned that night a lesson profounder than any I essayed to teach.

The subject was "Pensions for the Aged Poor."

It was a strange and motley crowd that I addressed. The sleek, sneering, well-to-do, and the dejected poor; Bumble and the two-shillings-a-week-and-a-loaf pauper sat side by side.

"Pensions for the Aged Poor" is a good subject, even as the condition of the Aged Poor is a terrible fact of Life's Inferno. The great Sir Thomas More, in his wonderful "Utopia," might have been writing of London or Manchester, New York or Chicago, so vivid and true is his description of "theire poore, indigent, and beggerlye olde age"; and perhaps you didn't know that the good and great Tom Paine had advocated "Old Age Pensions" long before Bismarck or the renegade Radical, Joe Chamberlain.

Humbly, therefore, as befitted one who would follow in the path marked by the footprints of such men, I tried to impress my auditors in favour of a State Pension for all persons over sixty-five years of age, without any distinction of sex or moral condition.

As I tried, by statistics and otherwise, to awaken their interest in the question, the sneers of the sleek, well-to-do, developed into frowns, and Bumbledon was roused by an attack upon its cherished institutions; but the faces of the poor seemed less dejected. Only they could understand.

When the meeting was over, and I was wending my way into the busy street, a man spoke to me. He was a Welshman, that I knew from his speech, and that he was a dock labourer he told me afterward.

"Now, look you, see," he said, "'tis all very well, yes, indeed, to talk of pensions for they of five-and-sixty, but what about people like me? I am only five-and-forty, yes, indeed, and to-day I was sacked because I am 'too old,' the boss says. My hair is grey, look you, but I am strong and able to work—ask my buttty here."

"Yes, indeed," said his companion, gravely. "Too old at our time of life!" "What use will a pension be twenty years after our death?" he added.

I made little reply, but hurried away, my cheeks burning with shame. So this was all my practical measures amounted to! And I had been so proud of being called a "sane, practical Socialist."

Two days later I was in London, and saw a strange procession of sad, hungry-looking men wending their way to Hyde Park. Several hundreds of

them there were, most of them bearing banners, with the inscription, "We are 'too old' at forty."

My cheeks burned with shame, as before. Oh! the irony of it all!

And they burn again to-day as I sit in the dingy room of an East-side tenement, or walk with bowed head from its dank, dark hall-way.

It is not merely with shame that they burn, however. Perhaps if I could only analyse my inmost thoughts and feelings, indignation, more than shame, would be found to be raging in that seething cauldron of passion and sentiment.

As I sit in the little room in the crowded tenement on the East-side, my eyes turn ever and anon to the physical wreck sitting upon the table that serves for bed, dining-table, and bench, and the words of the banners come back to memory:

"Too old at forty!"

That is his story—this human wreck's—he is too old, and yet scarcely more than forty!

It is only a commonplace life-story. In this great human hive there are hundreds, aye, thousands, of such cases, and few are the workers of middle age that are not continually haunted by fear "for to-morrow's lack of earning and the hunger wolf anear."

If you are not a worker you will fail to understand, perhaps; but the workers know.

This man's life is an arraignment of Society, sufficient of itself—but, alas! there are tens of thousands of such lives!

Born a weakling in a crowded tenement, in the heat of summer, he was cursed from the very first moment of his separate existence. Nay, further, the curse was pre-natal; for the mother that bore him had hungered, and sweated, and sorrowed, even unto the last hour. And her hunger, and sweat, and sorrow was her babe's curse.

For every babe so born is handicapped in the race of Life. Only healthy and happy mothers can bear children that shall become strong of body and mind.

The babe struggled for life against all the diseases from which the babies of the poor in the close-packed tenements suffer, and learned to walk and to play with the garbage, while the poor mother continued to hunger, and sweat, and sorrow.

At the age of five he went to school, where a tired, overworked teacher tried to cram this little child-mind, and the minds of some sixty others, with a quantity of knowledge, much of it useless, under the guise of education, the child being hungry most of the time.

Perhaps the poor teacher herself had never thought of education as anything better than teaching children to remember things, and to repeat them. The idea of unfolding and bringing out the children's own inmost qualities of mind and soul never, it may be, occurred to her. And if it had, what could she do?

You cannot educate a child that is hungry.

Yet in the schools of every great city there are thousands of children that are hungry!

But schooling forms no large part of the life of the children of the poor, and at nine years of age he was working for wages. Really, poor children have no childhood.

For ten years he worked at various kinds of employment, and then, "to make a home for himself," he married.

Perhaps you do not think it prudent for men to marry at nineteen who only earn 10c. 25 cents a day, but then you cannot feel as he must have felt night after night as he dragged himself wearily to the poor "home" of his parents after eleven hours' toiling and sweating in a box factory.

Men become desperate, rather than prudent, under such conditions of life.

Some time in the first two years the first baby was born to the little home.

Perhaps it was not prudent to have a baby with only an income of 10c. 25 cents a day. It is so easy to talk about people's "imprudence," isn't it?

After a while the summer heat came, and the babe struggled for life even as the father had struggled before him. But the struggle was a vain one, and the babe died, even as many other babes in the same crowded street died.

But in the same hour another child was born to the poor, sorrowing parents. It was just as when, on a clear, starry night, one star seems to die, only to give place to a brighter.

As a proof of their fellow-feeling, his mates at the box factory gave of their scanty wages, and the little corpse, sacred beyond everything, was kept from "Potter's field."

But even with the generosity of his work-mates, he got into debt to give the dear baby "a decent funeral." Is it strange that the poor should love their dead, think you?

Love is stronger than Prudence.

But the worst trial for this child of ceaseless struggle was yet to come. A month's sickness—debt—loss of employment—despair! Such is the story of a terrible year. There is more real life-experience in one such year, common to the poor, than in a lifetime spent in fashionable society.

With a measure of health regained, and a job at the old factory, the determination to provide against such "rainy days" possessed him. The sacrifice must be made—he would join some sick benefit society.

But the keen-eyed doctor of The Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society shook his head gravely. He saw through the candidate's eyes the terrible proletarian demon, Tuberculosis. He could not recommend such a candidate. Many such had to be rejected, and even with the carefully-guarded admission, twenty-five per cent. of all their deaths were due to that disease.

Besides, he worked in a box factory, and the doctor knew from experience how unhealthy that was.

So the poor fellow turned away, rejected and disappointed. He would try some other society. But wherever he tried the result was the same—

the doctors all shook their heads, and a few expressed their pity. That was all.

Yet, withal, there was still hope, even if only a faint ray. He had heard of wonderful sums resulting from small savings. If he could only save fifty cents a week, what could he not accomplish in a few years? True, fifty cents every week meant a big sacrifice, but, then, they were young, and the very sacrifice appealed to him.

For nearly three years he saved patiently and bravely. Often, indeed, the poor wife and the child went hungry, and still oftener longed for some little "luxury," such as a piece of cake or a gay-coloured ribbon. Poor fellow! It never occurred to him that such saving was other than virtuous.

But every person who saves under such conditions is doing a great wrong, notwithstanding the story-books of the Capitalist order.

Then, after nearly three years, he fell sick, and the saving ceased. Not only that, but the precious hoard had to be broken into. And eighty dollars is not much, especially when doctors' bills must be added to the ordinary expenses of housekeeping. So, long before he was able to work again, the little hoard, hardly earned and still more hardly saved, was exhausted, and once more they had to rely upon that hard, cold thing called Charity, in an age of uncharitableness.

He went back to work at length, still far from well, and trembling in every limb. The men who knew him looked at him pityingly, for they knew the fate that awaited him. His place had been filled long ago.

So there was the quest for work day after day, week after week, and the terrible tragedy of a loved wife daily sinking with hunger. Soon he realised that ageing disease had done its worst. He was "too old."

"The wife?" Don't you see that little brown portrait over the mantel there—and did you not hear him sigh as he raised his eyes to it just now? Do men do that except when the grave hides those they love?

Poor fellow, it's hard earning a living mending old shoes down here on the East-side. But it won't last long—hear that cough?

Yes, that's his child playing with the garbage. Poor little waif!

Which is better, think you—to work for "Old Age Pensions" for all over sixty-five years of age, or to work for Socialism, which will consider need rather than age, and will place all the resources of life at the disposal of the lowest and downmost, equally with the highest?

How will you vote?

J. SPARGO.

New York, April, 1902.

Sir Robert Stout's wife, in opening a maternity home bazaar in Wellington, N.Z., the other day, declared that many of the inmates of the institution owed their "trouble" to men who had "cleared out to fight the battles of the Empire." Sir Robert's good lady will be getting herself impeached for high treason if she talks about "our gallant boys" like that.—"The Worker," Brisbane.

THE CANDID CONSERVATIVE.

Not long ago I met a candid Conservative, who asserted that it was a great mistake to pity the industrial helots of our factory towns, or to wish to make them discontented, or to preach Socialism to any adult labourers. He disdained to justify the economic dualism of to-day by sophistries, moral, legal, or historical; he also refused to defend charity or palliative measures of practical social reform; he did not condescend even to mention the difficulties of gaining or of maintaining the Socialist Utopia. He simply asserted that the present system gave a fair amount of happiness to the poor, and enabled progress to be carried on by the rich. The following paragraphs will give the gist of his arguments.

The great majority of factory drudges, labourers, and Hodges gain a fair amount of solid comfort and satisfaction, and are often vain and complacent therewith. This is because of the power of custom, whereby the back is suited to the burden. The crippled or blind person is rarely miserable; the setter whose parents scented game in the fields soon adapts itself to the life of a household pet; so the workman adapts himself to his environment. He is born into a class which is used to a low standard of refinement in clothes, food, housing, and workshop; his comrades are equally at home therein. His body and his mind are used to this way of life. He is often complacent and Pharisaical, and even conceited about his town, his shop, his craft, and "his" glorious Empire.

Secondly, it must be remembered that his mind is limited, uncultured, and empty, while he lives in the bracing climates of the North, wherein the body is restless and active. Long hours of monotonous and uniform drudgery save him from boredom, or a sense of his own emptiness. When he is in regular work he is "as happy as a sandboy," to use Broadhurst's phrase of himself as a young workman; he has the fallacious vanity of thinking that he chooses to work of his own free will, that his work is of value, and that he earns fair wages as result of his work, and is therefore "independent." From morn to night his mind is occupied, and his body active. Pessimism and scepticism are unknown to him.

Thirdly, he has moments of coarse, hot pleasure, all the hotter from contrast with his dull and dirty drudgery. Pleasures of sex, of drinking, of betting, of drives on brakes, of gaping at music-halls and football matches. The rest of Sunday is enjoyed all the more, after six days' toil. The intensity of the workman's pleasures, which are fairly regular in recurrence, is probably beyond the comprehension of the man of culture, who cannot enjoy with the abandon and lack of scruple which the poor so often evince.

Of course, the working classes contain a minority of superior men with talents which make them discontented with the lower kinds of drudgery. Such can rise into the lower middle class of those who work more with head than with hand. They can save money by building societies, co-operative

stores, etc., and become trade union secretaries, foremen, collectors, clerks, insurance agents, teachers, shop-assistants, or Pressmen. This open door for merit should be opened further, as by American methods of profit-sharing.

The bulk of the middle classes work as hard as the working classes, but more with brain and less with hand. It is only a comparatively small class who are given wealth and leisure by the labours of the many. In this upper class there is an immense amount of waste. Many are born into the golden class who are not golden by nature, but that cannot be helped at present. Many rich men are not adapted to their position. Their tastes are low, and they wear themselves out by drunkenness and sexual excess, or waste their riches in display and gambling. Many have empty minds, and are therefore victims of ennui. Still, it is by a minority in the rich class that culture is maintained and developed. Among these come refinement of manners, beauty of physique and dress, encouragement of art and literature, varied manifestations of character and individuality, invention, research, and enterprise, bold speculation and inquiry, and the most complicated expression of social experiment.

In conclusion, he said: I look for further social and economic divisions, for a more complicated hierarchy of economic ordering, and not at all for the democratic mob-rule, nor for the Socialistic equality, nor the State-uniformity, of which so many idealists of the nineteenth century dreamed.

C. F.

Here is a thinker (the Prophet Isaiah) 2,500 years ago sufficiently reflective to write in a very cultivated idiom, sufficiently reasonable to put aside all the aberrations of polytheism, of divination, of the worship of the dead, and who is sufficiently blind to all realities as to believe that justice can govern the world, and that the ideal of a perfect state will soon be realised. In this he much resembles the Socialists, whose illusions cannot be destroyed. After each abortive experiment they begin their work again. The solution is not yet found, they think, but it will be. The idea that no solution exists never occurs to them, and in this lies their strength. To have recognised that human affairs are an approximation, without earnestness and without precision, is a great result for philosophy, but it is an abdication of every active role. The future lies in the hands of those who are not undeceived.—Renan.

SOME LETTERS OF KARL MARX.

Dr. Kugelman, an old friend of Karl Marx, died some little while ago, and his family has handed over to the Editor of the "Neue Zeit" all the letters which he had received from Marx. These have been appearing in that periodical, and a translation is appended. The Editor of the "Neue Zeit" has left out certain passages, which are merely of a personal nature. The first letters published were written by Marx during the Commune. I have added a few notes.—Paul Descours.

LETTERS OF KARL MARX TO DR. KUGELMANN.

London, 9, Grafton Terrace, Maitland Park,
Haverstock Hill, N., December 28, 1862.

Dear Sir,—

Freiligrath* gave me some time ago a letter which he had received from you. I would have answered it before, if a series of troubles in my family had not for some time interfered with my correspondence. I was very pleased from your letter to see that you and your friends take so much interest in my criticisms of political economy. The second part is at last ready, and only wants to be copied out in order to be ready for the printers. It is the continuation of Part I,† but it will appear under the title, "Capital," with the sub-title, "A Criticism of Political Economy." It deals with Capital in general, and this was sketched in the third chapter of my first book. I also in my new book deal with the question of Capital and credit; in fact, it refers to what the English call the principles of political economy. In my new book I take a more extended view of the matter, and I think I may say that it covers the whole ground.

I have been longer about this work than I intended, but this long delay is due to several causes. The Vogt scandal ‡ took up a great deal of my time in 1860, for I had a great deal to do in looking up a great number of papers, old reports of trials, etc. In 1861, through the American Civil War, I lost my chief source of income by ceasing to be correspondent to the "New York Tribune."§ Now I no longer write for it. I have been, and am still compelled to undertake a great deal of outside work, or else my family and myself would be turned out into the streets. I had determined to go in for something practical, and thought that in the beginning of next year I might get something to do in a railway office. Whether luckily or unluckily, I do not quite

* A well-known lyric poet, who was exiled after 1848; afterwards he became a German "Imperialist."

† This Part I. was almost all incorporated in the latter editions of "Capital"; the book referred to was published in 1859.

‡ A polemic with a German Radical, who afterwards became a professor at Geneva.

§ He had held this post since 1851.

know what to say; but I was not fit for the post, owing to my bad writing. You will easily understand, therefore, that I have little time and opportunity for merely theoretical studies. It is quite possible that through all these causes the printing of my book may take longer than I should like.*

As to publishing it, I would not, under any circumstances, have it published by Herr Duncker. He received the manuscript of Part I. in December, 1858, but he did not publish it till July or August, 1859. I think, but I am not quite sure, that Brockhaus will publish my new book. The conspiracy of silence into which the German literary critics have entered is really quite a matter of indifference to me, although it is unfortunate when I wish to get anything published, and then the tendency of my works is a disadvantage to me. As soon as the manuscript has been re-copied, and I shall begin this in January next, I will take it myself to Germany, for it is easier to deal with publishers directly than by correspondence. I hope that as soon as a German edition is published that a French translation may appear in Paris. I have no time to do this French translation myself, more especially as I think of drawing up a summary of the two parts in German, or of publishing an adaptation of the two parts in English. I do not think I shall get much credit in Germany till I am better known by having received attention abroad. The first part was very unpopular. This was due to the abstract nature of the matter, the analytic state of my writing, and the condensed exposition which I gave. This new part is easier reading, because it deals with concrete instances. Of course, a scientific account of the revolutionary spirit can never be really popular. What is popular is generally of little worth. If the times were more unsettled, then it would be possible to choose the colours and tints so as to give a more popular exposition of the matter. Therefore I have waited a little, trusting that the German reviewers might not be so ignorant of my point of view. I have been rather disappointed that my friends, who have written to me approving and praising my work, have not done something in order to bring my work to the notice of reviewers, so that my theories might become better known to those who take an interest in these matters. If this is thought to be good tactics, I must confess that I do not think so.

I should be very pleased if you would write to me about matters in Germany. I do not doubt, and have not done so since 1850, that we are getting near to the Revolution. The first act took place in 1848, but it received a check then. But that is a matter of history, and we must take things as we find them, and not as we should like them.

With best wishes for the New Year,—Yours, KARL MARX.

1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,

Haverstock Hill, N.W., November 29, 1864.

My dear Friend,—

You will receive by post six copies of the "Address of the Working Men's International Association,"† which has been drawn up by me. Will

* "Das Kapital" was not published till 1867.

† This was the inaugural address of the International; the first meeting was held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on September 28, 1864, and was presided over by Professor Beesly.

you please send a copy, with my kind regards, to Madame Markheim, at Fulda, and also one to Herr Miguel?*

The Association, or, rather, its Committee, comprises the most influential members of the London Trade Unions. They are the same men who organised the reception of Garibaldi, † and who, by the large meetings held at St. James's Hall, prevented Lord Palmerston from going to war with the United States. The leaders of the Parisian working men are also in association with us.

During the last year I have often been unwell. My private circumstances have become more favourable, as I have received some money after my mother's death.

I think that next year my book ("Capital") will at last be ready for the printer.

You will well understand why I never became intimate with Lassalle, and that I am not anxious to take part in the controversies which have been raised now.

I fear that by the beginning of next spring or summer there will be an Italian-Austrian-French war. This will have a very bad effect on progress in France and England.

I hope soon to hear from you.—Yours truly,

KARL MARX.

1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park,

Haverstock Hill, N.W., January 15, 1866.

Dear Friend,—

Our Society has made great progress. We now have three official organs—one in London, "The Workman's Advocate"; one in Brussels, "La Tribune du Peuple"; and one in French, published in Switzerland, "Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de la Suisse Romande," at Geneva. In a few days one will appear in German, "Der Vorbote," which will be edited by J. P. Becker, at 6, Rue du Mole, Geneva. I give you his address in case you could help by correspondence, political or social. Some of the more important trade unions, which formerly only thought about wages, are now taking a prominent part in other agitation. We have been busy organising a large meeting in favour of "universal suffrage," and at this meeting only working men spoke. The effect was very great, and the "Times," in two consecutive numbers, discussed the question in a leader. I am still working twelve hours a day in copying out my manuscript. I think that I shall be able to take the manuscript of the first volume to Hamburg in March, and I hope then to have the pleasure of seeing you. The funny antics of the follower of Justus von Moser ‡ have amused me very much. How can a man of such ability do such silly things.

As to Burger, § he is well meaning, but weak. Less than a year ago he said in a public meeting at Cologne, as you can see in the Cologne news-

* He became converted, and was one of Bismarck's Ministers.

† Garibaldi visited England in 1864.

‡ This is certainly Miguel.

§ Burger had been a member of the Cologne Communistic Society.

papers, that Schulze-Delitzsch had solved the social question, and that he (Burger) had only become a Communist to please me. What could I call him but a renegade after that?—Yours truly,

KARL MARX.

5, Lansell's Place, Margate, April 6, 1866.

My dear Friend,—

The day after to-morrow I will leave here for London. My doctor sent me to this place, and it has done me a deal of good.

The news from Germany is not good. I cannot understand why our compatriots cannot understand that without a revolution, which would send the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns packing (I need not say anything about the minor fry), there is a great danger of a new thirty years' war, and a new partition of Germany.

There might also be some trouble about Italy, but this is more likely to come between Austria and Germany. Benedick is probably a better general than Prince Frederick Charles. Austria could defeat Prussia, but not if she were single-handed. Any advantage to Prussia would be a pretext to Bonaparte to meddle. While I am writing to you thus it is possible that Bismarck has already taken the bull by the horns. But this will only put the matter off for a time, though such a postponement, in my opinion, is not probable.

These German quarrels are a great piece of luck for Bonaparte. His position is much improved in that way, as war consolidates his government.

Write to me soon, and tell me particularly what you think of German affairs.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, April 12, 1871.

Dear Kugelmann,—

Yesterday we heard that Lafargue* is now in Paris, but he has not taken Laura† with him.

If you will look at the last chapter of my "Eighteenth Brumaire" you will see that I stated that the next move of the French Revolution will not be, as formerly, simply to wrest the bureaucratic, military machinery from one hand, in order to use it, but that the revolutionists will try to break it up altogether. This is what each revolution of the people has tried to effect on the Continent. This is also the aim of our heroic comrades in Paris. These Parisians show extraordinary energy, wonderful historical initiative, and marvellous industry. After six months' starvation and ruin, through treachery in the city more than by the enemy at the gates, they rise in the teeth of Prussian bayonets as if there had been no war between France and Germany, and the enemy had not been before the gates of Paris. History records no example of such greatness. If the Parisians are defeated, it will only be on account of their good nature. They ought to have marched on to Versailles before Vinoy‡ had called off the reactionary members of the Parisian National Guard. The right moment was lost because they were too conscientious.

* Marx's son-in-law.

† Marx's daughter, married to Lafargue.

‡ A French General.

There would have been no civil war if that mischievous imp (sic in original) Thiers had not began it by calling on the army to invade Paris. A second fault was that the Central Committee* surrendered its powers too soon to the Commune. This again was too much scruples on their part. This insurrection is a glorious deed for our party, the best since the Revolution of June, and the grandeur appears the greater when we think of all the vices of the old society, of its wolves, its swine, and its common hounds. Compare these heavenly storms of Paris with the slavery of the Holy Roman Empire, with its posthumous masquerades, yearning after barracks, churches, "sauerkrautism," and all things dear to the Philistines. By the bye, I notice from the Napoleonic papers, that Vogt received 40,000 francs† (£1,600) from Napoleon Bonaparte in 1859. I have informed Liebknecht of this, in order that he may make some use of it.—Yours,

K. M.

April 17, 1871.

Dear Kugelmann,—

Your letter was very welcome. I have at present a great deal to do, so I can only write a few words. I cannot understand how you can compare the bourgeois meetings of the 13th of June, 1849, with the present struggle in Paris.‡

History would be a very simple matter if the struggles always took place according to some particular rules. They would be much simpler if chance played no part in these matters, but we know, as a matter of fact, that it is not so,§ and that there is a great deal of chance, which makes a lot of difference. Movements may be advanced or retarded according to these chances, and these, again, depend very much on the character of the people who are at the head of the movement.

The chance which in this case has retarded the movement does not depend on the character of the French people, but on the fact that the Prussians are in France, and that more particularly they are round Paris. That is a great advantage to the bourgeois rascals of Versailles. The Parisians had either to give way without fighting, or to accept the battle. If they had done the first, they would have shown that the working classes had become quite demoralised. It would have had the same effect in the world as if a party of advanced leaders had deserted the people. Through the Parisian struggle the fight of the working classes against the Capitalists has entered into a new phase. And in this way, whatever be the immediate result, an advance in the progress of the world will undoubtedly be accomplished.—Addio (sic),

K. M.

* The body which organised the insurrection.

† The Republican Government published the accounts of the secret service funds. Vogt was a scientific man, who took part in the German Revolution of 1848.

‡ This refers to a demonstration made on June 13, 1849, by the Radicals in Paris against the expedition of the French to Rome to put down the Roman Republic. It was easily suppressed.

§ This was summed up by Voltaire as *Sa Sacree Majestie le Hasard*.

THE INCREASE OF WEALTH.

HAVE THE WORKERS RECEIVED THEIR RIGHTFUL SHARE?

By J. F. MILLS.

(From the "Railway Review" of March 21.)

An appreciative reader is desirous that I should treat more fully the subject of the concluding portion of my last article. This I shall be glad to do. But before discussing the cure I think it will be best to go a little deeper into the disease. Before treating of combination and its aims, it will be best to show clearly its absolute necessity. In the previous article I showed how greatly the average of wealth—as shown by the use of the common things of life—had increased. In the present article I shall show that the increase in the earnings of the working class has been below the average, and that the gentry have amassed a considerable portion of the general increase.

The present subject resolves itself into four questions:—

1. What was the increase in the average income per family during the 19th century?
2. Did the working class get an average share of this increase?
3. If not, what was the cause?
4. What is the remedy?

These questions I shall now endeavour to answer, and as there is no greater living authority on statistics than Mr. Mulhall, I shall base my calculations upon his figures. Those who wish to verify my figures will find the statistics on which they are based at page 320 of Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," fourth edition.

1. What was the increase in the average income per family during the 19th century?

In 1800 the average income of all classes throughout the United Kingdom was £127 per family. In 1889 it was £188 per family. Thus the average increase in the income of all classes during this period was £61 per family, an equivalent to an increase of 48 per cent.

2. Did the working class get an average share of this increase?

The answer is no.

In 1800 the average income of the working class was £70 per family. In 1889 it was £97—an increase of £27 per family, or a fraction over 38 per cent. But, as already stated, the average increase in the family incomes of all classes was 48 per cent. Thus the increase in the family income of the working class has been about 10 per cent. less than the general average.

Now let us take the income of the working-class family, and view its proportion to the general income at the two periods. Note the difference.

In 1800 the income of the working-class family was £70 out of £127. In 1889 it was £97 out of £188. In other words, in 1800 the income of the working-class household amounted to 55 per cent. of the general income; in 1889 it was only 51½ per cent. Thus the household income of the working class in proportion to the average income was less by 3½ per cent. in 1889 than it was in 1800. So much, then, for the income of the working class: although absolutely greater, it is relatively less than it was a century ago. The working class have not received an average share of the increase. Some

other class, then, must have received more. Where has the balance gone? Let us see.

The average income per family of each class in 1800 and 1889 compared as follows:—

Class.	Income per family.	
	1800.	1889.
	£	£
Gentry	770	1,500
Middle	315	400
Trades	150	200
Working	70	97
Average	127	188

What do these figures mean?

In 1800 the average income per family of the trading class was 2 1-7 times that of the working-class family; in 1889 it was 2 1-16 times.

In 1800 the average income of the middle-class family was $4\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the working-class family; in 1889 it was $4\frac{1}{8}$ times.

In 1800 the average family income of the gentry was eleven times that of the working class, but in 1889 it was $15\frac{1}{2}$ times as great. That is to say, the incomes of the middle-class and trading-class families are now a fraction less in proportion to the income of the working-class family than they were in 1800; but the income of the gentry family is four and a-half times more. That's where the increase has gone to.

This, then, is how things stand after a century of effort.

Whilst the working class have increased their household income by a little over a third, the idle class have almost doubled theirs. Whilst the increase in the income of the working-class household has been nearly 10 per cent. below the average, the increase in the gentry household income has been 95 per cent., or nearly double the average increase, and actually $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the working class.

Whilst the working-class income in 1889 was about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less in proportion to the average than it was in 1800, the household income of the gentry in 1889 was 192 per cent. more in proportion to the general average than it was in 1800.

After all the strikes and struggles that have taken place, the hardships that have been endured, and the bitter privations that have oft been suffered, this is how the case stands to-day. The idle class has gained the lion's share.

Now for the third question:—

3. What is the cause of this grossly unequal distribution of the increase? Why have the working class obtained less than the average, and why have the idle class received more?

The cause is simple; the reason is clear. It is due to the appropriation by the plutocracy of the unearned increase. The unearned increase in the case of land has been annexed by the landowner in the shape of increased rent. Whosoever can gain possession of land can tax all who live upon it. Whosoever can get possession of land can rob the people upon it of the increasing value they create; the fruit of their labours he can absorb like a sponge.

All those who live and work and produce and trade upon the soil he owns must pay him tribute, and the denser the population the larger becomes the landowner's income. He toils not, neither does he spin, but, like a parasite, lives upon other people.

Next is the unearned increase of wealth appropriated by the capitalist. The enormous increase in the production of wealth is chiefly due to the pro-

gress of mechanical invention and the discovery of new processes of manufacture. But the burden of this progress, the injury due to the progress of invention, has been mainly borne by the working class. The capitalist is constantly on the look-out for more productive methods—for labour-saving machinery. The labour-saving machinery introduced, a number of the hands are turned adrift, and the difference in wage goes into the employer's pocket. The men who are turned adrift swell the already crowded labour market, and tend to keep the wage average at a minimum, and prevent the workers getting paid the full value of their labour. Whosoever can get possession of capital can tax all those who labour for him. The labourer must work or starve, and when two men apply for one place the capitalist is master of the situation, and can dictate terms. One of the men must go without employment, and the other must accept a lower wage than he is worth. The balance goes into the employer's pocket. Such is the typical case, especially where the Trade Union is absent, and even to a tradesman an overcrowded labour market is a serious problem to face. It is an admitted economic fact that in the struggle for the distribution of wealth labour has not received its due reward, and this means that even from the orthodox economic point of view capital to a large extent has been built up out of unpaid wages.

But how have the plutocrats contrived to maintain the existence of this iniquity for so long?

By means of their wealth they have become the power behind the throne. By means of their wealth they have gained possession of the two great engines by which the people are controlled—the Press and the Legislature, the manufactory of public opinion and the manufactory of laws. By means of the Press they mould public opinion to their own ends. It voices their thoughts, feelings, ideals, and views of life. By its means the people are hypnotised to believe as they believe, to carry out their plans, and to do their bidding. By means of the Legislature the plutocracy makes laws in its own interest. It has erected a golden barrier against the entrance of Labour to the House of Commons. It has kept the legislative power in its own hands. It has shown itself blind to the needs of the workers, callous to their sufferings, and deaf to their appeals; and when after long years of bitter injustice Demos has begun to show his teeth, a plutocratic Parliament flings him an occasional legislative sop to keep him quiet.

But why have the workers allowed the dominant class to do all this?

Because they have been more or less disorganised. Because they have lacked unity of purpose. Because they have never, as a body, earnestly and whole-heartedly pursued their own interests. They have constantly been led away by the red herring trailed across their path, and have allowed landlord and capitalist to usurp their place.

Here is an object lesson. Consider how the plutocracy have pursued their own interests. They have been, above all things, in deadly earnest in seeking their own welfare. They have flinched at no obstacle, they have hesitated at no scruple. Shrewd, ambitious, and self-seeking, earnest and persevering, from year to year and from generation to generation they have had but one object in view, and have marched towards it with resolute courage and unfaltering footsteps. With but one motive—self; with but one aim—riches. Verily they have reaped their reward.

4. What is the remedy?

The moral, then, of all this is that the workers must pursue their own interests with the clear vision, the deadly earnestness, and the unfaltering purpose with which the plutocrats have pursued theirs. They must by thorough combination stop as far as possible the leakage of the unearned

increase. The increase of wealth belongs to them, but what is ever flowing into the pockets of the plutocracy must first be absorbed by taxation, national and municipal, and then given back to the workers in the shape of better conditions of life, better education, old-age pensions, better housing accommodation, and work for the unemployed. Make town and country fit to live in, make home habitable, and life worth living. Make the plutocrats bear the expense; the people are only getting back their own. This is the first step. Get possession of the unearned increase, and then there are more important things still to achieve, greater steps to be taken.

But a return to the people of the unearned increase can never be obtained from a plutocratic Parliament. It would be absurd to expect it. The plutocratic interest is in Parliament for its own ends. It is there to protect itself, to keep what it has got, and to increase it if possible. Only by a strong Labour vote in the House of Commons can the workers get back their own. Only by this method can they hope to get back their proper share of the increase of wealth. Only by this method can their exploitation in the industrial sphere be redressed. Only by this method can they do themselves justice.



SOUTH AFRICA AND INDIA.

In the "Nineteenth Century Review" Lepel Griffin discourses on the feasibility of the Hindoos being accepted as emigrants in South Africa. The writer recognises that it is for the Anglo-Saxon to say whether South Africa is to be a white man's country, as he has shed his blood to obtain possession. All that he wishes to suggest is "that of all possible, or rather probable, emigrants, Indians are the best—the most docile, industrious, loyal, and civilised—while the vast and superfluous population of India, increasing with a rapidity which is the despair of statesmen and economists, can supply any number of millions to fill up the vacant places of Africa. . . . The whole of Central Africa is, for white men, a land of misery and desolation, of pestilence, famine, and death. The worst and least desirable part of habitable Australia or Canada is to be preferred to the best of Central Africa between Khartoum and Zambesi. South of the Zambesi is the region where the white man can live, thrive, and bring up a family, and where he might even work as an artisan or an agricultural labourer, if he could be induced to do so. But this he will not do. Over all the land the curse and the blight of slavery still hang like a dark cloud, and the dignity of labour does not there signify that all work is honourable if only it be honestly and energetically done, but only that the white man must perform no menial duties and very little industrial work, which, in the old, evil days, were performed by slaves, and are now made over to the free black population. The situation of the European colonist in South Africa is altogether different from that of the same individual in the other great dominions of the Crown. He is not a colonist in the best sense of the word at all; nor will he ever be worth much until he learns to cook his own dinner and plough his own land. The only apparent exception to the general disinclination to engage in manual labour was the case of the Boer farmers in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, but the difference was purely imaginary, and the Boers were far more lazy than any other class in South Africa. The blacks on a Transvaal

farm were serfs—with a pretence of wage, it is true, but kept at work under the sanction of the flogging block. . . .

"If it were possible to provide for the emigration of a large number of suitable British colonists to South Africa, to settle on the land with their families, this would be the best solution of the problem of the future development of the country. Something may be done by the Government in this direction in connection with extensive works of irrigation and storage of the somewhat scanty rainfall, so as to make agriculture and cattle-breeding less precarious occupations than they are at present. But South Africa is not, and never has been, a favourite field for British emigration. The whole white population, English and Dutch, of Cape Colony and its dependencies was no more than 376,987 in the year 1891, and that of Natal in 1898 was 53,688—together less than the population of Birmingham.

"At the close of the war, when the goldfields are again open to the industry of the world, and unknown and untold wealth as yet unsurveyed and undiscovered is laid bare, there will doubtless be an invasion of South Africa by tens of thousands of men eager for a share of the spoil. But this fugitive and cosmopolitan horde, gathered from every nation, are neither settlers nor colonists who will in any way add to the permanent wealth and progress of the country. They are not builders of the Empire, nor will their presence strengthen the Government which protects them. If the industrial settlement and agricultural development of South Africa are to be dependent on European emigration, they will probably be no further advanced one hundred years hence than they are to-day. By that time the mines will be exhausted, the gold-seekers fled, and this great dominion, which might be a land of promise and prosperity, will have to be flung, as a worn-out possession, on the Imperial scrap-heap. Effective white immigration being, then, abandoned as impracticable, we have to consider what can take its place."

The author then goes on to point out the incapacity of the blacks for development, whom he urges have no capacity for intellectual advancement, being of a degraded, unimprovable type even when living under the most favourable conditions. The commercial negroes of Nigeria are dismissed as being obnoxious to the white trader.

The Chinese labourer, the author thinks, is out of the question. "The feeling against the introduction of free Chinese colonists is as strong as in Australia, and is probably ineradicable. I am in agreement with this colonial sentiment. The Chinaman is not a desirable settler in South Africa, though a certain number may be introduced with advantage for mining work under indenture. Not that the prejudice against the Chinaman is founded on reasonable grounds. He is industrious, sober, and intelligent, and in morality and cleanliness will compare not unfavourably with many other races, white or coloured. In the Eastern colonies of England the Chinese are the best possible citizens. The native women of Burma prefer Chinamen as husbands to their own countrymen. The objection to the Chinese in the United States and Australia is no more than a trade union jealousy of workmen who are more industrious and more skilful, and whose labour is so cheap that it lowers the European wages. This is the beginning and the end of the question of opposition to Chinese emigration. But although I recognise the admirable qualities of the Chinaman, he is not wanted as a South African colonist, and although he is usually an orderly citizen, his community is permeated in all directions by secret societies, which require constant watchfulness on the part of the authorities. No Asiatics are in sympathy with Europeans, but the Chinese are the most unknowable.

"The only solution of the difficulty would seem to be the abandonment of the fantastic dream of South Africa as a white man's land, which it is not, never has been, and never will be, and for the Colonial and Indian Governments to inaugurate a scheme of State-aided emigration of Indian settlers, artisans, and agriculturists, accompanied by their wives and families, on an Imperial scale. . . . The Indian immigration is of far more importance in turning a desolate region into a garden, and strengthening the Empire for all time, when the mines of the Transvaal and Rhodesia have become exhausted.

"It must be recognised that a great Indian immigration could not be successful without a favourable change in the present sentiment of the European inhabitants of the South African colonies, which finds its expression in the legislation of the several local Governments, and which must be pronounced in many cases to be harsh, unjust, and un-English. Natal is a case in point. Into this question I do not propose to enter. It is sufficient to say that the root of the dislike to Indians is trade selfishness and ignorance.

"The English colonist, of whatever nationality, is not an educated man; he knows nothing of India or its immemorial traditions, nor does he recognise that its inhabitants are of the same Caucasian stock as his own, or that his and their languages have a common origin. He comprises all the coloured races in the same condemnation, and the Indians, who, in the opinion of all cultivated people, take a very high place in the human family, are classed with, and treated like, African barbarians.

"The mines, with their tens of thousands of feverish workers of every known nationality, will in time be exhausted; and South Africa will be left, as it was before their advent, a scantily-peopled wilderness. The Boers, a far more prolific race than the British, will, by mere weight of numbers, recover their lost ascendancy, and our lavish expenditure of blood and treasure in the present war will have been in vain."

THE FIRST OF MAY.

The following manifesto was issued by the International Socialist Bureau, dated Brussels, April 25:—

To the Workers of all Countries!

In the present society, which is falling to pieces, one voice alone can henceforth speak to humanity, and be heard by it: it is that of the International Social-Democracy.

Important events happen daily in all parts of the globe, and must be noted and registered by the International Bureau, on the eve of the First of May, in order to show to the workers the path travelled since a year ago, and to recall to mind the object pursued.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the cry of revolt of the proletariat against the bourgeois social regime!

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the protest of the workers against the Russian despotism which fetters science, imprisons free thought, assassinates the workers on their path of emancipation, and enslaves the people of Finland.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the expression of popular scorn for the Church and the European Governments, who cowardly leave to be killed the poor Christians of Armenia.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is, once more, the avenging word of the worldwide proletariat against the South African war, against the infamous war of theft, of rape, and of secret assassination by capitalism in the Far East.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the voice of indignation and of opprobrium thrown at the so-called civilised nations in their capitalist expeditions—England in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, the United States in the Philippines, Germany in Africa, Belgium in the Congo, France in Madagascar, Russia in Manchuria, Holland in Sumatra, Europe in China.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the war-cry of Socialism against Militarism.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the sorrowful plaint of the workless, thousands of whom suffered hunger last winter.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is the affirmation of the solidarity of the wage-workers, whatever be their race and their nationality, against their economic exploitation and moral enslavement by the capitalist class.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is also the unshaken faith of the proletariat in a better future. It is for the working class the expression of its will to realise the eight-hour day, and to conquer its right to live. It is, again, for it the affirmation of its ideal: to possess itself of the means of production for the general well-being and the peace of the world.

THE FIRST OF MAY! It is, finally, for all workers the synthetic expression of their demands and of their aspirations.

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The Social Revolution proclaims itself by the growing power of capitalism and likewise by the class-consciousness of the proletariat.

In England the Social-Democracy carries on a determined struggle against jingoism; and there the working class is more and more taking part in political action against the bourgeoisie.

Our German comrades direct, with unexampled vigour, their blows against the policy of the agrarians, who, by a protectionist tax on bread, and by a new customs tariff, endeavour to starve the people.

In Belgium, in Austria, in Sweden, the working-class party have taken as their duty the conquest of universal suffrage; with a courage and a pertinacity without parallel, they have thrown themselves into the battle.

The eight-hours-day has been the object of strikes, and the bourgeois Parliaments, under the influence of the organised workers or of the Socialist Parliamentary fractions, have legislated in this sense in Austria and in France.

Trade union organisation shows progress in France, in Germany, and in England. The conflicts between capital and labour appear more and more as the grand manifestations of the struggle of the classes, as evidenced by the strikes of the ships' firemen in Denmark, the diamond workers of Amsterdam, the railway workers in Italy, the dock workers of Marseilles and of Genoa, the iron workers of Creusot, and the workers of Barcelona and Trieste, etc.

The electoral struggles have demonstrated the tremendous advance of Socialism in Denmark, in Norway, in the United States, in Holland, in Bulgaria, and in Spain.

The sphere of action of Socialism extends to the two hemispheres: it has

sprung forth in Japan, it has developed in Canada and in Argentina. Not only is its field of action vast, but we have the glad spectacle of a uniform Socialism, and it is becoming unified, notably in Switzerland, in Germany, in Italy, in Hungary, and elsewhere.

Above all, there is, for Socialism, the struggle without truce, without rest, against capitalist society, which assumes an international aspect and truly gigantic proportions. This struggle will yet be marked by numberless ordeals and trials before its object is attained; but the workers, conscious of their destiny, and united in common action, march on to victory.

To the Workers!

Demonstrate, workless ones of the First of May!

Hurrah for the First of May!

Hurrah for International Social-Democracy!

The International Socialist Executive Bureau:

EDOUARD ANSEEELE.

EMILE VANDERVELDE.

VICTOR SERWY, Secretary.

INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

Mr. J. B. C. Kershaw, F.S.S., had a carefully written article in the "Fortnightly Review" on the above subject. In his conclusions he states that Trusts are antagonistic to national prosperity.

He writes: "According to the authors of recent articles three natural stages may be recognised in the development of the world's manufacturing industries. The first is that of the isolated and independent worker, possessing his own workshop and buying and selling his own raw and finished materials. This stage lasted from the dawn of manufacture down to the middle of the nineteenth century, and still survives in the smaller industries in certain districts of Europe and America. The second stage was inaugurated by the advent of the steam-engine as a source of mechanical power, and was marked by the transfer of manufacture from the home to the factory, and by the displacement of the small industrial worker by the wealthy manufacturer. The third stage is that upon which we are now believed to be entering, and is characterised by the absorption of the individual wealthy manufacturer or manufacturing company in the huge trust or combine.

"Due recognition, however, is not accorded by these writers to the fact that the transfer of manufacture from the home to the factory was largely due to the inability to provide mechanical power by the steam engine cheaply, except in large units. If a 10-horse-power steam engine could have been worked as economically as a 1,000 horse-power engine, the small manufacturer would have existed in far larger numbers at the present day; but handicapped by the greater cost of power, he has succumbed in most cases to the competition of the factory owner."

The author then goes on to argue that electricity will give new life to the first or petty form of industrial activity owing to the facilities which it

offers for carrying mechanical power to the homes of the workers, and instances the revival under these circumstances of the home silk-weaving industry in the St. Etienne district of France and the watch-making industry of Geneva.

The reviewer has three cardinal objections against the trusts. The first is over-capitalisation. "In nearly every case," he says, "over-capitalisation of the new trust company has occurred. That it cannot be avoided is practically certain from the conditions under which the sales of the private businesses occur. Manufacturers are unlikely to transfer their works or factories to others for less than their real value; and in the majority of cases they are unable to resist the temptation to place too high a value upon the goodwill or upon patents, both of which are assets of doubtful value. The financiers engaged in the formation of the trust know that its successful flotation depends upon the adhesion of certain of the larger firms in the industry, and to gain control of these they are therefore ready to pay any price that may be asked. The extent of this over-valuation of property that has passed into the hands of trust companies in this country and in America can only be estimated after a lapse of few years, but that it runs into millions of pounds sterling is certain."

Instances are then given of the watered capital, and the author cites as an illustration the giving of Carnegie £80,000,000 for Pittsburg, when £50,000,000 was the real estimated value. As the natural result of this over-capitalisation, the writer bases his second objection, "That the price of manufactured articles are advanced. The interest on the increased capital more than swallows up the gains resulting from consolidation. The price of wire nails has been raised 68 per cent.; cut nails, 63 per cent.; bar iron, 58 per cent.; steel plates, 68 per cent.; and tin plates, to home producers 78 per cent.

"High prices," says the reviewer, are asked in the States home markets, where the tariff and the neutral markets are used as the dumping ground for the surplus manufactured goods, at any price which can be obtained for them. This is the feature of American competition which is of such serious import for the United Kingdom, and if this unfair competition be allowed to proceed unchecked the effect upon many of our industries may be permanent and disastrous.

"A third disadvantage resulting from the formation of huge trust companies embracing all the manufactures of a country is that the methods of manufacture may become stereotyped, and that true progress may be checked. In such large and consolidated industries the technical and scientific management of the various works is generally in the hands of one man, upon whom rests the responsibility for advising with respect to new methods or processes of manufacture. An error of judgment in relation to any new invention or process may, therefore, be harmful not only to the company but also to the country generally. In a number of small independent organisations this danger is minimised, for even though some of those in authority may make the same mistake others will not. The new invention or process obtains a trial, and, if successful, is adopted by all engaged in the industry."

In conclusion, the writer forecasts what he considers to be the future of the trusts, and the checks to be imposed. He is quite convinced that trusts must raise prices. "The only persons who benefit," he says, "are, in fact, the original owners, who may have been paid for their works in cash, or who may have been sufficiently wise (that is, unscrupulous), to realise their holding in shares before the fall in value occurs. . . . The decline in the volume of the export trade in salt and alkalies since 1890 is also a bad

augury for the future of the other industrial trust companies floated in this country in more recent years. In the United States the conditions are different, and a heavy tariff on nearly all manufactured goods enables the trust companies to raise prices to a very high level with some degree of impunity. In America, therefore, the tariff system is assisting the trusts to earn interest on the largely inflated capital, and the home consumer is being made to pay a price higher than that demanded for the same goods when sold to buyers in other countries. In the latter case manufactured goods of American origin are being sold at the bare cost of production, or below it, and it is to the home consumer that the trust companies look for their profits."

Mr. Kershaw then states the objections and proposals formulated by the Industrial Commission appointed by the United States Government to collect facts relating to the trust movement in Europe and America.

"1. They are destructive of individual initiative.

"2. Their power is a menace to the public politically.

"3. They are objectionable practically because: (a) They tend to become a monopoly, raising the price of their product to the public or diminishing the output; (b) they destroy private enterprise by direct control or intentionally unfair competition, such as the local cutting of rates below cost, to destroy local rivals."

The Commissioners adopt the following proposals to limit the power of the trusts in the States.

"1. Stricter anti-trust legislation by the States and by Congress without altering the present relation between their respective jurisdictions, that is, the present system but improved.

"2. To have Congress release to the States its inter-state commerce jurisdiction, so far as to allow the separate States themselves to regulate manufacturing or trading corporations engaged in inter-state commerce—the State control system.

"3. Conversely, to have the national Government take to itself a larger and perhaps exclusive control of all such corporations, regulating by Act of Congress all such as do any business across lines—the system of Federal control.

"The only form of trusts," in the opinion of the writer, "which can be defended upon economic grounds is that based upon a consolidation of a group of works or factories. The aim in this case is not to obtain a monopoly, but to become a self-dependent organism as regards all important raw materials utilised in the manufacture or industry. The best example of this type was the Carnegie Steel Company before its absorption by the United States Steel Corporation."



Democratic Influence.—Trade Unionists, co-operators, and members of democratic organisations generally, do not exercise the influence which they might on social and political movements. They should not only educate public opinion, but organise votes, so that men who had clear and democratic ideas might be elected to public bodies. Surely the tendency of recent events must show them the necessity for some concerted action, carried out with enthusiasm. Many of the organisations which are started seem to content themselves with formal meetings, and equally formal resolutions, and have little effect on practical administration and legislation. The time has evidently come for decided action.

—"Scottish Co-operator."

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN SPAIN.

Stoddard Dewey discourses in this month's "Contemporary Review" on the Anarchist Movement in Spain. "Anarchists," he says, "do little more than take up the cry of Fourier: 'Civilisation—that is the enemy!' With Pierre Leroux, they attribute to the present organisation of civilised society all the class divisions which weigh so heavily on the discontented masses. All regenerators of society have dreamed of bringing it back to a simpler organisation; and Anarchy as a theory means nothing more. Its impractical side is its utter repudiation of all authority, even when expressly delegated by common consent. The only means of propagating such a system seem to be individual persuasion and example. This is still the practice of many sincere Anarchists, but it has not proved sufficient for the impatience of minds asking for immediate results."

The author then takes a retrospect of the Old International, and the differences which arose between Marx and Bakunin. Coming to the Spanish movement, he says:

"The practical measures which have given to Spanish Anarchists a cohesion like that of any well-organised secret society, and which long ago made Spain the real centre of the international propaganda of Anarchy, were the result of two Congresses in 1881, held in London and Barcelona. In the first Socialists were admitted equally with Anarchists. At this meeting Prince Kropotkin—whose incendiary speeches at the Congress led to his expulsion from Switzerland—induced the members of his party to drop the name of 'Collectivist.' In Barcelona, what is called the first exclusively Anarchist Congress was held, to organise the Federation of Labourers of the Spanish Region. . . . The Spanish form allows local federations, uniting sections and groups, as well as the mere informal grouping of individuals which constitutes almost the only union of the French companions. It leaves each group free to manage its own affairs. The only centralising is not in the line of authority, but in mutual communication to secure that close understanding of Anarchists among themselves, which has been the life of the movement. It has consisted from the start in a Federal Committee of correspondence among all the local groups, but without executive power. This Committee takes the initiative only in organising new work, and in calling the annual Congress; it also receives the money contributed for the expenses of delegates, whom it recognises from the reports of the local sections, but without in any way controlling their nomination. In Spain, where workmen had not had a previous training as politicians in some form of Socialism, the system worked, and soon took possession of the entire Labour movement. In 1882, at the Congress of Seville, 663 workmen's unions were represented, with 218 local federations, comprising 60,000 members. A single periodical—'La Revista Social'—printed 30,000 copies for its regular issue."

The author then divides the different schools of Anarchists, classifying them under three tendencies—(1) The Communist school, of which Kropotkin is the representative; (2) the Possibilists, with which Dr. Paul Brousse's name is associated; and (3) the Individualist Anarchists, who believe in propaganda by deed. "The latter," says the author, "descend chiefly from the early Communist Anarchists, who are still represented in the French colony of Barcelona. It is among them that unbalanced and"

essentially criminal minds find stimulus and aid for that isolated work of destruction which has brought infamy on the Anarchist name in all countries of the civilised world. . . . This criminal tendency has little that can be considered peculiar to Spanish Anarchism, unless, indeed, it can be proved that the international correspondence instituted by the Spanish organisation has been useful to such manifestations on the part of the fanatics of the movement, in and out of Spain.

"In 1889, at the Congress of Valencia, it was found necessary to renew the entire Anarchist organisation in the Spanish Region. Four theoretical principles or formulas were adopted as a basis, to be made practical by a fifth article of association.

"First, Anarchy being non-government, entire liberty must be conceded to each member of the association. Second, an association cannot be Anarchist so long as a shred of authority subsists in it.

"Third, in consequence there are admitted to form the Anarchist organisation all individuals, groups, associations that accept Anarchy, without any distinction of revolutionary methods and schools.

"Fourth, each individual, like each association, is free to manifest Anarchy as he chooses; and entire liberty is left to everyone to act as he thinks best.

"Fifth, a centre for mutual relations and statistics is created, with the object of facilitating communication between individuals and groups, but with no other power or initiative of its own.

"The last article has been sufficient to give the strength and unity which are essential to the constitution of a national party, and which have been of constant use in the international movement.

"Recent events do not show that the Anarchist movement has lost any of its real strength or unity in Spain. It is possible that Socialists, pure and simple, may have gained in influence, but even this is probably limited to Madrid. In sum, Spanish Anarchists form a body of compact importance at home, where they represent the Social Revolution to which all Latin Republicanism inevitably tends."

L'HOMME QUI RIT.

The hero of this novel is Gwynplaine, who has been mutilated when a child and stolen by gypsies. When he wishes to be particularly serious his face gives horrid grins, and hence his name. He is really a Peer of England, and in the House of Lords he makes a speech against a proposal to increase the allowance of Prince George, the husband of Queen Anne.

Here is the speech:—

"My Lords,—You are on a pinnacle, but there is something below you. My lords, I wish to inform you that the human race exists. I am he who comes from the depths, and you, my lords, are great and rich. That is dangerous. I am only a voice; I am the cry of the human race. I wish, Peers of England, to plead for the people of England, for the Sovereign who is the subject, for the defendant who is the judge. I feel that my burden is too great, and I do not know where to begin. I have gathered up my facts from the mass of human misery, and I do not know what to say first. I am a

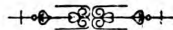
diver who has been in the ocean of misery, and I have found the pearl of truth. You will hear me, my lords, for I have suffered, and I have seen. Suffering is not a word, but a fact. I have grown up in poverty, and in winter I have felt the cold; I have tasted hunger, I have undergone contempt, I have had the plague, and I have drunk the cup of shame. I will lay all this before you, and this misery will be at your feet. I have hesitated to come here, but I felt that the hand of God was leading me, and I obeyed. I felt that I must come, because yesterday I was in rags. God made me a beggar that I might speak before those who are well fed. Oh! have pity! You know nothing of the nether world, you are too much above it; but I will tell you what it is. I have experience. The first thing I remember seeing was a gibbet—an emblem of law; the next thing I saw was a woman who had died of hunger and of cold—an emblem of riches; the third thing I saw was a dying child—an emblem of the future; and the fourth and best thing I saw was a vagabond, who had a wolf for his friend."

The Peers burst out laughing, but Gwynplaine goes on:—

"You are insulting misery, my lords, but I beg of you to have pity, and pity for yourselves. For you are in great danger. Do you not see that you are being weighed in the balance—in one scale is your power, and in the other your responsibility. I know that you are not wicked. You are men like others—neither better nor worse. You think that you are gods, but if you are feverish, where is your divinity? I appeal to those of you who are honest, who are intelligent, who are public-spirited. Your hearts are the same as ours. You are above us, but it is not your fault. It is the fault of our social system. As you are powerful, be brotherly; as you are great, be gentle. If you knew what I have seen. The human race is in prison; the poor have neither air nor virtue; children are prostitutes, and women are old at twenty. The criminal code is atrocious. Poverty is all over the land. My lords, those who vote taxes do not know who pays them. You tax the poor instead of the rich; but you should do just the opposite."

But the more earnest he becomes, the deeper grows the rectus on his face; and the lords laugh and jeer, but he goes on:—

"You wonder what I come here for. I am a monster, you say; yes, but I am the people, and this laughter on my face is a sign of the torture that the kings have inflicted on the people. I am a symbol of humanity which has been ill-treated by its masters. What has been done to me has been done to the human race. Right, justice, truth, reason, and intellect have all been distorted. To-day you jeer at me, and you oppress the people. But, take care, to-morrow is at hand. A noise will be heard, and you will perish. The Republic is at hand, and you will disappear. Those who suffer in your hell will rise and overwhelm you—the end is at hand. I see the red dawn of the coming day, and in the splendour of the future you will have no place."



PEACE.

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors
and the King of Glory shall come in."

Toy trumpets call to Carnival; the Houndsditch flags outflame;
Bells near, bells distant, loud or low, the mockery proclaim.
There are cheerings in the market, there are cheerings in the street;
And strangers grasping strangers' hands where'er they chance to meet.

But, tell Colenso this is Peace; bid Spion Kop be glad;
Tugela's flood and Paardeberg deep, and Magersfontein sad,
Tell Elandslaagte, Stormberg's heights—proclaim the tidings great;
And, lo, a hollow, echoing cry from regions desolate.

Tell soldiers' widows this is Peace; Or her whom foes compelled
To join the camp, with children six, the children of the veldt;
Who saw them die. *All die.* Go, meet those eyes of wistful pain,
And tell that mother, if you can, that Peace has come again.

* * * * *

The trumpet calls to Carnival—from every airless slum;
The piper pipes his melodies,—and hungering children come.
Ill-breathed, ill-fed; if this is Peace, then Peace, too, hath its slain;
Its dead, its slowly dying ones, its numbed of heart and brain.

Tell workless fathers this is Peace. Say to the old, "'Tis well."
Tell Spennymoor homes, tell Cradley Heath, that London mother tell
Whose three were burnt and died the while she toiled with factory band.
Go, tell that mother if you can that Peace is in the land.

Yet peace shall be; man yet shall end the Ishmaelitish strife,
The sceptres of all Leagues of Death shall pass to Leagues of Life;
Race aiding Race shall yet fling wide "the Everlasting Door,"
Life's King of Glory shall come in, with Peace that is not war.

F. COLEBROOK.

VAN KOL.
(Holland.)

G. HERRON.
(United States.)

E. VANDERVELDE.
(Belgium)

G. PLEKHANOFF.
(Russia.)

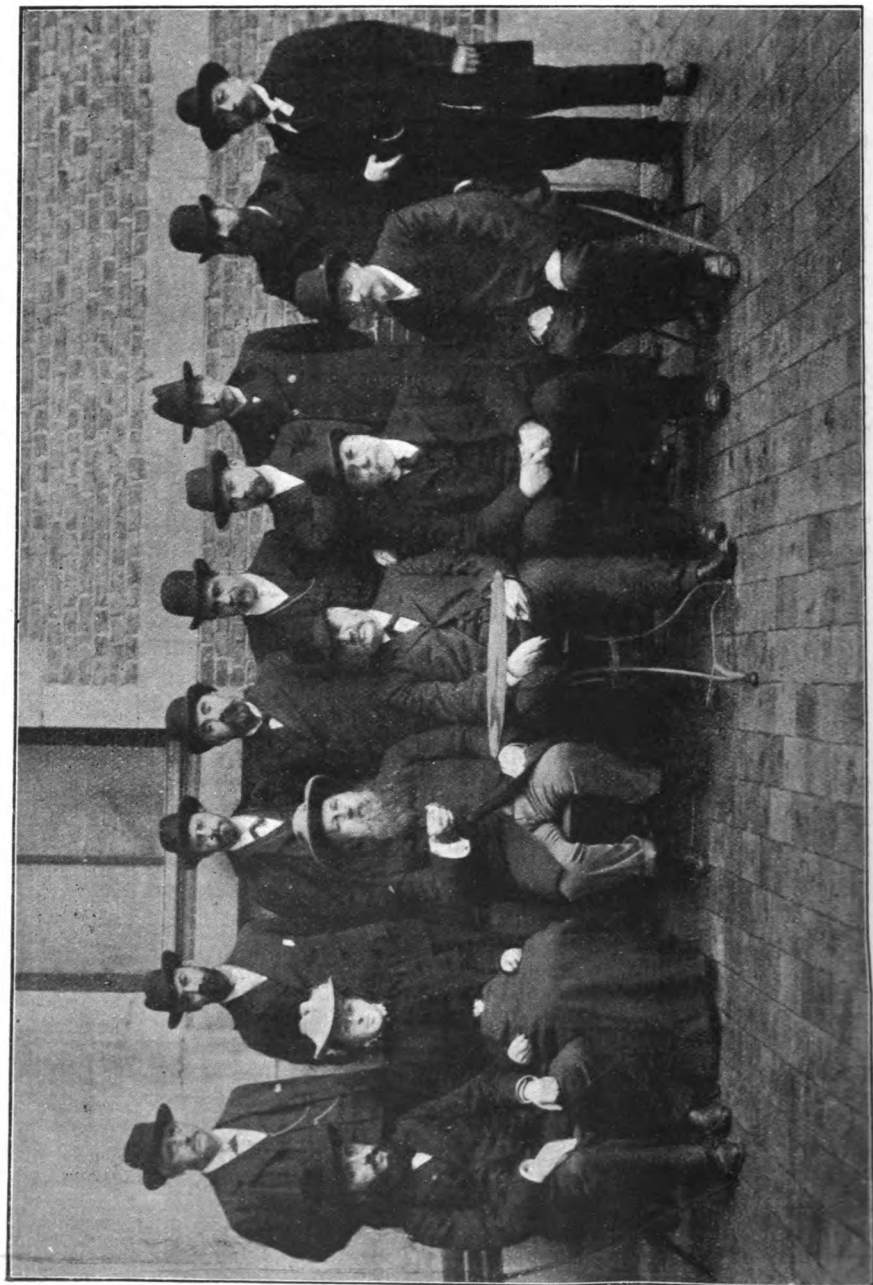
H. QUELCH.
(England.)

V. SERVY.
(Secretary.)

TROELSTRA.
(Holland.)

GERAULT-RICHARD.
(France.)

E. ANSELE.
(Belgium.)



KAYTCHENSKY.
(Russia.)

CERAPINE WODJANOWSKA.
(Poland.)

H. M. HYNDMAN.
(England.)

PAUL SINGER.
(Germany.)

ED. VAILLANT.
(France.)

KARL KAUFKY.
(Germany.)

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL.

The International Socialist Bureau was called into being by a resolution of the International Socialist Congress of Paris in 1900. On the question of practical means for international Socialist working-class union, organisation, and action, it was resolved that "A permanent international committee, **having** two delegates for each country, shall be formed, and shall have charge of the necessary funds, for the international congress. It shall settle the agenda, and shall call for reports from each nationality which agrees to the Congress. This Committee shall appoint a paid general secretary, who shall (a) Obtain necessary information; (b) Draw up a code explaining the resolutions passed at previous Congresses; (c) Distribute the reports on the Socialist movement of each country two months before each new Congress; (d) Draw up a summary of the reports discussed at the Congress; (e) Publish from time to time pamphlets and manifestoes on pressing questions, as well as on important reforms and studies on important political and economic questions; (f) Take necessary means to improve the action and the international organisation of the proletariat in every country."

It was agreed that the headquarters of this International Committee should be at Brussels, and to the Belgians was entrusted the task of appointing the Secretary and organising the Bureau.

The first meeting of the New International was held at Brussels, on Dec. 30, of last year, when there were present: From England, Hyndman and Quelch; France, Vaillant and Gerault-Richard, the latter of whom also represented Argentina; Germany, Singer and Kautsky; Holland, Van Kol and Troelstra; Poland, Cesarine Wodjnarowski; Russia, Plekhanoff and Krytchevski; America, Herron; Belgium, Anseele and Vandervelde, and the secretary, Serwy. Vandervelde presided.

Letters were read from the representatives of Italy, Austria, and Spain, expressing adherence to the meeting of the Committee, and giving explanations for their absence.

The first business considered was the ratification of the constitution of

the Committee. It was pointed out that the election of delegates at Paris had been agreed to be submitted to ratification in the different countries; the two delegates from England had been elected from the S.D.F., and the Executive of the I.L.P. claimed that they should have a representative on the Committee. Hyndman and Quelch stated that the S.D.F. were quite willing to come to an arrangement with the I.L.P. for the latter body to have one seat on the Committee, provided that the I.L.P. would meet them for that purpose. That it had hitherto refused to do. They claimed that it was not for the Bureau to decide, neither was it for the I.L.P. alone to appoint one delegate, and the S.D.F. another, as the delegates were chosen by the whole delegation, and if each section represented were to claim to send a delegate to the Committee, the latter would cease to be a committee, and would become a congress. The delegates elected at the Congress were the delegates for their respective nationalities on the Committee until their appointment had been ratified or amended jointly by the parties concerned. This view was endorsed by the Committee, and it was agreed that the I.L.P. be written to pointing out that the S.D.F. were quite willing to cede them one of the two seats on the Committee provided they would meet to arrange the matter, and that the Bureau endeavour to arrange such a meeting early in the new year.

For the United States it was reported that Harriman would be the future representative on the Committee from the Socialist Party, and it was agreed to ask the Socialist Labour Party to nominate a delegate for the second seat. The other nationalities were represented as elected at Paris. Supplementary delegates, it was agreed, should be admitted to the meetings of the Committee, in the absence of those regularly appointed.

The different nationalities were asked to appoint a correspondent, or two where there were two sections. Either of the delegates could act as correspondent.

On the motion of the Executive Bureau, it was agreed to send the condolences of the Committee to the Swiss Socialist Party on the loss it had sustained by the death of Fauquez.

On the motion of Kautsky and Singer, supported by the Polish and Russian delegates, the Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution:—"The International Socialist Bureau, meeting in conference at Brussels, December 30, 1901, expresses, in the name of the Socialist proletariat of all countries, its most energetic protest against the policy of Germanisation pursued by Prussia in Poland, which has not hesitated to put in operation against the Polish people the most barbarous methods in order to compel them to abandon their mother tongue.

"The Bureau would at the same time point out the hypocrisy of the Prussian governing classes, which cannot sufficiently manifest their indignation against English barbarities in the Transvaal, yet which, on the other hand, approve and encourage the most scandalous oppression by their Government of the Polish people in Germany.

"The International Bureau calls upon the Polish working class to seek

protection against the suppression of its national and intellectual culture, as well as against its economic subjection, in Social-Democracy; and to devote all its efforts towards the triumph of Socialism, which can alone secure for it material and intellectual liberty and equality."

The Secretary then reported on the work of the Executive Bureau. Up to December 20 the receipts had been 3,555 francs, and the expenditure amounted to about 1,600 francs. Twenty-two nationalities had given in their adhesion to the International Committee; England, Germany, Austria, Australia, Argentina, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, the United States, Spain, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Servia.

The Bureau had published during the year a number of manifestoes, including one on the troubles in Russia, one on the atrocities in Armenia, and another on the concentration camps, and it had succeeded in bringing about interpellations in several Parliaments and public demonstrations in different countries. The codification of the resolutions of the Paris Congress has been carried out, and is now ready for publication.

An international bulletin had appeared from time to time in the "Peuple" of Brussels, reporting the communications received by the Bureau on the Socialist movement. There had been 27 numbers of this bulletin up to date. The Bureau had been frequently consulted on questions of interest to the working class, the working-class movement, social legislation, etc. The Bureau was in receipt of the journals, manifestoes, etc., of the various Socialist parties, and with the statistics thus at its disposal was preparing a volume on the development of Socialism during the nineteenth century.

Singer congratulated the Executive Bureau on the work it had accomplished, and pointed out that its duty must be rather that of collecting information and giving expression to the views of the International movement rather than that of taking the lead. It was impossible to adopt the same means in all countries. Vaillant followed on the same lines, and the report was adopted. It was further decided to publish the resolutions of the International Congresses from 1889 to 1900, in pamphlet form, and also that the next meeting of the Committee should be held in July next in Brussels.

At its afternoon sitting, the Committee considered the question of putting into application the resolutions of the Paris Congress. It was agreed that the Socialist members of Parliament of the different countries should endeavour to give effect to the resolutions of the dock and maritime workers by legislation. Singer stated that steps in this direction had already been taken in the German Reichstag.

On the question of the First of May it was decided that the Executive should issue a manifesto.

It was suggested that provisionally the following should form the inter-parliamentary Socialist Committee: For Germany, Singer; France, Dejeante and Marius Deves; Belgium, Vandervelde; England, Keir Hardie; Italy, Andrea Costa. The other countries were left to nominate their members.

On the question of establishing a regular international bulletin, it was

agreed that the magazines of the party in the different countries, that is to say: "Die Neue Zeit" for Germany, the "Mouvement Socialiste" for France, the "Nieuwe Tijd" for Holland, the "Social Democrat" for England, the "Avenir Social" for Belgium, etc., should be requested to make this a part of their regular contents. In the meantime, the bulletin to continue to be published by the "Peuple."

With reference to the International Congress to be held in Amsterdam next year, it was decided that it should be held about the middle of August, and should be called the "International Socialist Congress;" that in the present month the Bureau should issue a circular inviting the various working-class parties to be represented, and to forward the questions they wished to be put upon the order of the day; and that the conditions as to admission should be the same as those agreed upon at Brussels for the Paris Congress—i.e., that only those bodies should take part in the Congress who accepted the class war and recognised the socialisation of all the means of production as the aim and object of the working-class movement.

On the question of Imperialism the Committee adopted three resolutions. The first, proposed by Hyndman, was as follows:—

"This meeting of the International Socialist Bureau once more calls the attention of workers of the world, Socialist and non-Socialist, to the policy of Imperialism which is being adopted by every country of European civilisation, including the United States of America, in order to carry out the economic schemes of the international capitalist class, which, though acting in hostility at times under different national flags, nevertheless as a whole follows the same ruthless methods in every case, in order to maintain its dominance everywhere. If England in South Africa and the United States in the Philippines have shown themselves of late specially guilty, the whole of Europe, the United States, and Japan have displayed in China, a combination of injustice and cold-blooded cruelty which has left a hideous blot in the history of our time. The terrible economic effects of capitalist exploitation on subject peoples, as in India (where 230,000,000 of human beings are being utterly ruined by the exaction of a fearful tribute), in Ireland, in Poland, in Africa, in Asia, and all over the world, reminded us also that these horrors without are accompanied by the degradation and impoverishment of the various proletariats at home. Imperialism and chauvinism are continuously used by the governing classes of all countries to cover the weaknesses of competitive capitalism and to protect themselves against the growing power of Socialism. At a time when a dangerous industrial crisis is weighing upon the workers in many countries and threatens in many more, the International Socialist Bureau appeals earnestly to the workers of the world not to be misled by the calculating manoeuvres of capitalist statesmen and the unscrupulous misrepresentations of the capitalist press, but to band themselves together in close international solidarity, supporting one another at all times as one thoroughly organised whole against the last and worst form of class domination."

The second resolution was proposed by the Polish and Russian delegates

as follows:—"The International Socialist Bureau condemns the odious Russian despotism, which once more sanguinarily distinguished itself by the massacre, on May 7 last, of the workers of the Obouchoff factory, in St. Petersburg, during a demonstration in relation to the international festival of May 1, and in afterwards, at the end of September, 1901, through its servile judiciary, condemning 29 victims, chosen arbitrarily from among the demonstrators of Obouchoff, to prison and to penal servitude.

"It sends fraternal greetings to the heroic fighters among the Russian working class, and assures them of the cordial sympathy of international Socialism in the struggle they are carrying on against Czarism, the common enemy of Socialism and Democracy."

The third resolution was proposed by the Russian delegates:—"The International Socialist Bureau unanimously protests against the Russian Government, which, in the interests of reaction, has destroyed the constitution enjoyed by the people of Finland, and by a recent ordinance of the Ministry of Education, almost entirely prohibits the Jews the right of entry to middle and higher schools."

"The Bureau feels all the more strongly called upon to condemn this latter measure, dictated by certain anti-Semites, because the Jewish Social-Democratic workers in Russia have by their services deserved well of the international proletariat."

The Committee, considering the question of assistance to travelling members of the party, suggested that the Executive should invite the secretaries of the various national parties to exchange cards of membership, by which members of their party might be identified, at the beginning of each year.

The meeting concluded at half-past five with thanks from the President to the delegates and congratulations on the good work which had been accomplished, the delegates expressing their appreciation of the manner in which they had been received by the Belgian comrades, and the satisfactory fashion in which the work of the Executive Bureau had been carried out. There was the most complete accord throughout the whole day's proceedings, every resolution being adopted unanimously.

In the evening a large and enthusiastic audience gathered in the magnificent hall of the Maison du Peuple to listen to speeches from the various members of the Committee. Vandervelde presided, and, having briefly reviewed the work of the day, expressed in the name of the audience their pleasure in welcoming the foreign delegates. The meeting was addressed by Singer, Vaillant, Quelch, Hyndman, Plekhanoff, Troelstra, Herron, Gerault-Richard, and Kritchevski, and the following resolution, proposed by Vandervelde, was carried with acclamation: "This international meeting, assembled in the Maison du Peuple, declares that the industrial crisis which at present exists in all countries of Europe is the fatal consequence of the economic anarchy which characterises capitalist production. It expresses the conviction that the innumerable evils which result for the proletariat from this economic anarchy can only be ended by the socialisation of the means of production and the triumph of international Socialism."

The meeting concluded with loud cheers for the "International," after which the children of the different choirs gave an entertainment, which was much appreciated.

BERNSTEIN AND THE GERMAN PARTY.

I am not surprised that our friend Askew should "suspect" that I should not think it worth while to answer his somewhat long-winded whitewashing of Bernstein in the March number of the "Social Democrat." I have no wish to "speak disrespectfully" of "the equator," much less of comrade Askew, but this terribly laboured piece of special pleading certainly does not show our esteemed comrade at his strongest. Nevertheless, it has been suggested to me that there are one or two points which it might be advisable to comment upon, more especially as the Bernstein affair, occupying somewhat the position of a test case, and the matter of integrity in questions of doctrine and ideal in the Socialist Party which it opens up, is not to my thinking, one of secondary importance.

I confess that the mysterious *tu quoque* with which Askew concludes his article is beyond me. Askew asks me to answer the question, how I could avoid being turned out myself if Bernstein were? Now, this strikes me as very much like the poser put to the unfortunate witness (a mild teetotal husband and father), by the counsel: "Now, sir, I want a plain, straightforward answer. Have you given up getting drunk and murderously assaulting your wife and children?" I know a great many reasons why Bernstein should be turned out, but, as I know none whatever why I should be, I am afraid I cannot enlighten friend Askew on that particular point of his challenge. If he is referring to my refusal to bow the knee to the Feminism cult, as is the fashion with some Socialists, I can only say that Feminism, as such, is not, and never has been, an integral part of Socialism. Bebel, with perfect candour, recognised this in his "Frau," when he said expressly that numbers of "Genossen" repudiate Feminism, and intimated that his views on the subject did not commit any one else. In the old Communist manifesto there is no trace of Feminism. Even as regards the suffrage for women there never has been unanimity of opinion, although the actual majority of Socialists may be in favour of it. In Belgium there is a strong party against it, and this is still more the case in Italy, while in all countries many of those who nominally adhere to it thank God, or whoever else they regard as the boss of mundane affairs, that there is no immediate danger of it being realised.

Askew's attempt at whitewashing Mr. Bernstein may pass muster with those who have not read him, but those who have read his articles in the "Neue Zeit," in the "Vorwaerts," the "Sozialistische Monatshefte," or his book, will only smile at it, for they will recognise the absolute truth of my statement that Bernstein has (at different times within the last five years) championed "every form, and well-nigh every abuse of capitalism." My amiable critic tries to be funny over the "well-nigh." He likes it, he says. I am glad he does, since it shows he likes accuracy. If I had said "every abuse" he might have accused me of inaccuracy, because I am not aware that Mr. Bernstein, any more than many Liberals and Tories, has ever cham-

pioned insanitary factories, or unprotected machinery endangering life, which certainly are abuses of capitalism; but these, so far as I remember, are about the only ones he has not championed. Therefore, with friend Askew's permission, I will let the qualification stand, and will not commit myself to the statement that Bernstein justifies "every abuse."

I can only caution comrades who do not read German against taking Comrade Askew's version of Bernstein as correct. Askew innocently asks what principles are "of faith" in Social Democracy. If this naivete is not a joke, I should recommend him to go to school again, and when he has been through a course of elementary Socialist literature, he may be in a position to answer it for himself. Askew further asks "if the Social Democratic party is a body with fixed doctrines or dogmas?" I answer, it is a party, at all events, possessing certain principles, political, economical, and ethical, based on the known facts of historic evolution. Any one who sets himself by sophistry, or otherwise, to upset these principles, though he may be an excellent man, has no right within a party whose *raison d'être* is the realisation of an ideal based on the assumed truth of these principles. The cackle of toleration, of "self-criticism," and what-not, is the veriest balderdash. We want no "self-criticism" within the party in the matter of fundamentals. We have the right to assume that a man has done his "criticism" of principles before joining the party, for no party can afford to have persons within its ranks who call in question its very bases. And hence I say the moment a member begins publicly to whittle away doctrines at the foundation of the very existence of the party, he should be expelled. But, says Askew, Bernstein denies that he has done this, and who is to decide? The answer is simple. The facts decide in the first place. It is of no use Bernstein denying things which can be proved by his written and spoken utterances. For the rest, the decision as to whether these utterances are sufficient ground for expulsion, must rest with the body of the party. While not questioning the technical right of the German party through their ultimate Court of Appeal, the annual Congress, to retain Bernstein, I have merely criticised the consistency of their action and its effect, as a precedent, on the welfare of the party.

With regard to Bernstein's action in the matter of the South African business, I confess it is very difficult for me, personally, to believe in the bona-fides of a man who could represent to German readers the "Daily News," under the proprietorship of Mr. Oppenheim, as an impartial organ in the matter of the war, as did Mr. Bernstein in the "Vorwaerts," or who could allege that the whole British nation believed the preposterously transparent Jingo lie of the Dutch conspiracy, as did Mr. Bernstein in reply to Kautsky in the "Neue Zeit." It is, I say, difficult to believe that Mr. Bernstein's guileless simplicity was such that he did not know that at the time he wrote, the "Daily News" was "running" the war for all it was worth, or that he was unaware of the fact that no Englishman, not even the Imperialists, really believed this preposterous conspiracy fakement, clumsily concocted by a subsidised press. However, I suppose we must in charity accept the theory of Bernstein's imbecility, rather than of his mendacity.

To compare Bernstein's "views" on the war to the opinions of Hyndman is an insult to the latter. Hyndman, in spite of his well-known pro-British prejudices, has spoken out manfully on the subject, denouncing the war and all its ways, at the very beginning, and for some time afterwards. Although I regret to say that, in my humble judgment, he too soon wearied in well-doing, and began to think it necessary to try and make out **that the British were no worse than anybody else.*** Yet his services at one time must not be forgotten.

When Askew asks me whether I think it advisable to allow members the right of free criticism of the party programme, I say yes. But if by party programme he means the ultimate foundation on which the party rests, the basal object for which the party is constituted, I say no. No member, no person from within the party, has the right to call in question the *raison d'être* of the party. The talk about intolerance in this connection, as Kautsky has admirably pointed out in his article, "Der Ruckzug der zehn tausend," in a recent number of the "Neue Zeit," rests upon a confusion between a party organisation and the State. It is the right and duty of a party, as such, to guard its principles from disintegrating influences. No man has the right to expect to be allowed to remain a member of a party whose principles, whether rightly or wrongly, he has publicly called in question. On the other hand, no party has a right to use the State, the secular arm, to crush opposition to its views. It has never been proposed to immolate Bernstein in a Socialistic *auto da fe*, even if that were possible. The utmost that has been suggested is that he should be politely, but firmly, told to clear out of the German Social Democratic organisation, and take his criticism with him. There is nothing to prevent him from demolishing Marx or anybody else outside the organisation. What more than this can a man want? If he has ulterior and private reasons for wishing to remain inside a party whose doctrines he has held up to ridicule, that is his affair; but he can hardly expect these reasons to weigh with the party as such. As a matter of fact, for my own part, and I believe I represent the opinion of the bulk of Socialists that have followed his career, I consider the expressed political aims of Bernstein as similar to, and as every whit as objectionable as, the aims of any one of those parties which we are accustomed to regard as our enemies. In fact, I fail to find any serious difference between Bernstein's views and those of any ordinary Liberal or Conservative reactionary. But I suppose Comrade Askew thinks it not of the least consequence what a member of the party is aiming to realise, provided he, with his tongue in his cheek, calls himself a Socialist, and refuses to leave the party of his own accord. "Toleration" requires that we should endure him, and wink at any mischief he may do in the meantime!

E. BELFORT BAX.

* One would like to know of any other nation that has refused to allow the enemy doctors and medicine, that has burned down homesteads wholesale as a matter of policy, that has destroyed thousands of children systematically, that has violated laws of war accepted by itself two years previously.

THE RIOTS AND THE ELECTIONS IN BELGIUM.

Our Belgium comrades may at least be congratulated on their moral courage; for they boldly acknowledge that they have blundered, and have suffered in consequence. In the long run, their present disappointment will do more good than harm, for it has afforded useful lessons, which must be learnt before full success can be attained. Nevertheless, for the moment, there is no denying that the Belgian Social Democratic Party is under a cloud. This is the more to be regretted as it is the strongest Socialist party of any country in Europe. This is shown even by the figures of the elections, which on Sunday, May 18th, renewed half the Belgian Parliament, and revealed the fact that the Socialists had not made anything like the progress they had anticipated. In the rural districts, where the contest occurred on the 25th of May, the Clericals obtained 549,388 votes; the Liberals, 263,155; the Socialists, 155,386; and the Christian Socialists, 26,117. This shows that, as compared with the previous election of 1900, the Clericals had increased their vote by 47,551, the Liberals by 3,883, and the Socialists by 4,017. In six urban districts the Socialist vote was augmented by 12,758, while the increase of the Clericals and the Liberals was only a little more than 4,000 each. Taking both urban and rural districts together, the Clericals had 840,978; the Liberals 369,911; the Socialists 378,326; and the Christian Socialists 26,190 votes. This is equal to an increase of 75,595 for the Clericals, 16,863 for the Socialists, 73 for the Christian Socialists, and a decrease of 698 for the Liberals, as compared to the previous election. The Clericals capture 57 seats, their opponents only 34 seats; but, then, on an average, 10,469 votes sufficed to elect a Clerical, and it required 14,553 votes to elect a member of the Opposition. In the new Parliament there will be 34 Socialists instead of 31, two Christian Socialists instead of one, 34 Liberals as before, but there will be 96 Clericals instead of 86. Therefore, there is no disguising the fact that the elections have resulted in a Clerical victory. Considering the general increase in the number of voters, it cannot be said that the Socialist vote has augmented in an emphatic manner; and for a revolutionary party to remain stationary is equivalent to a defeat.

And now for the cause. Threatening demonstrations in Brussels, some riots, and what appeared like the beginning of a general strike, had compelled the Clerical Government to yield in 1893. In one single day, the Parliament, then thoroughly alarmed, agreed on the general principles of the Electoral Reform Bill, which has since become law. Why have similar proceedings been proved to-day utterly ineffective? Because, in the first instance, the Government had promised three years previously a Reform Bill, had recognised its necessity, and in 1893 they were only called upon to fulfil their own promises. Nor did the Government then recognise that there was any particular danger in the promise that they had made. There

was not in those days a single Socialist in the Parliament; and, by instituting the plural vote, it was thought that the Socialists would not be elected. It was a terrible shock to the Clericals when no less than 28 Socialists were elected; and the Government, instead of promising further reforms, was careful not to continue the work begun. There still remained to alter the law for municipal elections; and, having been taught a lesson, they made it much more difficult to vote for municipal councils than for Parliament, and gave four instead of three votes to the privileged classes. On the other hand these anomalies went to strengthen the cry for further electoral reform.

The Government now took another and more important step. During the riotous period of 1893, the police, thinking the Liberals would soon come to power, dealt very tenderly with the mob. As for the Civic Guards, they came in droves to the Socialist headquarters, holding the butt-end of their guns in the air, and cheering for the demanded reforms. Therefore, the Government subsequently dissolved the Civic Guard, and re-organised it on a very different footing. The superior officers are no longer elected by the rank and file, but are appointed by the Government, and selected from among half-pay army officers. These men, now finding that their somewhat meagre half-pay is notably increased by their pay as officers of the Civic Guard, are devoted servants of the Government which has thus very materially improved their position. Besides, they are professional soldiers, and are not likely to know or care about democratic movements and politics. The other day the difference was very soon perceptible. Brussels was strategically occupied, the slightest insubordination sternly repressed; there was no lifting of the butt-end of the guns in the air. The police also, feeling that there was a strong Government, and that the reformers had no chance, hit out unmercifully. All this should have been foreseen, for it was evident that what was possible in 1893 was now far more difficult to achieve. Unfortunately, the Socialist leaders allowed themselves to be hypnotised by a few high-sounding phrases. For instance, they got into the habit of saying, "*nous irons jusqu' au bout*." This sounded very strong and threatening, and evoked loud applause; but what did it mean? In England the Jingoës used similar terms, "*fight to the finish*," see the war "*through*"; but through to where, and who is to define what is a finish or end? Then the Socialists made a terrible mistake in fixing a date at which the Government was to yield; because, when the date came, and the Government did not yield, the Socialists looked ridiculous. But the Socialist leaders had allowed themselves to be outstepped by the blatant braggarts that infect all advanced movements. These loud-mouthed individuals had persuaded no inconsiderable number of workmen that a physical force revolution was possible, just as others pretend that a general strike is practicable. In a word, the leaders were carried off their feet by the clamour that came from below. A few small demonstrations accidentally became disorderly; this led to other larger demonstrations, and to greater disorders. Then came a situation of extreme peril, when the patient and successful work of years might have been destroyed in a sea of blood.

A secret meeting was held at the Maison du Peuple. Even then, some infatuated speaker declared that the soldiers would refuse to leave their barracks. Defnet, who has been a soldier, shrugged his shoulders, and the speaker turned upon him, loudly declaring that he had certain information to the effect that the troops would refuse to move. We know the melancholy result. Then, in the cafe of the Maison du Peuple, another individual called upon the crowd there to march to the Avenue Louise. Of course, detectives were there also, and with the aid of telephones and bicycles there was plenty of time to make ample preparations. When the Socialists reached the Avenue Louise, they found a cordon of police, who let them through. But beyond there were mounted gendarmes, who charged, and the police closed up in the rear. Between the two our friends received a good drubbing. What else could they expect, under the circumstances? Fighting to-day is a science. Such riots were not only useless, but they were certain to seriously damage the reputation of the party.

Fortunately, in the midst of this terrible and perplexing crisis, some trades in the provinces went on strike out of sympathy with the movement in Brussels. This supplied a pretext. Out of sympathy with these trades, other trades were ordered out on strike, and a pretence at a general strike was made. This served its purpose. It was a diversion from the street rioting. A general strike was, of course, impossible; for, excepting among the miners of the Borinage, no funds had been accumulated for the purpose. But it turned attention in another direction, and saved the workers from the very imminent danger of a general massacre. When once the excitement had subsided, and the danger of rioting was past, the order for a general strike was withdrawn. But though the Socialist party thus finally succeeded in restoring order, it was not till after much mischief had been done. Unknown individuals had joined the demonstrators, and amused themselves in breaking shop windows, and indulged in others forms of senseless violence. Of course, this has brought about a strong anti-Socialist reaction. Many small shopkeepers who used to vote for the Socialists have now voted against them for fear of having their windows smashed. Many Liberals have voted for the Clericals rather than vote for the Socialists because of the violence of the rioters, who were reputed to be Socialists; though, for the most part, they were unknown roughs emerging from the slums.

There can be no doubt but that the Socialists, elated by the success they achieved in threatening the Government in 1893, have, of late years, been too freely indulging in a policy of bluff. The present set-back will do no harm, however, if it serves to lessen the influence of the loud talkers, who gain a cheap popularity by making wild threats and promises, which quieter and wiser men know cannot be realised. Indeed, there is now some talk of adopting disciplinary measures against such speakers; and, considering the harm that has been done to the Socialist movement in Belgium, such a course might be justifiable.

A. S. HEADINGLEY.

INVESTIGATING THE BEEF TRUST.

As a result of the general outcry against the beef trust, Attorney-General Knox has directed "a thorough investigation" to be made, by one of the district attorneys of the United States, of its supposed lawless methods, and its relations to the Sherman anti-trust law. For the first time the Attorney-General "is testing whether the law and the courts can arrest these combinations," says the Philadelphia "Press," and it adds that he is "the conspicuous representative of the public determination that no man, men, or corporation shall be able to evade the law prohibiting combinations to advance prices."

The New York "Herald," which leads in the attacks on the trust, accuses it of the following "lawless methods":—

- "(1) The arbitrary regulation of prices.
- "(2) Limitation of supplies at given points.
- "(3) Agreement as to territory in suppression of competition.
- "(4) Boycotting of dealers by one member of the trust, whereby they are debarred from obtaining credit from any other member.
- "(5) Blacklisting of employees, so that those dismissed by any firm in the combine are shut out by all.
- "(6) Formal signed agreements to observe certain practices in the conduct of their business with dealers.
- "(7) The appointment of a central official to see that these agreements are kept, and with power to decide without appeal, and to collect a money penalty from any concern in the trust that fails to maintain them in their rigour."

The special rates said to be given to the members of the meat combination by the railroads cause many papers, in the course of their comment, to bring out the necessity of the governmental regulation of railroads. For instance, the Philadelphia "North American" adds:—

"It's mighty poor comfort for a dangerously stricken patient to be told that he must wear out the disease and trust to his constitution. That is what the political doctors advocate who say that matters will right themselves if let alone. No one specific has been found that can be accepted as an infallible cure for the trust evil, but there are a number of partial preventives. Until the railroads are put under strict federal supervision and their secret and unlawful partnership with the trusts made impossible, freedom of competition between domestic producers cannot be restored. . . .

"Times are good and the Americans are long-suffering. For the time being the politicians may find it safe to fool the people by juggling with the trust question. But should there come a general business depression the party in power would have to give a strict account of its stewardship. Neither the party that had permitted them to usurp unlimited power nor the trusts themselves could expect to escape unscathed from the ordeal."

The Richmond "Times" thinks that without considering the trust, "those who raise cattle and sheep and hogs are certainly getting a benefit out of the situation," and "it is all nonsense to say that the beef trust is getting all the profit, while the stock-raisers are getting none." The Brooklyn "Times" says we should all rejoice "that wheat, bread, oatmeal, and beans are as cheap

and as wholesome as ever"; that the price of potatoes has receded and the "anonymous hen has resumed her normal activity in the egg-producing business." The Houston "Post" says:—

"Doubtless the protectionists are pleased with the advance in the price of meat. Is not the beef trust that makes the profit American, and are we not Americans also? Is it not right that an American enterprise should make profit of an American commodity in the American market? It is true that American beef is sold cheaper in England than it is here at home, but that is because in England it has to compete with meat shipped from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Europe, and Mexico. We are too patriotic to eat the 'pauper' beef of Canada, or the meat raised by the greasers or colonial Britishers. We have a high tariff which keeps such meat out of the country. The American beef trust is able to supply us with American meat as good, if not better, at prices as good, if not better, as any foreign beef that ever walked on hoofs. . . .

"Let us be thankful that there is as yet no herb trust. When the captains of industry form one, we will have to be thankful that we can breathe air. Here, at length, is the limit."

Further evidence has been presented to show that the object of the beef trust is to form a colossal food combine, and that the sale of beef is only one of the many businesses in which it is engaged.

"The National Provisioner," which the New York "Sun" calls "the official organ of the beef trust," says:—

"There is no such 'trust.' Those who understand the live-stock and meat trade know that without being told. There are killed in this country about 11,000,000 cattle, including calves; about 5,000,000 of these are killed at the fifty-odd official or inspected abattoirs, while about 6,000,000 are killed at the other 900 unofficial abattoirs and by farmers and small slaughterers all over this country.

"The whole of the cattle and calves, as well as the hogs and sheep slaughtered by the five packers in question are killed at the government-inspected abattoirs, and are among the 5,000,000 head given out by the Secretary of Agriculture as our official slaughter. Assuming that the five concerns cited kill 3,000,000 of the total, there remain the other 2,000,000 and the 6,000,000 of outside cattle—8,000,000 head in all—to hit the market in competition. With so much beef and veal for competition the outside concerns would kill any such combine, if it existed."

The Secretary of Agriculture is quoted as saying:

"I do claim to know something about the raising and selling of beef. Others may talk about the 'beef combine' as much as they like, but to me the raise in the price of beef is very easily explained. It is due almost wholly to a short corn crop last year, and to a great demand for beef, caused by the prosperity of the people of the United States. The high price of corn has made it necessary for Western cattle-feeders to send to the South for cotton-seed meal to feed their stock with. The price of fat cattle on the hoof at the Chicago stock-yards has advanced from 5 cents a pound to 7 cents. Men who have fine beef cattle to sell can almost get their own prices.

"There is a great demand for cattle, and that means a great demand for beef. The people of the United States are eating more beef now than they ever did before in their history. This is because they are making money and spending it. There are not many families in this country that do not

have their steaks and roasts and boiling pieces. The American people are by long odds the best-fed people in the world.

"Under such circumstances it is only natural that the price of beef should advance. Cattle and meat, like all other commodities, have to follow the laws of supply and demand. The men who have cattle to sell naturally want the highest prices they can get. It is the same with the packers and retailers."—From the "Literary Digest," New York.

THE LIMITS OF THE AMERICAN INVASION.

Mr. Walter Ford, in this month's "Contemporary Review," follows up an article he wrote for the March number, wherein he "attempted to show that the balances due to the United States on foreign trade had been so considerable that the whole of them could not possibly be liquidated by ordinary commercial methods, and that, therefore, Americans had no option but to seek investments outside their own country as a means of taking payment for a portion of the commercial debts due to them."

The reason England has been so largely favoured by the Americans is because of the absence of restrictions here. In fact, we are the only country of first-rate importance where the foreign capitalists are placed on an absolute equality with the natives. Even minor restrictions cannot fail to have a discouraging effect, as they are indications of official attitude.

"Each year since 1894 the exports of American merchandise have exceeded the imports; but it was not until 1897 that the excess of imports became considerable. In that year it amounted to 286,263,144 dollars; in 1898 to 615,432,676 dollars; in 1899 to 529,874,813 dollars; in 1900 to 544,541,898 dollars; and in 1901 it reached the highest point ever touched—namely, 664,592,826 dollars. From these totals have, of course, to be deducted the payments made by Americans for interests on foreign loans, freights on merchandise carried by vessels owned in other countries, and the excess of the expenditure of Americans travelling abroad over the expenses of tourists in the United States. The total of these several items amounts to about 200,000,000 dollars a year. . . . This still leaves a large sum for investments abroad, which we feel the effect of in England, especially as there seem to be no favourable trade developments which might be presumed to absorb the British capital thus displaced. And the war has only drawn off such capital, and left an opening for the Americans to enter, besides damaging our industries and lessening our competition in international markets."

"The effect of the tariff upon exports and imports of the United States is then dealt with, and the part played by the Trusts. When the imports increase the Trusts bring pressure on the legislature to raise the Customs, which, of course, naturally decrease imports. In 1898, after the introduction of the Dingley tariff, imports fell to 616,050,000 dollars, as compared with 764,730,000 dollars for the previous year; a decline of 148,680,000 dollars. But the trusts exercise a greater effect upon exports. Completely controlling the home market, they can fix prices at a point just below that which the foreigners, after paying enormous Custom duties, would charge. If the home market contracts, exports increase; when it expands, they diminish. But while Official Returns are based on prices current in the United States

market, it is notorious that goods are sold abroad at far lower prices, though American manufacturers are unwilling to admit this." Mr. Ford gives the following table taken from the "American Free Trade Almanac," in support of this statement:—

Articles.	Quantity Exported.	Value in Dollars.	Prices in United States.	Prices abroad in certain instances.
Steel Rails, tons	372,688	10,841,189	26 to 35 dollars (average 29 dollars)	17 to 18 dollars
Lead, pounds...	6,354,924	285,158	4.3 cents	2½ to 3 cents
Copper, pounds	252,769,328	43,267,621	16.4 cents	15 cents
Leather, pounds	35,280,211	21,320,646	...	5 to 10 per cent. less than in United States.

"Some American writers go so far as to say, the figures should be reduced by 10 per cent. Mr. Secretary Gage stated, in his report last year, that the excess of exports was showing a strong tendency to increase. The latest returns have utterly falsified this idea. The excess of exports for nine months has decreased 138,005,000 dollars thus:—

July-March.	1902.	1901.
Exports	1,080,598,000	1,139,669,000
Imports	678,361,000	599,427,000
Excess of Exports .	402,237,000	540,242,000

The writers think that "the falling-off in the excess of exports removes one of the greatest incentives to the purchase of British securities and industrial undertakings." The condition of the Money Market in New York gives strong evidence that they have apparently absorbed all their credits. "At the present time the bills drawn in England and payable in New York preponderate so much over those drawn in the United States and payable in London that the export of bullion from New York has become necessary." The author is of opinion that "the Americans, in their attempts to capture British trade, have not only used up their trade balances, but incurred a mass of debt, which is none the less formidable because it is at present merely floating. Very large sums in the aggregate have been invested quietly through the London Stock Exchange, and it is only in one or two cases such as Ogden's and the steamship lines that a flourish of trumpets has been given. Furthermore, the American capitalists have pledged themselves in the matter of taking over going concerns to a far greater extent than appears on the surface. As the New York Money Market is already burdened with a mass of floating debits, another great coup like the Atlantic Shipping Trust, provided, of course, that it involves the actual purchase of British assets and is not merely a mutual arrangement to mitigate the severity of existing competition, might render the export of bullion an inadequate means of settling the debts due from the United States to England."

"This position," says the writer, "can only be met by their selling either their English or American securities, and as this would mean selling in a falling and buying in a rising market, they are not likely to do this deliberately. The mere rumour of an American purchase causes prices to

rise rapidly. But it is quite possible they may reach that stage through over-estimating the strength of their position. If the monetary difficulty in New York becomes so serious as to necessitate the export thence of large consignments of bullion, the end of the American invasion will appear clearly on the financial horizon. . . . Another significant fact is that for the nine months ended in March last, the value of the imports into the United States rose 89,000,000 dollars, as compared with the corresponding period last year. . . . And every mitigation of the drain upon our resources caused directly or indirectly by the war in South Africa, will strengthen the hands of British manufacturers and traders, and will render them not only better able to cope with foreign rivals at home, but also more effective competitors in other markets."



WITHOUT HOUSE OR HOME.

Under the above title, Lieut.-Col. Redder deals, in the "Contemporary Review," with the present position of the agricultural labourer. He says that without a home the power of self-restraint goes. And any system that "unsettles" a class, endangers the social fabric. He quotes Dr. Jessop as pleading "for what remains of that sturdy peasantry which were, not so very long ago, the very pith and marrow, the very backbone of a great people," and thinks the marrow is degenerating, and there is a beginning of national paralysis. What is even more extraordinary than the rush to the towns is the inter-migration in the country. "Take up any paper before Michaelmas, and look at the serried columns of advertisements by employers in want of farm labourers. Men marry young in the country. Roughly speaking, each advertisement means that two families are on the move."

And why? The farmers say the men are a discontented lot and they like moving! The writer shows, however, that moving swallows savings besides damaging goods. "A new start means new debt. . . . The month preceding moving is passed under the scowl of a master, the month that follows is like the 'breaking in' of a live foot to a new and ill-fitting boot. One would fancy that labourers would go on swallowing discomfort in a weak solution for a long time rather than face the concentrated misery of a change. But they are constantly moving. 'Us could stand it no longer,' is the general and comprehensive explanation. Labouring families strike no root, and yet, put the most ill-conditioned lout into a hutch of his own, and an hour will not have gone by before he will be improving it. The roof must be patched, the walls plastered, the path pebbled, an apple-tree will come here, a plum-tree there, this is evidently the corner for the pig-sty, and there a couple of boxes will make a place for the missus's hens to lay. He is curing his bacon and gathering his apples while he drives the first nail into the wall. He has begun to strike root. And now, watch him moving into a farmer's cottage. He may plant, or he may repair, there is not the slightest objection to his doing either. Only, whatever he does will be to the master's profit, not his own. So he does—nothing. Potatoes limit his horticultural ambition. They are got up before Michaelmas, to which he is already looking forward as the probable

term of his sojourn. To keep pigs or poultry is forbidden. The master shrewdly conjectures that their feed would come out of his pocket. There is nothing to attach him to his dwelling."

The writer then points out that the labourer is simply looked upon as a labouring machine, similar to the position of the workers in other industries, and that if the State had to interfere in the other cases, it will have to do so in this. Complaints are made that skilled labour is being lost. But mentally, morally, and physically stunted as the labourer is, he cannot be expected to take any interest in his work. "Honest work brings no reward and skulking no disgrace." The result is "a blind discontent drives them from place to place, dropping at every move some virtue of the home dweller, and acquiring in its place some characteristic of the tramp."

As a remedy, the author thinks every labouring family in the agricultural districts should have a home. "Let each cottager have the right of occupying his present cottage as long as he pays the rent, he and his sons after him. Let him be secure from eviction. Let him have exactly the same right to use his bit of land for pigs or poultry, or anything else he pleases, as if he were its owner. Let him, if he fails to pay his rent, have fair compensation for improvements that have genuinely increased the renting value of the house he leaves."

The writer then deals with some objections which will be raised. He shows that to-day the farmer objects to anything that will lessen his complete control of the labourer, and that the latter is at present being sacrificed body and soul to the farmer. If we want to raise a race of men, we shall have to treat these people as men, even if a farmer here and there is ruined by so doing. But while the opportunity is here now, it will not last long.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN RACE.

In a recent lecture on "The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed," Dr. Francis Galton shows by statistics that an improvement of the breed in man is desirable, and that a very slight change in this direction might have great results; and he concludes with the hope that some day landowners may feel as much pride in having a fine breed of men on their estates as they now do in their prize herds of cattle or flocks of sheep. Mr. F. Legge, in a review of this lecture in "The Academy and Literature" (London, February 15), while agreeing with Dr. Galton in his hope, remarks that the process by which this last result is to be obtained is not easily discoverable. He goes on to say:

"In a society founded, like ours, upon the greatest possible liberty of the individual, any attempt at compulsion is out of the question, and it is very difficult to see how any inducement that could be held out would have any practical effect. Every father, whether duke's son or cook's son, would, I suppose, have fine rather than puny children if he could, and no prospect in the way of money prizes would lead him to take pains that parental vanity would not."

But more than this is true. Even if we could bring about the marriage of the fit, it would be of no avail without the destruction or isolation of the unfit. He says:

"Some such course has actually been recommended by Dr. Robert Anderson and other penologists in the case of habitual criminals; but as, to give our experiment any chance of succeeding, those condemned must form at least one-half of the population, this last alternative would resolve itself into the fitter half sustaining by their labours, and at the same time keeping in ward, the more unfit—a state of things that would make life more intolerable for the jailers than for the prisoners. The unscrupulous rulers would, therefore, be driven to the first alternative of summary execution."

Even thus, according to Dr. Galton's critic, we should not arrive at the wished-for result. He asks:

"Would the race thus artificially created endure? I think not, because its physical excellences would be probably neutralised by corresponding mental deficiencies. . . . Moreover, the race which we have imagined would be practically withdrawn from the struggle for existence which operates upon the humbler members of their species, and all history goes to show that this alone produces a tendency to insanity, or, at the least, weakness of brain. . . ."

"The relation of insanity to evolution has not hitherto been very generally appreciated, but it now becomes fairly plain that insanity is but one of nature's means of eliminating the unfit. 'Whom the gods wish to destroy they first drive mad' is quite as true of man in the group as of individuals. Esquirol showed some time ago that the proportion of insane to sane among the royal families of Europe was, when compared to the same ratio among the common people, as sixty to one; while Haeckel thinks that, if as accurate statistics could be obtained of the prevalence of insanity among the aristocracy, the number of insane individuals among them would be seen to be 'incomparably larger.' The aristocracy of the Continent, and especially of Germany, to which we may suppose him to refer, is not, like our own House of Lords, continually recruited from the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and has therefore become, like the group of royal families, excessively 'inbred.' With the lower animals the same result of artificial selection, when pushed to excess, frequently appears. The experiences of circus proprietors and showmen, together with those of scientific experimenters like Mr. Hobhouse, are hardly wanted to convince us that while 'high-bred'—that is, carefully selected—animals are generally excessively stupid, the most intelligent and easily taught horses, dogs, and cats are of mongrel breed. Nor is this all. One of the most frequent forms of mental disease among animals shows itself in the form of a perversion of the natural instincts which leads the parent to ill-treat, or sometimes to devour, his or her own offspring. This seems to be especially prevalent among high-bred stock, and one seldom passes a pen of prize sheep without noticing one or more ewes tied by the head to the hurdles, in order that the lambs may get a chance at the food of which these 'unkindly mothers,' as the shepherds call them, would otherwise balk them. How far this cause would operate in the case of man is difficult to say, but statisticians tell us that the use by certain pampered classes of preventives against the increase of the family—which seems due to the same perversion at one remove—has already caused a perceptible falling-off in the birth-rate. Taking, therefore, all these facts together, it seems that any serious attempt to improve the breed of man by artificial means would be met by nature with the elimination of the improved race."

—From "The Literary Digest."

THE SHIPPING COMBINE AND THE BRITISH FLAG.

Writing in the "Nineteenth Century" for June, Mr. Edmund Robertson, M.P., says, "Bewilderment, alarm, indignation, has been the prevailing mood of the public mind since the news of the great shipping combine burst upon it, a few weeks ago. The one thing certain that has happened is the provisional agreement between J. P. Morgan and Co., called 'bankers,' on the one hand, and Messrs. Ismay, Imrie and Co., called the 'White Star Vendors,' and certain other persons known as 'Dominion Vendors' and 'Atlantic Vendors,' on the other.

"The whole object and purpose is the acquisition of the 'properties and businesses' by a corporation—that is to say, a company to be organised under the laws of the State of New York, or some other American State. This includes 750 shares of the Oceanic Steam Navigation Company, which is the whole of their shares; and the O.S.N.C. are owners of the White Star line. It also includes the assets of Ismay, Imrie and Co., or, in other words, the whole of the shares, carrying with them, of course, the whole of the property of the above, is to pass into the hands of a foreign company, organised under laws as yet undetermined, and with a Charter as yet unknown. This will not affect the existence of the companies as corporate bodies; in fact, as corporate bodies they are not parties to the agreement, it only means that the holders of the shares will be changed."

The writer does not see much ground for the suggestion that quite a different bargain has been struck with the German companies, as we do not yet know those agreements. Indeed, one of the few apologists of the combination states that the Germans would have been glad to come in on the English terms. And it is asserted by the "Times" that the criticism of the combination is little better than pro-Boer slander, prompted by "Official Germany." "If," says the author, "there has been exaggeration in the criticism generally passed upon the combination, it has, at all events, been free from the reckless insolence of this almost solitary champion."

The question from the points of view of mercantile marine and navy, are then touched upon. It appears from the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, that a "British ship" is one owned by persons of certain characteristics, as follows:—

"1. Natural born British subjects. 2. Naturalised persons. 3. Persons made denizens by letters of denization; and 4. Bodies corporate established under and subject to the laws of some part of the King's dominions, and having their principal place of business in those dominions."

The above in connection with other provisions of the Act, lay down an elaborate set of precautions for the purpose of preventing an alien owning any British ships. But the last clause (4) practically nullifies the others. For there is nothing to prevent aliens holding shares in any British corporation, and to any extent; and the writer "cannot understand the satisfaction some people pretend to find in the fact that the Oceanic Company has undertaken not to transfer its ships to a foreign flag. It is the company itself that has passed under foreign control, and if the ships are really foreign owned, I fail to see how the situation is saved by the technical survival of the flag." He, therefore, considers that the present power of the corpora-

tions ought to be restricted; and suggests that it might be sufficient to require that a majority of the shares in ship-owning companies should be held by persons qualified above under the Acts.

This would still leave any person or company power to sell outright if they wished to. But it would prevent a "British ship" subsidised by the Government from being foreign owned. This subsidy amounts at the present time to £63,000, distributed among seven companies. The crews of these vessels have to consist of one-half the men belonging to the Naval Reserve. Nothing is said about the sale of ships to foreign persons; but since this question arose a new clause forbidding such a sale has been added and signed by the White Star line for three years. As, however, they had not sold any ships, nor had any intention of selling any, it does not affect their position in the least. And this does not dispose of the naval question. Mr. Robertson says, "Nobody would tolerate a system of subventions to foreign companies, although they might fly the British flag and bind themselves to carry a full complement of men of the Royal Naval Reserve."

Beyond the single alteration given above in regard to the shares of corporations, the writer does not formulate any method for getting over the difficulty.



CAN A NEWSPAPER EDITOR BE AN HONEST MAN?

The editor of a successful newspaper in one of the smaller American cities writes an autobiographical article in which he seriously answers the above question in the negative. This editor, who makes his "Confessions" in "The Atlantic Monthly" (March), goes so far indeed as to doubt whether a newspaper in a small city can be termed "a legitimate business enterprise." He writes:

"It does not do in America, much less in 'The Atlantic,' to be morosely pessimistic. At most one can be regretful. And yet why should I be regretful? . . . I have my own home, a place of honour in the community, the company of the great. You see me married, with enough to live on, enough to entertain with, enough to afford a bit of travel now and then. I still 'run' 'The Herald'; it pays me my own salary (my stockholders have never interfered with the business management of the paper), and were I insistent I might have a consular position of importance, should the particular set of politicians I uphold (my 'gang,' as my rival 'The Bulletin' says) revert to power. There is food in my larder, there are flowers in my garden. I carry enough insurance to enable my small family to do without me, and laugh at starvation. I am but thirty-four years old. In short, I have a competence in a goodly little city. Why should I not rejoice with Stevenson that I have 'some rags of honour left,' and go about in middle age with my head high? Who of my school-mates has done better?"

"My regret," the editor then goes on to say, "is not pecuniary: it is old-fashionedly moral. Where are those high ideals with which I set about this business? I dare not look them in their waxen faces." He continues:

"Somewhere in a scrap-book, even now beginning to yellow, I have pasted, that it may not escape me (as if it could!), my first editorial announcing to the good world my intent with 'The Herald.' Let me quote from the mocking, double-leaded thing. I know the words. I know even now the high hope which gave them birth. I know how enchanting the vista was, unfolding into the future. I can see how stern my boyish face was, how warm my blood. With a blare of trumpets I announced my mission. With a mustering day of the good old stock phrases used on such occasions I marshalled my metaphors. In making my bow, gravely and earnestly, I said, among other things: 'Without fear or favour, serving only the public, "The Herald" will be at all times an intelligent medium of news and opinions for an intelligent community. Bowing the knee to no clique or faction, keeping in mind the great imperishable standards of American manhood, the noble traditions upon which the framework of our country is grounded, "The Herald" will champion, not the weak, not the strong, but the right. It will spare no expense in gathering news, and it will give all the news all of the time. It will so guide its course that only the higher interests of the city are served, and will be absolutely fearless. Independent in politics, it will freely criticise when occasion demands. By its adherence to these principles may it stand or fall.'"

"This was six years ago," remarks the writer, and "events put a check on my runaway ambition in forty-eight hours." First came an experience with the head of the largest clothing house in the city, who called with the request that "a little item" regarding a friend's dishonesty be kept out of the paper. The item was a legitimate piece of news, but the argument, "Don't I pay your newspaper for more advertising than anyone else?" was convincing, and the editor, after a fierce struggle with his conscience, saw that the "little item" was suppressed. Next came the struggle over the question of legitimate versus "sensational" news. The editor of the rival paper "stole its telegraphic news bodily," and concentrated his efforts on printing "spicy" local items—rumours, petty scandals, and what not. Gradually our high-minded editor, from motives merely of self-preservation, was compelled to follow in his footsteps. After that came the third conflict between the "independent" conscience and the local political machine. Conscience went under again. "I found," observes the editor, "that as a straight business proposition—that is, without any state or city advertising, tax sales, printing of the proceedings, and the like—'The Herald' could not live out a year. . . . My friends bought me with public printing, and sold me for their own ends. I saw they had the best of the bargain." He concludes:

"My public doesn't care for good writing. It has no regard for reason. During one political campaign I tried reason. That is, I didn't denounce the adversary. Admitting he had some very good points, I showed why the other man had better ones. The general impression was that 'The Herald' had 'fopped,' just because I did not abuse my party's opponent, but tried to defeat him with logic! A paper is always admired for its backbone, and backbone is its refusal to see two sides to a question.

"I have reached the 'masses.' I tell people what they knew beforehand, and thus flatter them. Aiming to instruct them, I should offend. God is with the biggest circulations, and we must have them even if we appeal to class prejudice now and then.

"I occasionally foster a good work, almost underhandedly, it would seem. I take little pleasure in it. The various churches, hospitals, the library, all expect to be coddled indiscriminately, and without returning any thanks.

whatever. I have railroad transportation as much as I wish, the magazines free of charge, and a seat in the theatre. These are my 'perquisites.' There is no particular future for me. The worst of it is that I don't seem to care. The gradual falling away from the high estate of my first editorial is a matter for the student of character, which I am not. In myself, as in my paper, I only see results."

—From "The Literary Digest."

TRADES THAT SPELL DEATH.

The average man who handles a glass ornament, looks in a mirror, strikes a match, or examines a beautifully-gilded show card or advertisement, seldom stops to think of the dangers which attend the manufacture of these various articles.

Take, for instance, the gold or bronze on a show-card or an advertisement leaflet.

There is, perhaps, no occupation so dangerous to the health as that of a man in the "bronzing" room of a great printing firm.

If a sunbeam glances across the room from one of the windows, the danger is at once realised, although the effect is beautiful.

The sunbeam is a shaft of gold, with millions of bright specks dancing the whole length of it.

These golden specks fly down the throats and into the lungs of the men, setting up diseases and shortening their lives.

Even the new bronzing machines do not do away with the danger; but the men wear cloths across the mouth and tight-fitting caps about their heads to prevent the "bronze" from settling in the scalp.

A certain amount of the dust is bound to enter the mouth, and to lessen the risk copious draughts of fresh milk, to carry away the death-dealing specks, are served out to the men every few hours.

The same tiny particles which do so much harm to health in the printing trade are found in the glass trade, and glass-blowers seldom attain an even ordinary age.

In the manufacture of mirrors, into which mercury so largely enters, poisoning is set up very frequently, which results in the crumbling of the jaws and weakening of the sight.

"Phossy jaw," that terrible complaint which has so often come before the public, is still the plague of the match factories, notwithstanding the efforts of chemists and legislators.

The chemicals used by dyers are bound to attack the lungs, especially those of the weaklings in factories, and the chlorine, which enters so largely into various dyes, burns the tissues imperceptibly but surely.

The "sweating system" is, happily, on the decrease, but it has been proved beyond a doubt that the mortality from the scourge of consumption is at its highest among indoor workers, where the ventilation is bad, such as tailors' employees, shoemakers, drapers, and hatters.

Lead-poisoning is perhaps the most common and the most deadly danger among the trades.

House-painters, plumbers, and glaziers, are subject to it, and among plumbers especially rheumatic fever is very prevalent.—"Daily Express," May 7

THE MODERN BATTLE.

"Linesman" in the "Spectator" thus describes the inception and progress of a battle under modern conditions:—

The main considerations of death in battle, are three, two of them subjective, and one objective. The soldier, being a man, dreads death for himself; his general, being a general, dreads it for him, regarding him as a precious bit of mechanism which must be preserved. Both earnestly desire to inflict it upon the enemy in the fullest measure possible. As regards the first, it is not generally recognised how greatly modern war has added to the terror of death by prolonging it. In olden days, when firearms were effective at fewer hundred yards than they are now at thousands, armies camped, marched, and counter-marched within half a mile of each other in perfect security, or if they faced one another in action it was at a distance apart over which one could throw a cricket-ball. The soldier's courage was only called upon for brief occasions and narrow distances, and if defeated, a short movement to the rear carried the worsted army into safety, to pull itself together, and, if necessary, to traverse again the trifling distance it had passed over in its retirement. The fear of death which precedes an action lasted but a few moments, and even then was partially banished by the sight of the foeman waiting to give battle, for all soldiers know how inspiring it is to see one's enemy in the flesh, and to note that he who has been so long an invisible and discouraging mystery is but a definite biped after all, with a head to shatter and a chest to drive a bayonet through. But to-day, a man may die as soon as the enemy's long guns, hidden away in the distant, cloud-topped mountains seven miles away, begin to talk. And over that seven miles he must walk with caution, with a wide interval between him and his pals on either hand; he must lie down at every short halt and scratch the ground hurriedly with his little spade at every long one, for the great shells are sailing towards him, and he sees by his officer's eye, and hears by his commands, that it is considered that he may perish at any moment, and that precautions are necessary to preserve him. He sees, moreover, how futile those precautions must be if one of those monsters howling overhead should land as near to him as the last one did to that blasted tree, for instance, with its scorched dangling limbs, and the huge, charred fissure in its stout trunk, or as the one before did to the team of mules in the ambulance wagon, now a screaming, struggling jumble of harness and bloody flesh. All this is dispiriting, and appears unnecessary. The country on all sides is as peaceful as his native dale, not a sign of the enemy; even the great blue hill ahead, on which he is told the enemy's long guns are posted, looks as quiet as the mountain on a Christmas card. Yet for two miles he walks through death, thinking only of it because there is nothing else to think of; and then, as twilight falls, bivouacs in extended line, sees his friends run for their tea between the fall of the shells, notices one of them time his run back badly, and meet a projectile in full career, to part from it an awful and disgusting offence, and then lies down in the darkness with shaking nerves and the thought that five worse miles still intervene between him and the guns he knows he is intended to take. Next morning he is awakened by a shell, is marched with infinite caution for two more miles, shelled the whole way, is shelled even in his

bivouac by the light of the moon, and as he watches the projectiles bursting like waterspouts of fire along his hillside is glad when he is told that to-morrow will be the battle, after which if he wins, and if he lives, he may be able to walk and sleep in peace for a space. And to-morrow comes the battle; the army advances at a snail's pace through a zone of ever-increasing fire, the casualties begin to be heavy at four thousand yards when the shrapnel finds its range; another thousand and the rifle-bullets hum and whine and strike bosoms and helmets with the sound of a boxer punching the tall. And so on until at a thousand yards the attack can get no further, brought up by a sheer fire; and whilst the general devises another plan the army crouches under an incessant hail of lead behind whatever cover it can make or find, unable to stir even at night, unable to eat except lying flat, getting water only at the extreme risk of life, getting sleep only because of its utter exhaustion. And this perhaps for two or three days, until the new plan is complete, when the army rises with a yell of relief and plunges desperately across the neutral ground through a windy whirlwind of death straight for the enemy, and the battle is over one way or another at last.



AMERICAN SUCCESS DUE TO BRITISH WORKMEN.

Stuart Uttley, a working man of Sheffield, England, who has been in this country looking into our industrial conditions, broaches the novel theory that American industrial and commercial superiority is largely due to the British workmen in our shops and factories. Writing in "The Iron Age" (New York) he says:—

"It is a significant fact, and one which is bound to have its effect on the future, that a large number of the most highly skilled workmen in America are either English or Scotchmen. I found quite a number of Sheffielders at Pittsburg; chiefly forgemen and rollers, with some mechanics. One was busy building a steam-hammer of the Davy pattern, with one or two slight improvements of his own, and in one of the largest steel-works there were several of Davy's English-made hammers which had been in use thirty years, and when I was there were being used for the largest forgings. Again at Braeburn works I found all the leading hammermen and many of the second and even third hands Englishmen, and several of them Sheffielders. Again on visiting Philadelphia I found that at the largest lace-factory in the city, with a frontage of 1,500 feet, and employing from 2,500 to 3,000 hands, nearly all the weavers were natives of either the city of Nottingham, England, or some part of the country. They had been induced to come over to the States during times of depression in the lace trade in England by the offer of constant employment and higher wages; and as the trade developed these sent out for their mates. I was informed that the whole of the goods manufactured by this firm were for home consumption. It was also interesting to find that the lady who had charge of the female workers was a Nottingham woman. There is not the slightest doubt that so soon as these manufacturers find that they have covered the home market they will turn their attention to exporting their goods, and then Great Britain will have the not very palatable sight of having as competitors men whose reputation has been made and trade built up by means of workmen who have been trained in their own workshops and whose ideas of develop-

ment and progress have been stifled by the stupidity of her patent laws. In the same city I visited a large carpet-works employing about 500 hands. I found that nearly all the weavers were from Kidderminster, England, and that the machines in use bore the name of a Lancashire maker. These machines had been in constant use for twenty years, and required very little repairs. In justice to the manufacturers it must be admitted that they did not attempt to hide the fact that much of their success was owing to their employment of skilled British work-people. On the contrary, they appeared to pride themselves on the fact that they had been able to tempt such workpeople over by the promise of constant work and higher wages. The more I saw the more convinced I became that America even to-day is largely dependent for her best work upon British trained skilled labour in almost every department of industry. Many of these workmen informed me that they would have preferred to remain in the old country. Several expressed a wish that they were returning with me, but all admitted that there are openings in America which would not occur in England, and as their skill was their only capital they felt compelled to accept the opportunity. This point was emphasized in one of the workshops I visited by an English silversmith engaged on some exceedingly fine work. In conversation he remarked: 'You will see that the Americans will take all the credit for this work (a grand presentation album), but it's not American, it's English.' 'How can that be,' I said, 'when it is produced in an American workshop,' whereupon he observed, 'The best brains and the highest skill are British, and the Americans are tempting us with high wages and plenty of overtime to cut out our own brethren in the old country.'

Although Mr. Uttley is "profoundly impressed with the power, the wealth, the ability, the enterprise, the industry, and the hospitality and kindness of the American people," he remarks that we will do well to remember that we have "not got a complete monopoly of either brains or cash, and as to pluck and endurance when once aroused, the nation is unborn that can rival the British."—"Literary Digest," (New York).



MARTIN DOOLEY ON BOOKS AND READING.

Th' longer th' wurruld lasts, th' more books do be comin' out. Day be day I r-read in th' papers announcements iv new publications that look like th' delinquent tax-list. They's a publisher in iv'ry block, an' in thousan's iv happy homes some wan is pluggin' away at th' romantic novel or whalin' out a pome on th' typewriter upstairs. A fam'ly without an author is as contimptible as wan without a priest. Is Malachi near-sighted, peevish, averse to th' suds, an' can't tell whether th' three in th' front yard is blue or green? Make an author iv him! Does Miranda presint no attractions to th' young men iv th' neighborhood, does her overskirt dhrag, an' is she poor with th' gas-range? Make an' authoreen iv her! Forchunately, th' manly insthinct is often too strong f'r th' designs iv th' fam'ly, an' manny a man that if his parents had had their way might have been at this moment makin' artificial feet f'r a deformed pome is l'adin' what me fri'nd Hogan calls a glad, free, an' timperymintal life on th' back iv' a sthreet-car.

But lithrachoor is th' gr-reat life-wurruk iv th' modhren woman. 'In' conthrol is passin' into th' hands iv th' fair sect, an' th' day will come whin th' wurruk book will mane no more to an able-bodied man thin th' wurruk gusset. Women write all th' romantic novels that ar're anny good. That's because iv'ry man thinks th' thrue hayroe is himsilf, an' iv'ry woman thinks he's James K. Hackett. Women writes all th' good romantic novels, an' reads thim all. A woman's readin' is niver done. Hardly a day passes but some lady fri'nd iv mine stops me on me way to catch a car, an' asks me if I don't regard Morse Hewlett as th' gr-reatest an' mos' homicidal writer iv our time, an' what I've got to say about Hinnelly's attack on Stevenson. "Madam," says I, "I w'u'dn't know Morse if I was to see him goin' down th' sthreet ax in hand, an' as f'r Hinnelly, his name escapes me, though his language is familiar to anny wan who iver helped load a scow. Stevenson," I says, "doesn't appeal to me, an' if he sh'u'd, I'll revarse th' decision on th' ground iv th' bad preyvous charackter iv th' plaintiff, while," I says, "admittin' th' thruth iv what he said. But," says I, "th' only books in me libr'y is th' Bible an' Shakespeare," says I. "They're gr-reat f'r ye," says she. "So bully f'r th' style. D'ye read thim all th' time?" she says. "I niver read thim," says I. "I use thim f'r purposes iv definse. I have niver read thim, but I'll niver read annything else till I have read thim," I says. "They shtand between me an' all modhren lithrachoor," says I. "I've built thim up into a kind iv breakwather," I says, "an' I set behind it ca'm an' contint while Hall Caine rages without," says I.

"Readin', me fri'nd, is talked about be all readin' people as though it was th' on'y thing that makes a man betther thin his neighbors. But th' thruth is that readin' is th' nex' thing this side iv goin' to bed f'r restin' th' mind. With mos' people it takes th' place iv wurruk. A man doesn't think whin he's readin', or if he has to, th' book is no fun. Believe me, Hinnissy, readin' is not thinkin'. It seems like it, an' whin it comes out in talk sometimes, it sounds like it. It's a kind iv nearthought that looks ginooyne to th' thoughtless, but ye can't get annything on it. Manny a man I've knowed has so doped himsilf with books that he'd stumble over a carpet-tack. Be hivins! that la'ad Carnaygie knows his business. He's studied th' situation, an' he undhersthands that if he builds libr'ies enough an' gets enough people readin' books, they won't be any wan left afther a while capable iv takin' away what he's got. Ye bet he didn't learn how to make steel billets out iv "When Knighthood Was in Flower."

Am I again' all books, says ye? I'm not. If I had money, I'd have all th' good lithrachoor iv' the wurruk on me table at this minyit. I mightn't read it, but there it'd be, so that anny iv me fri'nds c'u'd dhrop in an' help thimsilves if they didn't care f'r other stimylants. I have no taste f'r readin', but I won't deny it's a good thing f'r thim that's addicted to it. In modheration, mind ye. In modheration, an' after th' chores is done. F'r as a fri'nd iv Hogan's says, "Much readin' makes a full man," an' he knew what he was talkin' about. An' do I object to th' pursuit iv lithrachoor? Oh, faith, no. As a pursuit 't is fine, but it may be bad f'r anny poor man that happens to catch it.

LATE municipal elections in Elkhart, Anderson, Alexandria, Huntington and other Indiana (U.S.A.) towns show surprising gains for the Socialist party.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE CHURCH IN GERMANY.

The amazingly low percentage of church attendance and the small number of churches in the capital city of the German empire—Berlin—is just now emphasised by the completion of the magnificent edifice opposite the imperial palace, popularly called the "Dome," which is to serve as the royal house of worship. With a population of over 1,800,000, Berlin to-day has less than threescore churches. The Protestant church recognises in Social Democracy a foe. The Church is allied to the State by close ties since the "Kulturkampf," the disfranchisement of Jesuit societies and the Catholic Church. Consequently, the leaders of Social Democracy make no secret of the opposition to the church. For every one church erected, there are at least five halls devoted to the propagation of Social Democracy or the principles of Marx and Lassalle. Where Social Democracy directly fails to perform its work against the Church, the philosophies of Nietzsche, of Schopenhauer, Kant, and Hegel influence the masses.

Brave but evidently unavailing efforts have been made to stem the influence of Social Democracy upon the Church. The Christian Social movement, the Evangelical Workmen's union, and other intermediary societies were formed to weaken the Social Democratic cause. This party appealed to the masses by demanding legislation for the workman and for a higher standard of existence among the peasant classes. This is where Social Democracy gained its power and replaced in a measure the Evangelical Church in the confidence of the masses, both in the capital and the provinces. The Church, supported as it is by the State, had not much incentive to do missionary work until Social Democracy entered with its doctrines. It is only since the workmen's unions and Christian social societies have come into existence in answer to the gauntlet thrown down by the radical political party. Many earnest men, good and true to the cause, devote themselves to elevate the standard with which Bismarck led the Prussians into battle, "We Fear None but God." But the promise of a co-operative commonwealth, of the so-called Kladaradatch, with its division of spoils and other illusive promises held out to the peasant and the populace by the Social Democracy, appeals strongly to the lower classes. Efforts to reconcile the Social Democrats and bring them into closer touch with the Church have been fruitless. Bebel, Heine, Richter, Singer, and the other luminaries of the party listen to no compromises, but declare that the Church and State are closely welded authorities which are inimical to Social Democracy. The Lutheran synods and religious councils struggle with the invasion of the Social Democratic party upon their preserves at every annual and periodical meeting. But it is only recently that the missionary movement in the provinces has been supported with any show of energy. The struggle is uphill, with the popular educational movements tending away from the orthodox church, and Social Democracy, on the other hand, attempting to incite prejudices against the clergy. (Recent dispatches represent continental Europe as full of religious excitement. At the Vatican, Cardinal Rampolla is the leader of the reactionaries. In Austria, the issue between the Progressists and the Ultramontanes is sharply drawn. The new Spanish Cabinet has made concessions to the anti-Clericals.)

Christian Luhnnow, in the "Outlook," New York. Condensed for "Public Opinion."

THE VOICE OF THE OUTCAST IN LITERATURE.

An article from the "Literary Digest" dealing with the writings and ethic of Maxime Gorki, was reprinted in the May number of the "Social Democrat." The article was mainly composed of extracts from a criticism of Gorki, by Mr. Dillon, which appeared in the "Contemporary Review" for February, and which, like many other criticisms, seems to miss the central point, the inner soul of Gorki's strident message. "A careful study," says Mr. Dillon, "of everything which the new Russian poet has given to the world, will convince the unbiassed, even among his warm admirers, that the net result of his teaching is largely negative." Is this so, I would ask? Is the message of our Russian comrade an empty one; or is it one which may kindle and inspire, not only the peasantry and the day labourer of his own country, but those also of all Europe; the industrial slaves of many lands, and—lowest and most hopeless class of all—the working woman, the traditional slave of the slave?

I venture to think that to everyone of these Gorki's message, his teaching if you will (though he is too great an artist to be aggressively didactic) is never negative. For them he has the deep-souled understanding that comes of knowledge, and the human sympathy without which it would be impossible for him to touch and uncover their pitiful rags and ulcers. He has lived their life, and shared their toil, and tasted the bitterness of their scanty bread, and struggled with them through the deep waters of moral suffering. Not only has he during hungry night vigils communed with the stars "gazing into infinite space, that riddle that haunts the soul"; but he has also watched and absorbed the strength of the ceaseless tides, "those supple, mighty waves, moving, ever moving, in a compact mass, bound together by the oneness of their aim;" and often, very often, has he listened to the murmur of the sad voice of toiling humanity, "pouring forth what seemed to be the whole emptiness and dreariness of its joyless life . . . seeking for an outlet for its own half-conscious feelings and thoughts." These vague murmurings, these sad whisperings, these faint half spiritual, but as yet unconscious aspirations, Gorki with a poet's intuition, has gathered into his sketches of proletarian life, and with the dramatic power of a genius he has made live again for us the scenes, the personalities and the atmosphere which have bitten into his mentality as acid bites into metal.

And the social pariah, the slave of the slave, when they become vocal that before were "dumb driven cattle," what is the refrain of their cry? Is it not contempt for what is worthy of contempt? Is it not revolt against that which must and shall be swept away? "Ah! you miserable prisoners!" exclaims the little servant-girl Tanya, to the twenty-six industrial slaves sweating in an underground bakehouse, toiling day in, day out, for a pittance, and with souls and bodies worn down by drudgery. She had made her choice, she had allowed her soul to speak, and the exercise of that choice had set her free. She had defied, it is true, society's laws, and shown contempt for its hypocritical institutions; and strong in her girlish revolt she faces the insults of her friends, and throws back at them a jibe reminding them that she, after all, is the free soul, they "the miserable prisoners!"

Malva again voices the mute cry of the unhappy being on whom is laid the double burden of industrial and sex slavery. She is the revolted among peasant women, and she knows and proclaims the value of her freedom. "In the village, whether I wished it or no I should have to marry. And a woman once married is for ever a slave. She must weave and spin, and look after the animals, and bring children into the world. What is there left for herself? Nothing but blows and abuse from her husband."

"That's not true that she gets nothing but blows," replied Vassili.

"Whilst I here," she continued, without listening to him, "I belong to no one. I am as free as a sea-gull! I fly wherever pleases me. No one can stop me and no one can interfere with me."

Tchelkash thrusting back into the face of the sordid peasant Gavril the proceeds of a night of plunder embodies the contempt of the revolted for that Holy of Holies of Society's institutions "property," and Ilia in the later novel of "The Three" spitting on the tomb of the vile old money-lender, for whose murder circumstances had combined to make him responsible—each and all of these outcasts, these voluntary outcasts, plays the role of the stormy petrel in the marvellous little allegory by the same author, glorying in, and foretelling the coming upheaval, the approaching storm. Gorki's intuition sees further that the very restless energy for evil, the impatience of constraint, the hardening properties in the lowest circles of life should make of this mass of revolt the sharper and more valuable weapon when the moment comes to use it. Bourgeois ideals and bourgeois ways of life must soften the fibre; but where the struggle is ever pitiful and strenuous, there real and naked souls will be forged, of whose quality in the hour of trial there will be no question. The maunderings of middle-class critics and writers over Gorki's works would be comic if they were not despicable. Most of them talk of the "mire" and the "slime," and one can see them metaphorically holding their noses lest a whiff of the unsavoriness should perchance get into their nostrils. One prurient soul exclaims: "Why give us vulgar vice, when we are inundated with vice disguised to look decent?" To this up-to-date journalist Zaza is, no doubt, cleaner than Malva, because in the former the characters wear Parisian clothing and talk the gutter talk of the boulevards; whereas, in the latter, their clothing is elemental and their talk is that of peasants and fisher folk. Other critics revel in the epithets "squalid," and "revolting," "sordid," "pessimistic," "the filth of the swine trough," and "unpleasant themes," without stopping to think whether it is not much better for the world that Gorki should have written of what he knew, and had felt, and had lived through, than of the imaginary foibles, loves, and moral lapses of people who live in villas and country houses, instead of those who live in slums and hovels. What is there intrinsically more unpleasant in the details of the Orloff ménage, than in the revelations of middle class and aristocratic matrimonial infelicity, as given daily in our family newspapers? One extra large-minded critic, in a burst of truthfulness exclaims: "But we must not be pharisaical on the subject, and must recognise the fact that such brutal scenes could easily occur in some of our Whitechapel alleys." This Chauvinist, it would seem, need scarcely have qualified his remarks with "some," or limited the area to Whitechapel; but Gorki's lurid picture of Russian slum life is relieved by touches of spirituality, by flashes of aspiration, which we may look for in vain in the pictures of vice "disguised to look decent," which seem to appeal more to the taste of the day.

What, then, is the supreme virtue which Gorki, the poet of the tramp and of the criminal, exalts? It is the virtue of energy; the contempt for

danger, the courage to think out one's thoughts to the bitter end, and, if need be, to act on it. He has no illusions himself about the moral worth or otherwise of the ragged heroes whose epic he sings; but he is able to perceive the mingled strand of good and evil which goes to the make-up of all of us, whether prince or peasant, whether dock labourer or duke. He is pre-eminently a human writer, a St. Francis, in his sense of comradeship, and a Shelley in his power of making us feel that

"To suffer wrongs which Hope thinks infinite,
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night,
To defy power which seems omnipotent;
To love and bear, to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

A FRAGMENT.

A crowd of elegant gentlemen and of coquettish women, finely dressed, strolled along the chief streets of the town, rivalling in a manner the magnificently shop windows bathed in electric light.

And from these scented strollers "from a high sphere," and the scum of every great city, who sometimes stopped here and there out of curiosity, was strikingly and unpleasantly reflected a human being, of medium age, with a neglected, grizzled beard, miserably and dirtily clothed.

He stood before the splendid jeweller's window—his face close to the not only once. He stood calmly as it were, gazing and thinking. . . .

About what?

Did he long to possess at least one of the smallest glittering trifles, which confined thousands of capital, so that he could delight in it like a miser?

Or, perhaps, he longingly calculated how much of his misery he could remove with that most modest pin. How it would feed and clothe the children, and satisfy and warm his own empty, cramped stomach—and do this not only once. He stood calmly as it were, gazing and thinking. . . .

Did not a desire awake in him to strike the glass with his fist, snatch something, and fly? About what did he think?

Of this awful injustice, that here, here, behind the window, was so much wealth, waste, and enjoyment! So near, and before them. "He"!

Sour bitterness ate into his breast, and his heart bled. . . . Did he stand alone? Were there not millions similarly living, receiving in return for their hard labour eternal—and never anything better promising—misery?

And the pearls and diamonds in the brightness of the light—with their bloody ground—spread their flashing rays, and with devilish smiles scoffed at his misery, his wasted being.

"Why did you come here?—yes, gaze! We are not for you. You are only permitted to gaze!" These cold and scornful, but dumb rays scourged his soul like an autumn storm-stepmother, the poor, weak trees.

Ah, not for him is this, and not for them! . . . These were his thoughts.

Written by GALICOWA.

Translated from the Polish by K. Erlish Bobrowsky.

HERE AND THERE.

AN ADDRESS TO THE *Men* IN KHAKI.

Sons of the people, have you gained
By dint of fire and steel
One battle for your greedy lords,
And one for Commonweal?
You've fought for franchise: how can they
Who so our State mis-steer,
Deem what is *good* for franchise there,
Is *bad* for franchise here?

Sons of the people, here more girls
Than e'er the gold-reefed Land
Has known throughout its history
In shop and factory stand,
Who need the brave to keep them fair
And free from hunger-fear—
Men say you fought for Freedom. Dare
You fight for Freedom here?

Sons of the people, England's purse
Her strength and glory drags,
Her boasted beauty's slavered o'er
By swarms of money-bugs—
Come back, come back, brave erring boys
To save your country dear;
Rather than die for England there,
Oh, live for England here!

SPION KOP.



ROBERT OWEN.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. VI., No. 7. JULY 15, 1902.

ROBERT OWEN AND HIS WORK.

Now that close upon half-a-century has passed since the death of Robert Owen, which took place in 1858, when he was at the ripe age of 88, a memorial has been somewhat tardily erected at Newtown, in Wales, to commemorate his memory. For purity of motive and disinterestedness, for persistency and devotion to the cause of the people, Robert Owen shines like a sun in the firmament of social reform. He was by nature simple, homely, and reverential, possessing a buoyancy of spirit and hopefulness that never deserted him. He had considerable talent as a business man, which his successful commercial career proved. He was also a thinker of no mean order, as a study of his educational system at New Lanark demonstrates.

Looking back at the life of Robert Owen as a social reformer it might be, perhaps, justly urged that after half-a-century of strenuous effort he only arrived at a point from which he should have started. He has this merit, however, that he manfully fought his way from position to position, giving up his most darling projects unrepiningly when he discovered their futility, and starting upon the next project with as much vigour and hopefulness as he did upon his first venture. Robert Owen's life was full of vicissitudes, but the one undertaking which above all others gives lustre to his name is that of New Lanark, where he successfully demonstrated to a hostile world that the economic environment of a people dominates their lives, and that if you alter the conditions of that environment you can change the social life of the people, either brutalising or ennobling them.

Marvellous success seems to have attended him in all his business transactions. He started in business on his own account when he was only 18, but, not liking his partner, dissolved partnership, and before his majority was getting, as manager of Mr. Drinkwater's mill, £300 a year, and another couple of years after saw him getting £500 a year, with a partner's agreement. Upon being asked to give back his agreement for a goodly increase of salary he refused, but immediately returned the agreement and left, easily securing an advantageous position in another firm of equal importance. It was while

doing duty for the latter firm that he came into contact with the cotton mills of New Lanark, situated near Glasgow. He seems to have been at once struck with their isolated but advantageous position, and visions of carrying out his idealistic and utopian schemes, unhampered by the evil contact of large cities, stirred his soul and made him enamoured of the place. He persuaded his partners to offer Mr. Dale £60,000 for the mills, which was eventually done; and shortly after Robert Owen was installed as manager, succeeding, as all heroes should in the natural order of success, in making love to and marrying the rich Mr. Dale's daughter. At the age of 27 we see our hero in command of an establishment valued at £60,000, determined to introduce a system of management which should revolutionise not only Great Britain but the whole of Europe.

When and where Owen formed his views it is difficult to say, but there is evidence to show that he was a man of great powers of observation, and was a frequent attendant at debating and philosophical societies, and had many opportunities of thrashing out social questions. He was singularly fortunate, too, in coming into contact with many eminent men in the world of science and philosophic thought. His first conception was to form a New Moral World, and the task he set before himself was to practically demonstrate the fundamental principles on which this New Moral World as a rational system of society was to be based.

The following excerpts give the main ideas which he, with remarkable sagacity, sketched out as a guide to his labours:—

"Man is a compound being, whose character is formed of his constitution or organisation at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances acting upon that organisation from birth to death, such original organisation and external influences continually acting and reacting on each other.

"His feelings or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the will, which stimulates him to action and decides his actions."

The above formulas show that Owen had done a considerable amount of thinking, and was materialistically inclined. He fully appreciated the influence which environment played in the development of man, but he lacked a knowledge of the economic basis of the capitalist system which he vainly tried to overthrow. The idea which dominated him evidently was that which now so enraptures the Positivists—the moralisation of capital and capitalists, not the socialisation of wealth, and its consequent production and distribution under a system of collectivism. His fundamental axioms, materialistic and virile as they are in themselves, left the economic structure of the society which he wished to attack untouched, and thus Robert Owen, with all his sagacity, experience and goodness of heart, has to be numbered among the utopists.

But let us return to New Lanark, and see how Owen altered the environment of the mill people there, with a corresponding change in their character.

With the rise of the cotton industry villages speedily sprang up by the

side of mill-streams. At that time children were in great demand in the cotton mills, but the conditions under which they worked were so brutal that their mortality rose to a great height, and the workhouses were brought into requisition to supply the demand, the Guardians of the poor stipulating that the millowners should take a proportion of imbeciles or children of weak intellect. Mr. Dale had his share of workhouse children, and when Owen took over the mills there were 500 children to 1,300 adults of both sexes. The ages of the children ranged from 5 to 10 years. As at other mills the employees at New Lanark were drunken and dissolute, and also notorious thieves. They were punished by a system of harsh fines, and it was customary to whip the children.

Owen had considerable difficulty in conversing with his employees, for they spoke a mixture of Lowland Scotch and Erse. He was for a long time treated with great suspicion, and when he announced that he meant to treat them with kindness, they, of course, naturally laughed at the idea, but when he took measures to stop them from thieving and misbehaving themselves they looked upon him as their natural enemy. Owen at once refused to take on pauper children, and moralised his workmen on the necessity of being clean and tidy. He found that the village retail shop thrived on credit, charging the most exorbitant prices to the mill hands. He determined to stop this and started superior stores, selling 25 per cent. below usual prices and getting goods of the best quality. But still they suspected him.

In 1806, an embargo was placed out of spite by America on the export of cotton to Great Britain. As a consequence, the price of raw material rose to an enormous price. Mill-owners dispersed their hands and closed their mills until better times. Owen was greatly troubled at the outlook, for if he shut up his mills his people would become scattered, and his labour of six years would be wasted. He conceived the bold plan of paying them wages while the mills were closed, and he did this for four months, paying out in all £7,000, much to the consternation of the directors and to the utter surprise of his employees. From that time forth Owen had the ready ear of the workers for any improvement he wished to introduce. The parson of the village now began to raise objections on the management of the children from a religious standpoint. They were taught musical drill instead of theology. The directors made a special visit, but they were so astonished at the sights they saw that they could not but congratulate Owen. As a result of this visit, he had a presentation of silver plate. A few months later another visit from the directors was made, but this time it was not so friendly. He explained to them what he intended to do in the matter of educating the children. They demurred, and at last finally objected. Nothing daunted, he offered to buy them out, and named the sum of £84,000, an advance of £24,000 in nine years. They agreed, and Owen raised the money, surmounting once more what looked like an insuperable difficulty.

Poor Owen. There was more trouble in store for him. He at once set about building some new schools, and had hardly started them before a notice came from his new partners that they were cotton-spinners, and had

nothing to do with educating children and improving their conditions by creating a favourable environment. Owen took no notice of this request but went on building as fast as he could. They ordered him to stop and gave notice of a dissolution of partnership. Bold and confident as ever, he asked them their price, but they would not treat with him. It should go by auction. They would buy it in cheap, perhaps at £40,000, less than half-price, and with this intent they spread unfavourable rumours concerning the mills. Owen had been with them, or they with him, four years, and after allowing 5 per cent. on their capital had cleared another £160,000 as net profit. He hastened to London, got a co-partnership together, who sanctioned him bidding up to £120,000. Owen secured a bidding agent, and to the surprise of the old board Owen became the purchaser. He returned to New Lanark, the villagers taking the horses out of his carriage, and some crying with joy. The new schools were now completed and furnished in such a manner as to draw the attention of men interested in education from every part of the kingdom.

In the infant school the young were received at one year of age, or sooner if they could walk. The parents wondered what he would do with them, but the children were so delighted with the treatment at school that they never wanted to go home. The parents were charged threepence a month or three shillings a year for their keep, but the actual expense was over £2 a year. In about three years Owen had everything in working order, and when Henry Hase, cashier for the Bank of England, saw the place, he said that the village and all its belongings looked like a work of generations.

For his schools a head-master and mistress were selected because they were noticeably good-tempered, patient and fond of children. The children were never permitted to hear angry words spoken, or to be wearied by a teaching unsuited to their age or capacity. The master and mistress of the infant-school were specially instructed by Owen as to what he expected of them. "They were never to speak angrily to, threaten, or beat a child. They were to instruct them, by word and action, how to make each other happy. The children were to be taught the nature and uses of common things by familiar conversation, and the teachers were to utilise opportunities to impart such lessons when the children's curiosity caused them to ask questions either in the playground or the schoolroom." A specially furnished play-room was made for the children to play in when the weather was inclement. The ordinary schoolroom was well furnished with carefully painted transparencies of objects in natural history, framed so as to pass before the children on rollers. Large-coloured maps (the best obtainable) were hung on the walls. "On these maps," says Owen, "were delineated the usual natural boundaries, but there were no names of countries, cities, or towns, the positions of these being indicated by smaller or larger circles. Around these maps the children, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, were grouped. A long wand was provided, by which the smallest child could reach to the highest point on the map. The lesson commenced by one of the children taking the wand, and when asked to do so by another child, pointing to any particular country, city, mountain or lake. In this way the

children, when they arrived at six years of age, became such adepts in geographical knowledge, that one of our admirals, who had visited most parts of the world, declared that he could not answer many of the questions to which the New Lanark children readily replied in his presence." Everyone expressed surprise and pleasure at the wonderful knowledge and good behaviour of the children. Books for children under ten Owen discountenanced, and expressed the opinion that when a rational method of teaching children became recognised, books would not be used for children under ten.

"The children," says Owen, "at two years of age and above commenced dancing lessons, and those of four years of age and upwards, singing lessons under good teachers. Both sexes were also drilled, and became efficient in the military exercises; being formed into divisions, led by young drummers and fifers, they were very expert and perfect in these exercises. The children being always treated with kindness and confidence, and being altogether without fear, even of a harsh word from any of their numerous teachers, exhibited an unaffected grace and natural politeness which surprised and fascinated strangers. The conduct of the children was to most of the visitors so unaccountable that they knew not how to express themselves, or how to hide their wonder and amazement. These children, standing up 70 couples at a time in the dancing room, and often surrounded by many strangers, would, with the utmost ease and natural grace, go through any of the dances of Europe with so little direction from their master that the visitors would be unconscious that there was a dancing master in the room. In their singing lessons, 150 would sing at the same time, their voices being trained to harmonise; and it was delightful to hear them sing the old popular Scotch songs, which were great favourites with most strangers, from the unaffected simplicity and hearty feeling with which they were sung.

The visitors who went to New Lanark to see the wonders of Scotland numbered thousands annually, and the name of Owen spread throughout the continent of Europe. "I have seen," says Owen, "as many as 70 strangers at once attending the early morning exercises of the children in the school." Among these visitors were the Grand Duke Nicholas (afterwards Emperor of Russia), the Princes John and Maximilian of Austria, and many ambassadors. The Duke of Kent (father of Queen Victoria) became one of Owen's warmest friends. Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Brougham, was so enamoured of Owen's principles that he attempted to start similar schools in London, but the miscalculation between the child life of New Lanark, practically isolated from the outside world, and the overcrowded and demoralised atmosphere of the metropolis, led to their failure.

All the years, however, that Owen was at New Lanark, he had to overcome the opposition of his directors. It was true that he had formed a directorship somewhat in sympathy with him, and if they had been as sympathetic directors as Jeremy Bentham he might have kept at New Lanark till his death. A further trouble now arose, which he had first seen might arise, but which he had hoped he might escape. Among his directors he had a Quaker named Allen, who wished to bring up the children in the fear of God. He

was backed by the dividend-hunting members, and at last succeeded in sending up a schoolmaster to conduct—or help to conduct—the schools. Robert Owen, to the Quaker Allen, was an infidel, and he and all his children were in danger of hell fire. Slowly but surely the fact had forced itself upon Owen's mind that individual effort was powerless to alter economic conditions, and he was now fortified sufficiently even to leave New Lanark behind in pursuit of the more arduous task of influencing public opinion on a broader issue.

Owen, with many a pang, left New Lanark, and amid the sorrow of those for whom he had so well laboured. He had gone there when he was close upon thirty. He left it now at the age of 57 to encounter not the opposition of a few directors, but the opposition of Europe. At the age of 57 most men look forward to retirement; Robert Owen went out to do another 30 years of strenuous labour for the people, who, as events proved on more than one occasion, tried to murder him. Owen had less delusions concerning the working-class than the Social-Democrats of the present hour. He expected no help from them. They were, in his view, too ignorant and debased to appreciate any effort made on their behalf. He, therefore, addressed himself to those who held the common wage-slave under their domination. Owen had many influential friends, but these he expected to lose when public clamour was raised against him by his enemies. He proved correct in his surmises. Owen, however, had reliance on the Press, and he spared no expense to secure the publication of his views. He called a public meeting in August, 1817, at the City of London Tavern to take into consideration a plan to be proposed to relieve the country from its present distress, to remoralise the poor, reduce the poor rates, and abolish pauperism and all its injurious consequences. Owen spent £4,000 over this affair. He published his address in full in every London newspaper, and beyond their ordinary circulation he purchased 30,000 extra copies, and had a copy sent to the minister of every parish in the kingdom, one to every member of both Houses of Parliament, one to all the chief magistrates and bankers, and to all the leading persons of all classes in each of the chief towns and cities.

Owen now took to travel, visiting Ireland and America. He started a communist colony in America called New Harmony, and then visited Mexico, refusing the Governorship of a territory 2,000 miles long "so that he might establish within his rule of peace." This proposal came to nought on account of religious difficulties which Owen foresaw.

He returned to England, and gave a deal of time to starting co-operative stores. He also started a Labour Exchange, having come to the conclusion "that the natural standard of value (exchange-value) is, in principle, human labour, or the combined manual and mental powers of men called into action." One was started in Gray's Inn Road, London. Goods were taken in on the basis of sixpence per hour, but a halfpenny was charged for commission. A business of over £1,000 weekly was done, but it came to grief through the avarice of the landlord, who, first of all letting the hall for nothing in the guise of a pretended enthusiast, ultimately demanded £1,700 for rent

and taxes. Failing to get his money, he took possession of the business. Owen, though now 66 years old, took to lecturing on his principles, and he and his followers became known as "the Socialists." Various societies sprang up called the "Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists," the "Association of all Classes of all Nations," the "Community Friendly Society," and eventually as the outcome of these societies an estate of 530 acres was obtained at Queenwood, in Hampshire. It lasted four years, sinking £40,000.

An opposition crusade was manufactured by the Bishop of Exeter and others against Owen, and at Stoke and at Bristol he was murderously assaulted. Despoiled of their victim, his enemies burnt his books and smashed his meeting-places. Space will not permit us to give further details of his life, but he continued actively at work till within a few weeks of his death.

What distinguishes Owen above all other reformers and makes him a veritable giant among men is his nobility of character and unswerving fidelity to the cause of the people. Unfortunately he lacked a real economic grip of the basis of capitalism, which caused all his efforts for the amelioration of the worker to end in failure. The most valuable portion of Owen's work was his experiments at New Lanark, in which he demonstrated his favourite dogmas that by education and bettering the environment of children you improve their character, and change them into new and exalted beings, thus practically demonstrating the present materialistic basis of modern Socialism.

A. P. HAZELL.



ELOQUENT FIGURES FROM NEW ZEALAND.—We take the following interesting figures from the *New Age* :—

			1880.		1900.
Population	...	...	484,864	...	770,682
Births	...	...	19,341	...	19,546

With a largely-increased population, the births for 1900 are about the same in number as for 1880. Had the birth-rate of 1880 been maintained, the births in 1900 would have exceeded 30,000.

THE LONDON COAL TRADE IS CONTROLLED BY A "COMBINE."—In 1896 by the amalgamation of eight large firms handling five-eighths of all the coal coming into London by sea, the sea-borne coal trade of London passed into the control of one company. In 1899 a further amalgamation took place with firms dealing in coal borne by railway, and now a single gigantic company controls the bulk of the whole coal trade of London. In Bradford also an amalgamation of eight coal merchants has placed a large proportion of the coal trade of that town in the hands of a single company.—*Railway Review*.

RICHARD WAGNER AS A REVOLUTIONARY.

The suggestive words spoken by our veteran guest Edouard Vaillant at the recent banquet offered to Comrade Quelch, on the relations of Art to the Social Organism, and as to its possibilities under new and better social conditions, struck a chord which is perhaps too seldom sounded by those who are working in the foremost ranks for that new and better social order.

That this is so may be regretted, but it can scarcely be wondered at. There is so much spurious, emotional, and superficial socialism, which like the seed by the wayside is bound to dry up and wither, because it is not rooted in economics, that those who can give a reason for the faith that is in them spend laborious days and nights in economic propaganda, knowing but too well that at the present moment it is the one thing needful. Thereby they often deny themselves pleasant excursions into the more flowery by-ways of collectivist thought, amidst the blossoms of that new Art, new Literature, and new Science which shall eventually spring from the carefully nurtured and watered new economic root.

On the Continent, where Collectivism numbers amongst its disciples more men of genius in Art, Literature, and Science than it does in England, such excursions into a socialistic future, made under the guidance of the artist or the homme-de-lettres, afford acceptable breaks in the literature devoted to economic propaganda; and at a time like this in England, when the aesthetic side of one's nature is more than usually discouraged by the gaudy squalor of a projected Barnum Coronation show, it may prove refreshing to "hitch for a time our wagon to a star," and listen to what the master, Richard Wagner, has to prophesy concerning Art under the coming social revolution.

As is well known, Richard Wagner, in his salad days, not only spoke and wrote, but struck a blow for progress. When, in 1848, the people of Saxony demanded of their king a constitution, trial by jury, a free Press, and representative government, Wagner and his friend, August Rockel, joined a revolutionary society known as the "Fatherland-Union," and the young artist read a paper before the members of that society which showed already the direction of his budding thought, inasmuch as it urged that the theatre should be brought into closer relations with the higher artistic life of the people. Later on, in his famous article, "Art and Revolution," we can observe the expansion of that earlier thought, when he points out the close connection between political and artistic reform, and shows the impossibility of attaining the latter under existing capitalist conditions. The decaying rags of feudalism still cling to every existing institution, and Wagner foresaw that nothing but a revolution could sweep them finally away; and give a fair field to real freedom and real art expression. Though at the time of the rising in Saxony he was dependant on Court favour, he obeyed the dictates of his conscience and of his aspirations, and sided with the revolutionary leaders. On May 1st,

1849, the King dissolved the Saxon Diet, and the people, though at first successful in their rising, were afterward dispersed by Prussian troops. Wagner was forced to fly from Saxony, and took refuge in Weimar. For many years after this, financial difficulties hindered his artistic work, and he shared the fate of Balzac, Beethoven, and many other luminaries, who, under a capitalist regime, have to write, not what their soul craves to express, but what will earn for them daily bread. Finally, as we know, after long and weary struggles for recognition and support from the musical public, Richard Wagner found artistic understanding and intellectual sympathy in the young King of Bavaria, who had just succeeded to that throne, and who, ever since the age of fifteen, when he first heard an opera by the Master, had been an ardent Wagnerite. Henceforth real art expression was no longer to be hampered by carping material considerations, and pursuing creditors: and the world's joy was to be increased by the production of the life-work of a man of genius.

But Wagner himself had no illusions about the social and economic conditions which left the production of his work to the tender mercies of chance, and the romantic admiration of a royal youth. He knew that, like feudalism, the royal and ecclesiastic art patron were things of the past, and that the future of Art and Literature must depend on the verdict of a people as economically independent as the Prince and the Pope. Modern socialism, the socialism preached by Marx and his disciples, was just then much in the air, and was then, as now, often misrepresented and misinterpreted. One of these misinterpretations seems at first to have influenced Wagner in his conception of socialism, for he wrote in one of his essays: "The desire of the working man to force the rich to work like him by the sweat of his brow to gain his daily bread might make of Art an impossibility for all time." Later on he wrote, fully acknowledging his misconception of socialistic aims, and adding: "What I feared meant equally allotted toil, I found, to wit, that, when equally divided among all, actual labour, with its crippling burthen and fatigue, would be downright done away with, leaving nothing in its stead but an occupation which necessarily must assume an artistic character of itself."

In his article, "Art and Revolution," Wagner wrote: "Only the great revolution of mankind, whose beginnings erstwhile shattered Grecian tragedy, can win for us this Art work. For only this revolution can bring forth from its hidden depths, in the new beauty of a nobler Universalism, that which it once tore from the conservative spirit of a true and beautiful, but narrow-minded, culture; and tearing it engulfed." He further on asks a question, which we are still asking ourselves, but are answering it perhaps with less faith and enthusiasm than they did fifty years ago. "Whence," he wrote, "shall we get the force for this revolution in our present state of utmost weakness? Whence the manly strength against the crushing pressure of a civilisation which disowns all mankind, against the arrogance of a culture which employs the human mind as naught but steam power for its machinery? Whence the light to illumine the gruesome human heresy that this civilisation and this culture are of more value in themselves than the true living man? That man has worth and value only as a tool of these despotic, abstract powers, and not by virtue of his manhood!" Shall we obtain the light or the

strength, we may well ask now, from meaningless and discouraging street shows, inspired, it would seem, by the same motives that led the governing bodies in times of Roman imperial decadence to toss as bribes to a demoralised populace "bread and circuses"? Shall we obtain them from wars of aggression, immoral in their inception, inept in their execution, and inglorious and futile in their issue? Shall we obtain them whilst the cancers of degraded poverty, of carefully-enforced ignorance, of physical conditions inferior to those of the beasts of burden fortunate enough to be owned by the upper middle classes and the aristocracy of this "great Empire"; while these malign cancers are eating out the vital forces of Great Britain's population? Is it not a fact that while a House of Commons elected on the principle of how not to represent the people is engaged in meaningless discussions on a Bill intended to curtail the small amount of education already granted to that same people, thousands of our children still escape the meshes even of our primary education net, and England and Wales are in the proud position of having the standard of education of their people lower than that of the Colonies, or than that of any civilised nation of the world?

Education as a means, and education as an end, should be one of the mainstays of socialist propaganda, and Wagner has a fine passage, which might serve us as a text in such propaganda: "Whatsoever we deem the goal of life, to that we train ourselves and children. The Goth was bred to battle, and to chase; the genuine Christian to abstinence and humility; while the liegeman of the modern state is bred to seek industrial gain, be it even in the exercise of Art and Science. But when life's maintenance is no longer the exclusive aim of life, and the freeman of the future, inspired by a new and deed-begetting faith, or better knowledge, finds the means of life assured by payment of a natural and reasonable energy; in short, when Industry is no longer our mistress but our handmaid, then shall we set the goal of life in joy of life, and strive to rear our children to be fit and worthy partners in this joy!"

As regards the influence of Art on the spirituality of the people—a spirituality worth cultivating as a corrective to crass middle-class materialism—Mr. William Archer called attention lately, in the columns of the "Morning Leader," to an interesting article on "The Play and the Gallery," by Miss McCracken, in an American monthly; and he quotes Mr. Bernard Shaw in support of Miss McCracken's conclusion that the Stage, and Art generally, under right conditions, might mean much more to the people morally and spiritually than they do under conditions which are bound by the present nature of things to spell "profits." Mr. Shaw wrote in his preface to "Mrs. Warren's Profession": "I am convinced that Fine Art is the subtlest, the most educative, the most effective means of moral propagandism in the world, excepting only the example of personal conduct." And Miss McCracken tells a touching story of a woman, whose life had been of the hardest, living as she did in one of the least model of the tenements, but who warmed to moral enthusiasm over a magazine portrait of Ellen Terry as Portia. "Yes," said the woman, "once I saw her. I saw the 'Merchant of Venice,' and she was in it; she was Portia. It's a long time since I saw her, but I've never forgot the

things she said 'bout havin' mercy, and how she looked when she said 'em. People ain't always had mercy for me, and when I've wanted to pay 'em back for it, or to be mean to anybody, I jes' remember her, and what she said 'bout havin' mercy, and I don't want to be mean cos of her," she concluded, almost shyly."

Miss McCracken evidently possesses the conscious abstract knowledge of the essence of the world of which Wagner, the artist and poet, had the intuition when he wrote of what socialism might do for Art and for the spiritual life of the people: "It is for Art, therefore, to teach this social impulse its noblest meaning, and guide it towards its true direction. Only on the shoulders of this great social movement can true Art lift itself from its present state of civilised barbarism, and take its post of honour. Each has a common goal, and the twain can only reach it when they recognise it jointly." Then, in a burst of poetic metaphor, in which lovers of Wagner's music will recognise the leit-motiv of some of his best work, he adds: "This goal is the strong, fair Man, to whom Revolution shall give his strength, and Art his Beauty!"

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

DYEING AND BLEACHING IN THE HANDS OF COMBINES.—Dyeing and bleaching are trades subsidiary to the textile industries. In 1898 the Bradford Dyers' Association was formed, embracing 22 firms and having a capital of 4½ millions. The result has been to give the association a practical monopoly of the business, inasmuch as it does 90 per cent. of the trade. Other branches of the dyeing trade quickly followed suit. In 1899 eleven firms in the Manchester district formed themselves into the English Velvet and Cord Dyers' Association with a capital of a million. Then the Yorkshire Indigo, Scarlet, and Colour Dyers was formed with a capital of £600,000, embracing nearly all the Yorkshire firms in this branch of dyeing. In the bleaching trade also a large "combine" was a short time ago established.—*Railway Review*.

Combines contemplated for all the Coalfields in England.—In the coal-mining industry colossal schemes of amalgamation have been proposed; one for the combination of all the coal-owners in the Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Midland coalfields; another for all the coal-owners in South Wales; but the biggest scheme of all, which was proposed by Sir G. Eliot a short time ago, was a coal trust, which should embrace the bulk of all the coal-owners in the country. The recent boom in the coal trade has, for the moment, relegated these proposals to the background, but when the coal trade begins to suffer depression once more, these schemes will come to the front, and huge amalgamations will inevitably take place. Imagine the power which will be wielded by their trusts when the production of coal passes into these hands and becomes a gigantic monopoly.—"*Railway Review*"

BERNSTEIN AND THE GERMAN PARTY.

My friend Belfort Bax is certainly more candid than complimentary in the comments which he offers on the "laboured" performance of "our esteemed comrade." I am, however, afraid I shall have to bear up as well as I can under the circumstances; nay, more, that I shall have to screw up my courage to face again the volleys of his wit. Bax describes my summary of Bernstein's theories as an attempt to whitewash Bernstein. I am told that anybody who had read what Bernstein had written in the last five or six years in the "Neue Zeit," "Vorwärts" and "Sozialistische Monatshefte" would smile at my effort. But Bax, it may be noted, makes absolutely no attempt to show where my summary is wrong. Anybody can smile, anybody can make a few contemptuous remarks; but proving those remarks takes a certain amount of trouble. I may add that a short time ago Kautsky, in a letter to me, congratulated me on the article to which Bax objects, and said that I had completely proved my point. I do not wish to lay too much stress on that, and would not have referred to it had not Bax accused me of an attempt to whitewash.

Of a like nature are the charges against Bernstein. They are utterly indefinite, and, as to proof—well, that is scanty in the extreme. The "everybody knows" of an old lady's tea party is at least equally good evidence to that brought forward by Bax in support of the wildest accusations, and that in spite of the fact that, from all the mass of material which he quotes, it should be comparatively easy for him to bring something positive. That by the way. To take an example of Bax's charges, viz., the special charge of defending almost every abuse of Capitalism, so much depends on what is an abuse of Capitalism, and I pointed out that in one case at least where Bax got very angry with Bernstein, and told him that he was no Social Democrat, etc.—namely, because he would not agree to his (Bax's) statement that the Arab slave-dealer was to be preferred to the Chartered Company—Kautsky and the bulk of the German comrades agreed with Bernstein; therefore, that presumably the German comrades themselves would come under Bax's dire excommunication. It would be awful if we had to condemn the whole German Party, nay, possibly Marx himself. But, till Bax tells us what are the abuses to which he refers, we can only guess what he means; anyway, we may note that there is a certain amount of saving grace in that "almost." "Almost" every abuse of Capitalism does not include "insanitary factories, or unprotected machinery endangering life, which certainly are abuses of Capitalism; but these are, so far as I remember, about the only ones he has not championed." It's a pretty big almost, but then, leaving that on one side, there ought to be no difficulty about specifying at least some of the particular abuses which are not covered by the almost. By a curious irony of fate, as Bax was writing that Bernstein's teachings were in no way to be distinguished from those of the ordinary Liberal or Conservative, Bernstein was advocating—in opposi-

tion to the great bulk of the Social Democratic party in Germany—the use of that extremely conservative weapon known as the general strike—in alliance with two writers who are usually considered above all reproach in the purity of their revolutionary principles. Of course, I may point out, what Kautsky has already pointed out in his book against Bernstein, what was the distinguishing feature of Bernstein's standpoint was the absence of any definite standpoint. You had criticism of the party programme, etc., but what Bernstein's own standpoint was it was impossible to say. Now, we may think what we may of Bernstein for having published his ideas in this way; we may think he was inconsistent in staying in the party; but, owing to the very indefiniteness of his ideas, we cannot condemn them without at the same time condemning criticism itself.

How far the party was wise in electing Bernstein to a seat in the Reichstag is another matter. That is their look-out. Comrades in England may be perfectly certain our Breslau comrades were not actuated by any unnecessary sentimentality. They made pretty certain of Bernstein's intentions before they sent him to represent them. The German workers know their own interests far better than any arm-chair politicians in the National Liberal Club of London.*

Of course, I may point out that it is not very easy to keep pace with a man who raises utterly random charges. I had—and have in all my articles always done the same—assumed that Bernstein was acting what is commonly known as “on the straight.” Of course, if he is not, that is a matter for enquiry, not for assertion without proof. Also, as far as Bernstein's conduct as London correspondent of the “Vorwärts” was concerned, if he was guilty of misrepresentation, it was the duty of those who saw those misrepresentations to correct them at the time. This could have been done by the individual members, e.g., or by the S.D.F. in its official capacity. I may add that, even if it be said that the mis-statements in question were too frequent, and could not be noted in time, it was not required that should be so done; had anybody taken the trouble to go through the Bernstein articles afterwards, and prove the misrepresentations in question in black and white, that would have been taken by the “Vorwärts,” as they could not have done otherwise. But, of course, that is presuming we are dealing with assertions which can be proved. But it is no use talking at random in the English party Press when what was required was an explanation in the German party Press. That is action worthy of the politicians of the village public-house. We, at any rate, can hardly blame the German comrades for not taking notice of facts which we were too idle to bring to their attention.

It seems to me, by the way, that the climax of absurdity is reached when

*It certainly seems curious that Bax, who is so severe on Bernstein, finds it consistent with his hatred of Liberalism to remain a member of a Club which makes it a condition of membership that a member should recognise the principles of the Liberal party—a Club recognized, almost more than the Reform, as the headquarters of the party. Certainly no club takes a more active share in propagating the principles of Liberalism. But then—are not the armchairs comfortable, and the whisky good? What price “whitewash”?

Bax gravely announces that he can hardly believe in the bona-fides of a man "who could allege that the whole British nation believed the preposterously transparent Jingo lie of the Dutch conspiracy, as did Mr. Bernstein in reply to Kautsky in the 'Neue Zeit.' It is, I say, difficult to believe that Mr. Bernstein was unaware of the fact that no Englishman, not even the Imperialists, really believed this preposterous conspiracy fakement, clumsily concocted by a subsidised Press." Bax is here obviously confusing England with London Clubland and Fleet Street opinion, and I venture to say that, if Bernstein asserted that at one time the bulk of the British nation, apart from those coteries of the enlightened, believed the statements in question, he was probably nearer the truth than Bax. Anyway, that is hardly necessarily a sign of imbecility or mendacity. However, we have an example of Bax's own love of accuracy—the accuracy which he so prides himself on in this very article—and we can well compare it with Bernstein's mendacity or imbecility. Talking of the Woman question, Bax brings no less a person than August Bebel as supporting his view that Feminism, as such, is not, and never has been, a necessary part of Socialism. He goes on (without, be it noticed, giving any guide to the page of Bebel's book where his quotation is taken from): "Bebel with perfect candour recognised this in his 'Frau,' when he said expressly that numbers of 'Genossen' repudiate Feminism, and intimated that his views did not commit any one else." Now, at the risk of being called "long-winded" by Bax, I propose to give as full a translation of the passage in question from Bebel's "Frau," 30th edition, p. 7.:—

"Of all existing parties, the Social Democratic Party is the only one which has accepted the equal treatment of woman, and her emancipation from all dependence and oppression in its programme, not on grounds of the agitation, but from necessity, and on account of their principles. There can be no emancipation of humanity without the social independence and equality of the sexes. Up to this point will all Socialists be in agreement with us with the principles laid down. But that cannot be said of the manner in which the aim is to be achieved, i.e., how the measures and the particular institutions shall be arranged which are to be the foundation of that independence and equality for which we are striving, for all members of society, therefore also for that of man and woman.

"So soon as one quits the basis of reality and enters on the description of the institutions of the future, a wide field is opened out for speculation. The conflict of opinions begins over what is probable or not probable. Therefore, that what is laid down in that direction in this book can only be regarded as the personal views of the author, and therefore any attacks are to be directed against his person alone; he alone bears the responsibility for what is said."

I think, if comrades will compare the above with Bax's version, they will agree that further comment is not required. We can see now how Bax prizes accuracy, that he has every right to talk of the mendacity or imbecility of Bernstein.

Curiously enough, when I asked Bax in my last article how he would manage to maintain his position in the party were Bernstein expelled as a heretic, I had alluded, and this seems to have escaped Bax's attention, not to

his attitude on the Woman question, but on the materialist conception of history. As a consequence of his articles in the "Neue Zeit" on this question, as I was told by a leading member of our Swiss party, large numbers of comrades were firmly convinced that Bax was a Bernsteinianer. His views on it, indeed, are not easy to be distinguished from those of Bernstein. Now, as Kautsky explained, no one has dreamed of making acceptance of the materialist conception of history a condition of party membership; then neither, so far as I know, has anyone hitherto seriously proposed to make a limitation of the right of free criticism in the sense proposed by Bax, but, if we are to accept Bax's test that criticism of fundamentals is to be forbidden, the case is altered. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Now Bax says: "When Askew asks me whether I think it advisable to allow members the right of free criticism of the party programme, I say yes. But if by party programme he means the ultimate foundation on which the party rests, the basal object for which the party is constituted, I say no." Now, let us accept the test laid down here. I must point out in the first place that the two ideas, ultimate foundation, and the basal object, do not seem to me quite the same—the socialisation of the means of production is, I conclude, the "basal object" for which the party is constituted, but the ultimate (theoretical) foundations on which the party rests are the theory of surplus value and the materialist conception of history. From these two ideas, says Engels in his book, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," Socialism has acquired its scientific character; further, as Kautsky justly remarks, "Anti-Bernstein," p.8: "Of these two discoveries, taken by themselves, the materialist conception of history is become the more fundamental. With it stands or falls Marxism, i.e., the highest point at which the Socialist theory has yet arrived."

That is, no doubt, an individual opinion, but I only quote it to show that, if we make a rule that fundamentals are not to be criticised, it may have unexpected results. I think I may say that Kautsky's opinion would probably be shared by a very large majority of the members of the party, with the exception of the real Bernsteinianer. Extremes meet. Beyond this, how criticism of the "basal object" is to be distinguished from criticism of the programme is a point on which I leave it to Bax to explain.

Finally, the German party has better things to do than to consider if, when members declare their agreement with the main principles of the party programme, they do so with their tongue in their cheek or not. As long as any individual member proves loyal in the practice, the German party are not prepared to limit the right of free criticism, which they consider is the very breath of life to the party, because they do not agree to all that he says. "Idealist" Marxists or synthetic historians may attach great importance to rigidity of doctrine; we materialists know that the facts of life decide. Thus we do not get into a fuss every time the class war is called in question; we know that the class war, being inherent in the present order of society, will soon assert itself again, even where it seems to be temporarily eclipsed. And the same applies to the "final aim" of Socialism. The proletariat as a whole must, in its own interests, demand the socialisation of the means of production, etc. Of course you get backwaters in this as in all progress, and you

find the English trade unions, having got to a certain pitch, stopping there. But even this seems to me to confirm the materialist conception of history. As long as the Continental workers were in the eyes of the British workmen in a much inferior position to themselves, the latter could hardly believe in the possibility of their own emancipation. They would, no doubt, say to themselves, "Beyond a certain extent we cannot at present improve our position." That may be right or wrong, but I cannot help feeling, and this feeling was strengthened by the arguments of the British delegation at the recent Textile Workers' Congress, that it had its influence on the English trade unionists. Taken with the fact that English employers, owing to their position in the world, were able, and not unnaturally willing, to make concessions in the interests of peace from time to time, that the "suffrage" was practically a gift at a time when no urgent demand had arisen for it, I think we have ground to assume that the peculiar historical conditions of the British trade unionist explains the weakness of his political class consciousness. But the loss of a favoured position, or what he imagines is a favoured position, compared with his Continental brothers, will do more than all the preaching in the world to make the British working man Socialist. When that comes, we need not fear the heresy of a Bernstein any more than that of a Bax. We can be tolerant of them just as we should be tolerant of those who deny the theory of gravity.

J. B. ASKEW.

CIVILISATION AND THE BIRTH-RATE.

M. Neymarch recently read before the Society of Statistics of Paris an important study on the question of decrease in births with an increase of civilisation, in which he examined some of the economic, financial, and social causes which, according to him, exercise a greater influence than physiological causes. M. Neymarch believes first that the more civilisation is developed, and the more a country progresses, the more births have a tendency to decrease. In Germany the birth-rate was 42 per 1,000 in 1875, and twenty years later 36; in England during the same period it decreased from 36 to 29, and in France the same years it decreased from 26 to 25.2.

The economic causes which influence natality greatly are the following:

1. The expense of living, or, to be more exact, the increase in needs. It is not demonstrable in its ensemble that the cost of living is greater than formerly, but that which is incontestable is that "needs" have augmented.
2. the desire for greater comfort for one's own and for one's self. One considers the expenses of the family with reference to the revenue or the capital possessed, what it will cost to raise several children, pay for their instruction, education, maintenance, etc., and what it will cost later to "establish" them.
3. One desires to conserve the acquired wealth, and not to decimate it among a large number of inheritors.
4. The lowering of the revenues obtained from capital. A person who formerly could live happily and at ease on a capital of 20,000dols., producing a revenue of from 1,000dols. to 1,100dols. per year, that is, five to five and one-half per cent., has to-day, with the same capital,

only a revenue of 550dols. to 600dols., whereas his taxes, his charges, and his needs have increased. 5. The increase in taxation. 6. Feminism, or the accession of the woman to the work and occupations formerly reserved to the man. The woman becomes more and more the producer, she is occupied in commerce, in domestic service, in the liberal professions, in mines and trades, in shows, and in general affairs. This work in France occupies 3,353,831 women, who think less of maternity than of their professional occupations. Besides these, there can be cited an entire population which has no children, to wit, bachelors over 25 years of age, 3,861,599; homes without children, 1,808,838; divorcees, widows, and widowers without children, 3,000,000; total, 5,970,437—Translated and condensed from the "Revue Scientifique," Paris, for "Public Opinion," New York.

ARE WAGES DECLINING ?

CENSUS FIGURES SHOW A DECREASE AS MEASURED IN PRICES OF COMMODITIES.

Our issue of May 22 contained a table showing the variations in nominal wages since 1850. This table was incomplete, in that it did not show the variations in the purchasing power of these wages. This want is now supplied by the editor of "Gunton's Magazine"—for the last decade only, however. Mr. Gunton bases his statements on the census reports and on Dun's index of prices. According to the census, average wages in 1890 were 444.83dols., and in 1900 437.95dols., a decline of 1.5 per cent. in nominal wages. "If we turn to prices, we find, according to Dun's index number of prices of 350 articles averaged according to importance in consumption, that on January 1, 1890, a given amount of these products cost 90,191dols., and on June 1, 1900, when the census was taken, these same articles cost 91,829dols., showing an increase of 1,638dols., or 1.8 per cent. Here, then, if we take the wage averages for the two periods just as they stand, we have an actual fall of 1.5 per cent. in wages, and a rise of 1.8 per cent. in prices, which means a reduction of 3.3 per cent. in real wages or the purchasing power of a day's work. Even assuming that there was no real fall in average wages, the decreased purchasing power of a dollar would indicate a decline of nearly 2 per cent. in real wages during the decade." This contradicts the conclusions of the article referred to above.

Then Mr. Gunton makes a comparison between the decade just ended and the one preceding it, and finds greater progress in the one ending 1890. "The products per capita increased just twice as fast. Nominal wages increased 28 per cent. and real wages 38 per cent. in the former period, as against practically stationary wages between 1890 and 1900, and a fall in real wages of nearly 2 per cent. The actual increase in total product was 335,281,737dols. greater from 1880 to 1890 than from 1890 to 1900, while the per cent. of increase was 74.5 per cent. in the former period as against 39.1 per cent. in the latter, or nearly twice as great. Thus it will be seen that in some respects, conspicuously wages distribution, we have made no progress at all during the decade ending 1900, while in every respect—including investment of capital, total product per capita, and purchasing power of money—the progress of the previous decade was strikingly greater than in the last."—"Public Opinion," New York.

ART AND LABOUR.

Not the least mischief of the many that the commercial system has wrought for the working people is the complete divorcement which it has effected between art and labour; the artisan, the handicraftsman, has been transformed into the "mechanic," one who, from working with his hands at an art, works with a machine, mechanically, and turns out commodities, each



the exact replica of the other, instead of articles of use and beauty. So complete has this severance between art and labour become, that to the average man of to-day there is absolutely no relation whatsoever between them. In order to secure anything of what he considers to be artistic, the average bourgeois desires to get as far away from labour as possible. To his mind there is no connection whatever between them. Art is something ethereal, idealistic, idyllic, unreal, and beautiful; labour, on the other hand, is useful, real, prosaic, disagreeable, necessary, but intensely and essentially ugly and inartistic.

Capitalist commercialism has done its worst to rob the workman of all

pleasure in the labour of his hands, and then capitalists, when it does not suit their book to encourage scamping and cheating in his product, express surprise that the workman does not show more interest in his work. Having made his task as disagreeable as possible, having robbed him of all pleasure in it, they are surprised that he should regard it as an irksome means of obtaining the necessities of life, to be scamped as quickly as possible, or to be dawdled over, according as it best suits the end in view, without any regard to the work itself. Not only has commercialism divorced art and labour, but, in so doing, it has encouraged bad workmanship, scamping, and cheating.

Socialism would alter all this. By substituting production for use for pro-



duction for profit, it would give the whole people engaged in doing the whole work of the community an interest in their work for its own sake. Every member of the community would have a direct interest in turning out good work, and this would develop the artistic faculty which commercialism has done so much to crush.

It is doubtless a recognition of this truth, and a contempt for the commercialism which has blighted art and labour alike, that has brought into the ranks of the Socialist movement men like William Morris and Walter Crane, men who could not be said to be driven into Socialism by economic considera-

tions or the pressure of their material conditions, men whom the world may be supposed to have treated very well. Such men must have been appealed to on the artistic side, and the sordid soullessness and vulgarity, as well as the ugly squalor of commercial civilisation, have been doubtless the influences which have caused them to revolt against the capitalist system.

We owe much to both William Morris and Walter Crane. And, although the life-work of the former is over, the latter is still with us to preach through his drawings the gospel of art and liberty, art and labour, art and life; to show the true relation between art and labour, to show that, while labour divorced from art is brutalising, art apart from labour is soulless and barren.

Walter Crane has demonstrated his sympathy with the workers and with the International Socialist movement by the splendid cartoons which he has from time to time given to our Press, and it is encouraging to see that there is a growing recognition of his work in this direction among some sections of the working class. He has recently painted a magnificent banner for the Electrical Trades Union, which is unique among trade emblems, and of which the union is naturally and justly proud. We give here illustrations of the two sides of this beautiful work of art, which has for motto "Light and Liberty," and in which the artist has well expressed the spirit and sentiment which animate the Electrical Trades Union. That union is one of the newer organisations of workers, and, as befits the calling with which it is connected, one of the most progressive. It aims at combining together all the men engaged in the electrical trades, not only for mutual trade protection, but for the advancement of the working class as a whole. So far, it has achieved a most encouraging measure of success, and is at the present time engaged in promoting a scheme of co-operation in which the union will carry out contracts for the installation of electric lighting, or any other of the multifarious undertakings of electricians. The progressive ideals of the union are well illustrated by its new banner, which presents a pleasing contrast to the crude and inartistic emblems too often adopted by trade societies. The ceremony of unfurling the banner was performed by Mr. Will Crooks, Mayor of Poplar, at the Finsbury Town Hall, on the 13th of last month.



God and the Debenture Holders.—The following gem is from the "Sunday Special," an organ of Hebrew finance: "Last night Mr. Seddon, at St. Helen's, said: 'We are a God-fearing people, and must continue to endeavour to uplift humanity, to improve and to give a higher civilisation to the people.' In this connection it would be interesting to estimate the height to which humanity and civilisation have been lifted by the scandalous treatment meted out to the New Zealand Midland Railway Debenture holders."—"New Age."

A PLEA FOR MERCY TO OFFENDERS.

C. H. Hopwood, K.C., who has obtained the honourable distinction of being known as the most merciful judge on the English bench, writes on the above subject in the *Humanist Review* of this month. He says "too many writers are influenced unconsciously by Carlyle's admiration for force and strength, and his extenuation of brutality and cruelty in the administration of law, or at least in the conduct of leaders. To these, capital punishment, flogging, long imprisonment, are true remedies for the correction and repression of criminals. . . . The foolishness of pity is proclaimed. The real way of administering justice is at length discovered, and whoever disputes it is maudlin, insincere, or a fool."

"I have for many years had my attention closely turned to the administration of the Criminal Law. It has been my duty to prosecute and defend many, for breaches of the law of every sort and kind. During most of that time consideration or pity for the criminal has been but slight. There has been little effort to keep him out of prison, but every endeavour to get him there, and keep him for long periods."

"Long imprisonment was common. Justice was blind and deaf to all but a shallow and imperfect consideration of law and order. The despair of the criminal, his torture in long confinement, the wrenching asunder of all ties of affection, the sufferings of wife and family, all these the judge, by habit and in practice, put aside as not worthy of consideration to deter him from his assumed public duty of severe prolonged punishment of the malefactor. The ruling idea was that it was possible to stamp out crime by crushing sentences—that these would dispose for a number of years of the convict, and also deter others from imitating him. Similar arguments and expectations long supported the dreadful capital punishment which once attended nearly every felony down to the picking of a pocket, and yet at every softening of the Criminal Law there has been a falsification of predictions, an absence of the dreaded increase of crime, and our citizens have found their property and their lives not less safe."

"The last outwork of defence of this system of long sentences has been reached by the attack upon it. It is said to be deterrent in proportion to its severity. Where is the evidence? Severity of a much more potent kind, penalties of death and atrocious floggings in public, were for a long period of our history the remedy for crime. Who can aver that they deterred? Crime was then, as now, a statistical average, a little less at times, a little more at others—fluctuations which might be accounted for by the presence of greater misery in the population, or of greater temptation in the display of wealth and the opportunity for plunder."

"It is true that for some years past, the number of serious crimes has diminished, but no one attributes this to severe punishment. Indeed, punishment has been reduced somewhat during the period, though eccentric judges of all sorts, and justices, may in places boast that they are untouched by humanitarianism, for which they express contempt. Some attribute the improvement to education. It may have done much, but I am disposed to think that it is more due to the great improvement in the condition of the less favoured classes, that the struggle for life has been less severe, and the means of livelihood, more food and comfort, within the reach of more people. The vast bulk of what is called crime consists of pilfering and

stealings, which are induced by the pressure of extreme want and misery, and yet it is to these that the dreadful remedy of long sentences has been ruthlessly applied. I have found instances of men who for trifling offences have spent thirty or more years in gaol. There surely can be no more effective maturing of an offender into a ruffian, desperate and determined. If mere offences are thus treated, the feeling is created that it is worth while to try for greater prizes, and to combine violence with their attainment, for the punishment can hardly be more severe.

"Here are some specimens of these terrible sentences, inflicted in obedience to some hard theory which actuated the judge. One man sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for stealing a garden fork. Another, for stealing a cup, to five years. Another, for stealing some watercresses, to eight years. Another, for stealing some herrings and provisions, to five years. These instances will suffice. This system has gone on in practice for a number of years with the precision and regularity of a machine, causing desperation, misery, and lower and lower degradation. It was devised by men, mere pedants, to whom flesh and blood were nought compared to an expected reduction in the calendar of theft. We have had enough of such crude opinion and inhuman experiment.

"A common cry is raised by the unthinking to bring back flogging as a punishment. Formerly, and down to the first quarter of this century, this punishment and death were our usual correctives of the criminal, male and female. Corporal punishment was deliberately laid aside by the wisdom derived from experience, until the selfish fears of some members of the House of Commons revived it for robbery with violence, and anyone who reads the thrice-told tale of the ineffectiveness of the Statute (in *Hansard* on many occasions, but notably in the House of Lords in 1893 in answer to Lord Salisbury, and since, in 1900, in the debate on the Flogging Bill, thrown out in the House of Commons, when the Secretary of State, Sir M. W. Ridley and the ex-Secretary, Mr. Asquith, exposed and controverted the myth) will cease to chatter about its having put down garrotting. This brutality by law belongs to the untaught vengeance of savage times. Such sentences brutalise and corrupt all society where it is practised. Its baneful example engenders deterioration in the judge who avails himself of it, as shown by his increasing use of the lash; the warder who administers it, who is paid extra for his disgusting service; the gaoler, who is bound to witness the torture and urge the warder if he proves too tender; the surgeon, who must stand by to ascertain the moment when the extreme of suffering a poor wretch can bear has been reached; while the spectators in court are taught the lesson that bodily suffering is approved by law. The poor wretches who undergo it are not improved, are not deterred.

"The fact is, that the virtuous, the religious, those who are timid for themselves, are hard in insisting upon punishment.

"I have seen Courts of Quarter Sessions, near neighbours to one another in districts where the life and habits of the people were similar, and the amount of property liable to pillage was in amount and quality the same. In the one a Recorder presided who dealt out penal servitude mechanically according to rule of accumulation for offences. His calendars showed an almost fated level of offences never reduced.

"The neighbouring court was presided over by a chairman of justices, a lawyer of equal reputation, who prescribed punishment proportioned to each offence. His sentences were for months, where the other's were for years. Yet the calendar here equally preserved its level from Sessions to Sessions, did not rise, nor was crime more rife in the district. It was my first object-

lesson nearly forty years ago, lasting over seven or eight years of comparison. Its impression has never faded. It was my lot to deal with over 3,747 prisoners up to the end of 1893, and upon these I inflicted 3,000 years of punishment less than my predecessor, according to his scale, would have felt himself compelled to do. Some of these prisoners return, others do not. Under the severe system those who had fulfilled their long terms of imprisonment returned as certainly, though of course at longer intervals, as each Sessions came round, evincing the futility, the failure of the method. Yet Liverpool is now as safe and free from crime as ever it was. Hear the head constable's report for 1892 (confirmed in every subsequent report. The population has been increased by more than 200,000 by the addition of outlying townships, yet the Council of the city were able in 1900 to reduce the police force by 100 men):—

"The gratifying results disclosed in the statistics, 1890-91, are more than maintained in the figures which I have now to lay before you, and I am for the second time able to report that Liverpool has never been so free from crime, nor has greater success ever been attained in making criminals amenable to justice than in the year under review."

"There are many who disapprove of my action. Have they more experience? They criticise with severity, with temper, sometimes with spite. I do not dispute the sincerity of their opinions. Cannot they be tender to mine? Why should they be angry? Happily there are many more who agree with me, whose sympathy personally conveyed supports me in the struggle. Eminent judges, too, have set me the example. The progress of mercy, in spite of the contempt of it entertained by some, goes on daily securing more and more adherents. Every Court, from the Assize down to that of Summary Jurisdiction, is more and more influenced by these golden rules:—

"(1) Never to send a man to gaol if you can help it.

"(2) To give the lightest sentence you can.

"These sound homely, and set up no standard; but they may be best understood by contrasting them with the practice of many, which may be stated to be:—

"'Always send a man to gaol if the law permits.'

"'Always give the heaviest sentence the law allows.'

"A judge who stands midway between these extremes must make his choice. To whichever boundary he looks, be sure that practice will lead him nearer and nearer to it. In my judgment he should turn to that of mercy.

"I do not deny that violent crime must be somewhat differently treated, as it may be necessary, for the protection of life, to cage, or imprison for longer periods, dangerous criminals; but even in these cases I have often seen punishment more brutal than the crime, and I deprecate the constant cry for vengeance. What we must look to is *detection*. Without the fear of detection it is obvious that the severest sentences fail to deter. The deliberate criminal lays his plans so well, so secretly, as he believes, as to make his act perfectly safe. If he expected to find the police, or superior protecting force on the ground, he would certainly not proceed. If he were sure of their absence, no fear of sentence would deter him. The certainty of success and escape attract him. The madman, the drunkard, the passionate, cannot entertain reflection and cannot be deterred. The commonplace, easily conceived idea that savage repression and 'stamping out' are the fitting modes of treating crime belongs to past ages of ignorance, and is a disgrace to the civilisation and humanity which we pride ourselves we possess."

THE GROWTH OF LUXURY IN AMERICA CAUSING POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DECADENCE.

The baleful effects of the growth of luxurious tastes and habits among the American people is the theme of an article by Mr. John Gilmer Speed in the June "Ainslee's Magazine." "The hurt of luxury, considered as a necessity, is in others," says Mr. Speed, "others who cannot afford to lead luxurious lives, but who consider that to lead plainer lives is almost indecent. This is not using too strong language. Even in thrifty France, where men and women look things in the face with less illusion and self-deception than anywhere else in the world, the modern love of luxury is attacking the very stronghold of the thrift which has made France rise superior to the direst ills that could befall a nation. In this country we have—heaven save the mark!—the bachelor maid, the woman who glories in the fact that she has emancipated herself from the glories of love and the sweet responsibilities of maternity. And why has she done it? Because in her independence she can have comforts and luxuries which in marriage she might have to do without." Mr. Speed refers to the changed conditions under which the young men of to-day begin the work of life. Formerly, "when a young man was finished at college, he set about learning a profession or a business, and gaining a wife at the same time. When he was prepared for the one, he was ready for the other. It is vastly different now, for now the youths must begin where the old folks leave off—they must do this or they lose caste. The whole topsyturvy disarrangement of that which is natural and proper may all be attributed to that growth of luxury which is the most marked characteristic of the age in which we live." The evil influence of luxury extends also to politics, both municipal and national. "In America our municipal governments are such rich stores on which the corrupt may draw that there is scarcely an honestly-administered city in the whole of the United States. A congressman who lives on his pay in Washington must live in a boarding-house or a cheap hotel. He can afford no luxuries and still be honest.

The following table gives a fairly correct idea of the distribution of wealth in this country:—

	No. in Class.	Amount of Wealth.	Average.
Wealthy classes Property of 50,000dols. and over	15,500	52,000,000,000dols.	335,500dols.
Well-to-do-classes Property of 50,000dols. to 5,000dols.	1,937,700	33,000,000,000	17,000
Middle classes Property of 5,000dols. to 500 dols.	6,773,400	12,500,000,000	1,850
Poorer classes Property under 500dols.	6,773,400	2,500,000,000	370
Totals	15,500,000	100,000,000,000dols.	6,450dols.

According to this table, 52 per cent. of the wealth of the country is owned by 1 per cent. of the population.—"Public Opinion," New York.

WHY EUROPE IS LIKELY TO REMAIN AT PEACE.

In an article in the April "North American Review," by the late Jean de Bloch, the probability of a European war is discussed at length, the conclusion being that such a war is unlikely for many reasons. First, the military establishments of the powers are so large that it is realised that only long and exhausting warfare could give either side an advantage—not one but many battles would have to be fought. Furthermore, there are no great leaders. The successors of Moltke and Skobeloff may exist, but they are as yet unknown. "So far as the calculations of statesmen go, they do not exist."

There is another reason why war upon the Continent is unlikely. This is "the extreme caution of European statesmen, their distrust of popular agitation, and their nervous dread of responsibility. The Transvaal war, from its beginning to its present stage, has been a continuous and uninterrupted exposure of the vanity of complacent thoughts which, the proverb tells us, are the children of vain wishes. Not merely every military, but every political, every social, every material, every spiritual consideration relied upon has been found to be a baseless edifice, which the first breeze of actual fact has overthrown. Can it be believed that, with the lesson before their eyes of this general ensnaring of the intelligence of the most practical people in the world, the more cautious and responsible statesmen of Europe will lightly enter upon a war so vast and so terrible that all the incidents in the bloody struggle under the southern cross would be crowded into a single one of its battlefields?

"The answer to that question lies in the nervous distrust of themselves, and the still greater distrust of popular agitation, which characterises all the present rulers of Europe. An infinitesimal risk of diplomatic friction is sufficient to prevent decisive steps being taken in international matters, even where great good might possibly result from an active policy. The impassioned movement which is still proceeding on the Continent for intervention on behalf of the Boers has never altered a word in diplomatic despatches. The status quo has now become a religion in Europe. Everywhere there is a fearful, almost superstitious, dread of uttering an unconsidered word which might alarm foreign suspicion or pander to domestic passion. Even the Armenians must be abandoned to their fate, lest some inconsiderable element of friction should disturb the placid relations of the European powers.

"All this, it may indeed be urged, points to the postponement of war rather than to the assurance of peace. It indicates no lightening of the burden of armaments, and offers, at best, but the lesser of two evils. Therein lies Europe's danger; and it may indeed be doubted whether sudden destruction in the cataclysm of universal war is less to be feared than the continuous decay of the social organism, the shackling of civilisation, and the ultimate political revolt which militarism must bring about."

THE AMERICAN SHIPPING TRUST.

Mr. O. Eltzbacher discourses on the above subject in this month's *Contemporary Review*. He says: "Whether the American Shipping Trust will be a success or whether it will be a failure, and what, in the event of its being a failure, the consequence to the Morgan enterprises, to the American stock markets, to the markets of the world, to the American public, to American politics, will be, is incalculable. If the British and Canadian Governments are going to strike at the Shipping Trust, let them strike at once and let them strike hard. The facts of the case are not merely that an American corporation has acquired 8 per cent. of British tonnage, as the *Times* and our official apologists have assured us, but that America has scooped off the ocean the very cream of our merchant fleet. Out of the 60 ships above 8,000 tons nominally possessed by Great Britain, 37 are already in the American combine, and, of the remaining 23, seven belonging to the Cunard line may or may not go over, leaving so far only 16 out of our 60 best ships in British hands. The best and most valuable of our fast passenger steamers and of our large cargo boats which allow of the most economic working have become American, though for reasons which are not quite clear they will at present be allowed to sail under the British flag. That the remaining 92 per cent. of inferior ships remaining in British hands will not easily be able to compete for the Atlantic trade with the 8 per cent. lost to America is clear, and it seems that America has conquered the Atlantic trade by a stroke of colossal boldness.

"A certain consolation to Great Britain lies in the fact that America acquired our best shipping at enormously inflated prices, and the question suggests itself: If American financiers wanted to capture the Atlantic trade, why did they not choose a more economical way? and have new ships built at half the cost per ton at which they acquired the existing lines? Why did they not force the price of the British lines down at comparatively small expense by taking to rate-cutting? The fact that British tonnage was bought at fully double its value is, on the face of it, unsound business, and there lies the extreme danger to the Trust.

"If we consider the inflated cost at which the Trust ships were acquired, and the still more hugely inflated capital of the Trust itself, it becomes quite clear that the Trust cannot live on cheap rates. If, nevertheless, by the use of either stratagem the Atlantic trade should for any length of time get into the hands of the Trust, it would mean that freights and passenger rates would be put up against Great Britain as long as the Trust could rule the Atlantic, and that the food and raw material supplied by the United States to Great Britain, such as cotton, would permanently and materially be enhanced in price. It would mean not only that the United States Government would levy import duties on our manufactures, but that powerful American corporations would band themselves together to levy export duties on the raw material required in the making of our manufactured goods. Under the pressure of such a policy our national expenses would grow and our income shrink. Whether under such circumstances British politicians will be allowed to continue to preach the comfortable doctrines of Free Trade and Non-Interference remains to be seen. Our ideas on Free Trade require reconsideration. . . . Mr. Schwab, the gifted manager of the United States Steel Corporation, when asked in an

official inquiry: 'Do you think the tariff policy of this country for the past four years is the reason of our great wealth?' replied, 'Undoubtedly, I know of no other reason so important.' Free traders might compare this statement with Mr. Gladstone's ancient dictum that America's tariff was the insurmountable obstacle to her commercial success.

"America and Germany, in trying to capture our trade, our industries, our shipping, and eventually our colonies, are waking us up to the realities of economic life. They will rub in the lesson mercilessly; they will assist us with American managers, German chemists, and international financiers, until, awakened by defeats, Great Britain will gather herself together, reorganise her economic forces and again lead the nations in economic progress and prosperity. Rocked with security by success of our forefathers, we have slept on our laurels. In education, in the use of science, of up-to-date machinery, and of modern organisation and harmonisation of forces as applied to trades and industries, we have fallen behind. The success of our rivals will be only temporary, for we have the greatest latent resources in the world as regards raw material, human material, markets, and strategic positions for commerce and industry. Only we fail to make use of our magnificent opportunities.

"Posterity will perhaps compare Mr. J. P. Morgan with John Law. John Law recognised in paper the currency of the future, and in driving this excellent idea too far brought France and himself to ruin. Mr. J. P. Morgan has recognised the trusts as the industrial organisation of the future, but he may, by driving his idea too far, and by trying to conquer the whole world for his trusts, ruin the United States."



SOUTH AUSTRALIA recently had a general election. Its chief result is that the Labour Party goes back to Parliament reduced in numbers. South Australia, like the other States, has its unemployed, and a few days after the election Labour-leader Price told a meeting of workless ones some plain home truths. He "advised them to try the Fatman to alleviate their troubles. He and other members of the Labour Party had done enough in the past, and had got nothing but kicks. The Mayor (Mr. Cohen) had given £2,000 for a lot of dancing people the other night; now let him do something for the workers who had voted him into Parliament." The irony of it all! The bitter experience of the S.A. Labour Party is the experience of Labour champions the world over. Sooner or later they realise the ingratitude of the people whose cause they fight for—the masses so easily deluded and hounded into placing in power men whose prime concern for the worker is to use him as a chattel for their own aggrandisement.

The justice of Labourite Price's upbraiding is only too wofully apparent when one reads that S.A.'s mostly Fatmanic Government has decided, "in order to relieve the immediate necessities of the unemployed men who have wives and families requiring food, to provide work at stonebreaking, as in the year 1894, for rations." Go to Fatman!—this is the reward for having sold their brethren. Strong men asking for work are degraded in their manhood by being forced to take stonebreaking for rations or see their families starve! "The labourer is worthy of his hire"—he will be some day when he has ceased to be an arrant fool. Meanwhile he may best appreciate the magnitude of his folly in the spectacle of an often empty larder.—*The Tocsin*, Melbourne.

AN EVENING WALK.

When old Leras, book-keeper of Messrs. Labuze and Co., left the counting-house, he stood still for a few minutes, blinded by the rays of the setting sun. He had worked all day by yellow gaslight in the back part of the office, near the yard, which was small and narrow like a shaft. The little room, where for 40 years he passed his life, was so dark that only in the height of summer, from 11 to 3, could one work without artificial light. Then it was always cold in winter, and stifling in summer, but, if the window was opened, the blacks came in, and also many bad smells.

For 40 years Leras had been in this prison every day till 7 o'clock, and there he wrote and kept the books with the industry of a model clerk. He earned about £120 now a year, having started with a yearly salary of £60. He had remained a bachelor, for his means did not allow him to keep a wife. As he had never had enough, his needs were very small. Yet from time to time, irritated by the dulness of his life, he would say, "Good gracious! If I only had a fortune of £200 a year, what a good time I would have."

But he never had a good time, for he never got more than his monthly salary.

His life went on without accident, without emotion, and almost without expectation. He never even dreamed of happiness, as all his life was one long toil.

When he was 21, he had entered the service of Messrs. Labuze and Co., and he had always stayed there.

In 1856 he had lost his father, and in 1859 his mother. And nothing more had happened to him till 1868, when he had had to change his lodgings because his landlord had moved.

Daily at 6 o'clock his alarm went off with a terrible clanging noise by his bed, and only twice—once in 1866 and once in 1874—did it fail to go off, and he never knew why.

He dressed himself, made his bed, and tidied up his room. All this took him half-an-hour.

Then he went out, bought a roll at Lahure—a baker's shop, where he had known eleven different proprietors, though the name of the firm never changed. This bread he ate as he went along.

All his life had been passed in the small, dark, miserable office. There he had gone when he was young, and had begun by being the assistant of M. Brument, whom he had hoped to succeed. He had succeeded him, and he sought for nothing more. Everything which life brings to other men—unexpected events, tender and unhappy love, adventurous travel, all the dangers of free existence—all these had been unknown to him. Days, weeks, months, seasons, and years were all the same to him. Day after day he went out at the same time, he entered the office at the same hour, he ate at mid-day, went home, went to dinner, and then went to bed. Nothing broke the monotony of the regularity of his even industry, and his thoughts never changed.

At first he looked at himself in his little round mirror, and he saw that he had a fair beard and wavy hair. Now he looked in the same mirror, and saw that his beard was white and his head bald.

Forty years had passed away, slowly yet surely, uneventful as a dreary day, and like the hours of a bad night. Forty years, and nothing was left,

not even a memory, not even a death except the death of his parents. To-day Leras stayed for a few minutes at the door, gazing at the setting sun. Instead of going home, he resolved to take a little walk before dinner; he used to do this four or five times a year.

He went on to the boulevards, on which there were a great many people walking under the budding trees. It was a spring evening, one of the first warm and tender evenings, which cause a flutter of joy to pass through our hearts.

Leras walked with the uneasy step of an old man; his eyes glistened with joy; he was happy in the peaceful evening and in the fine weather. He reached the Champs Elysees, and went on.

The sky was in flames, and the Arc de Triomphe showed its black mass against the light ground of the horizon like a reef in the midst of fire.

When the old cashier came near the immense arch, he remembered that he was hungry, and he went into a wine-shop to have dinner. He sat down on the pavement and ate his dinner, some mutton, salad and asparagus. For a long time he had not enjoyed such a good meal. Then he had some cheese—bue—and half a bottle of Bordeaux. And after that he had a cup of coffee and a small glass of brandy, this being a very unusual thing for him to do.

When he had paid his bill, he felt better, lively, and a little bit excited; and he said to himself: "It is a beautiful evening; I will go for a walk to the Bois de Boulogne, and that will do me good."

He went along, and hummed a tune he had once heard, "thinking that love awakes again as the trees bud anew." He liked the words so much that he kept on repeating them. The night had now fallen; it was a calm night, and not a breath of wind. Leras went along the street to the Bois de Boulogne, looking at the cabs; there they came, and many of them with lovers the lady in a light dress, the man in black. It was a long procession of lovers, who were having a jaunt under the starry heavens. There they went on, quiet in the carriages, sitting near each other, lost to all around them, only thinking of each other. The warm shadows seemed full of kisses swarming round. The very air was white, and the lovers only thought of each other, forgetting all else—all these cabs quite startled the old man.

He was rather tired, and he sat on a seat looking at these cabs. Almost at once a woman came and sat next to him.

"Good evening, my dear," she said.

He did not answer. She went on: "Won't you come with me, my dear—you will not regret it?"

He answered: "You are making a mistake, madam."

She took his arm: "Don't be shy, come——"

He dragged himself away, and went on, his heart thumping. A hundred yards further on, another woman said:

"Won't you sit next to me for a minute, my dear?"

He said to her: "Why do you do this?"

She looked at him, and said, in a sad voice, "My God! I do not do it for my pleasure!"

He said to her, in a softer voice: "But why do you do it, then?"

"I must live," she murmured, and she went away.

Leras stood quite still. Other women came to him, spoke to him, and went away. He thought something black came over his head, something bewildering. He sat down again on a seat, and the cabs went on.

"I would have done better," he thought, "not to have come here; I feel as if I was bewitched."

He began to think on this love which was passing him, that some of it was voluntary, and some bought. He did not know much about love; he had only been intimate with two or three women by a stroke of luck, for his means did not allow him to indulge in those pleasures, and he thought about the life which he had, so different from other lives, so dark, so gloomy, so miserable, so wretched.

There were lives which were happy. And suddenly the scales fell from his eyes, and he saw the wretchedness, the unending, monotonous wretchedness, of his existence, his misery in the past, in the present, and in the future. The last days were like the first; there was nothing before him, nothing behind him, nothing to live for, nothing anywhere. Still the cabs went by, and he kept on seeing pairs and pairs of lovers. All mankind, it seemed to him, were passing before him, and all were tasting joy, pleasure and happiness. He was always alone, looking on, but always alone. To-morrow he would still be alone, always alone, right to the end. He got up, walked a little, sat down on the next seat, tired out as if he had walked a long way. What was he expecting? What was he hoping for? Nothing. He thought what a fine thing it must be to go home, and see one's little children, and take them to one's arms. Yes, it is a fine thing to be old if one is surrounded by one's family, who love you, and say tender words to you which warm your heart. And he thought of his barren room, of his clean and sad little room, which was never entered by anyone else, and where no one loved him. This room seemed even more cheerless than his office.

No one came there, no one ever spoke there. It was dumb, dead, and still. The very walls were friendless, and houses in which unhappy people live are more gloomy than the dwellings of the happy ones. And he thought with terror about going back to that room, at seeing it again, and, to put that evil moment off as long as possible, he went down a path, leading into the wood, to sit on the grass.

The sun was high up in the sky, and scattered a flood of light over the Bois de Boulogne. There were a few carriages on the roads, and the riders cantered along joyfully.

Two lovers went along a quiet path. The young woman saw something brown in the branches, she shrieked, and pointed upwards.

"See, what is that?" Then she fell back into her companion's arms, having fainted away.

The keepers were called, and saw that an old man had committed suicide by hanging. A doctor came, and said that the man must have been dead since the preceding evening. It was seen by papers which he had on him that he was cashier in the firm of Labuze and Co., and that his name was Leras.

In the official statistics the reason of the suicide was put down as unknown (query insanity).

GUY DE MAUPASSANT.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)



ONCE UPON A TIME.

"As we began in the early history of our race with narrow, tribal communism, provided with, and based upon small means of production; so we are now proceeding to a world-wide communism on a higher plane; in accordance with the greater powers over nature which we possess, as the result of greater knowledge and closer intercommunication."

—Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism," chap. I., page 3.

Once upon a time (Listen, comrades, to my rhyme),
Though savage, rude and ignorant we were,
In an undesigned community we lived for our security,
And freely as we gained did freely share.
But *now* (and you know how) we've dropped from that simplicity
To run before each other in the ways of dark duplicity;
Now the many mix in strife for all the things of life,
Which things the few do seize upon and rend back pittance bare
Of what they never really gained, nor equally can share.

Therefore, I say, though their ignorance was sublime,
Though they hadn't got the sense to tell a dollar from a dime,
Or a guinea from a time-tab (oh, listen to my rhyme),
They were healthier, happier, *holier* men
"Once upon a time."

Once upon a time (List, oh, listen to my rhyme)
We started through the Wilderness to roam,
Till to wisdom slowly brought, by experience folly-fraught,
We are winning back once more unto our Home.
Oh! and when we do get home!—
The good of all shall go before the excellence of some,
And the banner and the bugle and the trumpet and the drum
We'll hang up in the portals, a sign for happy mortals
That all the earth's for all the earth, when the conscious Commune come!

Therefore, I say, when our knowledge grows sublime,
When to dig is no disgrace, and *Ignorance* is the crime,
Though you live to be Methus'lems may you see that bonny time,
And write a verse for Mammon's hearse, and so complete my rhyme
Of "Once upon a time."

SPION KOP.



M. BEER.



THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. VI., No. 8. AUGUST 15, 1902.

M. BEER.

ON the opposite page we present a portrait of our comrade Beer, who is the London correspondent of the great German Socialist paper *Vorwärts*, he succeeding Eduard Bernstein in that capacity on the latter's return to Germany some little time back.

Our comrade Beer was born in August, 1865, in a little town in Galicia (Austria). His father was a non-commissioned officer in the Austrian army and fought, in 1859, against France and Italy. To his father's numberless tales about foreign lands and soldiering and fighting our comrade owes a great deal of his love for history, politics, geography and travel.

He had a strictly Jewish education. At the age of eleven he began to learn Polish, German, and elementary science; arithmetic was his terror, but he rather liked geometry. At 14 he began Latin and general essay writing; and at 16, history of Hebrew and German literatures, French, logic, ethics, mediæval philosophy and mysticism.

While still a young man he left his native place for Germany, where, in the year 1892, after several years' study of economics, politics, philosophy and Socialism, he became the editor of the *Magdeburger Volksstimme*. His opinions and the manner in which he conducted the paper may be judged from the fact that in about eight months after assuming editorial control he was arrested on nearly a dozen charges of inciting to class struggle, and of insulting the German army and authorities. He was convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The ten months of prison life were spent in mastering something of the English language, in reading the New Testament and Russian, French, and German novels, and in working out two essays on the economic basis of Ancient Jewish Law (printed in the *Neue Zeit*, 1894).

After leaving prison, Beer was invited by the police to take his choice between pursuing a respectable calling and leaving the Fatherland. In June, 1894, he came to England, where he wrote for the Berlin *Social-*

Demokrat, and served for twenty months as a schoolmaster in a boarding-school in the West of London, the boys teaching him English. He was a member of the German delegation at the International Congress in 1896, held in Queen's Hall, London. In December, 1897, he left for Paris. In the autumn of 1898 Kautsky invited him to go to Berlin as sub-editor of the *Neue Zeit*. At the same time the management of the New York *Abendblatt*, for which he had interviewed Emile Zola on the Dreyfus affair, asked him to go to New York. He accepted the latter offer, and worked for twelve months on that paper, until the quarrels exhausted his patience.

When Bernstein left England and returned to Germany, Beer was asked to go back to London as the English correspondent of the *Vorwärts*, which responsible position he now occupies. Certainly the Social-Democratic Federation will be the gainer by this change, as Beer evinces far more sympathy with the S.D.F., and is on a much more friendly footing with us than his predecessor. In the past the S.D.F. has been misrepresented, and consequently misunderstood, amongst our continental comrades.

SOCIALISM IN BRAZIL.

From the 29th to the 31st of May, 1902, was held at St. Paulo, a large town in Brazil, the second congress of the Socialist Workers in Brazil. A programme was drawn up. In Brazil there are all kinds of nationalities, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Germans, English, French, Swiss, Austrians, Turks, Armenians, Arabs, Swedes, Danes, Belgians, Poles, Russians, and men from the United States and Canada. There are also Brazilians, descendants of the first emigrants, blacks and mulattoes, descendants of the former slaves. All these different nations are represented in the province and town of St. Paulo.

The congress there was a cosmopolitan assembly, and an account of the proceedings was printed in five languages, in Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, German and French. It is not wonderful that there was some confusion and that it was not discovered for some time that one of the delegates was a Christian Socialist.

There were delegates from Bahia, Pernambuco, Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Param, Para and Parchyba. There were two German delegates and one woman, who received a hearty welcome. The trade unions of Rio de Janeiro were not represented. The programme adopted, after debate, was due to De Ambrys, editor of the Italian Socialist paper, *Avanti*, which is published at Sao Paulo. It is similar to those of European parties except that there are certain additions which have been added to meet local needs, as, *e.g.*, an attack on lotteries and on the truck system.

Three committees were chosen to direct the affairs of the party, and it was decided that the next congress should meet at Rio in 1904.

PAUL LÖBE in *Die Neue Zeit*.

LAST WORDS ON THE BERNSTEIN QUESTION.

In an article dealing with the present tendency in political parties to place a mere formal party-unity above the principles for which the party avowedly exists, in the course of which I called attention to the Radical Party in England, I further pointed out how this grovelling fear of party-disintegration led, as one of its symptoms, to the toleration of individual members of the party openly advocating views in contradiction with party-principles or even denouncing or holding up to ridicule those principles themselves. As an illustration of this latter point I referred, in passing, to the action of the German Party in the Bernstein affair. This innocent allusion, which those who know my views might have regarded, one would think, as natural and obvious, so incensed comrade Askew, who seems to deem it his chief mission in life to champion Bernstein, that he forthwith thought it necessary to devote several pages of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, not to traversing my main contention, but to descanting on Bernstein as a shining party-light, and denouncing the wicked folly of criticising the action of the German Party in pressing him to its bosom. In my reply in the June number of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT I gave some reasons for dissenting from Askew's statements. Askew complains that I did not undertake an exhaustive analysis of Bernstein's writings to prove his article unjustified. Askew might know that this was impossible on grounds of space alone, and was the more unnecessary as the facts of my contention were implied in the formal censure passed on Bernstein by the party congress. In this case everybody *does* know the facts—or those, anyway, who are familiar with the German language, save, of course, those who *won't* know. Besides, I have given at least one strong instance of Bernstein's supporting abuses of capitalism in his defence of the Chartered Company, Rhodes, and the whole policy of the mining syndicates.

Bernstein's whole position was made clear by himself years ago in the *Neue Zeit*, and led to a controversy with myself in the same journal. Bernstein has steadily advocated all things tending to the spread of capitalism (*c.f.*, controversy Bernstein-Bax, January to April, 1898—I *think*, having no file of the *Neue Zeit* by me to refer to). He advocates the Armenian cause in the hope that once free from Turkey the Armenians will fall in with the main stream of Western capitalism. On the same grounds he defended the crushing and enslavement of the Boer nation, *viz.*, because they (a peasant community) refuse to keep pace with modern capitalism. Askew says that "Kautsky and the bulk of the German leaders" disagreed with my assertion (to which, by the way, I hold as strongly as ever) that the Arab slaveholder is less dangerous to progress, and less injurious to the native races at the present time, than a "chartered company." I presume from his statement comrade Askew has "polled" the members of the German

Party on the subject, otherwise he could hardly speak so confidently of the "bulk" of the party! It must have been an arduous job! Kautsky's views on this particular point are contained in a "note" to an article of mine on the general question in the *Neue Zeit* (July, 1901). Talking about Kautsky, his enthusiasm for Askew's article I confess surprises me, as it is in contradiction with Kautsky's spoken and written utterances. (I do not mean by this, I may say, that Kautsky has ever *formally* expressed an opinion in favour of Bernstein's exclusion.) For the rest, the opinions even of many Socialists on the subject of capitalist expansion are tinged with the fallacy pointed out by me as such, both in the English and German Socialist press, to wit, that the complete development of capitalism presupposed by Socialism means that the sooner the whole world is turned into one vast factory the sooner shall we have Socialism, instead of the contrary being the case. These comrades confound the *intensive* development of capitalism with its *extensive* expansion. Such are mostly the Socialists who condone chartered companies and the like.

Comrade Askew's bids for the "gallery" in his references to the National Liberal Club arm-chair politicians, &c., would not be worthy an answer did they not display the violence of his pro-Bernsteinian prejudices and at the same time give me an opportunity of pointing out a bad habit which, common enough with the bourgeois, is in one or another form ever and anon cropping up among Socialists. (I may remark, by the way, that Askew's exuberant enthusiasm at his imaginary score against me and the not specially good taste of his jokes indicate pretty clearly a consciousness of having to use any means to make the best of a bad case.)

Now let us state the case. Edward Bernstein has avowedly attacked in speech and writing (or let us say "criticised" unfavourably) positions regarded by most Social-Democrats as fundamental (such as the class war), and has also in current politics taken the side of aggressive capitalism which he has supported by what, to most impartial persons, seem obviously incorrect and misleading statements. Notwithstanding this, according to Askew, Bernstein is fit, not only to remain in the party, but to hold a leading position in it. I, on the other hand, even apart from any infraction of principle, it is insinuated, am violating party-integrity by merely sitting in a room, or belonging to a club, containing Liberals, two-thirds of whom are at least as much socialistic in sympathy as Bernstein (which is not saying much, I'll admit), and *none* of whom would probably "champion insanitary factories or unprotected machinery endangering life," a negative virtue which, in itself, it seems, in Askew's view and where Bernstein is concerned, goes a long way toward constituting a man a Socialist! Comment is needless!

And now to the main issue. There is an unfortunate tendency with certain party-disputants besides Askew to save themselves the trouble of arguing to the point, or the slur of remaining silent, by cheap bids for gallery applause. Such persons pretend to test the party-integrity of individuals, not by their words, writings, or political action, but by where they live,

what places they visit, how they amuse themselves, in what way they gain their living, or such things which, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, have no bearing whatever on the question at issue—viz., their Socialism. All who have even a blushing acquaintance with the theory of modern Socialism know well enough that we cannot as individuals live Socialism under the present conditions of society, or even make any successful approximation to doing so. It is miserable "cant" in anyone to attempt to taunt one member of the party with getting his living by finance, another with his membership of a passably well-furnished club, a third with having visited Ostend, a fourth with having backed a horse, a fifth with having been seen with a girl at Richmond, and so on. This kind of claptrap can only be the last resort of persons who are too lazy to argue or who feel themselves beaten in argument. Yes, some may say, we admit so far, but when it is a matter of belonging to a political club we think the question is different. I cannot agree in this. A political club has more than one function. First of all comes its social and material side, quite apart from its politics. Now it seems to me perfectly admissible for a Socialist, provided he does so without *concealing* his views (actual trimming, of course, I leave out of the question), to accept membership of such a club. If the committee, with full knowledge of the facts, choose to elect him, that is their matter. Where the line ought to be drawn is, I think, at the part he plays in the club. If he confines himself to making use of the club for business, study, amusement or social intercourse, never losing an opportunity of doing a little propaganda-work when opportunity offers, it seems to me his membership is rather likely to be beneficial to the Cause than otherwise. Certainly it cannot be harmful. The case is of course altogether different when he takes an active part in the political life of the club. This, undoubtedly, he should rigidly abstain from associating himself with in any way whatever.

The above is the course pursued by myself, and those members of the S.D.F. (and they count among them men who have certainly paid their tribute to the Cause in the past), who like myself are members of the N.L.C., not to speak of other genuine but unattached Socialists (also club members) who aid the cause of Social-Democracy from time to time. The reason why we prefer the N.L.C. for our natural club requirements, is, I take it, that we find the society on the whole more congenial there than in a non-political club, which generally consists three-parts of mere hide-bound reactionaries. It is, moreover, necessary to distinguish between official Liberalism and the Radical wing, which, though only too often apt to backslide into, or at least to work with, hack Liberalism, has, nevertheless, furnished us in the past with some of our best recruits. This element, as is well-known, is largely represented among the habitués of the National Liberal Club. Our hatred of Liberalism refers first and foremost to the official Liberal Party.

My remaining answers to Askew's allegations will be brief, as I find I am running into too much space.

My reference to Bebel was not to the passage quoted by Askew, which, moreover, if I mistake not, is different in the earlier editions of the "Frau," but to another passage in which Bebel deplores the fact that many Social-Democrats are as hostile to the feminism he advocates as members of other parties. I have not the book at hand so cannot give chapter and verse, a fact of which Askew is welcome to make as much capital as he likes. For that matter, however, I am also for the emancipation of woman from all economic dependence and oppression, "such as it is" and "what there is of it." Anyway, the passage quoted was not the one to which I referred, and I admit does not seem altogether consistent with it. But Bebel's "Frau" is not, as yet, precisely Socialist "Holy Writ."

Now, as to the materialist conception of history, Kautsky himself, in the *Neue Zeit* (August, '96), expressly and categorically disclaimed regarding the materialist conception of history as a party test question. However, I do not wish to press this point. The fact is, as I repeatedly stated, while the controversy with Kautsky was going on, I have never repudiated the "materialistic theory of history" save where it is presented in an extreme and one-sided form. Such being the case, I can entirely subscribe to the remark of Kautsky quoted by Askew. I am myself never tired of insisting on the great truth embodied in the doctrine so ably developed and applied in various directions by Kautsky. My criticism of the one-sided presentation of the theory and the statement of my own views appeared in a Vienna literary and philosophical review in the summer of 1896, and led to a controversy with Kautsky in the *Neue Zeit* during the following winter. Now what does Mr. Bernstein do? In his book, which saw the light some two years later, he (not to put too fine a point on it) appropriates my ideas on the subject, not merely without acknowledgment, but actually while pretending to combat them—with, however, a very important and fatal modification (see my article in the *Deutsche Worte*, December, 1899). I had pointed out that the economic conditions tend, with the progress toward a fully developed capitalism, progressively to preponderate as a causal factor over the conscious or unconscious psychical initiative in human development. Bernstein turns this round, maintaining, on the contrary, that in the present day ideological influences are more operative than ever before in history. Now, mark the enormous difference of standpoint practically. Bernstein's position leads him straight to opportunism, the denial of the class war, reform-politics, classes working together for the common good as a united happy family, &c. With me, on the contrary, the whole question, important as it is from a philosophical point of view, involves no change in current practical bearing, since I admit that under capitalism all psychical initiative is so overweighted as to be practically inoperative, swept along as it is in the current of the capitalist-economic development. Hence in the practical application of the theory I am in agreement with, say, Plechanoff or any other of its most one-sided theoretical exponents. If some of our Swiss comrades, as Askew says, have confounded my views on the materialist theory of history with Bernstein's plagiaristic travesty of them, I can but deplore the state of their intellects, and pass on.

I think I have now shown sufficiently that my ideas on the materialist theory of history are not in opposition to any fundamental principle of Socialism ; and, seeing that Askew has signally failed to show that Bernstein has any right in the Socialist Party at all, in consequence, finding himself (Askew) driven to distract attention from the weakness of his position by irrelevant personal allusions that may fairly be described as "cheap and low," I think the matter may well rest where it is. Askew may retain his admiration for Bernstein as a Social-Democrat, and may continue to hold by his rule of faith that the German Party, and especially the Breslau "genossen," can do no wrong. I personally must decline to further discuss matters relating to Bernstein or the German Party with comrade Askew on this or any subsequent occasion, as I see no good likely to result therefrom.

E. BELFORT BAX.

[This controversy must close here. Elsewhere, in this number, we give the first article in the discussion referred to above between Bax and Kautsky on the Materialist Conception of History.]

THE NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

THE following figures show how the national expenditure is growing. They have nothing to do with extraordinary war expenditure, but simply give the comparison between the ordinary expenditure for the years ending 1896 and 1902. The cost of postal services, &c., has been omitted, since it is not national expenditure, but business expenditure which brings in a profit:—

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURE, 1896 AND 1902.

	1896.	1902.
National Debt Services ...	£25,000,000	£21,686,000
Army (Ordinary) ...	18,610,000	29,527,000
Navy ...	19,724,000	31,030,000
Grants in aid Local Taxation ...	10,678,000	14,100,000
Education ...	10,256,000	12,795,000
Other Civil Services ...	7,683,000	9,300,000
Cost of Collection ...	2,702,000	2,955,000
	£94,653,000	£121,393,000

The decrease under National Debt Services is simply owing to the suspension of the Sinking Fund, and does not mean any reduction of expenditure. The increase in Civil Services is not due to increase upon the Civil Service in this country, but to increased expenditure in the Diplomatic and Consular Services, chiefly in Africa.

LETTERS FROM KARL MARX.

We resume the publication of the letters of Karl Marx, following on those which appeared in our May issue :—

London, August 23, 1866.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—You must rightly be rather astonished at my long silence after your very friendly letters.

But you must excuse me on account of the very extraordinary circumstances in which I am placed. After my long illness, my economic conditions have reached a very critical crisis. I have incurred debts which worry me very much, and make me very unwilling to do anything beyond my ordinary work, which quite absorbs me. I do not see any way out of my difficulties, unless I can borrow 1,000 thalers at, say, 5 per cent. interest. And, though I am well known, I do not know how to get them. I can only hope for help from private friends, and can do nothing publicly. You can well understand, therefore, that I am not much given to letter writing.

I have not yet been able to get any work from America; the newspapers there do not appear willing to pay their correspondents over here. Doubtless I could get something to do if I went over there, but I hold it as my duty to remain in Europe and see that the results of my years of work are not lost. I do not think that I can finish the manuscript of the first volume (there will be three volumes) before October. I can only work at it a few hours a day, and in justice to my family I feel that, on hygienic grounds, I must spare my strength. And then my work is often interrupted by other causes.

I have been working too on account of the Congress of the International at Geneva,* but I am not going there, as it would be too great a hindrance to my work. I believe that I am doing far more good to the working-class by my writings than I could do by going to the Congress.

I think that the international situation in Europe is quite provisional. As to Germany, we must take things as they are and do the best we can, and as far as Prussia is concerned, it is more and more important to watch and denounce her relations to Russia.—Yours ever,

KARL MARX.

1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock Hill,
London, October 9, 1866.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I hope that your long silence is not due to the fact that my last letter has, in any way, worried you. Things are going on as before. Everybody has, in one way or another, his troubles. I assure you that my personal conditions worry me more because they have a troublesome influence over my work and hinder me, than for any other reason. I could

* This was the Congress of the International which sat at Geneva from September 3 to 8, 1866.

put a stop to-morrow to all these troubles if I would take up a business career instead of working for the Cause. And do not, therefore, worry because you cannot help, that would be a pity.

And now let us talk about something else. I had great fears about the first Congress at Geneva. But the result has been quite different. The progress made in France, England, and America was greater than I had hoped for. I could not and would not go, but I wrote the manifesto of the London delegates. I purposely restricted it to those points on which we may hope for co-operation between workers and the middle class, and I insisted on the need of organisation of the working classes. The Parisian gentlemen have their heads full of the latest phrases of Proudhon. They brag about science and know nothing. They look with contempt, as revolutionaries, on any concerted action of the working classes, and they treat with contempt any idea of making use of the legislature for anything, as, *e.g.*, for shortening the hours of labour.

In the name of Freedom and anti-Governmental actions, these gentlemen who have been so quiet for the last sixteen years, and have borne and bear the most miserable despotism in silence, inveigh against reform, and only will have Proudhon's system. Proudhon has had a very bad effect. He was more thought of by those brilliant youths, the students, than by the workmen, especially the Parisians (who, most of them being workmen employed in making "articles de luxe," were unconsciously in favour of the present system), because he had made trenchant systems against utopias. And yet his utopia was only a middle-class utopia, while those of Fourier and Owen have all the glamour of a new world. Ignorant, proud, arrogant, chattering, and blatant, they (the Parisians) were ready to condemn all who did not agree with their own ideas. In the report I will, in a quiet way, let them have it.

The American Workmen's Congress at Baltimore has given me great pleasure. The watchword there was organisation against capital, and in a remarkable way they agreed with the resolutions which I had drawn up for discussion at Geneva. They showed the true instinct of the workers. The agitation for universal suffrage here, in which I have had a large share, is growing more and more. I have, however, kept more and more in the background and shall take no further part in the agitation, as it is going on so well.—Yours ever,

KARL MARX.

By-the-bye, the *Workman* is a philistine journal which has nothing to do with us. The *Commonwealth* belongs to us, but, partly owing to economic reasons, it will soon be only a reform organ.

I have just read Dr. P. Morlin "*Leçons de Médecine Physiologique*," which appeared in Paris in 1865. There are many paradoxes in it and many theories, but also many good criticisms directed against the old therapeutics. I wish you would read the book and tell me what you think of it. I also send you Tremaux' "*De l'origine de tous les êtres*," etc. Though it is slovenly written, full of geological snippets, and wanting the power of literary and historical criticism, yet, in spite of all that, it marks an advance on Darwin.

London, Saturday, October 13, 1866.

DEAR FRIEND,—As I want to answer your letter at once before post-time (and because to-morrow is Sunday, when no letters go out) I will only just

write a few words giving you the substance of my intercepted letter.* (This loss of my letter is very unpleasant to me, as I do not want Prince Bismarck to know my private affairs. If he wants to know about my political views he can write to me direct and I will let him know all about them.)

Owing to my long illness, and in consequence of the many things I have had to give up, my private affairs have become embarrassed and I am in the midst of a financial crisis. This, in addition to the unpleasantness for my family, is especially awkward in London, where so much depends on appearances. What I wanted to know from you was whether you knew one or more persons who would lend me about 1,000 thalers at 5 or 6 per cent. for two years. (I need hardly say that this is strictly private.) At present I am paying 20 to 50 per cent. interest for the small sums which I borrow, and I do not know where to turn for money, and if it goes on there must soon be a crash.

Since my last letter I have been working at my book, in addition to having to do a good deal for the International Association, and I hope to send the first sheets to Meiszner next month, and afterwards I shall take the remainder to Hamburg. Then I hope to see you.

The first volume will appear first, not, as I first thought, with the second, and the whole work will probably be in three volumes.

The whole work falls into the following parts:—

Book I.—Production of Capital. II.—Circulation of Capital. III.—Present State of Capital. Book IV.—History of the Theory.

The first volume will contain the first two books, the third will go in one volume, and the fourth in another.

I thought it best to go thoroughly into the matter in my first book, and this so that there could be no possible doubt as to my meaning.

The London Council of the English Trade Unions, of which Odger is secretary, is considering whether it shall affiliate itself to the International Association. Should it do this it will be a very good thing, and we can then push on.—Yours ever,

KARL MARX.

London, October 25, 1866.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I send these few lines to thank you for all you have done for me, and to tell you that I have received all your letters. You misjudge my relations with Engels. He is my most intimate friend. I have no secrets from him. But for him I should long ago have had to take to some business. I do not want, under any circumstances, that a third person should know my affairs. You spoke about Dr. Jacoby, but my friends tell me that he has become quite a bourgeois, and I do not think he would be likely to exert himself about my private affairs.

Try and do something for me, if you can, while I am also busy about those affairs. I do not write in the *Commonwealth*.—Yours ever,

K. M.

Miquel and Co. can wait till they are Prussian Ministers.

* This refers to the letter of August 23, which Dr. Kugelmann did not get, as he was travelling. Marx thought the Government had seized it.

London, February 18, 1867.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—Will you try and get the enclosed contradiction in the *Zeitung** for Norddeutschland, or, if not in that, in some other Hanoverian paper. The matter is of importance to me, because in a few weeks I intend probably to go to Germany.

I sent you a few days ago the official account of the Congress at Geneva, which has appeared in English and French. The *Commonwealth* has quite gone over to the Reform movement. It is now being edited by other people, and we have no longer any power over it.

Our society has recently had some trouble with Mr. Bonaparte. I will tell you more about it. Be good enough to let me know how Liebknecht is, and how he is getting on.—Yours,
MARX.

London, June 10, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The delay in answering your letter makes me acknowledge that I am a "sad dog." As to extenuating circumstances, I can only plead that I have only been living in London again since the last few days. I have been to Manchester with Engels. You and your dear wife know that delay in answering letters is my normal state. I often thought of you, and my stay in Hanover is one of the finest and most peaceful oases in my life.

In Hamburg I had no other adventure except that, contrary to all expectations, I became acquainted with Herr W. Marr. He is a kind of Christian version of Lassalle, but he is not naturally worth as much as the original. Herr Niemann was playing during the few days that I was there, but I had been so accustomed not to go to the theatre that I refrained from going, and so missed him.

My journey to London from Hamburg was, on the whole, a good one though we had bad weather on the first day. A few hours before reaching London a young German girl, who had impressed me by her military appearance, told me that she wanted to leave the same evening for Weston-Super-Mare, and she did not see how she could do it with so much luggage. The case was the more desperate because it was Sunday, and the Sabbath is an awkward day in England. I asked what was the station which she had to get to, and this friends had written down for her. It was the North-Western station, by which I had also to travel. I offered, as a good knight, to accompany the lady. She accepted. But I then thought that Weston-Super-Mare was in the South-West, while the station given goes to the North-West. I consulted the captain and found, as I thought, that she must leave by another station—Waterloo, which is quite in another direction. But I had promised, and must do the best I could. We landed at 2 p.m. I took the lady to her station and found, as I feared, that the first train she could take did not leave till 8 p.m. So I was in for it, and I had to kill six hours with Mademoiselle by taking her to Hyde Park, &c. It appeared that her name was Elizabeth von Puttekamer, a niece of Bismarck, with whom she had stayed for several weeks in Berlin. She knew the whole Army List, for this family is a military one. She was a nice, cultured

* This paper had said that Marx was coming to the Continent to organise an insurrection in Poland.

girl, but aristocratic and Tory to her very finger tips. She was not a little astonished when she found that she had fallen into the hands of one of the "reds." I trust that she was not hurt, and I saw her safe and sound to the station. Think how Blind would talk of my conspiracy with Bismarck if he knew of this.

I have sent to-day fourteen corrected sheets. Engels is very pleased with the work and says most of it is easy reading. I was pleased to have his opinion, as when I see my work in print it always make me fear that it is not clear.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, July 13, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—My work will contain about 50 sheets. You see that I had reckoned rightly as to its extent. I have sent two days ago an appendix to Leipzig with the title, "Formation of Wealth—Appendix to 'Capital.'" You know the author* of this plan, to whom I beg to give my best thanks for his suggestion.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

A lady, Mrs. Law, has become a member of our Central Council.

October 11, 1867.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—First of all accept my best thanks for your two letters. You will afford me great pleasure if you will write as often as you can, but you must not be surprised if I do not always reply punctually, because my time is so much taken up with all the correspondence that I have from so many places.

Before, however, I speak about my book, there is something I wish to say about Borkheim,† who has, I fear, played on me a nasty trick. He has had his speech at Geneva printed in four languages—in French, in German, in English, and in Russian, and he has prefixed to it a very curious preface, with many strange quotations. Now, in the interest of the party, I must speak quite frankly to you. Borkheim is a good man, but when he gets hold of his pen then all tact and taste appear to leave him. He is like the savage who paints his face thinking that it improves his appearance, and he only uses silly and humorous words. Almost every phrase that he uses is the wrong one. If he were not so vain, I would have tried to prevent his publishing that speech, and told him that fortunately his speech was not understood at Geneva, and that only a few of its good points were comprehended. And I am much concerned, because he rendered me great services in that affair with Vogt, and he is my personal friend. There are in the speech some phrases where he attributes extraordinary doctrines to me. Now, it would be easy for my enemies, instead of attacking my book,

* Kugelmann himself.

† Borkheim, at the International Peace Conference held in September, 1867, at Geneva, had made a strange speech, in which he said that the way to peace was to declare war against Russia, but Marx afterwards recognised that he had been rather unfair to Borkheim.

to look upon me as responsible for the follies and personalities of Herr Borkhein. (And Vogt, in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, has already said that I am the responsible author of the speech.) If this occurs elsewhere, I would ask you, with Warnebold, in any newspaper which you can influence, to have short articles inserted, where you would expose these tactics, and without unduly attacking Borkhein to make clear that it is very unfair to identify me with his sentiments. The strange and confused manner in which our theories jostle each other through Borkhein's brain, when he writes especially, make it easy for the press gang to take the offensive, and thus indirectly damage the prospects of my book.

If however, though I can hardly hope this, the Press does not notice the speech, then do not in any way disturb the blessed silence. But, unfortunately, Borkhein has sent his child carefully addressed to all newspapers. If he were my not personal friend, I would disavow him. But as it is, you will understand my false position and also my anxiety. I have at last completed a laborious work under very many difficulties, and I hope thus to do good to the party and the Cause, and it is very awkward at such a time for a comrade to rush in foolishly and, by his antics, to invite the enemy to throw rotten apples and bad eggs at my head.

I am very satisfied with your action in Geneva against Vogt, and I am glad that you are pleased with my book.

As to your questions.

Ernest Jones had to speak in Ireland as a party man, and, as large estates there are identical with the rule of England in Ireland, he had to speak against large estates. When you make an election speech in England you must not bother about principles, but must speak on what is likely to fetch the voters.

"*Peonage*" is an advance of money granted on condition of the labourer working it out. Under this system the worker is not only a debtor for life, but also the slave of the creditor, and the debt may have to be worked off by his descendants, who are in a similar hopeless position.

The continuation of my book will largely depend on the success of my first volume. Unless this happens, I could never find a publisher in England, and in that case my circumstances will continue to be so uncomfortable that I will have neither peace nor time to undertake fresh work. But these things I do not want Herr Meiszner to know. It depends largely in the interest taken by my friends in Germany whether my second volume will appear shortly or not. Useful criticism, whether from friend or foe, can hardly come just now, for a work such as mine demands careful and repeated reading before it can be judged. But the usual criticism is quite of another kind. But still, if my work is praised—as I must say it—it will lead to interest being taken in a possible continuation of the first volume. So no time is to be lost.

I have sent your last letter to Engels, so that he may do the needful. He can speak better about my book than I can myself.

Give my best greetings to your dear wife.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

Let me know all that is said about my book in Germany.

Paul Stumpf, of Mayence, has written to me, and he refers to Borkhein's speech as "my" speech. I have no time at present to write to him. So

please write to him, tell him all about it, and ask him to say nothing about Borkhein's pamphlet. For, between ourselves, it would do us a lot of harm if Stumpf were to take to writing.

London, October 15, 1867.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—You must not write to Borkhein. It would be useless, because the work has appeared in a paper and is shortly to be published by Schabelitz. Besides, he is now at Bordeaux, and even if you wrote, a letter would have no other effect but to make him quarrel with me.

Never mind; what is done cannot be undone. I rather exaggerated the evil consequences of this affair, because I was worried at the time by overwork. And I am rather rightly punished, because at first I was rather amused by the idea of a scandal by our friend talking to the respectable Philistines at Geneva. But I did not think of his publishing anything; however, I should have foreseen this. The thing to be done now is to keep quiet as long as our enemies do not speak; as soon as they speak, then I shall say that they make jokes about Borkhein's farcical pamphlet in order to avoid answering the arguments of my book. Then, of course, I shall have to refer to Borkhein, and, in spite of all his literary folly, he is an active and well-meaning man; as a man of action he has done and will do good work.

You will have heard from Engels, and I have written to Liebknecht and Becker.

The *Courier Francais* (the most influential daily in Paris) and the *Liberté* in Brussels have published translations of my preface with many complimentary remarks.

A Mr. Nakmer, of New York, talks of publishing an English translation. Why should he not do it?

I am glad Liebknecht is at Berlin, and I have sent him a few instructions.

Poor Becker is so bad that he thinks of giving up all politics and literature. I am so sorry that I cannot help him in his sad circumstances.—
Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, November 30, 1867.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—I regret the delay in answering your letter, but I have not been well.

Many thanks for your exertions. Engels has written, or will write, to Liebknecht. Liebknecht and Götz wish to move in the Reichstag that an inquiry should be instituted into the condition of the working classes. He has written to me about this, and I have sent him certain Acts of Parliament which may be of use to him. The plan will, I fear, come to nothing, as there is not much time left for the discussion. There is one point on which you can give him better advice than either I or Engels. Tell him that in all meetings of working men he should always call attention to my book; if he does not do this the disciples of Lassalle will draw unfavourable conclusions from the circumstance.

Contzen, a University Professor at Leipzig, and a pupil and follower of

Roscher, has, *via* Liebknecht, asked me for a copy of the book, and has promised to review it. Meiszner will send him a copy, and the review ought to do good.

The misprint Taucher (diver) in your notice instead of Faucher amused me. Faucher is an economic field preacher. The serious German economists like Roscher, Ran, Mohl must not be spoken of in the same breath as this fellow, and it is too much honour to mention his name. So I used him, not as a noun, but as a verb.

Will you ask your wife to cut out the extracts about co-operation, division of labour, and machinery from the *Arbeitsstag*, and also those about "the sources of accumulation."

It is a good thing that in Paris the *Courier Francais* praises the book, and it may lead to a translation.

I will write more soon; meanwhile I hope you will write, as your letters always spur me on.—Yours,

K. M.

London, December 7, 1867.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—If there were six men like you in Germany then we should have overcome the Philistines and the conspiracy of silence of the little men and the journalist swindlers. Then serious discussion could begin, but we must wait. This word is the whole secret of Russian politics. I have just received a letter from a Russo-German workman which throws much light on the subject. Engels justly says that this letter shows what immense progress has been made by this self-taught workman over the weaver, Jacob Böhm, and I do not think that any but a German workman could have done so well. Bucher has, as I think I told you, asked me to be the economic correspondent of the Royal Prussian State newspaper. You can see that if I were willing to make use of such channels I could do so without being beholden to a third person.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, January 11, 1868.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—First of all my best wishes for the new year to your dear wife, to little Francis and to yourself. And then my best thanks for the Jupiter and for the way in which you carry on the propaganda and try to lead away the German Press from the ways of foolishness.

As our friend Weerth, who died too young, said: "There is nothing better in the world than to bite one's enemies and to try one's wit on silly people."

I am still not quite well at present and not ready for work. What a lot of time lost!

The criticism of Herr Dühring is poor. Please send me Dühring's book: "A Treatise against Carey," and also that of Thunen "On the State," and let me know the price. It would take me too long to get it here.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

(A further instalment of these letters will appear in our next issue).

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

Some time ago there appeared in the *Neue Zeit*, of Stuttgart, a discussion between E. Belfort Bax and Karl Kautsky on the "Materialist Conception of History." It has more than once been suggested that this discussion would be of interest to readers of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, and thanks to our comrade, J. B. Askew, who has been good enough to translate it, we are now able to reproduce it here.

We followers of the methods of scientific Socialism, as laid down by Marx and Engels, are most unlucky; not only do the opponents of Marx and Engels fight us—besides that is natural—but, there are also people who every now and again go too far in their praise of Marx and Engels, and yet who find it incompatible with the dignity of a free thinker to apply their theories in a logical manner. The witty remark of Marx that he himself was no Marxist, they apply in deadly earnest, and they would very much like to make people believe that Marx considered those who shared his point of view as idiots, who were utterly incapable of thinking for themselves. Or they declare that the Marxists are in the main incapable of understanding Marx, and that they, the non-Marxists, are called upon to defend Marx's theory from the fanaticism of the Marxists.

Generally these curious beings content themselves with uttering certain of those phrases which, when brought out with the requisite tone of moral indignation, are sure of success in an assembly of freethinkers. A somewhat more serious attempt of this sort is made by the English Socialist, Belfort Bax, with an article entitled "The Materialist Conception of History," which he has published in a recent issue of the Vienna weekly, *Die Zeit*.

Bax says of the materialist conception of history, after an introductory sentence: "Taken in its most extreme form, therefore, this (the materialist) conception (of the historical development) says nothing less than that morality, religion, and art are not merely influenced by the economic conditions, but that they spring alone from the thought-reflex of those conditions in the social consciousness. In one word, the essential foundations of all history are material wealth, its production and exchange. Religion, morals, and art are chance phenomena, whose expression can be directly, or indirectly, traced back to an economic foundation."

And in a footnote, Bax remarks in addition: "No one who knows the theories of Karl Marx will need to be told that Marx himself was far from taking up such an extreme standpoint in his statement of the materialist conception of history. 'Moi même je ne suis pas Marxiste' (myself, I am no Marxist) he wrote once, and he would most certainly have repeated this opinion if he had seen the latest performances of the 'Marxists,' Plechanoff, Mehring, or Kautsky."

This footnote is decidedly original. The latest performances of the Marxists have been a source of displeasure to Bax. But he is afraid it would not have sufficient weight if he simply gave expression to his personal feelings of dissatisfaction with us. With a tenacity, which would have done

honour to Miss Eusapia, he invokes the spirit of Karl Marx and allows him to formally disavow us.

It is, doubtless, in the highest degree fatal for us if Marx, through the medium of Bax, had disavowed our latest performances. But Bax has really no need to strain his theosophic powers so much. The materialist conception of history is the work not only of Marx, but also of Engels, and he had seen the "latest performances of the Marxists." Why does Bax not mention Engels?

That is not the only remarkable point about this footnote. It is clear the only object is to get rid, once for all, of the three Marxists in question. To a clearing up of the issue it does not contribute in the smallest degree. On the contrary. In the text we only hear of the materialist conception of history. The note, on the other hand, tells us the conception developed in the text is not that of Marx. But he is very careful not to tell us whose conception it really is. Does Bax wish to insinuate that the conception of history there explained is the view of Mehring, Kautsky, &c.? Then I must protest against that, not only in my own name but in that of the Marxists generally. To no Marxist, who is to be seriously taken, has it occurred to speak of "Reflex-thoughts in the social consciousness," whatever Bax may have meant by that? We have never looked for the "real foundation of all history in material welfare," since we never seek the real foundation of all human activity in "material welfare" alone. And one does not require to have studied the literature of historic materialism very deeply to know that no Marxist holds that religion, morals and art are "chance" phenomena.

It is also thoroughly unknown to me that any materialist historian has written any nonsense of that kind. The materialist conception of history which Bax fights is therefore neither the conception of Marx, nor that of the Marxists who, it is alleged, differ from Marx. We hand it over to Bax with pleasure, and will not feel ourselves in any way affected if he destroys it root and branch.

But Bax does not take merely a negative position, but also a positive, as becomes a philosophic critic. He improves the materialist conception of history.

That is to him too one-sided. "The attempt," he says, "to deduce the whole of human life from one element, to declare all history on the basis of economy, overlooks the fact that every concrete reality must have two sides, a material and a formal, therefore at least two fundamental elements. . . . According to my idea the theory under question requires to be improved in the following sense: The speculative, ethical, and artistic capacities of mankind exist as such in human society—even if undeveloped from the beginning—and are not simply products of the material conditions of human existence, although their expression at every time in the past, always to a small and very often to a considerable extent, has been modified by these factors. The whole development of society is to a far greater degree modified through its material conditions, than through any speculative, ethical or artistic cause. But this is not equivalent to saying that every "ideological" cause can be resolved into a purely material condition. . . . I allow fully that the peculiar form of a movement, be it intellectual, ethical, or artistic, is determined by the material conditions of the society in which it asserts itself, but it will also be equally determined by the psychological elements and tendencies from which it is produced. Ability to think, *e.g.*, the power

of generalisation, of explaining events as cause and effect, can certainly not be reduced to the psychological reflex of the economic circumstances. In short, to summarise the views which I have here represented in opposition to the extreme Marxists: These extremists hold that human affairs are solely regulated through outward physical causes, while others hold the exact contrary, seeing only inward psychological and idealistic grounds. Both views I consider one-sided."

It we strip the core from all this philosophical learning, then we find that Bax wants to say that morals, religion, art and science are not produced through the economic conditions alone; it is necessary that these conditions act on men with certain ethical, artistic and speculative capacities. Only through the co-operation of both factors does a social, artistic, or ethical movement arise.

Who can deny that Bax is right, and that the materialist conception of history is put completely out of court? But not the theory of Marx, not even of the Marxists, but that discovered by Bax, according to which morals, religion, and art formed the "thought-reflex of the economic conditions" in the "social consciousness," material welfare the foundation of all action, and the "power of thought" could be "reduced to the psychological reflex of the economic conditions."

The Marxian materialist conception is unfortunately far too one-sided and narrow to be able to raise a claim to explain the intellect, or all history. It has no pretension to be any more than a conception of history, a method for the research of the driving forces in the development of human society. Certainly it would be absurd to say that a work of art or a philosophical system regarded by itself was simply the product of social or in the last place economic conditions. But it is also not the duty of an historical hypothesis to explain artistic or philosophic activity. It has only to explain the changes which this activity had to undergo in the various periods. Doubtless, without intellect, no ideas. But does this deep knowledge help us in the smallest degree to answer the question, why the ideas of the nineteenth century differ from those of the thirteenth, and these again are not the same as those of the ancients?

It would be a palpable absurdity to pretend that the will and thought of men—as, according to Bax, "the extreme wing of the materialist conception" say—are "alone determined through external physical force." It is self-evident that the human organism plays a rôle in the production of ideas, as the external world. But has the human organism changed its powers of thought, its artistic capacity, to any noticeable extent within historic time? Certainly not. The thought capacities of an Aristotle are certainly hardly surpassed; just as little the artistic ability of the ancients. What, on the other hand, has altered in the external world? Nature? Assuredly not. Greece enjoys just the same heaven to-day as in the days of Pericles. But the society has changed, that is, really the economic conditions, and so far as nature and men have altered it has been under the influence of the economic conditions.

The economic conditions are, therefore, not the only things which determine "human affairs," the "processes of human life," but they are, among the determining factors, the only variable element. The others are constant, do not alter at all, or only under the influence of the changes of the variable element; they are, therefore, not motive forces of the historical development, even if they are indispensable elements of human life.

The materialist historian in no way overlooks, he does not undervalue, the importance of the psychological factor in history. But very far from being a motive force of the historical development, this factor shows itself far more as an essentially conservative element. Every historian knows what a great force tradition presents in history. While the economic development knows no standstill, human mind is always making the endeavour to remain in forms of thought which have been once attained; it does not directly follow the economic development but fossilises and remains in the old forms long after the social and economic conditions which created them are vanished.

So becomes, in the words of the poet, reason, folly; kindness a torment. That does not show itself only there, where a material interest is concerned in the maintenance of the old ways of thought. We would call to the mind, *e.g.*, that designations of relationship are much more conservative than the family forms,* as are our festivals, which defy all revolution, although the conditions are long passed away from which they sprung. The thought-forms of a later age offer accordingly many important hints for the recognition of the social conditions of a previous period. The economic development must then be far developed, its needs, and the new social relations produced by it must have already come into glaring contradiction to the accepted forms of law, of morals, and the whole traditional forms of feeling, and thinking, and organisation of society, before even the select, especially penetrating and courageous, are forced by it to develop and defend new views, new ideals for law and morality, and for the organisation of society, with the then existing means of art and science, ideals which owe their origin and their historical importance to the new needs and social relations, and whose historic importance, whose influence on the revolution of the human conscience, and the reconstruction of society depends on the degree of their approach to that required by the economic development.

But so conservative is human thought, that even the most revolutionary spirits at the commencement of a revolution of thought cannot refrain from pouring the new wine into old bottles, and regarding their ideas not as the overturning but as the fulfilling. Christ came, as is well known, not to abolish but to fulfil the law; the Reformers had no desire to erect a new Christianity, which corresponded to the needs of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, but to bring back the primitive Christianity of the Gospels, and the first Democratic Socialists of our time believed they had only got to complete the work which the French Revolution had begun but not completed. Social-Democracy was originally only a logical democracy.

The struggle of the new with the old elements must be already far advanced before the thinkers of the new ideas are aware of the fact that these are irreconcilably opposed to the old. Even later is this naturally the case with the average man—even within those classes who have an interest in the rearranging of things. The class antagonism must have come to a head, the masses must be deeply stirred and agitated through the Class War before they acquire any interest for the new theories.

* "The family," says Morgan, "is the active element; it is never stationary, but only goes forward from a lower to a higher form in the degree in which society develops from a lower to a higher form. The systems of relationship, on the other hand, are passive; only in the course of long periods do they register the advance which the family in the course of time has made, and we only then notice the radical change when the family has undergone a radical alteration." "And," adds Marx, "it is just the same with the political, legal, religious and philosophical systems."

Thanks to this inertia of human consciousness the progress of society appears on superficial observation the progress of society as the product of ideas, which come to certain "spirits favoured of God," to use an expression which has made Bax especially angry, of ideas for which then the champions of progress win the mass of mankind. Thus it appears as though it was ideas which produce the progress of society. Nothing is more naïve, than when the representatives of idealism reproach the materialists with overlooking the rôle of ideas in history. As if it were possible, as if the above-described process did not force itself on the attention of anyone who even began to study history. No, the materialists do not overlook this process, but they are not satisfied with that, in the manner of previous methods of writing history, which consists in remaining on the surface of the phenomena. They study deeper, and they find that the sequence of ideas is not arbitrary or haphazard, but determined by law; that to every distinct economic epoch of humanity distinct forms of religion, morals and law correspond, which one finds in all climates and among all races, and that, wherever the corresponding changes allow of investigation the change in the economic conditions precedes, and the alteration in the ideas of men only slowly follows, that therefore the latter is to be declared through the former and not the contrary.

That is the materialist conception of history; not as Bax describes it, but as it is laid down by Marx and Engels (let anyone compare among other things of the former the preface to the "Critique of Political Economy," and of the latter "Feurbach") and their pupils. That Bax's criticism and even Bax's amendment is not to the point, is clear.

The whole criticism which Bax applies to the materialist conception of history, rests on his confusion of the historical development with the "whole of human life." He believes that an explanation of the first must suffice to give a full explanation of the latter. But he does not rest content with this confusion.

After he has discovered that human affairs are regulated through outward and inward causes, he at once puts his discovery into application, and remarks that in the course of the historical development alternately one factor, "the fundamental psychological tendencies," alternately the other, "the economic conditions," acquired the mastery.

"We come now," he says, "to the important question, in what proportion to one another the two elements come into force at the various periods. That the one can considerably preponderate, and that this one throughout the whole history of human society has been the material element, is certainly to-day indisputable. But even in the periods for which we possess an historical record, we find—and that is indisputable—distinct periods in which the "ideological element" preponderates. Those are the times in which a speculative belief is so firmly held by its followers that it forces the material interests of life into the background. To these belong the commencements of Christianity. . . . In the development of Christianity in the first two generations the material conditions played a very unimportant rôle, almost only a negative. Just so was in the early heretical movements of the Middle Ages the speculative element throughout predominant. . . . Certainly, it is hard for us who live in a period in which the economic factor forces all other into the background, to understand a time when that was not the case, so that children of this world could ever have accepted the teaching of theology with such unflinching faith, that it influenced their action; that chivalry, fealty, blood-relationship could ever have been so strong as to force all other expressions of life into the background, seems to the modern man inconceivable."

What common folk we materialists must be ! All the finer feelings of the human soul, which rise above the passion for money-making, are to us inconceivable. The virtues of chivalry, loyalty, altruism, these are not to be grasped by materialists, but only by certain select idealists among whom Bax evidently counts.

And how ignorant we materialists are ! Every schoolboy knows what strong belief possessed the souls of the first believers in Christianity, and the reformers of the Middle Ages, only we materialists do not. But Bax has no need to go to the extreme Marxists to find this crass ignorance, even Marx is guilty of it. It is well known that in the preface to his "Critique of Political Economy," 1859, he developed the "Theory of Historic Materialism." An American critic made the same discovery that our English critic makes to-day : Marx had declared that "the method of production of the material life determines the social, political and spiritual life in general ; to this the critic replied "that is all very right for the world of to-day, where the material interests dominate, but neither for the Middle ages where Catholicism, or for Athens or Rome where the political interest, was predominant." In a note in "Capital" on this Marx remarked : "In the first place it is strange that anyone should have chosen to assume that these universally known figures of speech about the Middle ages and the ancient world could have remained unknown to anyone. One thing is clear, that neither the middle ages could live from Catholicism, nor the ancient world from politics. The method in which they acquired their living, on the contrary, explains why there politics, and here Catholicism, played the principal role."

This passage reveals Marx in his full materialist wickedness. The new discoveries of Bax he declared a generation ago to be phrases universally known. But this kind of talk seems to enjoy immortality, so therefore we will examine it closely once more. According to Bax, in the history of society, sometimes the material conditions, and sometimes "psychic ideological motor forces" have most influence, and he thinks to prove this by pointing to the origins of Christianity ; among the first Christians the "material interests" played a quite unimportant part. They were carried along by an unshakable faith.

I should not dream of denying that, but perhaps I may be allowed to ask where the materialist historians have asserted that human beings were guided in their actions solely by material interests, i.e., by selfishness. Bax falls into the grave mistake of confusing material *interests*, which form the conscious motives of the actions of individuals, with the material *conditions*, which underlie a given society, and therefore, also the thinking and feeling of the members of that society.

Hand in hand with this goes another confusion. While Bax puts the material interests of the individuals on an equal footing with the material foundations of society, he transforms the first, i.e., selfishness, into an external influence working on men which he places over against the inner psychological factor. But it is clear that selfishness is just as much to be reckoned with the inner psychological factors as chivalry, altruism, faith, &c.

When, therefore, Bax discovers that mankind are at one time moved by selfishness, at another time by other motives, he does not with that prove what he wishes to prove, namely, that at one time the material, at another the psychological conditions dominate society, but that the psychological motor power is different under different forms of society. The fact which to Bax, thanks to a series of *quid pro quos*, presents the solution, forms just the problem which is to be solved. Why were men in the Roman Empire seized by the

idea of flying from the world, by the need for happiness in heaven, by the feeling of internationalism, and equality, and all the other distinguishing characteristics of Christianity? Historic materialism investigates the changes, which took place at that time in the economic structure of society, and at the same time in its political and legal conditions, and finds that these changes sufficiently account for the changes of the psychological motives. I may perhaps here point out that I, in 1885, made the attempt to give a materialist explanation of the origins of Christianity ("Die Entstehung des Christenthums," *Neue Zeit*, 1885, p. 481 ff.) This investigation involved much research. Bax makes a very light job of it. He declares simply that the changes in the psychological motor forces at the time of the rise of Christianity are a result of the psychological motor power which, like Munchausen, pulls itself out of the slough by its own hair, and gives a new direction.

In the meantime, there is a deeper significance in the law which Bax propounds. It seems to me, even though it is little calculated to help forward the study of social organisation in the past, it affords a clue to Bax's methods of writing history.

As a "student" of the writings of Marx and the "performances" of the Marxists he has found not only in the first, but also in the latter, although rated by him so very low, many hints which he does not neglect. But he is not satisfied with that. He has to bring his "thinking capacity," his "psychological motor power" into play; there we come across the inner ideal element. The higher synthesis of the two constitutes Bax's writings. A sample suffices. In his latest book: "Socialism, its Growth and Outcome" (reviewed *Neue Zeit*, XII, i., pp. 630 ff.), he attributes, on page 92, in agreement with the Marxists the rise of the puritanical spirit in England to the economic development leading to capitalism. He describes the proletarianisation of the English agricultural population, and continues: "England in this manner paid her tribute to commerce, and paid for it with nothing less than the loss of that rough joviality, that abundance, and that feeling of self-respect which formerly aroused the admiration of foreigners who suffered more hardship from the feudal system and its abuses than the English."

On page 97, Bax writes quite otherwise: "Protestant Puritanism . . . is a quite remarkable isolated fact, probably the result of certain peculiar features of the people which have been developed through their conditions. . . . One must allow that the origin of this (puritanical) spirit is quite as mysterious as its existence is dangerous."

The materialist suggestion which led Bax to look for the explanation of the puritanical spirit in the peculiar capitalistic development of England, therefore, made no too deep impression. On page 92 he explains the puritanical spirit in a perfectly materialist manner; five pages later he has quite forgotten this, and now the "psychological motor power" comes into its right, and scarcely has Bax made quite clear the joviality of merry old England than he discovers the ground of the puritanical spirit in a dangerous tendency of the English people to gloominess. It is clear. One cannot reproach this style of writing history with being one-sided. Not only does it explain one historic phenomenon on materialist, and the other on idealist, grounds, but explains even the same phenomenon one time as materialistic, the other time as idealistic—according to the "psychological motor power" under whose influence the intellect of the historian stands at the moment. To that height of "synthesis" we one-sided extreme Marxists can certainly not rise.

(To be continued.)

THE ECONOMIC TAPROOT OF IMPERIALISM.

Mr. J. A. Hobson, in the *Contemporary Review*, writes :—

"An era of cut-throat competition, followed by a rapid process of amalgamation, has thrown an enormous quantity of wealth into the hands of a small number of captains of industry. No luxury of living to which this class could attain, kept pace with its rise of income, and a process of automatic saving set in upon an unprecedented scale. The investment of these savings in other industries helped to bring them under the same concentrated forces. Thus a great increase of savings seeking profitable investment is synchronous with a stricter economy of the use of existing capital. No doubt the rapid growth of a production accustomed to a high and an always ascending standard of comfort absorbs in the satisfaction of its wants a large quantity of new capital. But the actual rate of saving, conjoined with a more economical application of forms of existing capital, has exceeded considerably the rise of the national consumption of manufactures. The power of production has far outstripped the actual rate of consumption and, contrary to older economic theory, has been unable to force a corresponding increase of consumption by lowering prices.

"This is no mere theory. The history of any of the numerous trusts or combinations in the United States sets out the facts with complete distinctness. In the free competition of manufactures preceding combination, the chronic condition is one of 'over-production,' in the sense that all the mills or factories can only be kept at work by cutting prices down towards a point where the weaker competitors are forced to close down, because they cannot sell their goods at a price which covers the true cost of production. The first result of the successful formation of a trust or combine is to close down the worse-equipped or worse-placed mills, and supply the entire market from the better equipped and better placed ones. This course may or may not be attended by a rise of price and some restriction of consumption : in some cases trusts take most of their profits by raising prices, in other cases by reducing the cost of production through employing only the best mills and stopping the waste of competition.

"For the present argument it matters not which course is taken ; the point is that this concentration of industry in 'trusts,' 'combines,' &c., at once limits the quantity of capital which can be effectively employed, and increases the share of profits out of which fresh savings and fresh capital will spring. It is quite evident that a trust which is motivated by cut-throat competition, due to an excess of capital, cannot normally find inside the 'trusted' industry employment for that portion of the profits which the trust-makers desire to save and to invest. New inventions and other economies of production or distribution may absorb some of the new capital, but there are rigid limits to this absorption. The trust-maker in oil or sugar must find other investments for his savings ; if he is early in the application of the combination principles to his trade, he will naturally apply his surplus capital to establish similar combinations in other industries, economising capital still further, and rendering it ever harder for ordinary saving men to find investments for their savings.

"Indeed, the conditions alike of cut-throat competition and of

combination attest the congestion of capital in the manufacturing industries which have entered the machine economy. We are not here concerned with any theoretic question as to the possibility of producing by modern machine effort more goods than can find a market. It is sufficient to point out that the manufacturing power of a country like the United States does grow so fast as to exceed the demands of the home market. No one acquainted with trade will deny a fact which all American economists assert, that this is the condition which the United States has reached within the last few years, so far as the more developed industries are concerned. Her manufactures are saturated with capital and can absorb no more. One after another they are seeking refuge from the waste of competition in 'combines,' which secure a measure of profitable peace by restricting the quantity of serviceable capital. Industrial and financial princes in oil, steel, sugar, railroads, banking, &c., are faced with the dilemma of either spending more than they know how to spend, or forcing markets outside the home area. Two economic courses are open to them, both leading towards an abandonment of the political isolation of the past, and the adoption of imperialist methods in the future. Instead of shutting down inferior mills and rigidly restricting output to accord with the profitable sales in the home markets, they may employ their full productive power, applying their savings to increase their business capital, and, while still regulating output and prices for the home market, may 'hustle' for foreign markets, dumping down their surplus goods at prices which would not be possible save for the profitable nature of their home market. So likewise they may employ their savings in seeking investments outside their country, first repaying the capital borrowed from Great Britain and other countries for the early development of their railroads, mines, and manufactures, and afterwards becoming themselves a creditor class to foreign countries.

"It is this sudden demand for foreign markets for manufactures and for investments which is avowedly responsible for the adoption of imperialism as a political policy and practice by the Republican Party, to which the great industrial and financial chiefs belong, and which belongs to them. It is Messrs. Rockefeller, Pierpont Morgan, Hanna, Schwab, Wanamaker and their associates who need imperialism, and who are fastening it upon the shoulders of the great Republic of the West. They need imperialism because they desire to use the public resources of their country to find profitable employment for their capital which otherwise would be superfluous.

"During a period of ten years the United States has nearly trebled the value of its manufacturing export trade, and, if the rate of progress of the last few years continues, within this decade she will overtake our more slowly advancing export trade, and stand first in the list of manufacture exporting nations. In 1890 her agricultural exports amounted to £125,756,000. In 1900 they had risen to £180,931,000. In 1890 her manufactures amounted to £31,435,000; in 1900 they had risen to £80,281,000. In 1890 her miscellaneous exports amounted to £13,019,000; in 1900 they had risen to £21,389,000.

"To overtake Great Britain is the avowed ambition, and no idle one, of the keenest business men of America, and with the natural resources, the labour and the administrative talent at their disposal, it is quite likely they will achieve their object. The stronger and more direct control over politics exercised in America by business men enables them to drive more quickly and more straightly along the line of their economic interests than in Great Britain. American imperialism is the natural product of the

economic pressure of a sudden advance of capitalism which cannot find occupation at home, and needs foreign markets for goods and for investments.

"The same need exists in European countries, and, as is admitted, drives Governments along the same path. Overproduction, in the sense of an excessive manufacturing plant, and surplus capital which cannot find sound investments within the country, force Great Britain, Germany, Holland, France to place larger and larger portions of their economic resources outside the area of their present political domain, and then stimulate a policy of expansion so as to take in the new areas. The economic sources of this movement are laid bare by periodic trade depressions, due to an inability of producers to find adequate and profitable markets for what they can produce.

"But it may be asked, 'Why should there be any tendency to over-saving? Why should the owners of consuming power withhold a larger quantity for savings than can be serviceably employed?' Another way of putting the same question is, 'Why should not the pressure of present wants keep pace with every possibility of satisfying them?' The answer to these pertinent questions carries us to the broadest issue of the distribution of wealth. If the tendency to distribute income, or consuming power, according to needs were operative, it is evident that consumption would rise with every rise of producing power, for human needs are illimitable, and there could be no excess of saving. But it is quite otherwise in a state of economic society where distribution has no fixed relation to needs, but is determined by other conditions, which assign to some people a consuming power vastly in excess of needs or possible uses, while others are deprived of consuming power enough to satisfy even the full demands of physical efficiency. The following illustration from a paper on 'The Significance of the Trust,' by H. G. Wilshire, may serve to make the issue clear:—'The volume of production has been constantly rising owing to the development of modern machinery. There are two main channels to carry off these products, one channel carrying off the product destined to be consumed by the workers, and the other channel carrying off the remainder to the rich. The workers' channel is in rock-bound banks that cannot enlarge, owing to the competitive wage-system preventing wages rising *pro rata* with increased efficiency. Wages are based upon cost of living, and not upon efficiency of labour. The miners in the poor mine get the same wages per day as the miner in the adjoining rich mine. The owner of the rich mine gets the advantage—not his labourer. The channel which conveys the goods destined to supply the rich is itself divided into two streams. One stream carries off what the rich spend on themselves for the necessities and luxuries of life. The other is simply an overflow stream carrying off their savings. The channel for spending, *i.e.*, the amount wasted by the rich in luxuries, may broaden somewhat, but owing to the small number of those rich enough to indulge in whims it can never be greatly enlarged, and at any rate it bears such a small proportion to the other channel that in no event can much hope of avoiding a flood of capital be hoped for from this division. The rich will never be so ingenious as to spend enough to prevent overproduction. The great safety overflow channel which has been continuously more and more widened and deepened to carry off the ever-increasing flood of new capital is that division of the stream which carried the savings of the rich, and this is not only suddenly found to be incapable of further enlargement, but actually seems to be in the process of being dammed up.'

"The oversaving which is the economic root of imperialism is found by analysis to consist of rents, monopoly-profits, and other unearned or excessive elements of income, which, not being created by labour of head or hand, have no legitimate *raison d'être*. Having no natural relation to effort of production they impel their recipients to no corresponding satisfaction of consumption: they form a surplus-value which, having no proper place in the normal economy of production and consumption, tends to accumulate as excessive savings. Let any turn in the economic tide of politico-economic forces divert from these owners their excess of income and make it flow, either to the workers in higher wages, or to the community in taxes, so that it will be spent instead of being saved, serving in either of these ways to swell the tide of consumption, there will be no need to fight for foreign markets or foreign areas of investment.

"Many have carried their analysis so far as to realise the absurdity of spending half our financial resources in fighting to secure foreign markets at times when hungry mouths, ill-clad backs, ill-furnished houses indicate countless unsatisfied material wants among our own population. If we may take the careful statistics of Mr. Rowntree for our guide we shall be aware that one-third of the population of our towns is living at a standard which is below bare physical efficiency. If, by some economic readjustment, the products which flow from the surplus saving of the rich to swell the overflow streams could be diverted so as to raise the incomes and the standard of consumption of this inefficient 'third,' there would be no need for pushful imperialism, and the cause of social reform would have won its greatest victory."

THE report on the working of the Indian Factories Act in the Bombay Presidency during 1901 states that in Sind a good cotton crop, and in Bombay the same cause and a brisk demand in home and foreign markets, led to increased activity in the mills and a rise in their numbers. In Khandesh, too, the number of factories rose from 97 to 114, but it is added that the pooriness of the cotton crop and the ravages of rats allowed them to work only intermittently. In the whole Presidency there was an increase of 19 in the number of factories of all sorts under the control of the Act, and at the close of the year there were 390 such places of industry. In actual working there were 373 and these gave employment to 172,459 operatives. The great majority of these were engaged in cotton mills, other industries employing 35,614. From a statement showing the lowest average earnings of skilled and unskilled work-people in the various trades, it appears that wages were fairly high during last year. In Bombay city, engine-drivers and boilermen headed the list with one rupee, three annas, six pies per day, the blacksmiths coming next with 15 annas, eight pies. Mill hands earned from seven to nearly ten annas per day. In the mofussil wages were a little lower, but in most places outside Bombay city, the mill-workers are able to supplement their wages by agriculture.—*United India*.

TO THE TUILERIES.

10TH AUGUST, 1792.

The 14th of July is the day when the Bastille was taken.

The 10th of August is the day when the Tuileries were taken.

On the 14th of July, 1789, fell the decayed and effete feudalism ; on the 10th of August, 1792, fell the still powerful monarchy, and a hundred years after its downfall its partisans still hope to re-establish it and to bring about a new era of shame in France. The 10th of August was far bloodier than the 14th of July, but it was, in the highest degree, a day of the people. On the 14th of July the people of Paris had fought, led by Camille Desmoulins and by other leaders. On the 10th of August, the people fought alone, without leaders, only led by the need of fulfilling revolutionary duty and by revolutionary ardour. That is why it is such a great day. On the 14th of July the carefully-planned tricks of the Court were frustrated by the Revolution, and the Court were defeated, though they thought they could overcome the fine speeches of the National Assembly by phrases. After the victorious storming of the Bastille there was universal joy and congratulation. The Third Estate—bourgeois, peasant and workman—was overjoyed, the goal was reached, the golden age had returned. This smoke of peace did not last long. The victors soon split up, looking after their interests, and the conquered, determining to get their power back, dreamed of revenge through treachery.

The bourgeoisie was satisfied and wanted to call a halt in the Revolution, but against them were the workers, who, excited by the Revolution, touched by Socialistic cravings, demanded freedom and equality, while the peasants had got what they wanted, because they had burnt the castles of the nobles and had killed feudalism by murdering all the feudal lords they could get hold of.

People talk a great deal about the glorious night of the 4th of August (1789) which freed France from feudalism, and in which the representatives of the nobles so generously gave up their privileges. What magnanimity ! It was due to the revolutionary energy of the peasants, who did not wait for parliamentary resolutions, that on the 4th of August there were really no more privileges of the nobility. The National Assembly were then face to face with accomplished facts, and could only concur and say, "Amen."

The history of the world is not made by Parliaments. They are only the puppets which are pulled by others behind the scenes, sometimes by more or less clever statesmen sitting round a green table, sometimes by the sovereign people acting in the streets. The farce, comedy, or tragedy is always being played. This time it was a tragedy, the greatest which the world had hitherto seen, and the poet was the people. Poet and actor, he is not called a dramatist, but a man of action.

Beaten on the 14th of July, the reactionary Court kept quiet for several months, and in the beginning of October (1789) a new conspiracy was formed. But, in spite of the contented bourgeoisie, the people left Paris for Versailles, and brought back the King and his family, keeping them as hostages. We cannot give all the history of the matter here. But there-

was systematic treachery on the part of the Court, high treason and treason against France; the bourgeoisie was privy to the plot, and conspired with royalty against the people, wishing to use the power of the monarchy as a barrier to keep back the Revolution. The workers and lower middle classes became more and more revolutionary, and were aided by the peasants, who, having got possession of part of the land, were satisfied, and were prepared to defend their property by force of arms.

In June, 1791, the flight of the King snapped the last link between the people and the monarchy, and in July, 1791, the massacre of the Champ de Mars broke the last link between the people and the bourgeoisie. The stupid King, his frivolous but crafty wife, and the nobility conspired with the foreigner, so that the hordes of soldiers of united monarchical Europe might enslave France and overthrow the Republic.

War began, and the French armies, commanded by treacherous officers and generals, could not resist the armies of the Allies.

The National Assemblies did not rise to the height of the situation. The Girondins, who in 1792 assumed power, were too obsequious to the Court and its minions; they partly did not understand the guilt of the traitors, and partly they had not the courage to punish the guilty King and nobles. In July, 1792, the Court thought that the time had come when it could effect its designs, the mask was thrown off, the Girondist Ministry was sent packing to the devil. This roused the Girondins, who liked office. In order to get back to power they talked about the promenade of the people in the Tuileries, (June 20, 1792), when one hundred thousand working men paid a visit to the King in his palace without hurting a hair of his head or his family's. It was a festive warning, but the blinded Court did not heed it, and the King was happy because he received news from the seat of war that treachery was doing a good work.

Meanwhile, the National Assembly did nothing. Instead of taking measures to defend the threatened Revolution, the members took part on the 7th of July in a grotesque farce—the famous kiss of Amourette—a regular farcical performance when, in the open Parliament, royalists, priests, Girondins, and Jacobins all fell on each other's necks, swore to forget all past quarrels, and, in a brotherly way, agreed to defend the fatherland. Naturally, in spite of this epidemic of kissing and swearing to defend their country, the royalists and the priests went on merrily conspiring. The third anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was gloomy and troubled. The air was electric, everyone felt that something must happen. A few days before the National Assembly, which had at last become half awake, had passed a resolution declaring that the fatherland was in danger. From all parts of France volunteers came in, from all parts delegates came to Paris to strengthen the revolutionary party.

The Prussians were advancing, the French army was retiring bewildered. The bravery of the revolutionary soldiers was useless owing to the treachery of the royalist officers.

At the end of July the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto was received in Paris. By this every Frenchman who fought for his country and for the Revolution was declared a rebel and threatened with all the penalties of martial law, and Paris was to be completely destroyed if anything happened to the King. This ridiculous proclamation fell like a bombshell in a magazine, passions were at once inflamed. There was nothing to be hoped from the Government nor from Parliament. As a matter of fact, the Government, *i.e.*, the Court, was the secret headquarters of the enemies of the country, and the National Assembly had not courage enough to act.

It looked as if France and the Revolution were lost, unless the people rose and saved themselves.*

The people rose to the height of the demand made on them. The catastrophe seemed near, for the Prussians advanced and were only a few days' march from Paris. At the Tuileries the treacherous pair (the King and Queen) were looking forward to the moment when the enemy would put down the revolted subjects and end the Revolution by smothering it in blood. But the people were watching and were ready.

The Marseillais, who had joined the Federation at the Fête of July 14th, but had left Paris, came back, bringing the "Marseillaise" with them :

Allons enfants de la patrie !
Le jour de gloire est arrivé
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L' étendard sanglant est levé.
Aux armes, citoyens !
Formez vos bataillons !
Marchons, marchons !

And the people prepared for action. They had no time to lose. Every day the Prussians came nearer. "To the Tuileries !" was the cry. On the night of August 9-10th the tocsin sounded. The people marched against the Tuileries, which was defended by the Swiss and had been turned into a regular citadel.

Where were the people's leaders. Where were Danton, Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins and Marat? There were no leaders. They had lost their heads or they were conspicuous by their absence or they marched with the people like common soldiers, as Camille Desmoulins and Danton. We have letters from Camille's wife relating to that night which show what lack of counsel there was on the leaders' side.

There is after all nothing to be wondered at in this. The idea of the Revolution did not come from any one person ; it came from the mass, who were resolved to fight for truth and justice.

Aux armes, citoyens !
Marchons, marchons !
Aux Tuileries.

It was a titanic and heroic call. The Swiss fought well ; they were fanatics in their faith ; they were paid to die for their master, and they died. And the people fought well. They were the Revolution, and thousands were wounded and killed. It was like a deadly struggle of a lion with a royal tiger. The people were the lion and they conquered, but it was the bloodiest day of the great French Revolution. The royal family fled to the National Assembly. And with the Tuileries fell the citadel of royalty, and the kingdom fell.

The people had conquered their deadliest foe—the foe in their home, and having done so, they were free to deal with the enemy. The Commune—the glorious child of the 10th of August—marks an epoch in the history of thought. The Commune of the 10th of August, 1792, was the head and arm of the Revolution. The Revolution was saved, and saved by the people. The French Revolution was not, as has been said, a Revolution of the bourgeoisie. The great mass of the bourgeoisie was opposed to the Revolution.

* Liebknecht has hardly done justice to the part played by Danton.—J. B.

All that is great and glorious in the French Revolution comes from the people, from the fighting people.

It was not possible then for the Revolution to be a Socialistic Revolution, but all that is great in the French Revolution has in it Socialistic leanings, and it was the precursor of the future Revolution.

The fighters in the French Revolution, though they were not Socialists, were fighting for the proletariat and for Socialism.

And that is why we celebrate the 10th of August, 1792.

W. LIEBKNECHT.

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(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

IN 1875 the capital invested in municipal undertakings in Great Britain was \$465,000 000, while in 1900 there were \$1,500,000,000 invested. There are now in Great Britain 931 municipalities owning waterworks; 99 owning the street railroads (or "tramways," as they are called here); 240 owning the gasworks; and 181 supplying electricity. Most of these are in England. Municipalities were not allowed to work the tramways until 1896. It is estimated that half of the gas users in England use municipal gas. In a number of places—Liverpool among them—the municipalities supply electricity for lighting and power, while the gas supply is still in the hands of private corporations.—JAMES BOYLE, U.S. Consul in Liverpool.

PROFIT-SHARING IN BRITAIN.—Some years ago profit-sharing was looked upon with great favour in Britain as likely to solve the problems of capital and labour. From a Government return recently published it seems, however, to have nearly disappeared. The statistics show that only 53,000 workers are involved in the profit-sharing schemes, and the majority of these are probably associated with co-operative concerns; while only 14,579 last year are reported as having earned a profit, and these received on an average 14.3 per cent. on their wages. Co-operators have never studied the fundamental economic conditions of this question, and many have reasoned on an essentially wrong ethical basis. We would be interested in hearing a discussion on the question, Does the payment of bonus help to make better co-operators of those who receive it?—*Scottish Co-operator*.



THE TRADE UNIONIST.

A RHYME FOR THE "TIMES."

No gouty lords concurring
With judges' stern decree,
No rotten-ripe red herring,
Stale argument or plea
Cast up in Labour's face
Brings Labour to disgrace.

When statesmen are for flaunting
Cock-feathers in their hats,
Soft flatteries are not wanting
To "*Labour's aristocrats*"—
Then treacherously we're dealt
This blow beneath the belt.

The Fool ran down the mountain
Sweet water to obtain,
Ignored each crystal fountain,
And found the briny main!—
For all that's come to pass
Write *Labour* down an ass.

But better fed the asses
The lustier are their kicks,
And Freedom's War on Class is
In trade *and* politics:
No longer let there be
An aristocracy.

Strong Labour many-sided,
Gleams like some precious stone,
Divided, sub-divided,
In facets, anyone
Of which, if scratched or soiled
Then is the whole gem spoiled.

March on! We're bound together
By common interest
Through clear and cloudy weather
To battle for the best,
Till man's proud diadem
Boasteth no purer Gem.

Through night, between the sinking
And rising of the sun,
One past old commune linking
To another not begun,
From Labour's pangs and cries
The New World shall arise.

G. W. S.



"MOTHER" JONES.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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"MOTHER" JONES.

"Mother" Jones has been compared to Joan of Arc, but she is more than that.

The French maid derived her inspiration from the mystical creations of a brain inflamed by religious ecstasy. She was the slave of her own imagination. She fought for the "divine right of kings," dying a victorious sacrifice to a cause which, dominant in her day, will soon cease to disfigure the world. Her rightful place as the fanatical representative of mediæval mummary has already been assigned her.

But "Mother" Jones absorbs inspiration from living men and women; their hopes and fears, their scant joys and abundant sorrows, are hers also to laugh with and to weep. She deals with things that are, to fashion the better things that will be. And her cause is the one that will release mankind from material subserviency and mental obliquity, to finally rejuvenate and glorify the world.

In this only are they alike; John of Arc was peculiarly the product of the material conditions of her time, just as "Mother" Jones is of the conditions existing to-day. Each would have been impossible at any other period. As Joan of Arc typified the superstition and mental darkness of the people who hailed and followed her as one gifted with supernatural power, so "Mother" Jones is the embodiment of the new spiritual concept and clearer mentality characteristic of the awakening working class of our day. She is the incarnation of the spirit of revolt against modern industrial conditions—the spirit which finds fullest expression in the world-wide Socialist movement.

For "Mother" Jones is, above and beyond all, one of the working class. She is flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood. She comes of them, has lived their lives, and, if necessary, would die to make their lives happier and better. She loves the workers with a passionate love stronger than the love of life itself. Her advent marks the stage of their progress towards emancipation.

It is the recognition, unconscious perhaps, of this affinity with them that

constitutes the real source of her strength with the working people. Instinctively they feel she is one of them. When she speaks they listen to one of their own kind. Thus she becomes a veritable magnet that draws them together, oftentimes in spite of themselves.

For "Mother" Jones is no orator, in the technical sense of the term. Her rhetoric might be more rounded, her phrases more polished, and even her voice gentler than years of indiscriminate speaking, in and out of doors, have left it. But if they were, she would probably be less successful in her work. Her apparent weaknesses are really aids, rather than hindrances. Her language is plain, her illustrations crude but vivid, and she has a facile wit. And her voice is the more effectual because it is not sweet nor silvery, but rather harsh at times. Nevertheless, I have known that voice to arouse working men to frenzy and again soften them into tears. It is the soul that speaks.

So the working people understand and trust her. Only the demagogue or shyster among them fear her keen eye and ready tongue. She has the faculty of ferreting out such as these, and sooner or later they feel it. She is seldom deceived in her judgment of men or women. Absolutely sincere herself, she quickly detects insincerity in others. She is as impatient of hypocrisy as she is free from it. Her face tells its own story.

Someone has said she lacks femininity. It depends upon what is meant by that term. If to be feminine means to be selfish and dependent upon others, to gossip rather than to act, to be concerned more with gew-gaws than with one's fellow-creatures, then assuredly "Mother" Jones is not feminine. But if to feel for others, to seek to assuage their sufferings, to know the truth and dare to fight for it, even at the risk of the contempt and scorn of her own sex, is the measure of true womanhood, then she is a true woman.

Only when she pillories the "robbers" and the enemies of labour does her voice lack sympathy. Of that quality she has an unlimited quantity, and she distributes it freely among her people. When she takes the baby from the tired mother's arms and soothes it, when she listens to the working woman's plaint of household drudgery, severe economy, or factory slavery; when the labourer tells of hard work and little pay; when the agitator grows discouraged and pessimistic—then she can always say the right word and do the right thing to bring comfort and restore hope. Wherever she goes she enters into the lives of the toilers and becomes part of them. She is indeed their mother in word and deed, She has earned the sweetest of all names honestly.

Recently I traversed the territory where "Mother" had worked for several months organising. To say her name is a household word is to use a hackneyed phrase for want of a stronger one to express it. Everyone knew her, from the smallest child to the oldest inhabitant. And all blessed her—except the mine-owners and their sympathisers whose hatred she is gratified to enjoy. There were places she entered three years ago where the women—wives of miners—refused to speak to or recognise her.

Now her picture occupies a prominent place on the walls of their homes. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly her ability to overcome prejudice and make the workers her friends and confidants, and something more than mere blind followers or stupid worshippers. She represents the cause made up of the tangible realities which compose their daily lives.

It seems quite in the order of things to learn that "Mother" Jones was born in Ireland. Her character smacks of the soil. She inherits her fighting instincts from a hearty revolutionary stock, and her surroundings were congenial to resistance to tyranny. It is nearly sixty years ago since her blue eyes first saw the light in Cork, but those eyes are as bright and her heart is as fresh as that of a young girl. And her hatred of injustice has grown with the years.

"Mother" has had full share of personal suffering. Coming early in life, with her parents, to Canada, she married, but lost her husband and four children in the yellow fever epidemic in Memphis several years afterwards. Thrown upon her own resources she taught school for a while, and in pursuit of that vocation journeyed West. In San Francisco she gained her first experience in labour agitation by participating in the movement against Chinese cheap labour, in which Denis Kearney became famous. Then she joined the Knights of Labour, and from that time her activity has never ceased.

She was a member of the People's Party from its birth up to the fatal St. Louis convention, which she attended, helping to fight the nomination of Bryan, and for that of Debs. After that convention she left the Populists and joined the Socialist movement, with which she has been identified ever since.

During this time she was also working on the skirmish line of the trade union movement, going here and there, assisting where she could in winning battles on the economic field. She was in Chicago during the famous strike of 1894, and no great struggle but has known her since. It was her work in the bituminous miners' strike of 1897 that first attracted universal public attention, although Labour agitators almost everywhere knew her. At that time she braved a cordon of deputies in West Virginia in order to get the miners there to quit work, and in the Pittsburg district her pathway was lined with Thugs employed to intimidate her, an effort which was, of course, a failure. From that time her name has been anathema to the coal operators of America.

Her exploits during these latter years would fill a good-sized book. Travelling overland through Nebraska and other Western States in a waggon, speaking and distributing literature on Socialism; securing employment in Southern cotton mills to investigate conditions first hand; conducting a successful strike of packers in the stock yards of Omaha; another of four thousand silk mill girls in Scranton, Pa., extending over four months; a seven months' miners' strike at Arnot, Pa.,—another victory and one which marked a new era in the mining industry of that region—

these and others constitute a record unequalled by anyone. For the past two years her time has almost wholly been taken up in organising the miners of West Virginia, whose indifference to organisation and subjection to the mine-owners has made that State a source of injury to the whole miners' union.

It is here where "Mother" has encountered more dangers than in all her experience, for the State has been heretofore entirely under control of the capitalists, and the entrance of agitators has been opposed in every shape and manner. It was for this very reason that "Mother" went there. She has been able to do what no man or any number of men could accomplish, even had they wanted to. The present strike of 20,000 men, after years of abject slavery, is the direct result of her work. Injunction after injunction has been issued against her, but she went right on. As I write this the news comes that, after awaiting sentence for several days, following upon being found guilty of contempt of court for violating one of these injunctions, the same judge has dismissed her with a reprimand. In this he showed more wisdom than such as he are usually credited with, but the effectiveness of the reprimand is doubted.

It remained for President John Mitchell to recognise the value of this woman's great ability and provide the opportunity to put it to full account. Through him she has been a national organiser of the United Mine Workers for the past three years, and her work has more than justified his action. It is conceded and acknowledged by all that she has done more than anyone else to solidify the miners into a strong national organisation. She has infected the whole mining industry with her enthusiasm, and by her Socialist teaching she has turned the thoughts of thousands of workers towards the greater mission in store for them. In view of this it is easy to understand why every one of the thousand delegates to the national convention just adjourned wept when they bade farewell to her upon her departure to West Virginia to receive sentence from a capitalist court.

Courageous almost to the point of recklessness, she knows no danger when occasion requires it. Her defiance of a court's injunction is not mere bravado nor shallow "playing to the galleries." She realises the probable cost of such action but she believes it is necessary—someone must do these things, else there will be no progress. Underneath her apparent indifference to injunctions, Pinkerton Thugs and prison cells lies the motive born of a definite purpose. If needs be she would yield her freedom gladly if by so doing she believed the workers would the more quickly gain theirs. Nevertheless, there is nothing incendiary about her; she trusts in the efficacy of the ballot, and has no sympathy with those who teach otherwise.

Busy as "Mother" has been with the miners' union yet she has found time to help other trades, and to make Socialist speeches, as in the presidential campaign two years ago. Her energy is both the concern and wonder of her friends. She never seems to become too tired not to answer the call of duty. Sleep is a stranger to her when there's work to be done. During a strike she is always on the alert, and no move of the enemy escapes her.

She is as resourceful as she is energetic, and as determined as she is both. Innumerable stories could be told of her sagacity, determination, and indomitable energy. None can outdo her in fealty to the task at hand. When necessary, she will tramp for miles over mountains and along railroad tracks in the dead of night, and to sleep on the bare floors of miners' huts is a common occurrence that has long ago lost its novelty. Her food is plain at all times, but she has often gone over a day with only a few crusts to eat, and sometimes with nothing at all. No one lives more in her work and for it than she does.

Indeed, if "Mother" Jones has any fault at all, it is that she is so much engrossed in her work that she is practically oblivious to anything else—except her dearest friends, whom she surprises from time to time with reminders of her remembrance of them. She reads the newspapers closely, but only to keep posted on affairs affecting the cause. While she obtained a livelihood for years by dressmaking, yet she takes no interest in those things that are supposed to come solely within the purview of womankind. And yet she has a knack of brightening up her usually dark dress with a quiet little bit of colour that reveals the innately refined woman. Her one great desire is activity in the movement, and of the workers, their wrongs and their rights, she never tires. Nothing else will ever take the place of that cause while her brave heart beats.

Next to the cause comes her allegiance to her friends. She has many of these, but of those who are close to her, and whom she really loves, there are only a few because there are really few who understand her, who have long since recognised, under the aggressive manner and fiery speech of the agitator, the pure soul, restless with its mission of justice. Selfishness never finds a refuge within her breast, and countless deeds of thoughtful kindness are gratefully remembered wherever she has been. But it is the sympathetic word, the gentle hand-touch, coming when they are most needed, that has tied her friends to her with bonds of steel. Only a woman, gifted with the supreme attribute of unalloyed sympathy, could bring peace to the troubled mind and heart as she does.

Perhaps nothing has contributed to "Mother" Jones's success more than her aptitude to extract mirth from the most trying situation. She is endowed with the saving sense of humour to a degree that has served her well on more than one occasion. She can crack a joke with the "boys," mimic an opponent, transfix an interrupter at a meeting, turn the point of argument with a sarcastic sally—all with equal facility. She is never at a loss for the exact word at a critical moment. And she can change an audience from tears to laughter without any effort at effect, as readily as the words flow from her lips. A rarer combination never took the field for a worthy cause.

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The most fertile writer of romance would never select a woman 60 years of age as the central figure of a story, and yet "Mother" Jones has had a career as full of diversity and adventure as could be devised by any disciple of

Dumas. One can easily imagine a Joan of Arc, a D'Artagnan, or a Richard the Lion Heart, but who would ever hit upon a little woman with grey hair as the daring leader of a crusade? There is material here for some genius to immortalise in the years to come.

I have only space here for three incidents that, briefly related, will serve, perhaps, to illustrate the versatility and power of "Mother" Jones.

Several years ago, while passing through Montgomery, Alabama, after one of her investigations of conditions in the Southern cotton mills, she visited the Democratic Convention, which was in session at the time. One of the delegates, an acquaintance, suggested that she address the Convention, and she assented. When the proposition was made, several delegates who know "Mother" objected, but the others, with true Southern chivalry and their historic regard for women, voted down all objections and she was given the floor. They regretted their chivalry afterwards.

"Mother" thanked the convention for the courtesy extended to her, but immediately asked: "What about the women you have working in the mills of Alabama, sixteen hours a day, for two and three dollars a week? Don't you think they're entitled to some consideration?" She then proceeded to roast the Democratic State Administration for its treachery toward the workers, and particularly for its repeal a few years previously of the law prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age in factories. When she got through, there was consternation in the convention. Several delegates remonstrated, but others took it up and when "Mother" left they were still fighting. The papers next day denounced the attempt "to bring discord into the Democratic Party by allowing a labour agitator to address the convention."

One winter, when the snow lay deep upon the ground, "Mother" Jones's duties as organiser took her into a Pennsylvania mining camp where there were no friendly faces and the mine-owners were prepared to fight her. She hired a room in the only boarding house, kept by a widow, in the place. Then she went out and got up her meeting. It was late when "Mother" returned, she was tired, but the rest she expected when she reached her room was not to be hers that night.

For she had hardly returned when the boarding house keeper appeared, and after much hesitation and evident humiliation stated that the company had notified her that "Mother" Jones was not to stay in that house. The woman tearfully said that she was dependent upon the company for existence, that she could not afford to antagonise them, and—and—would "Mother" Jones please go somewhere else and stay? Certainly, she would. Then "Mother" listened to the woman's story of heart-breaking toil and dependency upon the mine-owners, gave her a good woman's consolation, kissed her, and went out into the night.

It was some time, and only after much tramping around in the snow, before "Mother" succeeded in finding a miner brave enough to allow her to sleep upon the floor of his hovel. But she had her revenge by staying in the camp until a union was organised and the capitalists made to realise that the miners had some rights that had to be respected thereafter.

What was probably the most dramatic incident of "Mother" Jones's career occurred during the anthracite strike of two years ago. She was then principally occupied in the Hazleton district, where the battle raged the hottest and where it was necessary the most active measures be utilised. This resulted in expeditions of strikers being formed that marched from one mine to another and by the display of numbers influenced other miners to

quit work. The largest of these expeditions was one composed of nearly five thousand men. It marched one night through the Panther Creek valley, with "Mother" Jones at the head, to a place where miners would be met going to work in the early morning. A dozen nationalities were represented in the parade, and while the journey lasted songs were sung in as many languages. Throughout the night fellow countrymen called to each other in their mother tongue.

On through the valley the undrilled army surged until, nearing its destination, it rounded the crest of a little hill, and then—the night murk lifted, and dawn broke, and there, lined across the road, stood a company of soldiers waiting for their prey. At the sight those in front of the army of strikers stopped; those behind, not seeing what the leaders saw, pushed forward. There was nearly a catastrophe.

"Halt," cried the colonel in charge.

The pushing continued, and cries of surprise and irritation arose from the rear. In the meanwhile, "Mother" Jones got the men in front under control, and then she stepped forward.

"Whatever you do, don't shoot," she said, "or you must take the consequences."

The colonel understood her. He turned to his men and those who were there saw his jaw rattled as he spoke, and the faces of the soldiers were deathly pale.

"Men, for God's sake, remember my voice, and don't fire, until I give the word."

Then, as the strikers eyed their enemies sullenly, "Mother" Jones ascended the hill a little way and waved her hand to the bewildered, angry crowd beyond. At sight of her, the confusion ceased and order was gradually established. Now that that was done, the question was how to get that crowd away without causing a disturbance and prevent probable bloodshed. One false move and a terrible massacre might have occurred. It was left for "Mother" Jones to do what few others could have done.

With no trace of agitation or alarm she turned the disappointed crowd around. Inch by inch, the strikers retreated with the soldiers pressing them close. It is said that it took three hours for those men to cover four miles, and at any moment something might have broken loose. But the men's confidence in "Mother" Jones saved the day. Without understanding all she said, obeying only the motion of her lips and the gesture of her arm, they retreated where they would have preferred to go forward. It developed afterwards that another body of strikers to the number of twelve hundred were coming in the opposite direction, so that the soldiers, unawares, were really trapped between two armies. What might have happened under the circumstances if "Mother" Jones had not acted with tact and skill can be imagined.

Such is she whose courage and devotion has made her the best beloved woman in the Labour movement of America. The Social Revolution, of which she is the *avant courier*, has no purer, more unselfish, and dauntless advocate than she. The personification of all that is noble and lofty in the ambitions of the working class, her spirit cannot be broken by persecution, nor, should the experiment ever be tried, confined within the limits of a tyrant's cell. Of her, indeed, in that case, it could be truly said:—

"Four walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage!"

WILLIAM MAILLY.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND TRADE UNION POLITICS.

THE recent Trades Union Congress differed only from the Congresses of the past few years, and possessed a greater importance, by reason of the special circumstances in which it was held and the conclusions to which it was forced in view of those circumstances. For several years now the Congress appears to have been modestly endeavouring to efface itself. Ever since the Cardiff Congress of 1895 there appear to have been influences at work to counteract the new vigour and strenuous vitality infused into the Congress in the early years of the last decade. The heated controversies arising in consequence of the new spirit manifested in the Congress in those years were rather disconcerting to some of the more respectable, staid, and dignified—not to say fossilised—leaders of trade unionism. They disliked the “scenes” inseparable from change and progress, and sighed for a period of quiet in which the Congress would meet simply to pass the old stereotyped resolutions, to indulge in mutual admiration, and to take every possible care to avoid any of those debatable subjects which were liable to ruffle its calm serenity.

Unfortunately, life and movement appear to be inseparable from strife, and the placidity into which the Congress had been piloted threatened to destroy all interest in its proceedings. It had helped to establish the principle of trade federation and to bring about the practical application of this principle; but instead of constituting the Parliamentary Committee the central body of this federation, it allowed the opportunity to slip by and another body was created and fresh machinery of organisation was set up to do work which the Congress and its Committee should have done. Then, again, in the matter of political action and labour representation, the Congress, while taking the initiative in calling together the representatives of various bodies in order to promote labour representation, has paid little attention to the movement it called into existence, and while the trade unions have the majority of representation on the Labour Representation Committee the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Congress, as such, has neither voice nor influence there. It is obviously impossible for the Trades Union Congress and its Parliamentary Committee to avoid practical effacement if it continues to hand over to other bodies the performance of what should be its own functions.

But just when the Congress was sinking into the calm and unruffled placidity which, while it pleased the “elders” would have soon left it stranded, quite apart from the actualities of the class strife which alone gives vitality and reason for existence to trade unionism, the reactionists, aided

by their agents in the jingo press, open a campaign against trade unionism; the law was set in motion, and the very life of militant working-class organisation was threatened. In spite of themselves, as it were, the trade unionists are finding themselves forced into political action, and it is this fact which has relieved the Congress from the insignificance into which it would otherwise have fallen.

It is important to bear in mind that the trade unions are not, and never have been, political organisations. To them politics have always meant nothing more than the contest for place and power between Liberal and Tory, and they have considered that a man could hold what politics he pleased and be a good trade unionist, just as a man might hold any religious belief and still be a good trade unionist. Politics and religion were both tabooed in the union branch or lodge. Either was an apple of discord which would create dissension where hitherto harmony had reigned. This is the characteristic of trade unionism which has never been properly comprehended by its critics, and it is precisely this which makes definite political action on the part of trade unions as a whole so important, because so difficult. Now, however, circumstances are rapidly converting the trade union movement into a political force. The trade unions are slowly taking the line we have always advised and urged them to take, and this, in view of the special and newly-developed conditions under which this departure is taken, is what lends to the recent Congress its significance and importance. And now the consideration arises as to what this new political activity on the part of trade unionism signifies for the working-class movement generally, and what should be our attitude towards it. As to the significance to the working-class movement in general, it must be borne in mind that the trade unions no longer consist of a mere aristocracy of labour. Were that the case the importance of political action on the part of the unions would be comparatively small. As it is, however, trade unionism embraces all trades and callings, from the engineer to the dock labourer, and although, unfortunately, only a minority of those engaged in all the multifarious departments of industry are members of these organisations, it is beyond question that the unions represent the best, the most progressive, the most intelligent, and the most earnest of the men of all ranks in the working class. This being so, the significance to that class of these bodies constituting themselves a political party cannot be gainsaid. The attitude which the Socialist movement should adopt towards the trade unions in their new political activity is not less obvious. Having done our best to foster this activity and to direct it into an independent channel, it should certainly be our duty to maintain the most friendly relations therewith and to give it strength and vitality.

There has been some discussion of late as to the relation between the Socialist movement and political trade unionism, and it has been urged that the S.D.F. ought ere this to have laid down a definite policy in this connection. Yet it would seem that the policy of the S.D.F. has been formulated from time to time in its conferences, and was very clearly

defined at the Blackburn Conference last Easter in the following resolution, which was submitted by the Executive and carried by the overwhelming majority of the Conference :—

“ That, seeing the growing tendency on the part of trade unions to enter upon political action, a tendency developed and encouraged by the legal decisions which have almost deprived them of the power of the strike, this Conference urges upon all members of the S.D.F. the necessity of becoming, as far as it is in their power, active members of their trade unions, and of using their influence as far as possible to turn this political action in a Socialist direction. While insisting upon the fact that the socialisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange must be the aim and object of every real working-class movement, and that this end can only be attained by the relentless prosecution of the class war until the proletariat is emancipated by the abolition of class domination, this Conference reaffirms the friendly attitude of the S.D.F. towards trade unions and kindred organisations, recognising them as bodies of workers banded together against the capitalists in this struggle. This Conference, further, while declining all alliances with trade unions or other bodies which might commit the S.D.F. to the support of men and measures with which it is not in agreement, counsels the cultivation of a good feeling between the Socialist Party and the trade unions, and assures the unions of its sympathy with them in their struggles for better conditions for the workers, and of our hearty co-operation with them whenever they are prepared to take action on Socialist lines. In accordance with the terms of this resolution, branches of the S.D.F. will be prepared to co-operate with trade unions for the promotion of any definite immediate object with which Socialists are in sympathy, but will not join with them in any electoral committees which will commit the branch to the support of any but Socialist candidatures.”

This resolution, while precluding any alliance on the part of the S.D.F. as a body, with any party or organisation which would involve the compromise of any principle or the support of any men or measures with whom or with which we are not in agreement, advises cordial co-operation on points of common agreement, and urges individual members to become active and influential members of their unions. It is quite clear that if the S.D.F. is to take the lead in the working-class movement it must be in and of that movement. Otherwise the movement would pass it by as a mere sectarian body of doctrinaires and dogmatists. This does not mean compromise nor the abandonment of Socialist independence in a nondescript alliance ; but it does preclude isolation and sectarianism. It is well said that “ the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself,” and it would be rather foolish to seek to assist in this work of emancipation by isolating ourselves from the actualities of working-class life and movement.

It has been suggested that the adoption by the Conference of the resolution from the West Ham Central branch should have followed the above resolution as its corollary and complement. That resolution ran as follows :

"That in the opinion of this Conference no member of the S.D.F. acting as a delegate upon a trades council or other body taking electoral action should participate in such action if the candidate or candidates put forward or supported do not run in accordance with the general policy of the S.D.F., and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to deal with any offending members as if they had committed a breach of the rules of the S.D.F." Scarcely a moment's consideration, however, is necessary to show that this resolution, so far from being the complement of the first, entirely stultifies and destroys it. It would be absurd to urge upon all members of the S.D.F. "the necessity of becoming, as far as it is in their power, active members of their trade unions, and of using their influence, as far as possible, to turn this political action in a Socialist direction," if they are to run the risk of censure and expulsion for doing what they are "urged" to do. The men who most earnestly and devotedly endeavoured to carry out the first resolution would be precisely the men who would fill official positions and who would be chosen as delegates to trades councils. There, although they might succeed far beyond their anticipations, might secure that seventy-five per cent. of the candidates selected were Socialists and that ninety-five per cent. of the S.D.F. programme was embodied in the electoral manifesto, yet they would be guilty of "participating" in electoral action contrary to this resolution, and would be liable to be summarily "dealt with."

With such a possible contingency to face, members would be compelled to eschew political action in the trade unions altogether, and, indeed, in some cases they would have to choose between membership of the S.D.F. and membership of their unions. To some this would be a matter of little importance, but to others, whose livelihood practically depended on membership of a union, it would be a very different thing, and in any case antagonism and hostility would be engendered.

But the policy adopted by the S.D.F., the policy laid down by its Conferences, involves no such difficulty. Our attitude towards political trade unionism is one of friendly co-operation and conciliation. Maintaining our independence as an organisation, we are assured of the ultimate triumph of our principles. We know that this triumph will be the sooner realised the sooner the organised workers recognise the truth of these principles. Therefore it is for us to conciliate and not to antagonise the organised workers. The Socialist movement is theirs and for them. Our fight is not with them but with the capitalist enemy. As propagandists we should be prepared to practise infinite patience in our efforts to win over the organised workers. Already the political parties of capitalism are endeavouring to conciliate and cajole them, to win to their side the newly-awakened political activity of the trade unions. It will be largely our fault if they succeed. If we show ourselves capable of giving vitality and principle and direction to political trade unionism, this new political activity will be all to the advantage of Socialism. If we fail in this, the new movement will be swallowed up in the morass of Liberalism, and Socialism will be the loser through another misdirected effort.

H. QUELCH.

THE SYNTHETIC OR THE NEO-MARXIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By E. BELFORT BAX. *Neue Zeit.*—XV., Jahrg: 6. (October 28, 1896).

A scathing criticism from the principal representative of the Marxist conception, or what now-a-days passes for such, calls for an answer from me, because I look on this theory as one of the most important historical truths even if I cannot accept it in its present-day form as the final summing up of all truth. In any case, I can but congratulate myself that Kautsky finds an amusing side to my article. I cannot return the compliment, possibly because Kautsky, as his article shows so evidently, set out with the intention to produce something funny; but wit is apt to have a way much the same as the ghosts at Marathon; it only shows itself to those who do not seek it. It was my intention, certainly, to have a quiet and sober debate with the modern representatives of the Marxist conception of history; it appears, however, that the gods have had pity on me, and have on this occasion bestowed wit on me. Kautsky may possess many great literary qualities, but the faculty of furnishing amusement is certainly not a strong feature in his writings.

I protest, however, most decidedly against being described as an "opponent of the conception of history laid down by Marx," simply because I regard it in its present form as insufficient to explain the whole process of history.

I regret that I added the little footnote to my article, because Kautsky seems to feel insulted thereby, and personalities of that kind throw little light on the controversy. I was of opinion that Marx and from certain expressions which he used, also Engels, would have regarded the materialist conception of history as interpreted by Kautsky, Mehring, and Plechanoff as too stereotyped. Nevertheless, I make Kautsky a present of the whole personal question. As far as I am concerned, Marx, and even Engels, might be Marxists in Kautsky's sense; the principal question for me is whether this method suffices to explain the whole history of man in its concrete reality, or whether it requires to be amended in my sense.

Kautsky asserts that the economic conditions form the only variable element in history, while taken by themselves all the other elements are constant, and that they undergo change only in consequence of changes in the former. Here we have, in any case, an assertion which is laid down clearly and in a form which renders it open to discussion. Kautsky's assumption I deny most emphatically. All elements have their variable and constant sides. As I have often said, the economic element has through the whole historic period* for the most part had the direction of human history, although not always in the same degree.

But there are, even during the historical era, certain, what Kautsky would call "ideological" formations, which can in no way be derived from the economic conditions. To give an example: The history of philosophy in its

* In the *Neue Zeit*, page 657, is a mis-quotation. Human Society (*Gesellschaft*), instead of History (*Geschichte*).

three principal divisions, of antiquity (from Thales to the neo-Platonists), the middle ages (Scholasticism), modern times (Descartes to Hegel) can in its main outlines in no way be traced back to economic conditions. Although the practical application of philosophical systems and ideas can be partially explained from those facts, we have nevertheless in the main to deal with an evolution in the realm of thought, as can be very easily proved. If Kautsky means to say that philosophy was only then able to flourish, after that civilisation, consequently economic life, was far enough developed to allow that a certain number of people should have sufficient leisure to employ themselves with speculative ideas, that would be a statement no one could take any exception to, but it would clearly be only a negative condition of the appearance of philosophy and not a positive cause of the origin of philosophy in general, let alone of the contents of the same at any given period. If Kautsky further asks, how the original germs of philosophical ideas have arisen, I answer through observation of the operations of external nature and the human mind, the analysis of the conditions of knowledge and consciousness generally. I should much like to read an explanation of but one of the main divisions of philosophy, for example Plato and Aristotle, or Kant to Hegel, from one of the neo-Marxists.

Kautsky asks why does it happen that the modern Greeks have produced no Aristotle, no Pericles, &c., in other words why modern Greece is different from ancient; he is of opinion that in reality only the economic conditions have changed, thereby he ignores everything which does not agree with his theory, as for example, that a race, just as happens with individuals, can get old; secondly, the fact of the mixture of races; thirdly, that a large period of the historical development of humanity, not exclusively economic, has taken place in the meantime. All these factors have co-operated in Greece as elsewhere. The Greek spirit, literary, philosophic, and artistic, was manifestly exhausted, long before any real alteration in the methods of production and exchange had taken place. If this exhaustion could be brought into connection with any social factor it would be rather of a political or a religious kind than an economic. Loss of political independence, and the introduction of oriental ideas, and later of Christianity, can well have contributed a great deal to hasten the decay. Moreover, a great many races have passed through Greece, all of whom have left traces behind—Goths, Slavs, Normans, Catalonians, Venetians, and Turks, of whom also many, especially Slavs, have settled there and become quite absorbed in the previous population. The modern Greek is ethnically quite another being to the ancient. Finally, Kautsky, as stated, ignores in his zeal the entire concrete historic development, intellectual, political, and ethical, as well as economic, which has taken place between the ancient and the modern worlds.

The extreme Marxists are, like eels, difficult to get hold of; now they show themselves as holders of quite a harmless commonplace, then again as the champions of a speculative theory which seems so bold in its one-sidedness that one can scarcely believe that it is seriously meant. The importance of the economic basis for the historical development is, as I have said, denied by no one, let alone a Socialist with any knowledge of history; but to assert that it and it alone is, so to say, the exclusive causal agent in history, contradicts the whole course of historical facts. When one, for the sake of conciseness, ventures to express their theory "in slightly different language," then our extreme friends assert that we have misinterpreted them. I have spoken of "Thought-Reflex," and Kautsky makes a great fuss over it; and ye

Engels has often used the expression "psychological reflex of economic processes," and it appears to me quite apt, despite Kautsky's objections. With our extreme Marxists one must, as Hamlet says, "speak by the card, or equivocation will undo us." I can only say that if the materialist conception of history does not signify that which I have said—namely, the thought-reflex of economic conditions in the social consciousness—then it means nothing more than the colourless platitude that for human existence and activity a material basis is required. If one applies this to the individual, it would run something like this: If the poet gets nothing to eat, he must cease to make poems. This most important principle would, however, contribute very little to an explanation of the poetic qualities of a Shakespeare or a Goethe. Such banality, however, I do not ascribe to comrades Kautsky, Mehring, and Plechanoff. Therefore I stick to my concise definition, which seems to me to correspond to the ideas of Kautsky, so far as I know them.

And now let us consider a concrete case of the application by Kautsky of the methods of Marx. Kautsky asserts in his "History of Socialism" that the whole dispute over the question of the Sacrament in the Hussite wars was simply a "cloak" under which the class struggles of that time were fought out. Now, we will take for granted (it being of no consequence whether in this special case it is historically true or not) that the disputants really believed firmly in the Christian dogma. Now I ask what the word "cloak" in this connection means. That at the same time the class struggles played a part in the formation of the character of the time (*entstehung des gesammten Zeitbildes*) is self-evident, but if the phrase "cloak" has any meaning it must be this, that the question of the cup [*i.e.*, the custom of the Catholic Church to refuse the cup to laymen in the administration of the sacrament. —Translator's note.] *i.e.*, the theological belief of that time, had no independent force in determining the action of those who played a part; in short, if the expression of Kautsky is to mean anything at all, then it can only mean the following: either the belief was sincere and real or a conscious or unconscious hypocrisy as such beliefs mostly are to-day; only in the last case can one with good right talk of a "cloak." Altogether it seems to me that the "economic conditions" of a period play much the same rôle in the neo-Marxist school—as one may well call them—which the thing in itself (*ding an sich*) plays in the Kantian philosophy. Even in the rare cases where the economic relations have played a really unimportant part must the economic development be dragged in as the sole cause of the whole. There is a scholastic maxim, "*Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*" (Things [beings] are not to be multiplied beyond what is necessary), that applies to a certain extent in this case, especially if we alter the sentence slightly, so that it runs, "*Causae non sunt multiplicandae praeter necessitatem*" (Causes are not to be multiplied beyond what is necessary), since even when a psychological explanation of a certain historical event is absolutely sufficient, even then the neo-Marxists postulate a hidden influence of the economic facts.

Kautsky accuses me of confusing the historical development with "the whole of human life." Certainly, I assert that one has the right to demand from a complete theory of historical development that it shall afford a sufficient explanation of the whole of human life, or at least be in a position to give guidance in that direction, seeing that the whole of human life develops itself in history. Further, he accuses me of the "enormity" of confusing "material interests" with "material conditions," but I find that in the application of the materialist conception of history these two ideas cover

very much the same thing. In fact, what are the great class struggles which play such a large part in the materialist conception of history? What are they but the struggles of various classes over their opposed "material interests"? Besides this, Kautsky would, in his "History of Socialism," explain the rapid spread of Christianity in the lower sections of the society of that time by the practice of almsgiving on the part of the well-to-do believers; what is falsely described as Christian Socialism. The material conditions which have determined history can unquestionably be traced in most cases to the material interests of peoples or classes; therefore I consider the indignation of Kautsky over my "enormity" somewhat exaggerated. Further, he accuses me "of having denied to the materialists any of the finer impulses of the human soul"; where he has found that in my article, I do not know, and I do not consider it exactly fair on his part to ascribe idiocy to me which I have nowhere written, and which never occurred to me. Such devices seem to me beneath the dignity of a scientific criticism. I simply express my doubt whether the method in question as explained by Kautsky can sufficiently explain such phenomena.

No one can demand that anyone should allow himself to be put off with mere phrases when the question is important and unsolved problems. If the neo-Marxists are not able to give a good account of them, I have the right to charge them with neglect of universally known facts (not phrases). It is possible that the Middle ages could not live from Catholicism, or the ancient world from politics; it is also possibly just as true that a poet cannot live from his poetry, but requires a public who recognise him, so that it becomes possible for him to eat and drink; but that does not sufficiently explain his special poetic gift, although I readily allow that by means of an exact enquiry it might be possible to prove that the potatoes, &c., eaten had an influence on the production of his thought. It is simply a *petitio principii* to say, that the method in which they gained their living, explains why here politics, and there Catholicism played the principal rôle; the controversy hinges on the questions whether the method in which they acquired their living suffices to explain the rôles which politics, and Catholicism—the one at one period, the other at the other—have played.

To the, as it seems to me, one-sided conception of history of the extreme Marxists I oppose my "improved method" as follows:—Kautsky asserts that the economic conditions are the only variable element in human development; all the rest are, by themselves, constant or change in consequence of changes in the first. I say, on the contrary, that in the totality of the human development (since human life is continually developing) two principal factors are contained. First, a psychological motive power, which is determined by its original direction, and by influences of various kinds, among others by reflection, by observation of and impulses from the outer world. This motive force is, nevertheless, taken by itself, variable, and is generally hindered and brought to a standstill by outside influences; it recovers from the check which it received through the external conditions, only gradually, even when it is subjected to contrary influences. Secondly, as the most important of these outside influences during the historical period, the mode of life, *i.e.*, the economic conditions, of classes and of peoples. But that has not always been equally the case. Even the psychological impulse has often found support elsewhere. The action and reaction of both these two factors forms historical evolution; it is possible from certain points of view to treat them separately. Each has up to a certain point an independent development, but regarded as a whole they appear as

mutually completing each other in their interaction. The independence and the reciprocal action of these factors both play their part in the historical drama. Kautsky reproaches me with looking on the changes in the "psychological motive force" at the commencement of Christianity as a consequence of the "psychological motive force," which (and here appears a sample of Kautsky's humour), "like Munchausen, draws itself out of the mire by its own hair and goes its own way." That sounds very funny, certainly; nevertheless, I assert that in the psychological element just as clearly an independent development can be to a certain extent proved, as in the economic conditions of society. Both form, up to a certain degree, their own chains of cause and effect; on the other hand, both stand also in interaction with each other in every concrete historical case. In any case the direction of primitive Christianity was not, as Kautsky asserts, a new one, but it is possible to trace signs of it far back into the earlier stages of thought of the Jewish and Grecian spirit.

Kautsky's wit, which drags its way like a funeral march through the whole article, reaches its climax in the concluding remarks over two passages which he quotes from "Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome." Here Kautsky thinks he has made a discovery which will crush me; I can only say that I am in a position to justify both these passages. In general, I agree readily with Kautsky and his friends that the alteration in the English temper at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries is to be traced to the economic revolution which took place then. But there are certain characteristics of the English Protestant movement, which on the Continent, although a similar revolution obtained in the economic conditions—even if this in many localities took place somewhat later—have nowhere shown themselves to anything like the same degree. Where on the Continent does one find the English Sunday, the dogma of the wickedness of dancing, of the theatre, or reading novels? All these peculiarities are not to be explained through a general formula; accordingly, I made the modest suggestion that the Puritanism from which these sprung could somehow or another be traced back to the peculiarity of the mixture of races which produced the English people.

Kautsky thinks that he has discovered another confusion when he says that I, "in that I take the material interest of the individuals as equivalent to the economic foundations of society, change the first, therefore selfishness, into an external factor working on men which is distinguished from the inner psychological factor." To that I have to reply that I have, throughout, not occupied myself with the material interests of individuals, but simply with the material interests of classes; when the word "individuals" is used that is an interpolation from the side of friend Kautsky. I call the direct influence of the economic conditions on men the external factor; on the other hand, I describe as the inner factor the effect produced by an idea which springs directly from psychological reflection; this inner reflection does not require to have been excited directly by any economic conditions, but the resulting idea may arise from the analysis of the conditions of consciousness in general or through observation of the processes of nature. If Kautsky flings in my face that the application of the expression "outer" and "inner" is arbitrary, I can only point to the fact that many expressions one uses in scientific discussions suffer under a certain arbitrariness. I maintain that the expressions "inner" and "outer" are sufficiently plain when one is not on the look-out for quibbles.

In concluding my reply, I may once more expressly say how highly I esteem the materialist conception of history as an inspiring method, and

how much I value Kautsky's writings; the fact that I criticise the theory does not mean that I think at all "meanly" of the conception or those who hold it. If my expressions have called forth this impression, it was certainly not intentional on my part.

With a certain amount of difficulty I have obtained at last a copy of the third volume of the *Neue Zeit*, where the two articles which Kautsky refers to in his contribution are contained. I consider them quite excellent. The first shows almost the same train of thought that I had followed in an article which appeared in *Justice*, 1884. I have treated the question at greater length in my essay, "Universal History from the Socialist Standpoint," which was first, if I am not mistaken, published in the magazine *Time* in the year 1886. Both, somewhat revised, are contained in my book "Religion of Socialism." An article on the "Evolution of Ethics" which appeared about the same time in the *Neue Zeit* comprised also something similar. I mention these writings only to show that even the so highly-ridiculed by Kautsky Baxian conception of history can show results which are not so very unlike those of the High Priest of the neo-Marxian school. The second article from Kautsky is undoubtedly original, clever, and, so far as it goes, also very true. The carrying out of the same leaves my position absolutely untouched. Attention is called in it to the economic and social conditions of that time which afforded a favourable ground for the bringing to expression of ideas that had arisen far earlier in the East and the Græco-Roman world, and which clearly can be traced back to other ideas which had a still earlier origin. The essence of the matter is contained in the fact that it is not possible either to explain world-historical ideas as the result of purely economic facts, or to trace back economic and political institutions to purely ideologic causes. The first blunder is made, in my opinion, by the neo-Marxist, the second by the old ideological writers of history. Against the last the materialist conception of history has an easy task; with the "world-known" phrases it wins an easy victory. But the neo-Marxian writers do not see that they apply the same category as their opponents, namely, that of cause and effect, and that this category is in the last resort not applicable. The true category of historical research is, namely, that of "action and reaction" (*Wechselwirkung*). Political and economic institutions are, taken by themselves, no independent whole, which could function as cause, but they are the dependent parts of a whole. By themselves they are nothing. Economic formations make history only in connection with human mind and will; by that is said, that the neo-Marxist conception of history is wrong in so far as it seeks to reduce human history to economy as the only determining factor. Excogitated little jokes over the deeper meaning of the "Baxian methods of writing history" are not sufficient to dispose of this truth.

THE TARIFF BILL, having at last been considered by the Committee of the Reichstag, has now to be read a second time when the Reichstag meets in October.

AUSTRIA in 1896 had 2,770 co-operative societies of all kinds to supply its 3,000,000 people. Of these 1,400 are creamery and cheese associations, and 500 are for agricultural supplies. They also have an active and successful wholesale society.

LETTERS FROM KARL MARX.

WE resume the publication of the letters of Karl Marx, following on those which appeared in our last issue:—

London, March 6, 1868.

DEAR FRIEND,—Since Koppel has gone my position has got worse. I did not know that he had gone, and yet he is in his way not a bad man, but at present he has rather put me out. This is the cause of my silence and the reason why I did not acknowledge the receipt of "Thünen." It is not a bad book. The author is a Mecklenburg squire, but he has some thinking power, who imagines that his place at Tellow is the finest place and that Mecklenburg Schwerin is the best State. With these premises and by observation, the differential calculus, practical accounts, &c., he thinks he has constructed the theory of rent of Ricardo. He is very respectable and at the same time ridiculous.

The confused and strange criticism of Herr Dühring is now quite clear to me. He is really only a very precocious troublesome child who tries to be a revolutionary in political economy. He has published a critical examination of economics, after Carey, in about 500 pages, and a new system of natural dialectics against the Hegelians. My book attacked him on both sides. He reviewed it because he hated Roscher. But he wrote falsehoods, partly intentionally and partly out of ignorance. He ought, however, to have known very well that my method is not that of Hegel, that I am a materialist, while Hegel is an idealist. The dialectics of Hegel are the basis of all dialectics, but first of all their mystical form must be taken away, and this is my method. As to Ricardo, Herr Dühring is quite wrong in thinking that I do not notice his weak points, which have already been referred to by Carey and many others. He tries with bad faith to make me responsible for the Ricardian limitations. But, never mind, I ought to be thankful to him because he is the first leader who has spoken.

In the second volume, which may perhaps never appear, I will analyse the systems of property, competition, &c.

During my illness I was not able to write, but I went through a mass of statistics, and that would have been enough to make many people ill.

My circumstances are very painful, because I can make so little money, and yet the children must keep up a certain appearance. If I had not these two damned books to get through, which I cannot do anywhere but in London, I would go to Geneva, where I could live comfortably with my present income. My second daughter is getting married at the end of this month.—Best greetings,

KARL MARX.

London, March 17, 1868.

DEAR FRIEND,—You may well think that I have often thought about going to Geneva. I have not only talked it over at home, but also with Engels. Here I must spend every year from £400 to £500, while at Geneva I could manage to live with £200. But it is quite impossible, for it is only

in London that I can do my work, and I hope that in time it will become a slight source of profit to me. I must, therefore, stay here, and I can also from the background direct the working-class movement, which would otherwise be in very bad hands.

Fate compels me, notwithstanding all drawbacks, to remain in London. As to Koppel, you do him an injustice. If I had not been ill he would have amused me, and the family did not mind him.

Neither Engels nor myself have yet written in Liebknecht's paper, though Engels has sent him two articles on my book. The ordinary London correspondent is Eccarius, and Borkheim has written an article against Heizen and Co.

"M.'s" letter amused me very much; he has partly misunderstood my meaning. But he has seen that I look upon production on a large scale as not only the cause of the strife, but also as the begetter of the very material and spiritual causes which will put a stop to this strife—which cannot go on in the old way.

As to the Factory Acts, I agree partly in what he says, but Dolfus in Alsace is really a humbug who has managed, by his measures, to get more work out of his operatives, and in that way he can better resist competition. Newspapers in Paris have been prosecuted by him, and it was one of these Dolfus who, a little while ago, succeeded in getting carried an infamous amendment to the Press Law that no attacks could be made on a man's private life.

Give my best greetings to your dear wife.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, April 6, 1868.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—The Irish question is attracting a great deal of attention. Naturally, Gladstone and Co. make a great deal of it so as to get back to power by means of a good electoral cry when the next election comes off by household suffrage. This has done a great deal of harm to the working class party. There is much wavering among working class leaders like Odger and Potter—who wish to get into the next Parliament, and they have found a new reason for joining the middle-class Liberals. This is really a punishment, for England—and I include the working class—is now paying the penalty of many centuries of misgovernment in Ireland. And in the long run it will be a good thing for the English working class. For the English Established Church in Ireland—or what they used to call here the Irish Church—is the religious bulwark of English landlordism in Ireland, just as the State Church is in England. (I am referring here to the State Church as a landowner.) When the Irish Church goes, the English Church will follow, and both will bring about the fall of landlordism, first in Ireland and then in England.

I am quite convinced that the social revolution, which must depend on the fall of landlords, will soon begin. Especially will this be in Ireland, for as soon as the Protestant Irish tenants in Ulster join, for the purpose of agitation, the Catholic tenants in the other three provinces of Ireland they will succeed, as the landlords will no longer be able to take advantage of religious bigotry.

I have received the day before yesterday a letter from Freiligrath, to whom, naturally, a card announcing the wedding* was sent, which has

* In the beginning of April Karl Marx's daughter Laura had married Paul Lafargue.

amused me very much. In Berlin, shortly after my book appeared, there was published a work, "Twelve Workers in the Revolution" (of 1848), by G. Struve and G. Rasch. Freiligrath was referred to as one of these great twelve apostles, and he was praised for never having been a Communist, only he was blamed a little for having shown too great a condescension for such unworthy persons as Marx, Engels, and Wolff. I wrote to Freiligrath for an explanation, as Wolff was also attacked, and I was angry because G. Rasch (a muff) was the chairman of his begging committee in Berlin*. He answered me very penitently. Then afterwards I sent him my book, but without signing my name in it. He seems to have understood.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

[Freiligrath wrote a gushing letter to Marx praising "Capital," and begging that the next volume might have an autograph in it, as he valued the great honour, &c. &c.]

London, April 17, 1868.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—You have rendered me great service by writing to Virchow, but I doubt whether he has patience and time enough to work at such an undertaking; I know that it gave me a lot of trouble to read his "Cellular Pathology" in Manchester, especially as his style is cumbersome. Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, July 2, 1868.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—As to my book, I received yesterday five numbers of the *Elberfelder Zeitung* which contained a very good woolly criticism by Dr. Schnake (I remember the name in 1848, but I do not know him personally). There is a good deal of confusion in his remarks. I have heard from Berlin that the comic Faucher is going to review my book in the June number of his periodical. I shall be amused at seeing what he says.—Yours,

K. M.

London, July 11, 1868.

DEAR FRIEND,—I thank you very much for what you have sent. Do not write to Faucher, that little mannikin is not worth replying to. The most that he says is that in certain places I owe certain obligations to Bastiat. Of course, he does not know that the third volume will contain a special critical chapter on the matter of every-day economics. You will not be astonished to know that Faucher and Co. conceal the exchange-value of their own carelessness not by the mass of expended force of work, but by the absence of this expenditure, namely, out of "saved labour." And the worthy Bastiat has not himself made this welcome discovery once, but has appropriated it from earlier authors. His authorities are naturally unknown to Faucher and Co.

As to the *Centralblatt*, the critic makes a very great concession when he admits that if one thinks very much about value, then it follows that my conclusions must be admitted. The unfortunate fellow does not see that if there is no chapter in my book on "Value," yet the analysis of the true relations, which I give, must follow from the proof and the conclusions of

* This was a committee formed to present F. with a testimonial.

the true relations of value. The prattle about necessity of proof of the formation of value is due not only to complete ignorance of the subject on which he writes, but also of a failure to understand the method of science.

Every child knows that a nation must perish if labour ceased, I will not say for a year, but only for a few weeks. And every child also knows that different persons produce different things and that everyone's production is not equal. And it is therefore self-evident that the work of societies will not always be the same, but different. Laws of nature cannot be put aside, and the only thing that can be altered is the way in which laws may be diverted and not suppressed. The exchange value of a commodity depends on the amount of labour which it takes to produce it, due regard being had to all the circumstances of the case.

Science has for its object to show how this can be brought about. If a man thinks he can find out laws without investigating phenomena, then he had better leave science alone. It is the fault of Ricardo that in the first chapter on value of all kinds he does not sufficiently consider all the facts. But enough of all this. It makes me angry with these silly bourgeois when I find that working men, and even manufacturers and merchants, can understand my book and see its strong points, but these learned men complain that I am not clear enough for them.

I would not advise the printing of Schweitzer's article, though Schweitzer has worked hard on my book.—Yours, K. M.

By-the-by, I have received an essay by Dietzgen about my book which I send to Liebknecht.

London, August 10, 1868.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—I hope very much that at the end of next September the state of my work will allow me to leave London for good and to go to the continent. I would go at once as soon as I could leave the Museum (*i.e.*, the Library). The expenses of living here get worse and worse, and I should be glad to be quiet, too, as peace is the first duty of a "bourgeois." There has been a great deal of scandal here about the French branch of the International Workingmen's Association.

I am quite alone now and it seems strange for all the children to be away.—Yours, KARL MARX.

London, October 12, 1868.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your long silence is very painful to me. Have I done anything in my last letter to bring it about? I hope not. I need hardly tell you that you are my most intimate friend in Germany and I do not think that close friends should quarrel over trifles. I certainly would not, and you have done more for the success of my book than all my friends in Germany put together. But, perhaps, you are silent just to show me that you are unlike the so-called friends who keep quiet when things are bad and speak when they are good. I did not need such a proof on your part. When I speak of things being good I was thinking of the spread of my book and the fact that it has at last reached the German workers. The progress made by the International is wonderful, especially in England.

A few days ago a St. Petersburg bookseller wrote to tell me that "Capital" has appeared in a Russian translation. It has my photograph, and I have to thank my friends the Russians for this. It is strange that the

Russians should always have been my well-wishers, for I have fought against them for 25 years. In 1843-44 the Russian autocrats thought a lot about me in Paris, and my books against Proudhon in 1847 and against Duncker in 1848 were received with great favour in Russia. Of course, the Russian aristocracy have been influenced by French and by German culture. Many Russians hold very extreme views but like to keep them to themselves, and, as Voltaire said of himself, he did not write for cobblers and tailors. And as statesmen the Russians are very reactionary.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

The Spanish Revolution has fortunately prevented a disastrous Prusso-Franco war.

You write to me saying that I had received a book from Büchner. When was it?

London, October 26, 1868.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I am up to my eyes in work and have little time to answer your letter. But just one word. I half agreed with your request and Engels that my book should be praised in the *Gartenlaube*, but I would ask you not to do it. Puffs in such a publication can do the book or the cause no good, and I do not think that it is dignified for me to consent to it. The editor of Meyer's *Encyclopædia* wanted me to write my biography for his book a long time ago, but I would not do so and did not answer his letter. Everyone must work out his own salvation in his own way.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, March 3, 1869.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—Quetelet is too old now to make any more experiments. Yet he rendered great service in the past because he saw how the apparent accidents of social life by their periodical recurrence possess great value. He did not, however, see how these facts were to be interpreted. He made no progress and only accumulated material for others; he is no more advanced now than he was in 1830.

Before I am ready with Volume II. it will be well into the summer. Then I shall come to Germany with the manuscript, and I shall take my daughter with me. I shall see you then. Otherwise she will come.

Very interesting events are going on in France now. The Parisians are studying again revolutionary history in order to start a revolution. First they studied the origin of the Empire, then the *coup d'état* of December. These events were quite forgotten, just as the reaction in Germany has done its best to conceal the existence of the events of 1848-49.

Ténot's book on the *coup d'état* has had such a circulation in Paris and the provinces that ten editions have appeared in a short time. Dozens of other books have followed on this period. It has been the rage and there has been a good deal of speculating about it in the publishing world.

These writings are by the opposition. Ténot is a man of the *Siècle*. I mean the Liberal bourgeois paper and not our *Century*. All the men who belong to the opposition favour this movement. Even Republican Democrats like Delescluze who used to be the aide-de-camp of Leïru Rollin—and who now as a Republican patriarch edits the *Réveil* in Paris—all have joined hands against Bonaparte and help is accepted from everybody.

But now comes the other side of the medal. The French Government allowed the renegade Hippolyte Castille to publish the Massacres of June,

1848. This was a crushing blow for Thiers, Falloux, Marie, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, Pelletan, &c., for those who in France are called the chiefs of the Liberal Union and who—old infamous hounds that they are—hope to win the next elections. The Socialists have now been attacking the opposition and the republican democrats. Vermorel, who is a follower of Proudhon, has written “*Les Hommes de 1848*” and “*L’Opposition*.” Then Tridon, a follower of Blanqui, has written “*Gironde et Girondins*.” And so there is a regular row—I wish there was one in Germany; this shows that the French policy is doing good. I intended to go to Paris next week to see my daughter, but last Saturday a policeman went to Lafargue to ask if Monsieur Marx had arrived. He had something to say to him. Forewarned.
—Yours,
K. M.

London, May 11, 1869.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—I could not get for you the Palmerston pamphlets with the best will in the world. The writings of Urquhart against Russia and Palmerston, though they are often right, yet lose all value according to the crotchets of Great David (*i.e.*, Urquhart). I have read your letter to Borkheim. You say quite rightly that it will not do to call the Belgian massacres a St. Bartholomew massacre. But you recognise the importance and the anxiety of the affair. Belgium, as you know, is the only country where sword and musket regularly, year in and year out, have the last word to say when there is a strike. In an address for the General Council, which I have drawn up in French and English, I have put the matter very clearly. It will be printed in English to-morrow and I will send it at once to you. I have also drawn up an English address for the General Council of the International, addressed to the National Labour Union in the United States, referring to the war with England which the bourgeois republicans there wish to bring about.—Yours,
KARL MARX.

London, November 29, 1869.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—An illustration of the secrecy and security afforded by the post has just occurred. A letter which I wrote to Engels from Hanover was opened and very clumsily sealed again. Engels has kept the envelope so that I might see it.

My long and unexplained silence is due to my having a lot of work to do, not only for myself but also for the International (I have had to work at Russian in order to read some books on the condition of the working classes, of course including that of the peasants), and then my health has not been at all good.

You have probably seen in the *Volkstaat* the resolutions which I drew up against Gladstone referring to the amnesty question in Ireland. I have attacked Gladstone just as much as I did Palmerston, and it has attracted a great deal of notice. The demagogic refugees like to attack the Continental despots from a distance, but I always like to go for the enemy in his own country. My action on this amnesty question, like my previous speeches in the General Council when I begged the English working class to discuss Irish grievances, has drawn attention to the fact that I am ready to work for the oppressed Irish against their oppressors.

I am more and more persuaded (and it is important for the English working classes to realise this) that nothing of importance can be done in England before they give up their present policy in Ireland. I also think

that the best thing that could happen would be a dissolution of the union effected in 1801, and that it should be replaced by a free federal government. This is not only advisable in order to secure the goodwill of Ireland, but also in the own interest of the English proletariat. If this federation does not take place then England will remain the property of the ruling classes, while it will always have Ireland for its enemy.

The first thing to be done for emancipation here is to strike down the English oligarchy of landlords, and the fort here can never be stormed as long as there are strong outposts in Ireland. But as soon as the Irish people begin to have freedom, as soon as they make their own laws and regulations, as soon as it is autonomous, then the downfall of the landed aristocracy in that country will come (and most of these landlords are also English landlords). The matter will be easier there than here, because in Ireland it is not only an economical but also a national question, as the landlords there are not, as in England, of the same race as the people, but they are the deadly, hated oppressors of the Irish. Now, not only is the social awakening of England hindered by the present union with Ireland, but England's foreign policy, especially with Russia and the United States, is also affected by it.

If the English workers will at last decide on working for their emancipation, then matters should begin to move. Cromwell's English republic was wrecked because of Ireland. The same thing must not occur again. The Irish, by electing O'Donovan Rossa—"a convicted felon"—to Parliament have dealt the English Government a heavy blow. The Government papers advocate the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and strenuous government. As a matter of fact, England has, and always will, rule Ireland in that way under the present system, it is a government of cruel force and shameless corruption.

Things are going well in France. The demagogues and democrats are making certain mistakes, however, and Bonaparte is granting some concessions which will be the cause of his downfall.

The *Observer* of yesterday (a weekly paper which supports the Government), refers to the Eulenburg scandal in the Prussian Chamber. It says that Napoleon remarked that "if you scratched the Russian you would find a tartar," and the paper says you need not scratch a Prussian in order to find a Russian.—Yours,

K. MARX.

London, February 17, 1870.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—Yesterday for the first time I was able to get out in the open air.

The pamphlet which you sent me is a plea on behalf of the privileged position of the German-Russian Baltic provinces for German sympathies. These wretches, who by their services in Russian diplomacy, army and policy have been condemned by everybody, and who, since the annexation of the Polish provinces by Russia, have given up with joy their nationality in order to be able more legitimately to exploit their peasants, now cry out aloud because their privileged position is threatened. They make use of the same old cries—orthodox Lutheranism and exploitation of the peasants, for that is what they mean by German culture—in order to try and have Europe's protection on their side. The last words of the pamphlet—landlordism as the basis of civilisation and yet again landlordism—gives the secret of the

wretched pamphleteer, who is evidently either directly or indirectly a landlord.

In his quotations—which are not always correctly given from the Russian—the fellow shows his stupidity as well as the cloven hoof. Schedo Ferroti is one of those who says that Communism is the cause of the present bad condition of the Russian peasants just as the abolition of personal service in Occidental Europe was said to be the cause of pauperism, leaving out the fact that the serfs were robbed of their land. The Russian work “Land and Liberty” is after that kind, and its author is a Baltic cabbage-growing squire called von Lilienthal. What makes the Russian peasant poor—is the same cause as that which made the French peasant poor under Louis XIV.—namely, taxes and rent paid to the large landowner. Instead of Communism being the cause of poverty it really diminishes it.

It is also an historical lie to say that Communism is of Mongolian origin, as I have clearly proved in my writings, it is of Indian origin and is found in all nations at the beginning of their evolution.

The special Slavonic (not Mongolian) form now prevalent in Russia (which is also found among other Slavonic peoples) resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, the old German modification of Indian communism.

The Pole, Duschinski, in Paris has tried to prove that Russia is not Slavonic, but Mongolian, and he has shown much learning in forming this hypothesis. This was a very natural position for a Pole to take, yet the facts given by him are not correct. It is not the Russian peasants, but the Russian nobility which is mainly of Mongolian and Tartar origin. The Frenchman, Henri Martin, took his theory from Duschinski and Gottfried; Kinkel translated Martin and has become an enthusiast in favour of Poland so as to get the democratic party to pardon his servile adulation to Bismarck.

It is a political commonplace that Russia by her policy is leading Europe and America towards Mongolism, but this has not yet been grasped by people like Gottfried, Baltic squires, idiots, jesters and professors. This Baltic-German question ought to be looked at with suspicion, as it advocates the giving Prussia a preponderating position on the Baltic. Everything which on our side would cause us to look with antipathy on these upholders of German culture is more intensified when we hear that Prussia is to be exalted. There is another example of the crass ignorance of this pamphleteer. In his opinion the giving up by Russia to the United States of Alaska was a diplomatic success on the part of Russia. But the American Congress has just published the correspondence relating to this, and therein is found a despatch from the American Ambassador in which he writes to Washington that economically the new territory is not worth a cent., but it will cut off England from the Pacific, and that the British territories will be now hemmed in by the United States. There is the true reason.

I have read your correspondence with Jacoby with interest, but you rather praised my work too much. If you will do it, do it more gently. Old Jacoby himself is a very good man; no old Radical in Europe has more honourably or more courageously stood by the people. It is quite true that much of the details of his speeches will not bear examination. After all, I expect more from Germany than from France for social improvement.

I have had a heated polemic with that old intriguer, Bakounine. But I will tell you more about that in my next letter.—Yours, K. M.

(To be continued.)

THE NONCONFORMISTS AND THE EDUCATION BILL.

The Contemporary Review has an editorial on the above subject.

"The history of modern education," it says, "may not unfairly be represented as a gradual process of transfer from Church to State, from clerical to lay hands. And unless modern history is about to reverse its course, democracy to fall into the background, and government to revert to the hands of the unchosen few, there is no reason to doubt that this process will go on, and education will become the affair of the State and Municipal departments.

"Progress in England, if equally certain, has been more gradual and less logical than in most countries, and the course of National Education, like everything else, has been tardy, partial, and the subject of continual compromise. Still, if we look at its conditions a century ago and its position to-day, we cannot fail to trace in it the general tendency, and to forecast with some confidence its future. Sooner or later, education, at least primary and secondary, is destined to be conducted by the Government of this country, assisted by local authorities, but removed from the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical bodies.

"We need not spend much time over the familiar features of the Education question. Up to 1870 the churches, for the most part, ran the schools, with large Government aid. In olden times the Church held the management of other great departments in public life—hospitals, relief of the poor, administration of wills, &c., long since transferred to lay hands. The clergy, who worked on the whole honestly and well, nevertheless proved unequal to the task of education, and the State took up the matter and formed the Board Schools, leaving the ecclesiastical and some other voluntary bodies to do also what they could, with increasing Government aid.

"The pending Bill is governed by two main ideas. The first is to transfer the local administration from the Board Schools to bodies supervised and partly nominated by the County and Town Councils, and to confide to those bodies secondary as well as primary education. Unification is the alleged principle. . . . The second idea which has led to the framing of the Bill, is the permanent fortification of the clerical schools, by throwing almost the last penny of their financial burden on to the public funds, while leaving them under ecclesiastical management; for the appointment by the public authority of one-third of the managers is practically insufficient either to secure fair play to the Nonconformist children in the rural districts or to check the enslavement to the clergy of about half the teaching profession. The scheme has even the demerit of emancipating the rural clergy from the influence of their own inwards; for the necessity of obtaining subscriptions has so far compelled them to some extent to pay regard to lay opinion. And this is done at a time when not only the dogmatic teaching of a large portion of the rectors and curates has become increasingly offensive to the general mass of English people; but, apart from mere

doctrine, the tendency of the rural clergy to assert exclusive rights for their Church, and separate themselves contemptuously from those who hold a different form of the Christian religion, is sterner than ever.

"So strong is the hostility that many Free Churchmen of eminence and influence are proposing to meet the rate which the Bill imposes for the support of the clerical schools with a refusal to pay, a passive resistance on the lines of that which destroyed the old Church rates. People smile at this plan, as if it were a mere explosion of political hatred, an idle threat, which would not survive a few sales of furniture by auction. They are much mistaken. The matter is under the careful consideration of 600 local councils of the Free Churches, and if the plan be adopted it will probably be done deliberately, as a definite mode of warfare, and carried on by men who know how to organise it, and are tenacious in temper.

"The question of refusal to pay the rate is reduced to one of general expediency, and, if it is adopted, regard must be had to one or two obvious considerations. In the first place, it is in the future. There is no rate as yet in support of the denominational schools, and even if the Bill pass in its present form it will be some time—some think years—before the rate is levied. By that time it is just possible that there may be a Liberal Government, which yet may have had neither time nor power—in the face of the House of Lords—to repeal the rate, which would involve framing a new educational policy. In that case we should have the curious spectacle of a strike of Liberals against a Liberal Government, which against its will was necessarily carrying out an inherited system. Such a strike would have a different aspect from that now contemplated.

"A great educational campaign is before us. The present Bill must be in part amended, and in part reversed. It will probably be found impossible to reinstate the Board Schools, at least for some time to come. Town and County Councils, even if loth at first to undertake the new duties, will, for the most part, be reluctant to part with them. On this side of the question, therefore, the main object will be to restore, as far as possible, the popular power. The Councils must, at least, be entrusted with the entire responsibility of the educational work, having the sole right of appointment and dismissal of the Education Committees, so that at every election the Councillor may be liable to give account, as by one directly responsible to his constituents, for the education policy of the Council.

"Nothing that can be suggested will probably restore the public interest in education; but we must hope that in due time the way will open again to a thorough and efficient popular system."

THE UNION LABOUR PARTY.—"What will be the attitude of the Socialist Party towards the new Union Labour Party which seems likely to develop a surprising strength in a number of States?" writes a correspondent. Organised labour is rapidly arriving at the conclusion that independent political action can accomplish but little except along a strictly applied Socialist programme. Before this new labour movement, which is growing rapidly, is very old, it will have developed to a point where it will be ready to join the Socialist movement, as witness the action of the Western Federation of Miners. I see the greatest encouragement in this awakening of the workers to the power of the ballot. It's a short step to the endorsement of the only principle which will emancipate them—that society collectively must own, operate and manage the machinery of production and distribution.—*The Coming Nation*, U.S.A.

THE ELIXIR OF THE REV. FATHER GAUCHER.

Twenty years ago, the Praemonstrians, or White Friars, as they are called in Provence, were very poor, and their convent was in a sad state. The walls and the tower were falling into ruins. All round the cloister the columns were falling and the saints in stone were crumbling to bits. There was not a glass window that was not broken, not a door was whole. The wind blew through the chapels, putting the candles out, and scattering the holy water. But the worst was that the belfry was dumb. There were no bells in it and the fathers could not call the congregation to prayer. Poor White fathers! Their copes were in rags, and the mitred Abbot looked like a tramp.

One day, when the Chapter was sitting, the Prior was informed that brother Gaucher wished to address the meeting. Now this brother was the neatherd of the community. Every day he used to drive the two poor cows, which were the only herd in the field looking for grass. He came, no one knew from where, and he had never been able to learn more than his "Our Father," and this he only knew in Provencal. He was very stupid, but he was a good Christian, and he often scourged himself. He came into the Chapter House, clumsy and foolish, bowing in a clownish way. Everybody, the Prior and the canons, burst out laughing. They always did when he appeared with his good, grey face, his goatish beard and his foolish looking eyes. It did not put him out.

"My reverend brothers," said he, in a good-humoured voice, rolling his beads of olive nuts, "people are right when they say that empty barrels sing the best. Just think; out of my poor empty head I believe that I have found a way out of our difficulties. This is the way. You know my Aunt Begon, that good woman who looked after me when I was a child (God rest her soul, the old rascal, she sang nasty songs when she was drunk). Well, this old aunt when she was alive knew all the plants on the hills as well as if she had been an old Corsican black-bird. She had made an incomparable elixir by mixing together five or six different herbs which we used to gather on the Alpilles. That was a long time ago, but I think that with the help of St. Augustine and the permission of our father Abbot, I could—perhaps—find the way of making this mysterious elixir. Then we should only have to put it in bottles and sell it for a good price. In that way we should become as rich as our brothers of La Trappe and La Grande Chartreuse."

All agreed. The Prior fell on his neck, the canons kissed his hands and the Chapter resolved unanimously that Brother Thrasybule should look after the cows so that Brother Gaucher might give all his time to the making of the elixir.

I do not know how the brother discovered the elixir, but in six months' time it was already popular. There was not a farm-house in the district which had not got a bottle of it, and on the bottle there was a silver ticket having a monk on its face. The convent soon grew rich, the walls and the tower were rebuilt. The Prior had a new mitre, the church had pretty coloured glass windows and there was a new peal of bells which rang joyous peals.

As to Brother Gaucher, at whom everybody laughed, he had disappeared. Now everyone talked about the Reverend Father Gaucher, a learned man who lived apart studying in his laboratory while 30 monks were looking for his herbs. This laboratory, where no one, not even the Prior, could go, was an old, abandoned chapel right at the bottom of the canons' gardens. Only in the evening did the reverend father come into the chapel for the evening service, and then all the brethren respectfully greeted him, and he was overjoyed at seeing everything looking so fine.

One evening, however, he arrived in the church in an extraordinary state; he was red in the face, breathless, with his cowl all crumpled, and so excited that, in putting his fingers in the holy water stoup, he put his arms in. People thought he was put out because he was late, but then he bowed to the organ instead of to the altar, and he could not find his place in church, and when he did he began to smile right and left. Everybody wondered and began to ask questions, so that the Prior struck the ground with his crozier to call for silence. The psalms were being sung, but the responses were muddled.

Suddenly Father Gaucher threw himself back in his stall and sung out :
 "In Paris there is a White Father,
 Patatin, patatan, tarabin, taraban."

General consternation followed. All the monks stood up. They called out "Take him away, he is mad." But Father Gaucher saw nothing, and two strong monks had to drag him away while he was still singing his music-hall ditty.

The next morning at dawn the poor fellow was on his knees in the Prior's oratory crying bitterly, "It is the elixir, my lord, it is the elixir which did it."

The good Prior was quite sad at seeing him so humble and repentant.

"Come, come, Father Gaucher, be calm. All that will be forgotten. After all, the scandal was not as great as you think. The song was rather —, but let us hope that the novices did not hear it. Come, tell me how it all happened. It was in tasting the elixir; is it quite necessary that you should taste it yourself?"

"Unfortunately, it is, my lord. I can get the strength of the spirit, but I can only trust my tongue for the taste."

"Well, but just listen to me. When you taste it do you like it? Do you enjoy it?"

"Alas! yes, my lord. The last two evenings I liked it very much, but the devil must have tempted me, and I am determined not to taste it any more. Never mind if it does not taste all right."

"Do not do that," said the Prior. "We must think of our customers, but you must be careful. How much of it do you want to drink? About 15 or 20 drops? Let us say 20 drops, and the devil will be very artful if he catches you with 20 drops. However, in case of accident, I authorise you not to come to church in the evening, and henceforth you will read your prayers in the laboratory. And now depart in peace, and be careful in counting the drops."

Alas! the poor man did count his drops, but the devil held him, and would not let him go.

Strange prayers were said in the laboratory.

By day all went pretty well. The Father was fairly calm; he was looking after his apparatus, and sorting his herbs. But in the evening, when the elixir was cooling, his martyrdom began.

"17—18—19—20." The drops fell into his little silver cup; the Father drank those without any pleasure. But the 21st drop he was eager for. Then he would pray against temptation, but the smell of the elixir was too much for him, and instead of a drop he would fill his cup. Then he would sit down in his armchair, and with half-closed eyes he would sip the elixir, saying at the same time, "Ah, I shall be damned." And at the same time he would remember all the wicked songs of his aunt Begon. . . . The next day his brethren would laugh at him, and the poor man would repent bitterly all day, and begin again in the evening.

Meanwhile, orders for the elixir were flowing in; the convent was just like a factory. There were monks who packed, monks who stuck tickets on bottles, monks who kept the books, and monks who took the goods to the railway. One day the treasurer was giving an account of the year's sales when Father Gaucher rushed in, saying, "It is all over. I won't make any more. Give me back my cows."

"What is the matter, Father Gaucher," said the Prior, who guessed what it was all about.

"The matter, my lord? I am preparing for myself a nice eternity of flames and torments. I drink like a fish."

"But I had told you to count the drops."

"Ah, count the drops. Why, I drink mugs of it. Yes, my brethren, that is what I do. Three mugs a night. It cannot go on like this. Make as much elixir as you like, but heaven blast me if I have anything to do with it."

The Chapter did not laugh any more.

"But you will ruin us," said the treasurer.

"Would you sooner have me damned?"

Then the Prior rose. "My brethren," he said, stretching out his beautiful white hand on which shone the pastoral ring, "all can be arranged. It is in the evening, my dear son, that the devil tempts you?"

"Yes, my lord, every evening. So that at night I am quite terrified."

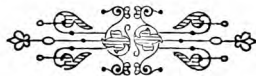
"Well, be quite easy. Henceforth, every evening we shall recite for your benefit the prayer of St. Augustine, which carries with it a plenary indulgence. So you will be quite safe and will have absolution though you are sinning."

"Very well, then, thank you," and Father Gaucher, as jolly as a lark, went back to his laboratory.

And so every evening, the officiating priest would say, 'Let us pray for our poor father Gaucher, who is working for the community,' and all the monks knelt at prayer, while in the calm of the still night the obscene words of Father Gaucher's song could be indistinctly heard.

ALPHONSE DAUDET.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)



TWENTY ODD.

I HEAR reverberations loud of war-gun's awful note !
I see the slaughtered thousands whom its death-hurled shot hath smote !
Oh, wait ! One hundred million more are ready to be slain,
That twenty men or so—just think !—may pocket all the gain ?

Art thou one of the "Twenty odd?" "Impossible?" That's so ;
Thou art of those who march, and slay, and start when told to go.
Not thine the kingly robe and crown, not thine the wealth galore ;
Those "Twenty-odd" are "Stay-at-homes," and leave to thee—the gore !
I see the millions marching on, bedecked, and very brave,
By glory and a little gold deluded to a grave.
I hear the men who cause the wars praise "Patriotic blood."
I see *yours* flow, a crimson stream, a world-destroying flood !

Shall "Twenty-odd" determine still thy death and doom ? *Be free !*
Who saith "Controllers of men's fate these 'Twenty-odd' shall be ?"
What have they wrought for human weal that we should be their slaves ?
Th' "Patriot" word with them's the lure to lead to blood-stained graves.
One hundred million fighting men 'wait "Twenty-odd's" decree !
Oh ! here's emancipation, signed by one who bends no knee !
Ye kings abroad and rich at home who profit by Man's pains,
Go ye and fight : I slaughter not ! Pray pocket all smirch'd gains.

O ! "Twenty-odd !" O ! "Twenty-odd !" deluding your dull'd dupes,
Beware ! beware ! when *Man* awakes, and ev'ry loss recoups !
Beware when bloody butchery, by you forced forth and taught,
Turns—tortures, tears, not us, but *You* ; mocks *You* when mercy's sought.

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ in the *Comrade*.



EMILE ZOLA.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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A REMINISCENCE OF ÉMILE ZOLA.

In March, 1898, M. George Clémenceau gave me a letter of introduction to Émile Zola, who at once consented to receive me "at any time after nine o'clock in the evening." It was but a few weeks after his condemnation to a year's imprisonment, consequent upon his letter, "J'accuse," published in *l'Aurore* of January 13, 1898. The nervous strain which Zola had endured in those stormy days of his trial was still visible on his whole countenance. He looked rather old and weary; his shoulders stooping and his beard was rapidly turning grey. His features were by no means as rigid as we see them on the usual photos. A sad smile played upon his face as often as he spoke of the persecutions he had to undergo from the judges and from the howling mob surrounding the court of justice.

Zola bade me take a seat on a sofa, while he moved a chair opposite to me, and scrutinizing me very attentively, sat down. He bent forward, so that his head was close to mine, and asked me to begin with my questions.

"The subjects that always interested me most were Socialism and the Jewish question. It is, therefore, natural that I should look upon the author of 'Germinal' and the defender of Dreyfus with deep admiration. But, *cher maître*, I cannot conceal the fact, that your Rougon-Macquart series and 'Trois Villes' do not contain a single Jewish character worthy of our sympathy."

ZOLA: "Yes, that's true. All my Jewish characters have, so far, been quite despicable. They are, however, such as I saw them."

"Exactly. I do not impugn your power of observation. It is, as all the world knows, very comprehensive; and your studies are painstaking, sincere, and scientifically correct. You will, however, permit me to say that your observation of Jewish life did not go far enough. You had no opportunity of seeing the whole of it."

ZOLA: "During these last few months of anguish I thought a good deal of the Jewish question. And I had good reason for it, too. As you

know, I was for a long time under the influence of the historical theories of Hyppolite Taine, who laid so much stress on the racial factor in human development. My novels might surely give the impression that I regarded the Jew chiefly as a money-mongering and luxury-loving human being. My recent struggle, however, taught me that there are many Jews who belong to quite another category. There are in human history some factors more potent than race or religion."

"Economic ones?"

ZOLA: "Precisely. You see, the rich Jews and Jewesses hate me as much as the Nationalists and the Catholic bigots do. A few days ago a Jewish lady positively insulted M. Anatole France, our greatest critic and essayist, for having signed the petition for revision of the Dreyfus trial. But I am glad to say that the Jewish 'intellectuels' are on our side."

"And the Jewish proletariat, too. One object of my coming to you is to express to you the respectful thanks of many thousands of Jewish workmen in New York for your defence of social justice."

ZOLA: "I am deeply touched by this sign of recognition on the part of Jewish labour. I have seen their poverty, their wretchedness, and their toil when I was in London in 1893. I went round Whitechapel to convince myself of the evils of the sweating system."

"The anti-Semites see only the few Jewish millionaires, and shut their eyes to the misery of the toiling Jewish masses in Russia, in Austria, in England and America. There is no Jewish question at all, but there is a struggle between the owners of the means of production, and the owners of labour-power. This struggle knows neither race nor religion. It is a struggle going on, consciously or unconsciously, in the whole civilised world. Abolish this antagonism, and Dreyfus trials will be no more."

ZOLA: "You are, of course, pointing to Socialism."

"Yes, *cher maître*. The final chapter of 'Germinal' expresses the advent of Socialism in words so powerful that it would be exceedingly presumptuous on my part to deal in your presence with this subject. Although you do not belong to any Socialist organisation, all Socialists look upon you as one of their great leaders."

ZOLA: "I am not a leader in Socialist thought, yet I sincerely wish to have all Socialists as my friends. You see, only Jaurès and his friends are supporting me. Some Guesdists are standing aloof; some of them are behaving badly. They do not see that I am not fighting for a certain individual, but for the liberty of our great and noble France and against a conspiracy of mighty foes, as militarism and the Catholic Church. I need all sympathy, all assistance I can get. It is, therefore, painful to see Socialists taking no interest in the stormy events which are convulsing the French nation. They think I entered into a deadly struggle for a rich Jewish captain. He is for me only a symbol, a victim of terrible forgeries, a witness of the degradation of our Republic, which inscribed on its portals the democratic trinity: Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality. . . . But, after all, truth is almighty. It will prevail."

Zola was speaking passionately and with great fluency. He was easily accessible, eager to impart knowledge, and imbued with a modesty as sincere and deep as his love of truth. He actually thanked me for the trouble I had taken in calling upon him. At the conclusion of the interview he inquired again about the position of the millions of Jewish workingmen, about their aspirations and ideas. He also asked a good deal about England, and regretted that he was no linguist. "Je suis du Midi," he remarked smilingly; "mon cerveau n'est pas organisé pour des langues." ("I am from the South; my brain is not organised for languages."). After a hearty handshake, I left the little house in the Rue de Bruxelles, having spent one of the happiest hours of my life.

It is, perhaps, an echo of that interview, when Zola, in his last novel, "Truth," now in course of publication, says:—

"And at the sight of that paradise acquired by Jew wealth, at the thought of the splendid fortune amassed by Nathan the Jew moneymonger, Marc instinctively recalled the Rue du Trou and the dismal hovel without air or sunshine, where Lehmann, that other Jew, had been plying his needle for thirty years, and earning only enough to provide himself with bread. And, ah! how many other Jews there were, yet more wretched than he—Jews who starve in filthy dens. They were the immense majority, and their existence demonstrated the idiotic falsity of anti-semitism, that proscription *en masse* of a race which was charged with the monopolisation of all wealth, when it numbered so many poor working folk, so many victims, crushed down by the almightiness of money, whether it were Jew, or Catholic, or Protestant. There was really no Jew question at all; there was only a Capitalist question—a question of money heaped up in the hands of a certain number of gluttons, and thereby poisoning and rotting the world."

This passage is probably the most Socialistic in all Zola's writings.

M. BEER.

THE annual report of the Commissioners of Prisons states that one of the features of the past year was the rise in the prison population, including court-martial prisoners. There were 193 more prisoners sentenced to penal servitude and 17,163 to imprisonment than in the previous year. The daily average of prisoners detained in the local prisons was 16,267, or the highest since 1885. In the metropolis the criminal population has pressed severely on the means of accommodation, and during the year between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners of both sexes have been transferred from metropolitan to provincial prisons to prevent overcrowding. The commitments in the metropolis have increased from 38,373 in 1891 to 53,591 in 1901.

AN AMERICAN PROFESSOR ON MARX'S HISTORICAL THEORIES.

When even bourgeois professors of political economy begin to study Marx instead of merely contenting themselves with writing big books to refute what he has not said, the so-called "orthodox Marxists" can only feel satisfaction that justice should be at last done to the memory of a great writer, and even though we may be perfectly sure that the professors in question will always find some way of avoiding any Socialist conclusions which such a recognition might be thought to logically force them to arrive at, while we may be perfectly certain that these permanently retained counsel for the defence of capitalism will always find flaws in the Socialist argument, still, it is always pleasanter to argue with people who know what they are talking about and do not ramp and rave at large.

It is with these feelings that I am disposed to welcome a book by the American Professor, Edwin Seligman, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University, entitled "The Economic Interpretation of History,"* on the so-called materialistic conception of history. Here, in a space of 166 pages of big print, we have a short and pithy account of the historical method discovered and elaborated by Marx and Engels in the course of their long and fruitful literary co-partnership of over 40 years, a method which has since been so brilliantly applied by Kautsky, Mehring, Cunow, Professor Labriola, and others.

The book is, considering the position occupied by the author, quite remarkable for fairness, and the author has evidently read his authorities with care. That there is a tendency to the slapdash method of writing is no doubt true, and writers are constantly huddled up together who occupy quite different standpoints, as for instance, Bax, Kautsky and Bernstein. Again, a well known opponent of Socialism, Professor Masaryk, is referred to as presumably a Socialist, and Professor Labriola, the equally well known Professor of the University of Rome, is made a Frenchman, though anybody who had had his book in the hand in the French translation must have had his attention called to the fact that the French translator, G. Sorel, has written a signed introduction to the book, and the fact of his Labriola's professorship is announced clearly on the title page. I only quote these to show that our American friend requires to be read with caution. It is also noteworthy that with the exception of a reference which he makes to an article of Karl Kautsky's on the rise of Christendom, written in the *Neue Zeit*, 1885, a really very suggestive and instructive article which Seligman treats in a somewhat off-hand manner, as far as I can see almost all the examples of exaggeration of the theory to which he refers come from the pen of bourgeois writers who have adopted the theory, and, as has been shown in the case of Professor Loria, misinterpreted it.

It is, perhaps, hardly worth while to allude to the remarks which our

* Macmillan and Co. 6s. 6d.

worthy friend Pease has devoted to the question in his review of Seligman's book in the *Fabian News* for October. The fact is that it is very clear that he had only the very foggiest idea of what, to use his own expression, the potter was all about, but was painfully impressed with the notion that the *Fabian News* ought to say something smart about it.

Nevertheless, there are two points in Pease's article to which I should like to refer. Pease refers to the Aztec civilisation and its conquest by the Spaniards. He talks about Marxists not being able to explain this chapter of history on purely economic grounds. To that I may reply that, before we Marxists explain anything we usually try to define what we are going to explain. But I am at a loss to know how we are going to explain a chapter of history without having it very clearly set before us what is included in the term. Secondly, apparently the materialist conception of history was taught by everybody, from Moses to John Richard Green. Dear! dear! What ignorant people not only the Marxists themselves must be, that is clear; every Fabian neophyte knows that the Marxists are a set of ignorant dullards who have learnt a certain number of phrases by heart, which they repeat in season and out of season, but also what idiots must be those highly learned opponents of Marxism of whom the Fabian Society is so proud—the infallible university professors! None of these worthy people had guessed that simple fact when they wrote their ponderous tomes against the materialist conception of history. It is surely a shame that despite the very universality of the truth, it does not seem to have entered into the Fabian historical methods, and as I pointed out in my notice of a book—by that shining-light of Fabianism, Mr. H. W. Macrosty—on Trusts, the historical explanations were on purely ideological lines. We heard that books like Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," at least, I speak without the book, made English policy—whereas I should, as a Marxist, have said that the book was a success because it reflected the interests of the rising manufacturer class. It was not because people were ruled by a given set of ideas called *laissez faire* that they followed a given line of policy, but because *laissez faire* suited the interests of the then dominant classes. That is the materialist view. The ideologist is content on the other hand to say that it was because the leading statesmen were pupils of Smith, &c., &c., the supposition being that had Smith lived at any time he would have had a similar influence.

I do not think it necessary to go any further into the matter here. The book by Seligman is one I can cordially recommend, and moreover the series of articles by Bax and Kautsky now running in the *SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT*, are universally recognised as giving perhaps the ablest statement of Marx's historical ideas in existence. I hope readers will be induced to read them as well as Seligman.

J. B. ASKEW.

P.S.—I see the *Daily Chronicle*, in its review, says pretty much the same as Pease, with this difference: that the reviewer wants either to show that he has learnt Greek, or thinks he can cover up the sublime inanity of his remarks by clothing them in a language not understood by the majority.

THE AIMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

BY K. KAUTSKY. *Neue Zeit.*—XV., Jahrg: Number 7. Part I.

THE CRITICS OF THE THEORY.

My reply to Bax's article in the previous number of the *Neue Zeit* will not be as short as I myself wished. If the continuation of the discussion is to be of value it will be necessary to go into a deeper discussion of some material questions.

It certainly is to me no laughing matter when Bax, without any hesitation, ascribes to me "interpolations" and "tricks which are beneath the dignity of a scientific criticism." These accusations find their answer in the fact that I have quoted all the passages which Bax accuses me of falsifying fully and accurately. My readers were therefore in a position to control my criticism.

But if anyone is not justified in raising the charge of false quotation of his words, it is Bax, who as well in the presentation of his own views as in those of others shows a quite astonishing lack of interest in accuracy. That is all the more unpleasant as he has not the habit of quoting verbally the sentences he criticises. He prefers, as he says himself, to give them in "slightly altered language for the sake of brevity." The desire for brevity is very praiseworthy, but I think the necessity for accuracy ought to outweigh that in a discussion.

An example suffices. Bax writes in his reply:

"And now let us consider a concrete case of the application by Kautsky of the methods of Marx. Kautsky asserts in his 'History of Socialism' that the whole dispute over the question of the 'Lord's Supper, in the Hussite War was simply a 'cloak' under which the class struggles of that time were fought out. . . . Now I ask what the word 'cloak' in this connection means? If the phrase 'cloak' has any meaning it must be this, that the question of the cup, *e.g.*, the theological belief of that time, had no independent force in determining the action of those who played a part; in short, if the expression of Kautsky is to mean anything at all then it can only mean the following: either the belief was sincere and real or a conscious or unconscious hypocrisy as such beliefs mostly are to-day; only in the latter case can one with good right talk of a 'cloak.'"

Thus Bax puzzles himself at great length to find out what I meant by the word "cloak." This expression it is which pains him. What have I in reality written in the "History of Socialism"?

"In the Catholic Church it had become the custom to give the laity not bread and wine, but simply wine. It was quite in keeping with a theory which aimed at abolishing the privileges of the priesthood, that it also made a stand against this privileged position. The cup, the lay cup, became from then onwards the symbol of the Hussites. According to the traditional method of writing history, in the gigantic struggles of the Hussite Wars there was nothing more at stake than the question whether the Communion was to be taken under both kinds or not, and the 'enlightened people' do not forget to point out with satisfaction in this connection how narrow

the people of that time were and how clear, on the contrary, are the Free-thinkers of our time.

"But this presentation of the Hussite movement is just about as wise and justified as it would be if, in describing historically in future centuries the revolutionary struggles of our time, it were to be said that people were still so ignorant in the nineteenth century as to ascribe a superstitious importance to certain colours, so that bloody struggles arose over the fact whether the colours of France should be white or blue-white-red, that of Hungary black-yellow or red-white-green, that in Germany for a long time everyone who carried a black-red-golden band was sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, &c., &c.

"What the different flags mean to-day for the different nations and parties meant also the cup for the Hussites; their banner, around which they assembled, which they defended to the last, but not the object for which they were fighting."

Anyone can see I have not used the word "cloak," and I have expressed myself fully and clearly enough to exclude all doubt as to how I wish the question of the cup to be conceived. I have nevertheless on my side not the intention to turn the tables and accuse Bax of dishonourable conduct or of intentional interpolation. I will restrain myself from making any such accusation lightly. I have not mentioned the case in order to proceed against Bax in a fit of moral indignation. I note the fact of Bax's indifference to accuracy only on these grounds, because it is manifested not simply in minor details, but also in the main question, in the presentation of the object of the discussion itself, and thereby gives this its character.

This indifference assumes at times, as I have already remarked "quite a monstrous" form.

I have pointed out to Bax (*Neue Zeit*, Jahrg., 1895-96, No. 47, translated in *SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT*, August), in my reply to his article in the *Zeit*, that he is guilty of the "quite monstrous confusion of material interests with material conditions." And what does Bax answer? "In the developing of the materialist conception of history I find that these ideas more or less coincide. . . . The material conditions which have determined history are indisputably in most cases to be traced back to the material interests of classes or nations, therefore I consider the indignation of Kautsky somewhat exaggerated."

Not enough that Bax confuses the material interests with the material conditions, but he clings fast to his confusion, even after he has been shown that it is absurd.

Can it be that Bax really does not know what is meant by the material conditions of society? These material conditions—that is, the conditions of production—this word taken in the broadest sense of the word; how can anyone assert that that is for the materialist conception of history pretty much the same as the material interests of classes and nations? The difference between the two words is shown by the following consideration: It is, in my opinion, possible, from the material conditions of the Roman Empire, to explain the revulsion from earthly things, and the passionate desire on the part of the Christians. But it would be monstrous to look behind the desire for death for a material interest! And yet Bax finds that the material conditions, "in most cases," are to be traced back to material interests. He would, therefore, explain the methods of production from the class interests, and not *vice versa*! According to Bax, it is not necessary to study the methods of production to understand the class

interests of capitalists and proletariat, but *vice versa*. The methods of Political Economy acquire thus a valuable addition.

This indifference to an exact definition of ideas has, however, all the more a disturbing influence on the discussion, in that Bax so determinedly leaves us in the dark as to what his criticism is directed against.

As in his article in the *Zeit*, so in his reply, he persists in maintaining that a difference exists between the historic conception of Marx and Engels, and that of their followers. Certainly he expresses himself less decidedly than in his first article. In that article he declared in a footnote "No one who knows the theories of Karl Marx, will need to be told that Marx himself was far from taking up such an extreme standpoint in his statement of the materialist conception of history. 'Myself I am no Marxist,' he wrote once; and he would most certainly have repeated his opinion if he had seen the latest performances of the 'Marxists,' Plechanoff, Mehring, or Kautsky." This time Bax simply says: "I was of opinion that Marx, and, from certain expressions which he used, also Engels, would have regarded the materialist conception of history as interpreted by Kautsky, Mehring, and Plechanoff as too stereotyped. Nevertheless, I make Kautsky a present of the whole personal question." That is certainly very kind of Bax, but he is making

x me a present of something which no longer belongs to him but to the public. The whole of his first article rests on the supposition of an antagonism between Marx and his pupils. To my reply he repeats this assertion, which is expressed in the title of his second article, and goes through his article like a red trail; but when Bax has to prove this assertion, then he generously makes me a present of the question and himself a present of the answer, not forgetting, however, to drop an obscure hint that Engels, "from certain expressions which he used," would have regarded the materialist conception of history as interpreted by Kautsky, Mehring and Plechanoff, as too stereotyped." Unfortunately, Bax does not give us the least information whether these expressions were oral or written, public or private, what they referred to and—how they ran. As long as he is silent on these points, he must allow me to take for granted that these "certain expressions" have as much in common with a disapproval of my historical methods as a "cloak" with a "flag" or an interest with a condition, all the more, as I am in the happy position of being able to point to certain very distinct utterances of Engels which say just the contrary of what Bax asserts.

Naturally, I do not wish to say that Engels would have subscribed to every word, which I, or any other Marxist—I can here only speak for myself—had expressed. Each of us is an individuality for himself, who makes his own researches independently for himself, and gives an account of them, and none of us is a Marx or an Engels.

But what is common to us is the standpoint, and that is the same as that of Marx and Engels.

If Bax wishes to prove that our application of the Marx-Engels principles is false, he must treat each of us as an independent individuality, and for each one of us specially out of his own writings bring the proof which he wishes to express.

If he wishes, however, only in general terms, as is actually the case, to criticise our common standpoint, then it is absolutely arbitrary for him to set up a difference between us and our masters which we ourselves do not recognise.

Bax thinks, it is useless to trouble ourselves with this, for the whole affair is in the last degree an unimportant personal question. "As far as I am concerned, could Marx or even Engels have been Marxists in the sense of Kautsky?"

Now, it does not appear to me that in the given connection this question is so purely personal. Before one discusses a theory, the subject of the dispute must be clearly defined. But the same lack of precision is developed by Bax, as elsewhere. At one time it is the "neo-Marxist" "extreme" conception, which he is fighting, then again the materialist conception of history in general, but he always carefully avoids pointing out what are actually the opinions which he is criticising. Marx, Engels, each of the "neo-Marxists" have frequently expressed themselves on the materialist conception of history, but Bax does not quote a single sentence to hang his criticism on.

This lack of accuracy, as well in the definition of the subject as in the separation of the concepts, and in the expression, is undoubtedly a serious impediment to all discussion; it is, however, twice as great a disturbance in a discussion of the Marxian ideas.

One of the essential advantages by which Marx and Engels were enabled to make their great scientific discoveries, was their clearness in the division and separation of ideas. Anyone who aspires to be a "Marxist," that is, to work in the spirit of both the masters referred to, must in the first place aim at this sharpness and clearness.

In reality, things are not so sharply divided as in the abstract; one thing passes over into another, and those who remain on the surface, who want to explain the world of phenomena straight off the reel, easily find that the Marxian idea is one-sided or that it is arbitrary, and does not correspond to reality. Almost every critic of Marx's ideas starts by confusing ideas which he divided; begins, therefore, with a scientific relapse. Some confuse utility value and exchange value, value and price, surplus value and profit. They find that Rodbertus "pretty well," "in slightly other language," says the same as Marx, talk of a Marx-Rodbertus theory of value, and "refute" or improve on this. Again, other authors confuse the animal and social organism, the laws of social development and those of the individual; they do not distinguish between the being of men and their consciousness, between the contents of history and their superficial forms, between material interests and material conditions, and succeed thus with ease in overcoming the one-sided ideas of Marx and to look with pity on the Marxists who have shut themselves up in this "one-sided formula."

Because, however, almost all criticism of Marx's views rests on such a confusion, the discussion which ensues is often unfruitful and many times also unedifying, since to defend the Marxist theories we Marxists have for the most part nothing else to do than to lay down what Marx or one of the Marxists has really said, and make clear that this is quite different to what the critic had made him say, that, therefore, the criticism was not valid, an occupation which is neither very amusing nor very suggestive, but one which, owing to the kind of criticism passed on Marxism, one is unfortunately always again and again to take up.

Thus also the discussion with which we are occupied has first to arrive at that place which should be the starting point, *i. e.*, a discussion of what is actually meant by the much debated, abused and so little understood historical materialism. The theme is not new, but it is not simply of academic, as I will yet show, but also of practical importance, and since Bax's remarks will give me occasion to bring, as I believe, some new points of view into the discussion, I hope that it will not be entirely without general interest.

But that demands a special article.

CONDITIONS OF LABOUR IN NEW ZEALAND.

The *Nineteenth Century* magazine of September has an article on the above subject by Tom Mann.

"The reputation that New Zealand has acquired," he says, "as a colony where the most advanced 'Labour Legislation' is to be found in working order, has been spread far and wide. I came out here but seven months ago with a keen desire to see at first hand exactly what the industrial and social conditions were; since arrival I have been over a large area of the colony, and have had good facilities for coming in contact with many sections of workers, representative employers, and politicians.

"It may be of some interest, therefore, if I describe the conditions as I have found them. So much has been written and said concerning the magnificent climate, and the relatively high social standard that prevails, that some in England drew conclusions which have scarcely been borne out by facts on their arrival here; and inside the last few weeks a number of young men have made for home again, after a residence here of from eighteen months to four years.

"The climate is a good one, undoubtedly, but it is a fact that there are places where fog is very much more general than in London, though, of course, unaccompanied with the same proportion of soot. At Greymouth, West Coast, Middle Island, the cold weather is quite as difficult to bear as in Britain, an abundance of very heavy rain, and a wind locally known as the 'Barber,' that not merely shaves the surface but pierces to the marrow. The rains and winds of Wellington and district are not entirely pleasing, but only those are disappointed who come expecting to find continuous sunshine, with spring or summer weather the year round.

"As regards the unemployed, State co-operative employment on railroads, tree-felling, bush-clearing, and road-making provides employment for those physically able to perform it, and willing to go wherever the work may be, preference being always given (and properly so) to married men; single men sometimes get work in this way, too, but each of the cities has a small number unable to obtain employment and for whom no State machinery provides; unless, indeed, the Salvation Army homes and hotels are to be considered as semi-State institutions. A subsidy of £750 per annum is made by the Government to the Army, and the Army is the only institution in the colony to whom the 'dead-beat,' irrespective of creed, can turn with assurance of a night's lodge. The man who expects to find everything up to standard for the workers might be disappointed to learn that a large number of the householders of Wellington are compelled to take in boarders, to enable them to supplement the husband's wage, as by this means the wife is a worker, and generally a very hard worker.

"House room in Wellington is very unsatisfactory, and it would probably surprise the new comer to find that a wooden house of four rooms, and generally deficient in conveniences, commands 18s. a week, and indeed is impossible to get at that price. House-agents declare the demand for house accommodation is such, that they could let 300 in one week in the city if they could supply them at a pound a week, with four rooms and suitable conveniences.

"Of course, wages are higher in the colony than at home: 10s. a day fairly represents the mechanic's wage, and 8s. a day for labourers. Twenty-five per cent. of this must be deducted as decreased purchasing power of money here.

"Now, whatever may be thought of these conditions it must not be concluded that New Zealand is not in advance of Great Britain in most things that make for a comfortable existence. There are fewer stoppages of work in this colony than in any other country arising from industrial disputes. The opportunities for the people to make their power felt are better than elsewhere, the Parliamentary franchise being adult suffrage, one person one vote, and all elections on one day. The railways are almost exclusively in the hands of the State. Two coal mines have been taken over, and are being prepared by the Government for the Government to work. Power is given to the Government to take over or establish for themselves such shipping as may be necessary to enable it to carry and distribute the coal.

"The Factory Act, for the first time in any country I believe, regulates the working hours of adult males, and fixes them at 48 hours a week, and the working hours of women at 45 a week. The well known and much used system that prevails in London and elsewhere with regard to girls learning a trade by getting them for nothing for a period, and after that for another period at a nominal wage, does not obtain here. The New Zealand Act provides that no boy or girl may be employed in a factory for less than 5s. a week. The Shops and Shop Assistants' Act provides that all assistants must have a half-holiday on one working day in each week.

"The most discussed of all Acts of the colony is undoubtedly the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The Act provides for the formation of industrial unions. In the case of employers any two persons, in the case of workers any seven, can form a union and become registered under the Act; but the Registrar, to prevent the multiplication of industrial unions, may refuse to register more than one union connected with the same trade in the same locality. There are at present seven Boards of Conciliation, the colony being divided into seven districts for this purpose. The Board consists of not more than five persons, including a chairman, who is elected by other members of the Board, themselves being elected by the unions of workers and employers in equal number. The members of the Board are paid regulation fees for each sitting. If the recommendations of the Board are not acceptable to one or either of the parties, the dispute may be referred to the Arbitration Courts, which consists of three members appointed by the Governor; a judge of the Supreme Court, a representative of the employers on their recommendation, and similar for the workers. The workers have made use of the Act very largely; the employers less so. Some dissatisfaction has arisen from time to time on both sides. . . . In several cases the wages have been actually reduced as the result of the Court's award, and much uneasiness has been caused in consequence, and some employers and managers have exhibited much ingenuity in nullifying the intended good results that still accrue to the men. Where this has taken place dissatisfaction naturally exists, but, as far as I am able to ascertain, I do not think any serious dissatisfaction exists either on the side of employers or workers in more than half-a-dozen cases in the whole colony, and, seeing that up to June of last year 310 cases had been dealt with under the Act, this proportion is very small.

"New Zealanders have not been successful in carrying an Eight-hour Bill (except for miners), but usage and the working of the Conciliation and

Arbitration Act established a forty-eight hour working week (or less) for men, so that very little objection was raised to the inclusion of adult males being brought under the Consolidated Act of November of last year, and thus the hours of adult males are regulated by law. The age when boys or girls may start work is 14 years, and the Act provides that every such boy or girl, working in whatever capacity, if under 16 years must receive not less than 5s. a week, with an annual increase of not less than 3s. weekly till 20 years of age."

LABOUR ORGANISATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Hon. Carroll D. Wright writing on this subject in this month's *Contemporary Review*, says: "The domestic system of labour stood in the way of extensive organisation. Thus it was not until the opening of the nineteenth century that labour unions began to have any influence in industrial affairs, and their influence was very slight until the first quarter of that century had passed. In 1806 the Tailors' Union was established, partly for trade purposes, but largely on account of political interests, as the tailors had always been participants in political matters. This association grew from the influence exerted by members of the craft coming from England, who preserved their loyalty to the Journeymen Tailors' Unions of the old country. The hatters had an organisation in 1819, and the shipwrights and caulkers * established an order in 1822, under the name of the 'Columbian Charitable Society of Shipwrights and Caulkers of Boston and Charlestown.' This organisation was chartered by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1823. An association called the 'New York Society of Journeymen Shipwrights' was incorporated in the City of New York in 1803, while the house carpenters of the same city organised in 1806. It is probable that the compositors of New York were organised in the earliest years of the last century, for in 1817 they had a society known as the 'New York Typographical Society,' with Peter Force as its president.

"With the year 1825, on account of the new elements and purposes which appeared at that time, the development of the labour movement took on new force. No single cause for the spirit of that year can be assigned. There were many reasons for it, among which were the demand for shorter hours of labour and for higher wages, a desire to experiment in co-operation, and the spirit of association which rapidly developed through the influence of the altruistic preachings of Robert Owen, who came to America in 1824. A wave of Socialistic doctrines, which may well be called the transcendentalism of industry, swept over the country. Fourier and others helped to

* In the early days in Massachusetts, the ship caulkers, who were politicians, organised what was known as the "Caulkers' Club," and it is from this name that the American term "caucus" was derived.

feed this spirit, and very many Socialist experiments were inaugurated, more than two hundred communistic villages having been founded as the result of the doctrines taught by Charles Fourier. So the period from 1825 to 1850 may be called a period of reform movements, all having more or less influence on the spirit of organisation, which spirit extended to the wage-earners.

"The rapidly developing factory system, the very essence of which is the principle of association, added economic force to the general reform movements, and after 1825 unions began to be formed everywhere in the Northern States, accompanied by an agitation for legislation for workingmen, Boston and New York being the most prominent centres of all the movements. Naturally, labour literature appeared, and in 1825 the *Working Men's Advocate* was published in the city of New York. This publication was followed by the *Daily Sentinel* and *Young America*, all published by two Englishmen, George Henry Evans and Frederick W. Evans, who came to America in 1820.

"In 1830 a workingmen's convention was held at Syracuse, in the State of New York, which convention put up a candidate for Governor. The next year, the movers, under the name of the 'Workingmen's Party,' united with the Whigs, and succeeded in electing three or four members of the legislature. An important convention was held in Boston on February 16, 1831, consisting of farmers, mechanics, and other working men. Out of this meeting grew a delegate convention, held in 1832 in September. This convention discussed land interests, taxation and co-operative trading. Many of its demands were similar to those advanced by the Evans brothers. The Hon. Edward Everett, afterwards Minister to the Court of St. James's, commended the organisation of the Workingmen's Party as represented in the convention of Boston. Other meetings were held in that city, at which it was recommended that the mechanics of all branches should hold meetings by themselves for the purpose of consulting together and of doing all possible things to enable them to come to a mutual agreement upon the system of working hours. Following these meetings in the city of Boston in the year 1831 and 1832, the General Trades Union of the city of New York were active in discussing the same questions, and this is the first attempt, so far as the history of the development of industry is concerned, to unite working men of different trade unions in one organisation. In later years this attempt was repeated by the Knights of Labour.

"It is difficult to ascertain the membership of unions. In Great Britain the law requiring registration enables the Government to state with fair accuracy the strength of unions in that country. According to the latest reports available, the English trade unions had a membership of 1,802,518, while in the United States, with double England's population, the estimated membership of labour organisations on July 1 last was 1,400,000. It is estimated at the present time that there are nearly 18,000,000 persons (men, women, and children) in the United States working as wage-earners. The percentage embraced in the labour unions is not large, therefore, being not more than 8 per cent. of the whole body. It must be remembered, however, that in many trades the members are organised up to a large proportion, sometimes 90 per cent. of the total number engaged.

"The American Federation of Labour probably represents at the present time 850,000 members, while it is claimed that the Knights of Labour have a membership of nearly 200,000. Some years ago this latter organisation numbered nearly 1,000,000. The Order of Railway Conductors of

America has nearly 25,000 members, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers over 34,000, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen nearly 38,000, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen about 44,000; while the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Switchmen's Union of North America, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trackmen, whose membership has not been recently reported, all constitute influential organisations. All these organisations, with some independent bodies, make up the total stated—about 1,400,000.

"During the twenty years closing December 31, 1900, there had occurred in the United States 22,793 strikes, involving 117,509 establishments. Of these strikes, 50.77 per cent. succeeded, 13.04 per cent. succeeded partly, and 36.19 per cent. failed. Labour organisations ordered 14,457, or 63 per cent., of all the strikes which occurred during the period, and of those ordered by organisations 52.86 per cent. succeeded, 13.60 per cent. partially succeeded, and 33.54 per cent., or about one-third of all the strikes ordered by organisations, failed. From this data is seen the practical influence of labour organisations in their attitude toward strikes."



A CONSERVATIVE REFORM PROGRAMME.

Mr. Sidney Low discourses on the above subject in the *Nineteenth Century Review*. He appeals to those Conservatives who are not content with mere negation, summing up his proposals as follows:—

- (1) The creation of subordinate National Legislatures and Executives, with powers strictly defined by Act of Parliament, for England, Scotland, and Wales; and
- (2) For Ireland (under guarantees for the fulfillment of agrarian obligations).
- (3) Military Reform of a comprehensive character, involving probably either (a) limited compulsory service, or (b) the creation of a National Militia on the Swiss system.
- (4) Educational Reform, co-ordinating primary, secondary, technical and University instruction.
- (5) The housing Acts to be revised, extended and simplified.
- (6) Local Government Reform, embracing
 - (a) Locomotion and communications, (b) better supervision of Municipal Enterprise, more efficient conduct of Local and Private legislation.
- (7) Poor Law Administration and provision for the relief of the aged poor.
- (8) Licensing Reform.
- (9) Fiscal Reform, involving a proportionate increase of Indirect, as compared with Direct Taxation.

LETTERS FROM KARL MARX.

WE resume the publication of the letters of Karl Marx, following on those which appeared in our last issue :—

London, March 28, 1870.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—I am suffering from an ulcer in my right loin which prevents me sitting down for long, so I have to write in a recumbent position ; therefore I send you the enclosed for the Brunswick Committee (Bracke and Co.), so as not to have to re-write it again. Read it through, and remind them again that this communication is confidential, and not intended for the public.

This is the enclosure :—

International Working Men's Association, Central Council, London.

(Confidential Communication.)

The Russian Bakunin (though I have known him since 1843, but I only refer to facts which are necessary to the understanding of the following facts), shortly after the foundation of the International, had an interview with Marx in London. I then introduced him into the society, and he promised to work as much as possible for its success. Bakunin then went to Italy, and received there from Marx the provisional rules and the "Address to the Working Classes." He answered very enthusiastically, but did nothing for years afterwards, during which nothing was heard from him, and he went back to Switzerland. But he did not join the International there, but the League of Peace and Liberty. After the Congress of this league at Geneva in 1867, Bakunin joined its general committee, but he found opponents there who not only would not allow him to exercise a dictatorial influence, but also said that he was a Russian spy. Shortly after the International had held its Congress at Brussels, in September, 1868, the League of Peace met at Lausanne. Bakunin went there as a firebrand, and denounced the occidental bourgeoisie in the same way as the Muscovite optimists speak of western civilisation, because it shames their barbarism. He denounced the members in energetic language, and obtained his end by being expelled from the Congress, having succeeded in terrifying its members. He wished to leave it with *éclat* and join the International. It ought to be said that his programme at Lausanne contained absurdities such as "class equality," "abolition of the right of inheritance as the beginning of the social revolution," &c. It was full of thoughtless trivialities, it was a bouquet of hollow common-places which looked dreadful and in fact was only such as would cause a little excitement. His friends in Paris (where a Russian is co-editor of the *Revue Positiviste*) and in London, said that his retirement from the League of Peace was a great event, and looked upon his grotesque programme—this *olla podrida* of discarded common-places—as something wonderfully strange and original.

Bakunin joined the "Branche Romande" (at Geneva) of the International. It had taken him years to do this, but in a few days Herr Bakunin determined to turn the International topsy-turvy and use it for his own ends. Behind the back of the London General Council—which was only told of it when all was done—he formed the so-called "Alliance of Social-Democrats."

The programme of this society was the same as he had spoken of before the Lausanne Peace Congress. The society determined to work for its propaganda, and Bakunin, who is one of the weakest men in theories, was looked upon as the founder of a new sect. The theoretical programme of this "Alliance" was only a pure farce, but their earnest side was in their practical organisation. The society was to be international, with its Central Committee at Geneva which was to be personally directed by Bakunin, and at the same time it was to be an integral part of the International Working Men's Association. These branches were to be represented at our next Congress at Basle, and yet at the same time they are to have a Congress of their own.

The material which Bakunin is going to use was the majority of the Comité Fédéral Romand of the International at Geneva. J. P. Becker was dispensed with. Bakunin has some allies in Italy and Spain.

Nothing was done by the General Council in London. It left Bakunin alone until the time when it received, through J. P. Becker the programme of the "Alliance des démocrates Socialistes." Then occurred a strongly-worded resolution, very polite and impersonal, but in its remarks full of irony. The conclusions were:—

1. The General Council does not recognise the "Alliance" as a branch of the International.

2. All paragraphs of the programme of the "Alliance" which are taken from the International are considered to be null and void.

It was clearly stated that the "Alliance" was nothing but a scheme for the disorganisation of the "International."

This blow was unexpected. Bakunin had already obtained possession of the *Egalité*, the central organ of the French-speaking members of the International in Switzerland, and he had also started at Locle a small paper called *Le Progrès*. This paper is still edited by a fanatical adherent of his, a certain Guillaume.

After thinking the matter over for some weeks the central committee of the "Alliance" replied to the General Council. This letter was signed by Perran, a Genevese. It stated that the "Alliance" would be willing to sacrifice its existence for the good of the cause, but only on the condition that the General Council should recognise its "main" principles.

The General Council replied that it was not its duty to determine what the principles of the different sections should be. It had only to see that there was nothing in their programme contrary to the spirit of the Association. It must therefore, say that the phrase "equality of classes" should be struck out and the phrase "abolition of classes" inserted. And the Council must maintain its own international organisation, and must have a complete list of its various branches.

After that the incident was closed. The "Alliance" nominally separated itself from us, but really remained as the Genevese "Comité Romand Fédéral" under the leadership of Bakunin. The *Confederacion* of Barcelona also became its organ, and after the Basle Congress the *Egalita* of Naples also joined them.

Bakunin now sought to attain his object—i.e., to make use of the International for his private ends—by other means. He asked through our local committee at Geneva that the General Council should include the question of inheritance in the programme of the Basle Congress. The General Council agreed in order that they might do for Bakunin. The plan of this person was this: If the Basle Congress accepts the "principles" of Bakunin laid down before the Congress at Lausanne then the world will

say that he did not come to the International, but the International came to him. As a consequence, the Basle Congress would decide that the General Council should be moved to Geneva or, in other words, the International would be under the dictatorship of Bakunin.

He entered into a regular conspiracy in order to secure a majority at the Basle Congress. Herr Guillaume at Locle gave him full powers, as also did Naples and Lyons. All kinds of calumnies were spread about the General Council. On the one hand it was said that it was a "bourgeois" gathering, and on the other that it was the seat of "despotic communism."

The result of the Congress is known. Bakunin's plans did not succeed and the General Council remained in London.

The consequences of these squabbles—and in Bakunin's case there were private quarrels, too—also affected the *Egalité* and the *Progrès*. These papers began more and more to adopt an oracular tone; soon they and each Swiss section of the International were ready to excommunicate those who did not approve the acts of Bakunin, and the General Council was especially attacked. The *Progrès* and the *Egalité* jeered, scoffed and said that the General Council did not do its duty, as, *e.g.*, in not publishing the quarterly bulletins; that the General Council must not control directly English affairs, but that this should be done by a special committee that should only deal with English affairs; that the dealings of the General Council with the Fenians were *ultra vires*, and that it should not meddle with local politics. These papers also entered into the Schweitzer affair, and the General Council was enjoined to decide the Liebknecht-Schweitzer question officially and publicly. The Parisian paper, *Le Travail*, into which the Parisian friends of Schweitzer had smuggled an article in his favour, was praised by the same papers, and was also conjured to make common cause against the General Council. The time had now come for decisive action, and the General Council sent the following letter to the central committee of the Geneva branch:—

"January, 1, 1870.

"1. We read in the *Egalité* of December 11, 1869: 'It is certain that the General Council neglects matters of the highest importance. We recall to the Council its duties, and remind it of paragraph I. of the rules: "The General Council shall carry out the resolutions of the Congress." We have many questions to ask the General Council which will take a long time to answer.'

"The General Council is not aware of any paragraph in its rules which require it to enter into a correspondence or a polemic with the *Egalité*, or which make it its duty to answer the questions of any paper.

"The General Council can only communicate with the sections of French-speaking Switzerland through their Federal Council. If this Council asks us questions or complains in the regular way through their secretary, then the General Council will always be ready to answer him. But this federation has neither the right to delegate its functions to the *Egalité* and the *Progrès* nor the privilege of allowing these journals to usurp its functions.

"Besides, it would not be right for the General Council to communicate openly with the national and local committees, for if the other organs of the International were to follow the example of the *Progrès* and the *Egalité*, then the General Council would be discredited if it remained silent and would fail in its duties if it replied to them.

"The alliance of the *Progrès*, the *Egalité*, and the *Travail*, is like the league for the public weal of the middle ages.*

* This was a league of factious nobles.

"2. If we assume that the questions of the *Egalite* are put by the Federal Committee, then we must again say that the queries should not be put in that way.

"3. The question of the bulletin.

"The resolutions of the Lausanne Congress say that national committees shall send documents, &c., interesting to the proletariat, to the General Council, and that this body shall publish a bulletin in various languages, 'as often as the funds allow.'

"The means have been very scanty, and the General Council would have ceased to exist had it not been for English subscriptions and those from its members. And in that way the resolutions have been a dead letter.

"The Congress at Basle did not pass any resolutions on the subject, but only discussed the advisability of such a bulletin while coming to no decision.

"The General Council is of opinion that much that would appear in the bulletin already appears in local newspapers, and it would be absurd to publish this, in many languages, at much expense, while the desired result is already reached. If, on the other hand, much of the business of the International were openly published, then instead of being an advantage it would really only let our enemies know what was going on.

"4. The question of the separation of the General Council from the local Council in England.

"Long before the *Egalite* talked about this, the question had twice been raised in the General Council by English members. But it was unanimously put aside. Though the revolutionary initiative will probably come from France, yet England alone can supply the lever for a practical economic revolution. It is the only country where there are no peasant proprietors, and where the land is in the possession of few persons. It is the only country where capital is mainly engaged in production—that is to say, where combined Labour is engaged in gigantic enterprises under capitalist direction. It is the only country where the great majority of the people live by wages. It is the only country where the class struggle and the organisation of the workers by trade unions has attained a certain keenness owing to its commanding position in the markets of the world; it is the only country where any economic revolution would affect the whole world. If landlordism and capitalism hold sway in this country, yet it also, in the highest degree, contains the germs of their destruction. The General Council is now in a position, perhaps, to cause this economic revolution, and it would be folly, nay, treachery to leave this entirely in English hands.

"Englishmen possess all necessary means for effecting the social revolution, but they are lacking in the spirit of generalisation and revolutionary passion. But the General Council may bring a real revolution about in this country with all its consequences. This has been recognised by the press which is read by the more intelligent of the ruling classes—by such papers as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator* and the *Fortnightly Review*, and also by the so-called Radical members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and we shall soon influence largely the leaders of the English working classes. They call on us openly, we have moved the mind of the workers, and they are coming to revolutionary Socialism.

"The only way we have done this is that we are members of the General Council of the International Association. In this way we can influence other societies, as *e.g.*, the Land and Labour League which—though with us

—appear to the public as if they were spontaneous growths of the English working classes.

“If a local council were established, what would it do? Placed between the General Council of the International and the General Council of the Trade Unions it would have no authority. On the other hand, the General Council would lose its influence. We have worked hard quietly instead of making a great noise, and, if that be a fault, then perhaps we may be pardoned, as the *Egalité* says, for having held these two posts.

“England is not a country like other countries. She must be held to be the metropolis of capitalism.

“5. Question relating to the resolutions of the General Council on the Irish question.

England is, it is true, the bulwark of European landlordism and capitalism and Ireland is the only point by which a great blow can be struck against the officialism of England.

“Besides, Ireland is the bulwark of English landlordism. And if landlordism is overthrown there it must be overthrown in England, too. It is easier to work against it in Ireland because the economic struggle is centred there in the land question, the fight is a national one, and the people there are more revolutionary and more embittered than in England. Landlordism in Ireland is only kept up by the English army. When this is overthrown there a social revolution, under different forms, will break out in Ireland. English landlordism will not only lose a chief source of its riches but also its chief moral power, that is to say, it will no longer be the representative of the power of England in Ireland. And at the same time the English proletariat will no longer think so much of its English landlords when they have lost their power in Ireland.

“The English middle-class, too, has derived benefits from the poverty of Ireland because the poor Irish has come over to England to seek for work and in that way wages have been kept down, and this, too, has produced quarrels between the two proletariates. The revolutionary fire of the Celtic working man does not ally itself well with the power, but torpor, of the Anglo-Saxon. In all industrial centres of England there is deep enmity between the Irish and the English proletariat. The ordinary English working man hates the Irish because he is a competitor who takes away his chances of getting work. He is antipathetic to him both on national and on religious grounds. He looks upon him in the same way as the poor whites in the Southern States of North America regard the black slaves. This antipathy between the two proletariates is carefully kept up by the bourgeoisie, because they know that it is really the true secret of the continuation of their power.

“This hatred exists too on the other side of the Atlantic. The exiled Irishmen, compelled to emigrate by poverty and wretchedness, have gone to a country where they will eventually form the majority of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred of the English. The English and the American Governments—that is to say, the classes which they represent—avail themselves of these passions in order to encourage an international antipathy, which prevents an earnest and honourable alliance between the workers in both countries, and this hinders their true emancipation.

“Ireland is the only possession of the English Government which has in it a large army, that could, if necessary, be used against the English working classes. The same thing is happening to-day in England as occurred in Rome—the nation which keeps down another is forging its own chains.

"The attitude of the International Association on the Irish question is therefore quite clear. Its first duty is to bring about a social revolution in England, and this can be helped by attacking England in Ireland. Before any real emancipation of the English working classes can be effected, it is necessary that the slavery of Ireland should cease, either, if possible, by a free and joint partnership of the two countries, or, if necessary, by complete separation. This is what the Council has been working for.

"Besides, the doctrines of the *Egalite* and the *Progrès* on the connection or non-connection between social and political agitation have never been recognised by any of our Congresses. They are in direct disagreement with our rules. For in them we find 'that economic emancipation is the great question which must be brought about by means of political agitation.'

"These words 'by means' were struck out in the French translation which was issued by the Parisian Committee in 1864. When its attention was called to this omission by the General Council, the Paris Committee pleaded the weakness of its political situation. There are other omissions in the translation issued by that Committee. For example, the first paragraph of the declaration of principles says: 'That the fight for the emancipation of the working classes . . . is a fight for equal rights and duties, and for the destruction of all class rule' The translation referred to leaves out the words 'for the destruction of all class rule,' and there are other omissions. We would remind members that an authentic French translation was published in Brussels in 1866.

"6. Liebknecht-Schweitzer question.

"The *Egalite* says: 'Both these groups belong to the International.' That is not correct. The Eisenach group (referred to by the *Progrès* and the *Egalite* as the Liebknecht group) belongs to the International, but Schweitzer's group does not.

"Schweitzer himself, in the *Sozialdemokrat*, has given his reasons why the Lassalle group cannot belong to the International, and he spoke the truth without knowing it. His artistic sectarian group is opposed to the practical organisation of the working classes.

"The *Progrès* and the *Egalite* want the General Council to express its opinion on the personal questions between Liebknecht and Schweitzer. Now, as J. P. Becker is on the staff of the *Egalite*, and as he also writes for Schweitzer's paper, it is strange that he did not tell the editor all the facts. He must know that Liebknecht has offered to accept the decision of the General Council on the differences between Schweitzer and himself, but that Schweitzer has always refused to agree to this. The General Council tried very hard to put a stop to this scandal, and it instructed the secretary for Germany to try and induce Schweitzer to agree to arbitration, but he would not. The General Council will not fail, if possible, to bring this scandal to a close."

The French Committee (though Bakunin had intrigued very much at Lyons and Marseilles, and had won over some youngsters to his side) and the Belgian Council agreed with the General Council after receiving the above document. The letter to Geneva was delayed somewhat because Jung, the secretary for Switzerland, was very busy. It crossed an official letter from Perret, secretary to the Geneva Committee, to the General Council.

The crisis had occurred in Geneva before the receipt of our letter. Some writers on the *Egalite* had objected to Bakunin's dictatorial ways. He and his adherents, including six writers on the *Egalite*, wanted the Geneva Committee to go against us. But the committee was tired of Bakunin's despotism, and saw with unwillingness that it was in opposition to the other Swiss Committees, which sided with us. They refused to follow him, and the six writers on the *Egalite* resigned, thinking that it would kill the paper. The Committee said that the *Egalite* did not represent its views, that they regretted its action, &c. Bakunin then left Geneva and went back to the Ticino, but he still has something to do with the *Progrès* at Locle. Soon after this Herzen died. Bakunin, who, since the time when he wished to become the leader of the European labour movement, had attacked Herzen, his old friend and patron, now began to praise him. Why? Because Herzen, in spite of his wealth, had received 25,000 francs (£1,000) a year from the pseudo-Socialist Pan-Slavonic Party in Russia for propaganda. And Bakunin by his praises managed to get this money for himself, and thus succeeded to the inheritance of Herzen.

Meanwhile there is now a young Russian refugee colony at Geneva, formed by exiled students, who are thoroughly in earnest and have taken as the chief article of their programme the denunciation of Panslavism. They publish a paper at Geneva called the *Voix du Peuple*. They sent about two weeks ago a copy of their programme to London and wished to form a Russian branch of the International. This we have agreed to. They also asked Marx to represent them provisionally in the Central Council, and this, too, was agreed to. They have also asked him to tear away the mask from Bakunin, for this man talks in different ways in Russia and in Europe.

So the game of this very dangerous intriguer will soon be up, at all events as far as the International is concerned.

(To be continued)



THE Medical Officer of Health for Poplar reports that last year 962 children died in the borough under one year of age, giving a rate of 165 infantile deaths per 1,000 births, as against 148 for the county of London.

ASKED about the decline of English commerce, Mr. X. (who is in soap) promptly replies that it is due to trade unionism; Mr. Y. (in pig-iron) refers to the too great athleticism of his clerks; Mr. Z. (in skin) vaguely laments a bygone day of 16 working hours. None of them seem to consider that there may be something amiss with the English business-man.—*Macmillan's Magazine*.

CRAINQUEBILLE.

JEROME CRAINQUEBILLE, a hawker, was going along pushing his barrow and calling out "Cabbages, carrots and turnips." When he had any parsnips he called out "asparagus" because parsnips are the asparagus of the poor. Now, on October 20 at noon, when he was coming down the Rue Montmartre, Mme. Bayard, who kept a boot shop (at the sign of the "Guardian Angel") stepped out of her shop and came close to the barrow. Lifting up disdainfully some parsnips, she said :

"I do not think much of your parsnips. What do you want for these?"

"Sevenpence halfpenny, madam. You could not have any better ones."

"Sevenpence halfpenny for three bad parsnips?" And she threw them back on the barrow quite contemptuously. Then Policeman No. 64 came on the scene and told Crainquebille to move on.

Crainquebille for the last 50 years had been moving on all day long. He thought this was quite right, and, being anxious to obey, he asked his customer to take what she wanted. She replied hastily, saying that she must choose. And she went on feeling all the parsnips, but at last she took some of the best, which she pressed against her bosom, like the saints in church pictures press on their breast the triumphant palm.

"I am going to give you sevenpence, that is quite enough, and I must go and fetch the money from the shop because I have not got it in my pocket." And holding the parsnips she went back to her shop, where a woman, with a baby, was waiting for her.

At that moment Policeman No. 64 said for the second time to Crainquebille "Move on!"

"I am waiting for my money," replied Crainquebille.

"I did not tell you to wait for your money, but I tell you to 'Move on,'" replied the policeman, firmly.

Meanwhile the lady in the boot shop was trying on blue shoes for a child of eighteen months whose mother was in a hurry. And the parsnips were resting on the counter.

Crainquebille, who had pushed his barrow through the streets during the last 50 years, had learnt the necessity of obeying the police. But just now he was in an embarrassing position, betwixt a duty and a right. He had not a judicial mind. He did not understand that the enjoyment of an individual right did not prevent him from accomplishing a social duty. He thought too much about his right of receiving sevenpence and too little of his duty, which was to push his barrow, to move on, and to keep on doing it. So he stood still. For the third time the policeman quietly and gently ordered him to move on. Unlike Sergeant Montauciel, who always threatens but never acts, No. 64 said little but often summoned. That was his way; though he was rather glum, he was a good officer, as brave as a lion and as gentle as a lamb. He must obey orders.

"Don't you hear me when I tell you to 'Move on!'"

Crainquebille had a good reason for standing still, and thought it was sufficient. He said so, simply.

"Hang it all, don't I tell you that I am waiting for my money."

The policeman answered: "Do you want me to summon you? If you do, you have only to say so."

Hearing these words, Crainquebille shrugged his shoulders slowly, and cast a sad look at the policeman; then he raised his eyes towards the sky. That look meant "Heaven is my witness. Do I break the laws? Do I condemn the rules and regulations affecting my trade? At 5 a.m. I was at the markets. Since 7 a.m. I have been pushing my barrow, calling out 'Cabbages, carrots, and turnips.' I am over 60. I am tired, and you ask me if I raise the black flag of revolt. You are laughing at me, and your jests are cruel."

Perhaps the policeman did not understand this; perhaps he thought that it was not a sufficient reason for his disobedience; so he asked quietly, but firmly, if the man understood him. Now, just at that moment there was quite a block in the Rue Montmartre. The cabs, the brakes, the 'buses, the carts, and the drays seemed all to be jammed together and mixed up. And there rose cries and oaths. The cabdrivers and the butchers exchanged slowly very remarkable swear words, and the 'busdrivers, thinking that Crainquebille was the cause of the mischief, called him "a dirty parsnip."

Meanwhile, there was a crowd on the pavement looking on at the quarrel. The policeman, seeing that he was being looked at, was determined to uphold his authority.

"All right," said he, taking out of his pocket a greasy note-book and a very short pencil.

Crainquebille was following his thoughts and was obeying his conscience, and now he could neither advance nor go back. The wheel of his barrow had unfortunately caught in the wheel of a milk cart. He called out, tugging at his hair under his cap:—

"But, I keep on telling you that I am waiting for my money! Is it not a shame? What am I to do? It is too bad of you!"

The policeman, by these words, which rather denoted revolt than despair, thought he was insulted. Every insult, according to a policeman, must take a certain form, and certain words must be used; and therefore he felt sure that the man had said, "Mort aux vaches!"* ("Death to the cows!").

"Ah, you have said, 'Mort aux vaches!' All right. Follow me."

Crainquebille, in the excess of his fright and his distress, looked with his large eyes burnt by the sun at the policeman, and with his broken voice, which seemed to come sometimes from his head and sometimes from his heels, he called out, folding his arms over his blue blouse, "I said 'Mort aux vaches!' I?"

This arrest was hailed by the laughter of clerks and little boys. It showed that crowds like repulsive and violent scenes. But a sad-looking old man, dressed in black and wearing a silk hat, came through the crowd and said in a low voice, very gently and very firmly, to the policeman:—

"You have made a mistake. That man did not insult you."

"Mind your own business," said the policeman, without threatening him, for he was speaking to a well-dressed man.

The old man insisted very calmly and very tenaciously, so the policeman told him that he would have to explain matters to the Inspector.

But Crainquebille called out, "So, I have said 'Mort aux vaches!'"

He was saying this when Mme. Bayard, from the boot shop, came to him with the 7d. But the policeman had got hold of him and Mme. Bayard, thinking that it was no use paying a man who was being taken to the police-station, put the 7d. in the pocket of her apron.

* *Vache* is the classic insult used to irritate a policeman in Paris.—J. B.

Seeing that his barrow was going to be put in the pound, that his liberty was lost, that an abyss was under his feet, and that the sun was out, Crainquebille muttered, "Well, I'm blessed!"

Before the Inspector the old man said that having had to stop owing to the block, he had seen all that took place, that the policeman was quite mistaken and had not been insulted. He gave his name: Doctor David Matthieu, chief physician of the Ambroise Paré Hospital, officer of the Legion of Honour. In other days such evidence would have been sufficient to convince the Inspector, but at that time learned men were mistrusted in France.

Crainquebille was kept at the station, and next day he was taken in Black Maria to the central prison. He did not find it hard to be in prison, he thought it was a law of nature. He was much struck on coming in by the brightness of the walls and the clean floors. He said: "It is indeed a clean place. Well, I'm blessed; I could eat off the ground." Being left alone he wished to pull out his stool, but he saw that it was chained to the wall.

He expressed aloud his surprise.

"What a funny idea. I am quite sure that I would never have invented that."

Sitting down, he twirled his thumbs and was quite still. The stillness and the solitude oppressed him. He was dull, and he thought sadly about his barrow laden with cabbages, carrots, celery and salads being in the pound. He wondered anxiously where he should put his barrow.

On the third day, he had a visit from his counsel, M. Lemerle, one of the youngest members of the Paris bar, president of one of the sections of the League of the French Fatherland (*Ligue de la Patrie Française*).

Crainquebille tried to tell him about his case, but it was not easy, for he did not know how to talk; perhaps he might have got through it, but his counsel shook his head at what he said, saying, while he looked through the papers: "Hum! hum! I do not see anything about that in the papers." Then, as if he were tired, he said, twisting his fair moustache: "In your own interest it would be better perhaps to plead guilty. As for me, I think your denial of everything is a very bad system." And Crainquebille would have confessed everything if he had known what to confess.

The President,* Bourriche, devoted six full minutes to the examination of Crainquebille. These questions would have brought out the matter more clearly if the defendant had answered the questions put to him. But the prisoner was not used to discussion, and respect and terror quite shut his mouth. He kept silent and the President answered, so the answers were incriminating: "Well, you acknowledge that you said 'Mort aux vaches!'" Then the prisoner answered in a tone as if old iron and glass were rattling: "I said 'Mort aux vaches!' because the policeman said 'Mort aux vaches!'" —that is why I said 'Mort aux vaches!'" He wished to say that, astonished by the accusation, he had repeated the words which he was accused of uttering, and which he had certainly not used. He had said "Mort aux vaches!" as he might have said, "I say such a thing, could you believe it!" But the President of Bourriche, would not take that answer. "Do you mean," said he, "that the policeman first said those words." Crainquebille did not try to explain, it was too difficult. "You do not say that you are right," said the President. He had the witnesses called.

* In France there are always three judges—a president and two assessors.—J.B.

Policeman No. 64—his real name being Bastien Matra—swore to speak the truth and nothing but the truth, and he spoke as follows: "Being on duty on October 20, at noon, I noticed in the Rue Montmartre a person, whom I took to be a hawker, having his barrow stopped at No. 328, and that caused a block in the traffic. I thrice told him to move on, but he would not. Then, when I told him he would be summoned, he replied, crying out, 'Mort aux vaches!' which I considered an insult."

This deposition, given in serious and measured tones, impressed the court. The defendant had called as witnesses Mme. Bayard, keeper of a boot shop, and M. David Matthieu, chief physician of Ambroise Paré hospital, and a Knight of the Legion of Honour.

Mme. Bayard had neither seen nor heard anything. Dr. Matthieu was in the crowd which surrounded the policeman telling the hawker to move on.

"I saw the whole thing, he said." "I noticed that the policeman had been mistaken, he had not been insulted. I came near and told him so. But the policeman seized the hawker and told me to come to the police station. I did so, and told the facts to the Inspector."

"You may sit down," said the President. "Usher, call back Matra. Matra, when you arrested the defendant did not Dr. Matthieu tell you that you had made a mistake?"

"Sir, he insulted me." "What did he say?" "He said to me, 'Mort aux vaches!'"

There were murmurs and laughter in the court.

"You may sit down," said the President, hurriedly. And he warned the public that if these indecent manifestations occurred again, he would have the court cleared. Meanwhile the counsel for the defence was triumphantly puffing out the sleeves of his gown, and it was thought that Crainquebille would be acquitted.

Calm having been restored Me. Lemerle rose. He began his speech by praising the police, these modest servants of society who, for a trifling salary, undergo all kinds of fatigue and brave incessant perils, and who daily lead heroic lives. They are all soldiers, and nothing more need be said in their praise. And Me. Lemerle went on in a fine way to praise military virtues. He was one of those, he said "Who would not allow the army to be touched that national army to which he was proud to belong." The President nodded. For Me. Lemerle was a lieutenant in the reserve, and he was also a Nationalist candidate in the Vieilles Haudriettes quarter. He went on, "Certainly, I do not undervalue the modest and precious services rendered daily by the police to the valiant population of Paris. And I would not, gentlemen, have undertaken the defence of Crainquebille if he had insulted an old soldier. My client is accused of having said 'Mort aux vaches!' The meaning of that word is not doubtful. If you look at a slang dictionary you will find vache—one who is sold to the police, a spy. 'Mort aux vaches!' is said by some people. But the question is, how did Crainquebille say it, and did he really say it? Allow me, gentlemen, to doubt it. I do not say that Matra wilfully said an untruth. But he has a great deal of hard work, and sometimes he is tired, overworked, and driven. In those circumstances he may have had certain hallucinations of hearing. When he comes and tells us, gentlemen, that Dr. David Matthieu, Knight of the Legion of Honour, chief physician to the Ambroise Paré Hospital, a shining scientific light, and a man of the world, has also cried out, 'Mort aux vaches!' we are forced to acknowledge that Matra is wrong, or that he does not know at times what he says. Even if Crainquebille had cried out

'Mort aux vaches !' we should have to consider if that word, in his mouth, was an insult. For he is the illegitimate son of a drunken hawker ; he was born drunk. Look at him, brutalised by 60 years of misery. Gentlemen, you will say that he is not responsible for his actions."

M. Lemerle sat down, and President Bourriche mumbled out his sentence, by which J. Crainquebille got 14 days' imprisonment and 50 francs fine. The Court had believed Matra.

Crainquebille was taken through the corridors to the prison. He spoke to the warder, "If I had been told that this would happen ! They speak well, but they speak too quick. I cannot explain to them. Don't you think they speak too quick ?" But the warder went on, saying nothing. Then Crainquebille asked him, "Why don't you answer me ?" Still the warder was silent, and Crainquebille bitterly said to him, "People speak to a dog. Why don't you speak to me ? You never open your mouth ; are you afraid of its stinking ?"

Crainquebille, when he was in his cell, sat down full of astonishment and admiration on his chained stool. He did not quite know if the judges had made a mistake. The Court had concealed its weakness by the majesty of the form. He could not think that he was right and that the judges, whose reasons he did not understand, were wrong ; he could not believe that something was rotten in that fine ceremony. As he neither went to church nor to the President's palace, he had never seen anything so fine as the court where he had been tried. He knew that he had not said "Mort aux vaches !" Now he had been sentenced to 14 days for having said it, and that he considered to be a splendid mystery—one of those articles of faith to which believers subscribe without understanding them ; an obscure, startling, beautiful, and terrible revelation.

The poor old man felt that he had been guilty of mystically offending policeman No. 64, like the little boy who goes to church feels that he has been guilty of the unpardonable sin. His sentence said that he had called out "Mort aux vaches !" Therefore, he must have cried out "Mort aux vaches," in a mysterious way, unknown to him. He was carried into a supernatural world. His sentence was his apocalypse.

If he did not understand his crime, he did not understand his sentence. His sentence was to him a solemn ritual and superior thing, a startling event which is not to be understood or discussed, which is neither to be praised nor blamed. If he had seen President Bourriche with a nimbus on his head, and white wings to his shoulders, come through the half-open ceiling, he would not have been surprised at this new proof of judicial glory. He would have said, "There is my business going on."

The next day his counsel came to see him.

"Well, my good man, how are you getting on ? You will soon be out. After all, you did not get on so badly,"

"As for that, those gentlemen were very quiet and very polite, they did not swear. I would not have believed it. And the warder had white gloves on. Did you see them ?

"After all, you were right in admitting the offence."

"Perhaps so."

"Crainquebille, I have good news for you. A charitable person has given me 50 francs to pay your fine."

"When will you give me the money ?"

"It will be paid to the Registrar of the Court. Do not bother about it."

"Never mind. I am much obliged to that person."

And Crainquebille, thoughtful, said, "This is an extraordinary thing."

"Don't exaggerate, your case is an ordinary one."

"Could you tell me where they have put my barrow?"

Crainquebille, after having been released, was pushing his barrow in the Rue Montmartre, crying out "Cabbages, turnips, carrots!" He was neither proud nor ashamed of his imprisonment. It did not even call up unpleasant thoughts. In his mind it was like the remembrance of a play, of an excursion, of a dream. He was particularly glad of being able to walk in the mud, on the pavement, to see overhead the sky quite watery and as dirty as a gutter, the good sky of his own Paris. He stopped at every corner to have a drink, then, happy and free, he spat in his hands and pushed his barrow along, while in front of him the sparrows, like him, early risers and poor, seeking their food in the road, flew away in bunches when he was calling out "Cabbages, turnips, carrots!" An old woman came near, and, feeling his celery, said to him:—

"Where have you been, Father Crainquebille? I have not seen you for three weeks. Have you been ill? You are a little pale."

"I will tell you, Mme. Mailloche. I have been living on my dividends."

He goes on as usual, except that he goes rather more often to the public-house, because he has got an idea that it is a holiday, and he has got to know some charitable people. He comes in the evening back to his garret in a rather lively condition. Stretched on his feather bed, he pulls up the sacks which the chestnut vendor at the corner has lent him and which he uses as a blanket. "Really," he says to himself, "the prison was not bad. I got all that I wanted. But, after all, one is better at home."

His happiness did not last long. He soon saw that his customers did not come to him.

"Nice celery, Mme. Cointreau!"

"I do not want anything."

"You do not want anything? Yet you do not live on air."

Mme. Cointreau, without answering him, went back proudly into her fine baker's shop.

The shopkeepers and the concierges, formerly his best customers, would no longer deal with him. Having got near the boot shop ("l'Ange Gardien"—"the Guardian Angel") where his judicial adventures began, he called out:

"Mme. Bayard, you owe me 7½d."

But Mme. Bayard, who was sitting behind her counter, did not even look at him.

All the Rue Montmartre knew that Father Crainquebille had been to prison, and all the Rue Montmartre no longer spoke to him. The news of his sentence had reached even the Faubourg and the noisy corner of the Rue Richer. There, about noon, he saw Mme. Laure, his old and faithful customer, leaning over the barrow of little Martin. She was feeling a big cabbage. Her hair shone in the sun like liquid gold, and little Martin, a good-for-nothing fellow, a dirty chap, was taking an oath that his goods were the finest in the market. This sight broke old Crainquebille's heart. He pushed his barrow against that of little Martin, and said to Mme. Laure, in a sad and broken tone, "It is not nice of you not to buy from me."

Mme. Laure, as she quite agreed, was not a duchess. It was not in the great world of society that she had learnt about "Black Maria" and the central prison. But you should be honest in all trades. Everybody is proud

and does not like to talk to a jail-bird. So the only answer she gave to Crainquebille was to pretend to be sick.

The old hawker, feeling the insult, called out, "Go along with you, you strumpet!" Mme. Laure let her green cabbage fall, and called out: "Go along, you old jail-bird! He has just come out of prison and takes to insulting decent people." Crainquebille, if he had been calm, would never have told Mme. Laure what her business was. He knew too well that you do not choose your trade in life, and that there are good people in every business. He wisely never asked what his customers did, and he despised nobody; but he was beside himself. Three times he called her that name, and also stinking cat and beastly bird. A crowd gathered round them listening to their solemn wingèd words, and they would have gone on longer if a policeman had not suddenly appeared, when they both stopped. They each went their own way. But that scene damned Crainquebille in the Faubourg Montmartre and the Rue Richer.

And the old man went away murmuring, "She certainly is no good. No one could be worse than that woman." But in the bottom of his heart he did not really despise her for being what she was. He rather thought more of her, as she was thrifty and quiet. Formerly, they used to talk together. She would speak about her parents who lived in the country. They both thought it would be nice to have a garden and to bring up chickens. She was a good customer. He did not like seeing her buy cabbages from little Martin, a good-for-nothing fellow, a dirty chap. That had given him quite a shock, and when she had pretended to despise him he had lost his temper and then——

The worst of it was that she was not the only one who treated him like a leper. No one would deal with him. Just like Mme. Laure, Mme. Coin-treau and Mme. Bayard would have nothing to do with him. The whole of society was against him. Now, was it right, because he had done 14 days, to say he was not good enough to sell parsnips? Was it fair? Was it even commonsense to make a good man die of hunger because he had had a little trouble with the police? If he could not sell his green-stuff he would die of hunger.

Like bad wine, he was turning sour. After having had a few words with Mme. Laure he was now quarrelling with everybody. He did not spare them. If the women touched his stuff without buying he called them names, and at the public-house he said nasty things to his comrades. The chestnut-seller, his friend, could not make him out, and used to say that old Crainquebille—blast him—was a very hedgehog. It could not be denied he was becoming a troublesome man, with bad habits and given to using too many wingèd words. You see, he thought society was wrong, and, not being a Fabian bureaucrat, he did not know how to choose his words properly, and his ideas were not properly classified.

Misfortune made him unfair; he revenged himself on those who wished him no harm and sometimes on those who were weaker than he. In that way he boxed young Alphonse's ears, who was the son of the publican and who had asked him how he liked doing time. He said to him, "You dirty kid, your father ought to be doing time instead of selling poison."

That action and that speech did him no honour, for as the chestnut-seller told him, a child should neither be hit nor his father called bad names, for a child does not choose his father.

He began to drink. The less money he made, the more spirits he drank.

Formerly he was economical and sober, and he, himself, was astonished at the change.

"I was never lazy," he said. "I suppose I have got less sense as I have got older." Sometimes he used to judge severely his bad conduct and his laziness.

"My old Crainquebille, you are no longer any good but for the drink."

Sometimes he deceived himself and made out that he only drank because he wanted it.

"Sometimes I have to drink a glass to get strength and to quench my thirst. I seem to have something on fire in my inside, and drink is a good thing after all."

Often he got late to the markets and could only get spoiled stuff on credit. One day, feeling his legs tired and no heart for work, he left his barrow in the stable and spent the whole day round the stall of Mrs. Rose, the tripe-seller, and in the public-houses near the markets. In the evening he sat down on a basket; he thought, and he felt his degradation. He remembered his old strength and his work, his labours and his profits, all his old happy days full of work and joy; he thought about his walks at night to the markets, and how he waited for the auction to begin; the vegetables which he neatly put on his barrow, the little cup of black coffee drunk burning hot at Mother Theodore's shop, the way he seized the barrow handles, his joyous call as lively as the cock's clarion in the morning air, all his hard and innocent life, and how for half-a-century he had taken to people, worn out with care and watching, the fresh harvest of market gardens. Shaking his head, he sighed.

"No, I am not so good as I was. It is all up with me. The pitcher goes so often to the well that it gets broken. Since my court business I am no longer the same man!"

He was quite demoralised. When a man is like that he is like a man who has fallen on the ground and who cannot get up, for all the passers by trample on him.

Then he became poor, dreadfully poor. The old hawker who used to bring back formerly a heap of five-franc pieces to Montmartre had no longer a half-franc. It was winter. He had been turned out of his garret and he slept under the carts in a stable. Rain having fallen for 24 days, the sewers overflowed, and the stable was partly full of water.

Sitting on his barrow, above the stinking waters, with spiders, rats, and starving cats, he was thinking in the dark. He had eaten nothing all day, and he had no chestnut-sacks to cover himself; and he thought of the time when the Government had provided him with board and lodging. He wished he was a prisoner, for they neither knew cold nor hunger, and he had an idea.

"Since I know the trick, why should not I make use of it!"

He got up and went into the street. It was about eleven o'clock, it was dark and miserable; a fine rain was falling, colder and more penetrating than ordinary rain. There were only a few people in the streets.

Cranquebille went along St. Eustache Church and came into the Rue Montmartre. It was deserted. A policeman was on the pavement, near the church, under a lamp-post, and one could see by its flame the little red rain. The policeman got it in his hood. He looked frozen, but whether because he preferred light to shade, or he was tired of walking, he stayed under the lamp, which, perhaps, he looked on as a companion and a friend. That trembling flame was the only person in the solitary night. His

quietness did not appear human ; the reflection of his boots, on the wet pavement, which looked like a lake, made him seem double, and he was like an amphibious monster, half out of the water. Standing there close-hooded and armed he looked like a monk and a soldier. His features seemed bigger on account of his hood, and were quiet and sad. His moustache was thick, short and grey. He was an old policeman, a man of over 40.

Crainquebille came quietly near to him, and said in a feeble and hesitating voice, "Mort aux vaches !"

Then he waited for the result of that sacred word, but nothing took place. The policeman stood motionless and dumb, his arms folded under his short cloak. His eyes, wide open, shining in the shadow, looked on Crainquebille with sadness, with keenness, and with contempt.

Crainquebille was astonished, but still persevered, murmuring, "'Mort aux vaches !' I say to you."

A long silence followed, during which the fine, red rain fell in the cold shadow. Then the policeman spoke : "You ought not to say that at your age ; you should know better. Move on !"

"Why don't you arrest me ?" asked Crainquebille.

The policeman shook his head under his wet hood. "If I had to collar all the drunkards who say what they ought not to say I should have a lot to do ! And what would be the use of it ?"

Crainquebille, overwhelmed by that magnanimous contempt, remained for a long time foolish and dumb, with his feet in the gutter. Before going away, he tried to explain : "I did not say that for you—'Mort aux vaches' ! It was neither for you or anybody else. It was an idea of mine."

The policeman replied with an austere gentleness : "Whatever was your idea, you ought not have said it. When a man does his duty and suffers much, you should not insult him with idle words. I again tell you to 'Move on.'"

Crainquebille, with bowed head and lowered arms, passed into the shadow under the pelting rain.

ANATOLE FRANCE.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)



TO INTELLECTUALS.

O, ye that walk on the mountains, breathing the cold, clear air,
Come ye down from the tops into the low-lying lands,
For here are the weed grown meadows, here do the fields lie bare,
Waiting the seed of your spirit, needing the work of your hands.

Here spread the acres of slumdom, here are our factory walls,
Low lie our prisoned souls, fluttering faintly their wings,
Up through your atmosphere lucent echo our feeble calls,
Free us that we may ascend to your region of higher things.

Can ye hold our lot to be fitting, as part of the given plan,
Deeming us poorer clay that nothing can mould or raise,
Made for the lesser living of weeds in the field of man,
Unmeet to disturb your thought or the calm of your dreaming days?

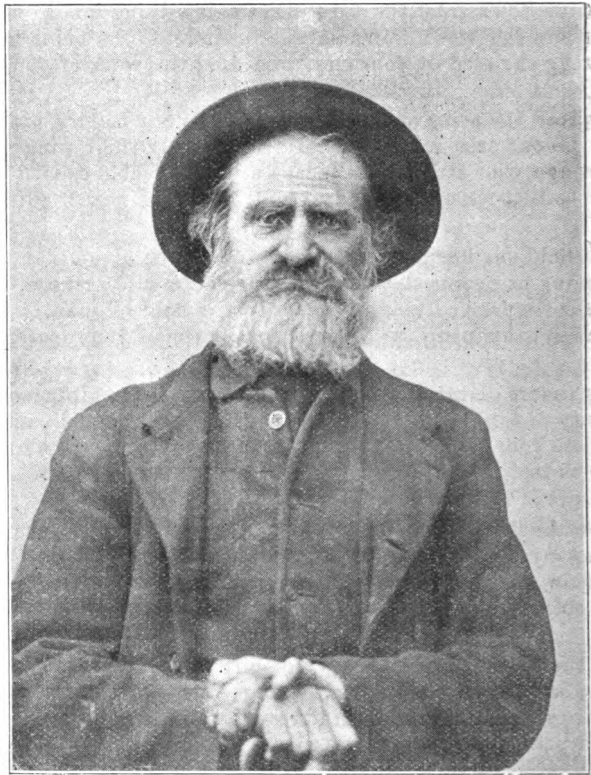
High pleasure of art and music, of painting and sculptured stone,
Beauty of form and sound, or in word of the printed page,
Are these your superior wages, are these to be yours alone?
Lift us that *we* may at length come into our heritage.

Of even the Church of Jesus ye have made a close preserve,
Using mystical forms to obscure His meaning clear.
How show ye love of your neighbour when ye help the State conserve
The social laws *preventing* the Kingdom of Heaven here?

When these ye have readjusted, in spirit of Justice due
To us as your equals known, having your God in our souls,
Not throwing us crumbs in kindness that again ye may pursue
High paths in an ease of conscience born of your purse-proud doles,

O, then shall your lives be higher, then shall your happiness be
Such as ye now dream not, enwrapped too closely in mind;
Then, pure and deep and enfolding, you shall hear that harmony
Which he alone of the sons of men that loseth himself shall find.

G. H. STEVENS (Kalmiscott Club).



JAMES O'SHAUGHNESSY.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. VI., No. 11. NOVEMBER 15, 1902.

JAMES O'SHAUGHNESSY.

BORN in 1825 in our great City, comrade James O'Shaughnessy has seen many vicissitudes of political and educational reforms, and has witnessed various events which led to the formation of the S.D.F. His father, who was but a common labourer, died while our friend was at yet an early age, and he was forced to enter upon this life's battles. His first place of employment was at a paperhanger's and stationer's in the City, but he was not long in their employ, getting an indoor situation at an eating-house in Golden Lane, E.C. It was at this place that his education could be said to have begun; up to this time his mind was imbued with Roman Catholic views, his parents being Irish. He was a reader of a periodical issued then called *Chambers's Informer*, containing articles each week on a great variety of subjects. Perusing these had the effect of making him doubt the religious teaching of his young days, and his doubts grew until his sympathies were enlisted in the principles of Freethought. He now took up a position at a coffee-shop at 95, Newgate Street. Being fortunate enough to be allowed access to the fine library that his employer possessed, our comrade was not slow in taking advantage of this good offer. In 1843 he became a member of the Irish Repeal Association, and was a subscriber to the democratic paper of the time, the *Nation*. About five years later the Chartist movement was making itself felt, and our comrade, ever to the fore in anything of a reforming nature, became a staunch supporter, and was present at the memorable meeting on Kennington Common, when the monster petition was brought to the House of Commons in spite of the prohibition of the Government. The Land Restoration League soon after came into existence, and from this sprang the Radical League, which found in our comrade a great helper. On one occasion he had to get a book called "Lyell's Geology" for his employer, and glancing through its pages came across a writer's opinion that it must have taken 60,000 years to make the Mississippi River. This set our comrade's mind thinking in broader ways.

He was a great admirer of Robert Owen, and was very much impressed at that time by the noble and glorious work he was accomplishing by his moral education of the young. The Land Restoration League, which made its appearance about this time, also found in comrade O'Shaughnessy a practical supporter. Why our comrade should have so much sympathy with this League may be found in the fact that being by kith an Irishman, he knew well how the great curse of Ireland was the tyrannical despotism of land-lordism. In 1882 the Land Restoration League gave a lecture at Stratford Town Hall. John, or as he is more popularly known, "Jack" Williams, was chairman, and it was at this meeting that *Justice* first came into the hands of our friend O'Shaughnessy. He saw in that *Justice* a list of several meetings and attended them. Our comrade became at once greatly impressed with Socialist principles and guaranteed to the then Labour Emancipation League the use of the premises for meetings at 144, Barking Road, which to-day remains the headquarters of the Socialist and Labour Party of West Ham. He was instrumental in getting down some of the most prominent S.D.F. lecturers of that time. Old comrades of the movement in London will doubtless remember the fights the Socialists had over the right of holding public meetings at Dod Street, Limehouse, several of our veterans, including comrade H. M. Hyndman, making their appearance before the magistrate as a result. While these scenes were in progress O'Shaughnessy went every Sunday morning at the head of a stalwart band to Dod Street to help maintain the right of free speech. With the idea of helping to secure Labour representation in the House of Commons he joined the Radical Party in Canning Town. Our comrade was once more to the front, and seeing the energy he displayed, he was asked to become their secretary. His answer was that in their programme no provision was made towards the reforming of the unhappy state of affairs in India and Ireland, and seeing this he could not conscientiously take any official part in the organisation. This had the effect of these measures being inserted in their programme, and our comrade became secretary. He then took a place for the Radical meetings in Swanscombe Street, Canning Town. During the whole of the time our comrade was connected with the Radical Party he never lost sight of his Socialism, and it was mainly with the idea of bringing them to work harmoniously with the Socialists towards the objects they had in view that he connected himself with them. Up to this time comrade O'Shaughnessy was employed at the Thames Ironworks, but at this period he lost his employment. As a means of subsistence he took to selling newspapers, having the support and patronage of his late co-workers at the Thames Ironworks. In addition he used to sell coffee outside the yard early in the morning, but soon after, through the hours being altered, he was forced to dispose of his pony and coffee-stall. Our comrade was the founder of the Canning Town branch of the S.D.F., one of the largest branches in the movement. He was also instrumental in securing the return of Keir Hardie to Parliament in 1892.

For some years now comrade O'Shaughnessy has been unable to take any

active part in the furtherance of those principles which have been a part of his being. His era of activity has gone, and to-day sees him with but a prospect of short duration upon this plane. Looking back upon his eventful career, Socialism has, to his mind, made great progress, and greater progress does he think it capable of if the militant spirit displayed by some is relegated to the background and more attention is given to the educational side. His sympathies with Ireland, so marked in his early career, have an even greater hold upon him now.

The Socialist movement has of late lost several of its old stalwarts, and when the subject of these lines has no longer a claim upon this life it will lose yet another, for no one has worked harder through life towards the realisation of a State of Socialism than comrade James O'Shaughnessy.

A. W. G.

Since the above was in type we regret to say that our veteran comrade O'Shaughnessy has passed away.

THE REVERSION TO TORYISM.

A "Dissident Unionist," writing in the *Fortnightly Review* on "The Reversion to Toryism," says:—

The Education Bill establishes the principle that, in a very extensive sphere of public employment private individuals are to have the power of appointing persons who will be paid by the community.

The writer sums up:—

1. Both in respect of primary and higher education it offers the minimum of progress—the accepted Conservative method of preventing the maximum—or at least the adequate measure of progress, which is now likely to be longer postponed than if no Education Bill at all had been introduced in the present session.

2. The Bill gives a preferential position of authority and influence to the Anglican and Catholic clergy in one of the most extensive and important spheres of public administration. It unquestionably amounts, therefore, to an indirect but perfectly effective form of sectarian endowment.

3. It places in the hands of private persons the appointment of those who are to be paid by the community.

4. It throws open employment in all the public elementary schools to Anglican and Catholic teachers, but excludes Nonconformists from employment in at least half those schools.

5. By suppressing School Boards and School Board elections, and confounding the essentially national matter of education with the whole multifarious routine of merely municipal affairs, the Bill establishes the single authority in the form most calculated to increase the public indifference to education, which is already the greatest of all the disadvantages under which education labours.

6. While the Bill provides for equal expenditure upon Voluntary schools in respect of secular education, it does not guarantee an equal standard of efficient teaching.

HOME RULE AND ROME RULE.

The eternal Irish question has once more entered on an acute stage. The old wearisome history is repeating itself; the proclamation of meetings, suppression and prosecution of newspapers, evictions, coercion, and the imprisonment of the duly elected representatives of the people. There seems to be no escape from the Irish difficulty, and we still alternate between coercion and concession, concession and coercion. It is really a most extraordinary fact that Ireland, with a population considerably less than that of London, should occupy the position and constitute the difficulty that it does in Imperial politics. It serves to demonstrate that injustice, even among peoples, cannot be perpetrated with impunity, and that it is the little nations which serve as the Nemesis of the great, arrogant, despotic, Imperialist world-powers. There is no solution of the Irish question except in Home Rule. Social-Democrats, who stand for international co-operation and the solidarity of humanity, have always championed the national legislative independence of Ireland. Socialism means neither the creation nor the effacement of nationality, but the universal co-operation of all nations and races for the common good. And just as we opposed the destruction of the two Dutch republics in South Africa, not only from the point of view of the Boers, but in the general interest of all concerned, so we have always been in favour of the Irish people having control of their own affairs. Socialists are democrats, and the new imperialism, with its crushing out of all national life and independence, and of all race characteristics, has no attractions for them.

But, admitting the right of the Irish people to manage their own affairs, and recognising that only in Home Rule can a solution of the Irish difficulty be found, it must also be admitted that, given Home Rule, the Irish people will have many difficulties to contend with and many problems to solve. Mere political Home Rule will not make the Irish people the owners of their native land, nor the masters of her material resources; the abolition of Dublin Castle rule will not mean the abolition of landlordism and capitalism. The exactions of the landlord and the exploitation by the capitalist will be no less burdensome because the landlord and capitalist are Irishmen themselves, or because the laws by which their plunder is legalised are passed by a native Parliament sitting at College Green. But there is little likelihood of the Irish people grappling with these economic problems until the purely political question of national independence is out of the way, and that fact, if there were no other reason, should be sufficient to make every Socialist a Home Ruler.

The problems with which the Irish people are confronted and will have to deal, however, are not all economic problems. The economic conditions

dominate all others, and the chief factor in human affairs is the economic. But other factors play a part, and it is beyond question that one of the chief difficulties constituting the Irish question is that presented by the subservience of the people to the Church of Rome. Gambetta was not so far wrong when he declared clericalism to be the enemy. The Social-Democrat would say that not clericalism but capitalism is the enemy; but clericalism is a mental poison; it paralyses all movement towards emancipation from despotism—political, economic, social or religious. Capitalism is the master; but clericalism is a very effective handmaiden. Capitalism exploits the body, but clericalism chloroforms the soul and leaves the body a passive prey in the hands of its plunderers. It is not too much to say that from the time that a Pope of Rome formally sold Ireland to an English King, the Church of Rome has been the persistent, unrelenting enemy of Ireland and the Irish people.

A man's religious belief is quite a private matter; but the influence and operations of the Church, of any denomination, are public matters and open to public criticism, and it is not too much to say that the Church of Rome is a curse to any country over which it has sway, and that the injury inflicted upon the Irish people by the Church of Rome is scarcely, if any, less than she has suffered from landlordism and alien rule.

A Roman Catholic writer, Mr. Michael J. F. McCarthy, in a book on "Priests and People in Ireland," makes a vigorous and uncompromising attack on the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland. He ascribes the ills of Ireland mainly to a single cause, that is sacerdotalism. In his opinion it is the priesthood which is keeping Celtic Ireland "poor, miserable, depressed, unprogressive." Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, himself a Roman Catholic and an Irish Nationalist, declares that notwithstanding the appalling poverty of masses of the Irish people, large sums are obtained by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland. He says that:—

"All over Ireland urgent wants of the lay Catholic community are left unattended. All over Ireland, not even wants, but mere caprices of the clergy are the excuse for costly outlay. All over Ireland, and outside of Ireland, the sight of collecting priests on all sorts of mendicant missions is an abiding vision. Sometimes it is to construct a sumptuous cathedral in a hamlet of grog-shops and hovels. Sometimes it is to raise a memorial church of marble at a cost of £80,000 on an uninhabited hillside in Kerry out of respect to the birthplace of Daniel O'Connell. Sometimes it is to defray the mistake of an architect. Sometimes it is to defray the bill of a Jew purveyor of decorative monstrosities. Never is it to endow the most crying needs of a Catholic university. If anybody asks for an account, the reply will be that of the venerable prelate who, presiding over the building committee of his own cathedral, genially remarked to an inquisitive contributor: 'There is perfect liberty of opinion on this committee, but if these offensive questions are continued, I shall be driven to resign the chair.'"

In the meantime, the special characteristics of the "distressful country"—increasing poverty and a decreasing population—continue to manifest themselves. The population, which was 4,704,750 in 1891, had fallen, in 1901, to 4,458,775, a decrease in ten years of nearly a quarter of a million. Ireland, by the way, with its increasing misery and decreasing population, presents a startling refutation of the Malthusian theory, and it is not easy to determine how far the increasing destitution of Ireland, in people and in wealth, is due to landlordism, to alien rule, or to the benumbing influence of clericalism.

No one in England who has taken part in public elections where there is a considerable Irish population can have failed to notice the demoralising and reactionary influence of the Catholic priesthood on the Irish electorate. Social progress, the advancement of labour, Irish Nationalism—everything is cast to the winds when the Church enters the field, and men who were ready to dare anything in the cause of humanity become the subservient tools of reaction at the bidding of the priest. We are seeing the same thing in connection with the Tory Education Bill. In vain has Michael Davitt appealed to Irishmen not to allow themselves to be made the cat-paws of reaction in this matter. The measure has received the blessing of the Roman hierarchy in this country, and, therefore, even those Irish members who have been repelled by the Ministry from supporting the Bill dare not vote against it. We hear from time to time that the Irish people are determined to formulate their own politics, and not to take them from Rome; but events constantly demonstrate that not only the religion but the politics of Ireland are those of the Church of Rome, and that the Irish people are still being exploited in the interest of clericalism and for the proselytising of England. The question is: How long will the people of Ireland permit themselves to be used in this way, and to constitute one of the most effectual barriers to Irish independence by the suspicion that Home Rule only means Rome Rule?

H. QUELCH.

THE *British Medical Journal* states that the Illinois State Board of Health has recently investigated the sight and hearing of the children in the schools, and it has been found that 32 per cent. of boys and 37 per cent. of girls have defective vision, falling two-thirds below normal, and that this number increases steadily from the beginning to the end of school life.

GALICIA is the Ireland of Austria. It is a poor country in which there are many great landowners, many of whom are absentee, though they are not (as in Ireland) of a different religion to the peasants. Extortionate rents are demanded, and the earth hunger and the absence of industries compel the peasants to live on the land. As in Ireland, prosecutions take place. Peasants are imprisoned or shot down, and we can sympathise with the downtrodden peasantry while doing the same misdeeds in our Galicia.

THE LACK OF ECONOMIC KNOWLEDGE.

The backward state of education in this country, to which despairing references were made at the meeting of the British Association last month, cannot but find its reflection in the English Socialist movement. The fact that Socialism is, at bottom, an economic question does not seem to be at all understood by a very large number of those who call themselves "Socialists." And this lack of understanding of the principles, by the soundness or otherwise of which Social-Democracy stands or falls, is not only to be found among the rank and file, but makes itself apparent every now and again in those who are considered leaders in the movement.

We have heard a prominent and professed Socialist reproach the members of the S.D.F. in that they "worry themselves with the mechanical formulæ of economics," and declare that the organisation to which he belongs seeks to achieve Socialism in the midst of existing society. And now we find the official organ of the I.L.P. describing that tendency which Professor Rae considers to be "most sensible" because it traverses so many of the accepted principles of Socialism, as a "movement for freedom of thought and a policy of progress," and, further on, referring to these principles as "the bondage of the Marxian tradition." I do not know whether the author of that article was aware of the exact import of what he was writing, but it amounted to a distinct repudiation of the economic basis of Socialism.

If the analysis by Marx of capitalist production be not scientifically correct, if his diagnosis and prognosis can be proved unsound, as it is assumed to be by some Socialists and by all non-Socialists, then Socialism has no justification in social fact. It becomes merely a nebulous and impracticable theory, a sentimental dream, a beautiful but utterly extramundane and unattainable ideal. With only too many people, I believe, Socialism is merely a psychic reaction from the sordidness of modern life, a simple matter of sentiment, an enthusiasm unsupported by knowledge or reasoned conviction.

My own conclusions, as a Socialist, were formed after several years' independent, and more or less solitary, study of economic science in general and of the teachings of Karl Marx in particular, and after having, in addition, examined various of the criticisms and so-called "refutations" of the latter. I am convinced, finally, that the theories of Marx alone provide an adequate explanation of the past history, present conditions, and future tendencies of society; and, moreover, that a correct understanding of social phenomena generally can only be arrived at by regarding them from his standpoint. It

was, therefore, a matter of surprise to me to find a Socialism as entirely divorced from its economic principles as if those principles did not exist, and that so many "Socialists" knew absolutely nothing about them. Their Socialism was as vague a sentiment, as incoherent a "faith," as could be found in connection with any form of religious superstition. Their Socialist Commonwealth, borrowed from Morris or Bellamy, was as remote a Utopia as the "Zion" of the Salvation Army. But this was not all. I found, also, an absolute indifference to the study of the principles they professed, and in some even a marked aversion, which led them to speak reproachfully of the S.D.F. because it constantly and consistently holds these principles to the forefront of its propaganda. Karl Marx, I am afraid, is only known to many of our Socialists as a German person who wrote a ponderous work called "Capital," which has since been superseded by "Merrie England" and "Britain for the British." By others—"superior persons" these—it is supposed that Marx has been critically refuted and relegated to the limbo of the obsolete by writers whose intellectual stature is no higher than his waist-belt.

It is apparent that a movement in which there is so much ignorance, so much indifference, even so much hostility to its principles, affords every opportunity for skilful manipulation by unscrupulous intriguers, or may be most easily misled by honestly-mistaken leaders, some of whom are not very conspicuous for profundity of thought or knowledge, however able they may be in the ordinary way of labour agitation. That a considerable amount of intrigue is going on there can be no doubt whatever, and the first method of this intrigue is to discredit as far as possible those economic principles which distinguish Social-Democracy as a proletarian movement. Those who have followed the course of the resulting controversy are aware that this attempt has been, dialectically, a miserable failure. This is not so generally known in the movement as it ought to be, and the capitalist press has taken good care that the outside public shall not know it. It will, unfortunately, have to be left—and we leave it with confidence—to the logic of events to establish the truth of Marxian Socialism, and to refute the specious arguments by which bourgeois economists and others have sought to discredit it.

Turning to the United States, where the most striking effects of that concentration foretold by Marx are manifesting themselves, an examination of the report of the Census Bureau shows the gradual elimination of the middle class of small capitalists and independent producers and the relative increase of wage-workers. They show, also, that labour receives an appreciably smaller share of its product than ten years ago, and that the average wages have been actually reduced. In the United States the class antagonism between plutocracy and proletariat is becoming more and more marked, and has already gone nearer to revolution than we are permitted to know by the capitalist press. Very shortly we shall not need to go to the United States for our evidence. The same process of concentration and consolidation is beginning in earnest in this country, largely stimulated by

American capital; and a carefully planned campaign is being opened against those institutions to whose development our non-Marxian, utopian, Socialists look for the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth of Socialism. There can be no doubt, however, that the campaign against municipal enterprise, co-operation, and trade unionism will be very largely successful, simply because there is wanting the only power that could effectually cope with it—a well-equipped, well-organised, class-conscious Social-Democracy. And the principal agency that has prevented the formation of such a party is Fabianism, which has sought to prejudice the minds of those who are Socialists only by sentiment against the economic teachings of Marx, thus hindering the development of true Social-Democracy in England. I think we make a mistake in calling this intrigue “Bernsteinism.” It is *Fabianism*. Bernstein was undoubtedly perverted by Fabian influence. But the German Social-Democracy is much too strong for Bernstein and his middle and upper class admirers. The German worker is not so likely to be hoodwinked as his English confrère, who is intellectually and educationally far his inferior. But, although “Bernsteinism” will not succeed in splitting the party there, Fabianism is successfully able to prevent solidarity here. Whether the promoters of the anti-Marx movement are consciously endeavouring to head back Social-Democracy; whether the supercilious middle-class prejudices of the “superior persons,” so much in evidence among the Fabians, will not allow them to take part in the proletarian movement; or whether there is really a genuine belief in “the achievement of Socialism in the midst of existing society” on the part of the utopians, does not matter very much. The effect is the same. And it is interesting to note that the Fabian attempt to discredit the economics of Socialism is now being carried forward by the official organ of the I.L.P. It will be still more interesting to see how far the members of that organisation will allow it to go before they put an end to it, or whether the I.L.P. will finally be brought to the heel of Liberalism. The not professedly Socialist movement for “Labour Representation” is, as we know, very favourably regarded by our I.L.P. friends. But a “Labour Representation” by non-Socialist working-class candidates (it has even been suggested that some of them should be Conservatives!) will only play into the hands of the Liberal plutocracy, and this is, no doubt, the intention of its promoters. If our I.L.P. friends are hoping for good results in this direction they are destined to a bitter disappointment. But this is no affair of ours. We can afford to regard all these aberrations with equanimity. They provide us with one more proof of the fact that political movements always correspond with the economic conditions. By the law of economic determinism, Social-Democracy can only find its expression when these conditions become favourable. In the long run, we know, the various sections of the democracy, trade-unionists, co-operators, municipalisers, and non-Socialist labour men generally, as well as all those who profess and call themselves “Socialists,” will be driven together by sheer force of circumstances, and will finally be compelled to take up the position which the S.D.F. has all along constantly and consistently held, adopting its principles, its programme and its methods. It is nevertheless, a matter for regret that

the inevitable loss and waste in men and money, energy and enthusiasm, to be experienced before that time, will be due to the lack of a clear understanding that Socialism is essentially an *economic* movement, that it is solely the expression of economic effects, the causes of which are now in operation, as they have been for centuries, and that its battle will have to be fought out on the hard ground of economic conditions, a knowledge of which is essential if the struggle is to be brought to a successful issue. If the I.L.P. continues to advance along the line which one, at least, of its leaders considers trends from "bondage" to "freedom of thought and a policy of progress," it has ahead of it inevitable disaster and disruption. It seems, however, that now, as always, men refuse to learn save by the lessons of experience. Knowledge, had for the asking, is too easy of attainment, and advice is too cheap. It needs a stern school to educate conceited ignorance, and such a school is in preparation for those self-satisfied persons who already know too much to learn anything from what they call "the Marxian tradition."

JOHN E. ELLAM.

WAGES SINCE 1850.

SHOWING AN INCREASE IN THE COMPENSATION OF LABOURERS.

A table published recently in the New York *Financial Chronicle* shows the changes in the compensation of labourers from 1850 to the present time, according to the census reports. In the table given below the average wage per person for the successive census years is shown:—

1900	...	...	...	...	...	\$438
1890	...	...	...	...	...	445
1880	...	...	...	...	...	347
1870	...	...	...	...	...	377
1860	...	...	...	...	...	289
1850	...	...	...	...	...	247

The Boston *Transcript* calls attention to the "decline which appears to have taken place during the last decade," and explains it by the "fact that certain classes of salaried employees previously included as among the wage-earners were excluded in the last census. Not only, moreover, have money wages risen; real wages, represented by purchasing power have also increased, owing to the decline in the prices of commodities. Of course, these census figures are not to be taken as absolutely accurate. But the general fact here shown, that the average rate of wages is higher now than it was fifty years ago, cannot reasonably be disputed. The only point open to question is the precise extent of the increase that has taken place. The optimist is quite warranted in asserting that the status of the American labourer is improving. Arguments drawn from wage statistics are not likely, however, to have much effect in allaying popular discontent with existing conditions. The claims of the working class, in consequence of a rising standard of living, are advancing even faster than their wages."—*Public Opinion*, New York.

LETTERS FROM KARL MARX.

London, June 27, 1870.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—The honourable German professors have thought it right recently to refer to me now and then, though in a very unfair way, as for example, A. Wagner in a pamphlet on land value, Held of Bonn in a pamphlet on the land credit system in the Rhine provinces.

Herr Lange (on the labour question) praises me very much, with the object, however, of making himself important. He has made a great discovery: the whole of history is to be considered as a law of nature. This law of nature is the phrase "struggle for life," and the meaning of these words is to be found in the Malthusian law of population or rather the law of overpopulation. This is all that is needed, and one must confess that it is a funny method for a professor to adopt. The same Lange's remarks about the methods of Hegel and my obligations to them are quite childish. First of all, he knows nothing about Hegel's methods; and secondly, he knows still less about my own views. He compares me to Moses Mendelssohn, who wrote to Lessing not to take seriously the dead dog Spinoza! And so Herr Lange wonders that I, Engels, and others take seriously the dead dog Hegel when Büchner, Lange, Dr. Dühring, Fechner—who have lived after him—have proved that Hegel has been dead and buried a long time—Lange is childish enough to say that I only deal with difficulty with empirical matters. He does not seem to see that I am quite familiar with them and that I know and use the dialectical methods.

I have not been able to work at the second volume, though Meisner wants it this winter, owing to illness. I found it necessary to learn Russian because much has been written in that language on the land question, and I wanted to read the books in the original. I have also had to master a series of Blue Books which the English Government has issued on the land laws of all countries with reference to the Irish question. Between ourselves, I should like to hear that a second edition was required of Volume I. This would make me hasten to write Volume II.—Yours, KARL MARX.

London, September 14, 1870.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—My time has been so occupied with international work that I never get to bed before 3 a.m., and that is the cause of my long silence.—Yours, KARL MARX.

London, December 13, 1870.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—The reason for my silence is that I have had to do almost all the International correspondence, which is no light matter, because nearly all the foreign correspondents of the General Council have

gone to France. And it would be dangerous for me to write what I think about the war (and about what else could I write?), as the post is not secret now in Germany, and especially in Hanover. The danger would not be for me but for my correspondent.

You wanted our first address on the war. I have already sent it to you and it must have been confiscated. I send you to-day a pamphlet containing various addresses, and also Professor Beesly's article in the *Fortnightly Review* and to-day's *Daily News*. As this is a journal in favour of Prussia, perhaps it will get through. Professor Beesly is a Positivist, and therefore, he is bound to be rather crotchety, but he is a very able and a very courageous man. He is professor of history at University College.

It appears that not only are Bonaparte, his generals and his army, prisoners in Germany, but that imperialism with all its duties is acclimatised in the land of the oak and the elm.

That the German bourgeoisie should have gone crazy, I am not astonished. The first principle of the middle-class is to steal, and stealing foreign provinces is part of the game. And the German middle-class man will think it a good thing if these principles can be applied to the foreigner's land.

* This war has freed us from the bourgeois republican; he has been terrified, and is no more. That is a good thing. He has given our professors their best opportunity of showing themselves as servile pedants to all the world. The consequences which will follow will be a good propaganda for our principles.

Here in England at the beginning of the war the public was ultra Prussian, but now it is quite of the contrary opinion. In the music-halls the German singers are hissed when they give the "Wacht am Rhine," while the French singers are applauded to the echo in giving the "Marseillaise," and the people sing the chorus. This is partly due to the sympathy of the mass of the people for the Republic, to the distrust at the new alliance between Prussia and Russia, and to the haughty tone of Prussian diplomacy since the success of their arms. Then, too, people do not like the system of requisitions, of burning villages, of shooting the *francs-tireurs* and of hostages, which look like reminiscences of the Thirty Years' War. Of course, the English have done the same in India and in Jamaica; but Frenchmen are neither Hindoos, Chinese or niggers, and the Prussians are not heaven-born Englishmen. It is a true Hohenzollern idea that a people is doomed to destruction because it defends itself when its standing army has been taken prisoner. The Prussian fight against Napoleon I. under the "noble" Frederick William III. was one of the same kind, as can be read in Professor Pertz's "Life of Gneisenau," who organised on his estate a corps of *francs-tireurs*, and especially as in that time the people fought for their own cause and not for that of the higher orders.

Yet, the end is not yet. The war in France may have a different ending. The resistance of the Army of the Loire was against all precedent, and the German strength is being weakened on all sides. Their system of terror will only lead to the defensive tactics of the French becoming offensive tactics. The bombardment of Paris is a stupid measure. It can produce no real effect on the city. Suppose that some forts were taken, that a breach was made: what good would this do when the besieged are more numerous than the besiegers? And if the besieged are able to make sorties when the Prussians fight behind entrenchments, what would happen if the positions were reversed?

The starvation of Paris is the only real means. If this can be accomplished before armies are formed in the provinces, and before the people are roused, then everything will not be over. Even after the capitulation of Paris, which would require a large garrison, the invaders would still have their hands full. However the war ends, it has accustomed the French proletariat to the use of arms, and that is the best guarantee for the future.

The shameful tone which Russia and Prussia have adopted towards England will have unexpected and great results. The matter is as follows: England, by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, has weakened herself. She is a maritime power, and can only injure the great Continental military Powers by means of the sea. The best means to do that is by putting a stop to the over-sea trade of Continental Powers. To prevent this they will import goods from abroad in neutral ships. The English have allowed this—and other rights—by a Declaration to which they adhered and which is annexed to the Treaty of Paris. Clarendon did this by order of the pro-Russian Palmerston. The Declaration is not, however, part of the Treaty and was never sanctioned by law in England. The Russian and Prussian gentlemen reckon without their host when they rely on the influence of the Queen, who, by family interest, favours Prussia and the middle-class weakness of Gladstone, to always agree to this Declaration, because John Bull may make up his mind at any time to throw this Declaration overboard. Then he could destroy in a few weeks the over-sea trade of Prussia and Russia. Then I should like to see the long faces of the diplomatists of St. Petersburg and of Berlin, and the still longer faces of the great patriots. *Qui vivra verra.*—Yours,

K. M.

London, June 18, 1871.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—You must excuse my not writing, and to-day I only have time to send you a few lines.

You know that during the whole time of the Paris Civil War I was denounced as the “chief of the International” by the Versailles newspapers and also by other journalists. As to the address which you have received, it is making a devil of a row, and I have the honour at this moment of being the most calumniated and most menaced man in London. That does me good after the last twenty weary years of idyllic peace. The Government organ, the *Observer*, threatens me with a prosecution. Let them do it. I do not care for the wretches. I send you a cutting from the *Eastern Post* which contains our answer to the circular of Jules Favre. Our reply appeared in the *Times* of June 13, and the editor of that honourable paper received a sharp rap on the knuckles for this indiscretion from Mr. Bobby Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the Supervision Committee of the *Times*.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

Here is the letter referred to:—

“To the Editor of the *Eastern Post*.

“SIR,—On June 6, 1871, M. Jules Favre sent a circular to all European Powers in which he recommends them to put an end to the International Working Men’s Association. This document calls for a few comments.

"An initial error is that Jules Favre says that our association was founded in 1862, and, as a matter of fact, the International was started on September 28, 1864, after a public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.

"In speaking of our principles he quotes a so-called leaflet of the International dated March 25, 1869. And what does he quote? A leaflet of a society which is not the International. Jules Favre is an old hand at these misrepresentations, because long ago when defending, as a barrister, the 'National' in an action for libel brought by Cabet, he quoted as Cabet's certain pamphlets which he had not written. The trick was discovered and would have led to his expulsion from the Paris bar if Cabet had been vindictive. Of all the documents, quoted by him as from the International, not one was really issued by us. He says, for instance, that in July, 1869, the General Council issued a declaration in favour of Atheism. And as a matter of fact the General Council never issued such a document, and censured the Alliance of Socialist Democrats at Geneva for having done so.

"In the whole circular, which really tends towards Cæsarism, Jules Favre only quotes against the International reports of the imperialist police obtained from the imperialist courts.

"It is well known that the General Council of the International issued two circulars in July and September, condemning the action of Germany against France. Jules Favre sent his private secretary, M. Reitlinger, to ask a member of the General Council not to hold a meeting to denounce Germany as it was thought it might injure the Republic. It is true that the General Council, in its address of September 9, warned the Parisian workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues, and this may have had something to do with his anger.

"What would Jules Favre say if the International were to send to all the Cabinets of Europe a circular in which the documents collected by Millière were published?"—Your obedient servant,

JOHN HALES,

Secretary of the General Council of the International,

London, June 12, 1871.

July 27, 1871.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—Be so good as to send the enclosed note to Liebknecht.

I am sorry you have not written to me, because you must have got my letters. Besides it would be very wrong if you did not write to me because I am a bad correspondent. For you must remember that, if the day had 48 hours I would still be behind with my daily work.

The work for the International is immense, because London is overflowing with refugees whom we have to look after. Besides, I have to see other persons, newspaper rascals, and other people who wish to see the monster with their own eyes.

It has been said that the Christian myths would never have spread in the Roman Empire if printing had been invented. I am not so sure. The

daily press and the telegraph, which now go all over the world, manufacture more myths, which are spread by the bourgeoisie, in one day than was done before in a century.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

July 29, 1872.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—The International Congress of the Hague (which begins on September 2) will really decide whether the International is to live or to die, and I want to guard it against discordant elements. Germany ought to have as many representatives as possible. If you do not come write to Hepner and tell him to get elected as a delegate.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, January 19, 1874.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—Do not bother at the noise made by the newspapers, and do not answer them. I allow the English newspapers to announce my death from time to time, and I do not contradict them. Nothing annoys us more than if my friends write to the press about my health. I do not care what it thinks.

The relative victory of the Ultramontanes and the Social-Democrats at the elections serves Mr. Bismarck and his middle-class tail right. More another time.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

London, May 18, 1874.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—I am very thankful to you and Madame Tenge for the friendly trouble which you have taken. You must remember that my remissness in answering letters is due to my bad health.

After my return from Harrogate I suffered from a carbuncle and other ailments, so that from the middle of April to the 5th of May I had to go to Ramsgate. I am much better, but not quite well yet. My physician (Dr. Grummet, of Manchester) wants me to go to Karlsbad at once, but I must get through the French translation first, which has been for such a long time on the stocks, and I would much rather go there with you.

When I have been able to work I have been getting material ready for the second volume, but I cannot finish it till I have got the French translation done and until my health is restored. I have not yet decided where I shall go for the summer.

The outlook of working-class affairs in Germany and in Austria is very favourable. In France there is apparent a great need of theoretic foundations and practical commonsense. In England at present there is only progress among the agricultural labourers; the industrial working men must get rid first of their actual leaders. When I denounced the rascals at the

Hague Conference I knew that I should become unpopular, and also be accused of many things, but I did not care. For I was convinced, and people are beginning to see it, that these denunciations were a duty.

In the United States our party has to contend partly against economic hindrances, partly against political movements; but progress is being made. The great hindrance there is the professional politician, who tries to capture every movement for his own advantage.

The arrival of the Russian Emperor makes the London police very busy, and the Government will be glad when he is gone. They have got over 40 detectives from France, led by Police-Commissary Bloch (who are called Ali Baba and the 40 thieves), to watch over the Poles and Russians here. The so called petition of the Poles for an amnesty is the work of the Russian Embassy. The Poles here managed to get a copy of it, and meetings have been held in Hyde Park on Sundays about it. The press here, with scarcely an exception, is silent; the Czar is our guest, but the feeling against Russia is stronger than ever, even than during the Crimean war. The marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh with the Czar's daughter is not popular. The consequences—i.e., the non-complying with the terms laid down by the Treaty of Paris relating to the Black Sea, the conquests in Central Asia—annoy John Bull, and Disraeli will not have the chance of keeping long in power if he follows Gladstone's foreign policy.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

(The latter letters are not of public interest, and will not be published.)

(Translated by JACQUES BONHOMME.)

MAMMOTH TRUSTS AND MUNICIPAL TRADING.

The *Nineteenth Century* for November contains an article by Lionel Phillips on the above subject. After pointing out certain weaknesses in immense industrial combinations, the writer applies the moral to municipal trading—evidently from the commercial man's point of view.

Initiative, which is one of the chief attributes of a successful business man, is likely to be stifled out of existence in a company that must be conducted more or less on the line of a banking institution, by a set of somewhat struggling, albeit well-considered rules and regulations. The tendency among the employees of a corporation is invariably not to take risks, to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, and to do nothing to imperil their comfortable positions. Looked at from the wide standpoint of ultimate effect, trusts are less formidable than they appear, and before many years have passed many weak spots in their armour will be exposed by attacking rivals, who will maim if they do not annihilate them. Those who trust their savings to organisations of whose intrinsic merits they can have no means of judging, have only themselves to blame when they are lost. The inherent weakness of the modern trust lies in the enormous size of its capital in comparison with the intrinsic value of its assets. The goodwill of a going concern naturally has some value, its extent, however, being extremely difficult to assess, but when an industrial undertaking in the form of a limited liability company with a widely distributed ownership has a floating capital two or three times as large as the realisable value of its possessions, it is badly equipped to face the competition of the whole world. The fate

of trusts will hang upon their management and not upon the amount of capital at their command. Unfortunately this is not necessarily the case with municipal enterprise in the same field, for unlike trusts that must hold their own against competitors, the former enjoy special privileges and special protection.

If it be granted—and it is scarcely open to argument—that a heterogeneous body, composed of units elected at random, is not able to conduct a number of businesses as well as individuals specially trained to their special requirements, whose bread and butter are at stake, and, moreover, whose whole time, thought, and labour are devoted to make them successful, it follows that municipalities should not trade at all. It may be asserted as a sound doctrine that the policy of municipal councils should be to avoid trading.

As councillors are elected rather on account of their political views than their professional knowledge or business acumen, it would be well to curb their growing borrowing and trading propensities; and, indeed, if disaster is to be averted drastic steps must be taken to that end.

The writer contends that only where the capitalist refused to take the risk should municipal enterprise begin.

To meet the just contention that concessions should not be granted to individuals at the expense of the public, Mr. Phillips advocates the system of profit-sharing which prevails in some German cities. Plans, specifications, and tariff rates to be approved by municipality, and, after a fixed rate of interest and a fair provision for redemption had been taken from the profits, the balance should be divided between the speculators and the Corporation. Some of the advantages of this system the writer contends to be:—

- (a) Works of a special kind would be erected and managed by specialists.
- (b) Failure would fall upon the concessionaire and not upon the ratepayer.
- (c) Unfair competition with business men would be avoided.
- (d) The ratepayer would be interested in the profits without suffering the risks.
- (e) New inventions could be made available without having possibly to make large sacrifices in discarding obsolete appliances.
- (f) The rateable property could not be pledged to a dangerous degree.
- (g) Members of the Council could devote better attention to their real duties.
- (h) A conflict with or improper surrender to trade unions would be impossible.
- (i) The alarming increase in the rates would come to an end.

SOME statistics have just been published in Belgium concerning the number of monks and nuns there. In 1846 there were 11,968, there were in 1900 37,684, that is to say, while the population of Belgium has increased by one-third since 1826, the monks have increased threefold, or in other words there is one out of 172 persons who is a monk or a nun. The convents have also naturally increased; there were 779 in 1846, and 2,221 in 1900. It is not so easy to estimate the wealth possessed by these orders, but it is estimated at about £100,000,000. This shows the danger of non-interference.

THE AIMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By K. KAUTSKY. (*Neue Zeit*, Jahrg. XV. 8.) Part II.

THE HISTORICAL THEORY.

Bax says: "Kautsky accuses me of confusing the historical development with 'the whole of human life.' Certainly I maintain that one has the right to demand from a complete theory of historical development, that it shall be capable of giving a fitting explanation of the whole of human life, or sufficient hints to such explanations, considering the whole of human life develops itself in history."

Definite as that sounds, nevertheless, I allow myself to doubt the inviolability of that sentence—that the whole of human life develops itself in history. The functions of the human organism—digestion, procreation, child birth, belong to a certain extent to "the whole of human life"; but it will occur to no one to assert that "they have developed them selves in the course of history." But quite apart from that, I am not of opinion that one can demand from a theory that it shall explain more than it sets out to explain. If the Darwinian theory gives an explanation of the development of the species of plants and animals, one cannot accuse it of being insufficient because it does not in addition explain organic life itself.

One may describe also human society as an organism, but certainly not as an animal or vegetable. It forms a peculiar organism, which has its own laws and its own life. Human life, so far as it is animal life, life of the individual organism, is subject to quite different laws from those of the social life. History has only to investigate the laws of this last.

The object of the materialist conception of history is not to study the universal in human history, what is common to men of all times, but what is historically peculiar, what distinguishes men at different periods from one another. But on the other hand their object is to see what the people of a particular time, nation, or class have in common, not that which divides a particular individual from other individuals with whom he lives and works.

This is in no way altered by the fact that history books hitherto have related to us not the usual, the social, but the unusual and the individual. The materialist conception of history does not allow itself to be guided in its aims by the older methods of writing history.

The materialist conception of history makes no claim to explain the fact and to trace it back without any further ado to economic conditions, that Cæsar had no children and adopted Octavian, that Antony fell in love with Cleopatra, and that Lepidus was an impotent weakling. Certainly, however, it believes itself able to explain the break-up of the Roman Republic and the rise of Cæsarism.

From that it is clear that Bax has a false idea of the materialist conception of history, when he thinks that it aspires to explain the "special poetic gift" of the poet, "the poetical qualities of a Shakespeare or a Goethe." That it neither can nor wishes to do. It may be a defect; but will Bax assert that any other historical conception is in the position to explain these

qualities? I am of opinion it is an achievement not to be despised if the materialist conception of history can explain the extent of the ideas which Shakespeare or Goethe had in common with their contemporaries.

From the existing Marxist literature Bax could have discovered for himself that the historic materialism is not of opinion that genius is directly to be traced back to the economic facts. I may be allowed, in proof of this, to point to my own writings.

In my work on Thomas More I distinguish three factors which influenced his work. In the first place, and that is the most important factor, the general social relations of his time and country, which can be traced back to the economic conditions. Then the special social surroundings, in which More developed, and to that belong not only the special economic conditions, in which he lived, but also the men with whom he associated, whose particular ideas are again to be traced back to factors of various kinds, the traditions which he found, the literature which was accessible to him, &c. But all these elements do not suffice to render quite clear the effect of the "Utopia," and the personal peculiarity of More must also be taken into account.

It is clear that the materialist conception of history is by no means so simple and cut-and-dried as some people describe it. As another example, I can point to my work on "Das Kapital," and the "Elend der Philosophie" (translated as "Poverty of Philosophy" into English).

Besides the general social conditions, in the last resort the economic conditions of their time come in to account for the results of Marx and Engels, their special surroundings. If More stood there quite apart among Englishmen through his combination of humanism with the activity of a practical lawyer, so Marx and Engels stood apart through their combination of the revolutionary elements which Germany produced at that time with those of France and England. But first when one in addition to that takes their personal gifts into account, is their influence in history to be understood.

Should we, however, view Socialism as a social phenomenon, we will in consequence be able to disregard the individual influences, the more we look on it as a phenomenon where the masses come into account. For a comprehension of the common contents of the collective Socialist movements of the nineteenth century the social relations of the capitalistic system of production are fully sufficient.

The materialistic method is also indispensable to a right comprehension of the individual in history. We can first grasp his peculiarity if we have found out what he had in common with his time, and what were its leading motives. We can first examine what he gave to his time when we know what he got from it.

Can, however, the individual, according to the materialist conception of history, give anything to society? Does he not simply stand as a recipient in relation to it? Does not the materialist conception of history shut out all idea of a reciprocal influence between the individual and society?

Here we have arrived at the question, what part the man, or if it is preferred the "mind," the "psychological motor," the idea, plays in history. For idealist historians the idea is in the position to lead an independent existence for itself. For us it is simply a function of the human brain, and the question whether the idea can influence society coincides with the question whether and how this is possible to the individual.

Bax will be very surprised when I declare that I fully agree to the sentence which he holds up against me: "Economic conditions make history

only in combination with human mind and will." I do not agree, however, when he continues: "That is equivalent to saying that the neo-Marxist conception of history is on the wrong track."

One must have an almost mystical idea of the economic development if one believes that it could make the smallest step forward without the activity of the human spirit. People must, however, not confuse economic development and economic conditions. These are two quite different things.

In the last resort the economic development is nothing more than the development of technique, that is, of the successive inventions and discoveries. What are these other than the "alternate working" between the intellect and the economic conditions?

Historic materialism, far from denying the motor force of the human intellect in society, gives only a special explanation, and one different from that hitherto accepted, of the working of this intellect.* The mind governs society, but not as master of the economic relations, but as their servant. They it is that set the mind the problem which it has to solve at the time. And, therefore, it is also they that determine the results which it can and must achieve under given historical conditions. The immediate result which the human intellect achieves with the solution of one of its problems can be one which it has wished for and foreseen. But each of these solutions must produce effects which it could not foresee, and which often contradict its intentions. The economic development is the product of the alternate working between the economic circumstances and the human intellect, but it is not the product of the free and unimpeded activity of mankind arranging the economic conditions as seems to them good. Every solution of a technical task confronts us with new tasks. The surmounting of every natural barrier confronts us with new barriers which we have yet to surmount; the satisfaction of any want produces a new want. Every technical advance brings, however, new means to accomplish new tasks.

But not only that. No technical alteration, no alteration of the methods of production or of life is possible without reaction on the relations of men to one another. A certain sum of technical progress will continually imply new conditions of labour and life, which are incompatible with the prevailing organisation of society, with the ruling principles of law, morality, religion, &c.

Technical progress creates not only new problems for the discoverer and inventor, but also for the organisers and leaders of society; problems

* Marx points out that a critical history of technology does not yet exist, and remarks further: "Darwin has interested us in the history of natural technology, *i.e.*, in the formation of the organs of plants and animals, which organs serve as instruments of production for sustaining life. Does not the history of the productive organs of man, of the organs that are the material basis of all social organism, deserve equal attention? And would not such a history be easier to compile since, as Vico says, human history differs from natural history in this: that we have made the former, but not the latter? Technology discloses man's modes of dealing with Nature, the process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them. Every history of religion even that fails to take account of this material basis is uncritical. It is in reality much easier to discover by analysis the earthly core of the misty creations of religion than conversely it is to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestified forms of these relations. The latter method is the only materialistic and, therefore, the only scientific one." ("Capital," vol. i., Eng. trans., p. 367.)

whose solution is continually rendered difficult owing to the might of tradition, mostly also owing to lack of knowledge and insight, and, in societies with class antagonism, also owing to the interests of the classes who derive an advantage from the existing state of affairs, but which in such cases will be finally forced on owing to the interests of the classes whose interests lie in the new order and always owing to economic necessity.

Societies which do not possess the requisite strength and insight to carry out the adaptation of social organisation to the new economic conditions rendered necessary must decay.

In the beginnings of society the Darwinian mode of unconscious development, the survival of the best adapted organisms and the disappearance of those who could not adapt themselves, prevailed. But the farther we proceed in history the more does man control nature, the more do men react consciously to the suggestions, which the economic development gives them; so much the quicker and more striking does this progress, so much the easier do the arising problems come to the consciousness of men and so much the higher developed are the methods of consciously solving the new problems, so much the more does the social revolution cease to be simply instinctive, and begins to be conceived through ideas, through aims which men set themselves, and finally through systematic research.

The connection between the economic conditions, which place humanity before their problems and produce the means for their solution, and the thereby-produced intellectual activity of mankind, becomes always more complicated, the more embracing and complicated both the spheres in which this activity proceeds, the sphere of nature controlled by man and the society, and the more intermediaries obtrude themselves between cause and effect. Out of the originally purely empirical attempts to render the one or the other natural force serviceable to man, natural science finally developed itself; there enters the division of labour between the men of theory and of practice, between the men of research and those who apply the results, which latter themselves are always subdividing into different groups and categories. And so it is the case in society. The social philosopher separates himself from the politician, and politics and social philosophy themselves again split into subdivisions. By the side of the practical legislator comes the legal expert, by the side of the preacher and custodian of morality comes the moral philosopher, &c.

Each of these activities separates itself from the other, believes that it lives an inner life of its own apart, and forgets that its duties, and the means to their performance, are in the last resort laid down for it by the economic conditions of society.

Bax is of another opinion.

"The history of philosophy," he says, "is in no way, in its principal developments, to be traced back to economic causes. Although the practical application of philosophical systems and thought can partially be explained on that ground, we have, nevertheless, in the main to deal with a revolution in the realm of thought, as is very easy to be proved. If Kautsky possibly wishes to explain that philosophy can only flourish after civilisation, including the economic development, is sufficiently advanced to allow that a sufficient number of men possess sufficient leisure to give themselves up to speculative thought, that would be self-evidently only a negative condition of the appearance of philosophy, and neither a positive cause of the origin of philosophy in general, let alone the contents of the same at various periods. If Kautsky farther asks how the original germs of philosophical ideas have arisen, I answer through observation of the proceedings of external nature

and the human mind, and from analysis of the conditions of knowledge and consciousness." Not so harmless, as it is made out by Bax, is my assertion. I claim by no means that the relation of philosophy to the economic conditions of their time lies simply in the leisure which these conditions allow to the philosophers for the observation of nature and the intellect, and for "thought-revolutions." No, the philosopher still gets something more from society.

In the first place, it is remarkable that Bax mentions, among the objects of philosophy, simply external nature and the human mind, but not society itself. In my opinion, philosophy occupied itself up to now partly with the investigation of nature—in which I also reckon the human mind—partly with the investigation of society. That a philosopher can draw his ideas about human society only from society itself, and that the structure of a society at any period is to be explained from its economic conditions, I do not need to explain any further, but from that it follows already that a very important part of philosophy is by its very nature traceable back to the economic conditions and not simply to be explained through a "thought-revolution," or a formal-logical development.

How does it stand, however, with natural science? Bax traces this back to simple "observation of the proceedings of external nature." But with that one does not get very far. The savage can also observe, and he observes, as a rule, the proceedings of nature much more sharply than we. But that does not make him a philosopher. Only so far as the observation of nature leads to the mastery over nature does it attain to an investigation of nature. What distinguishes the philosopher from the savage is not the fact of the observation of nature; the distinction consists in this: For the savage, nature is something self-evident, to the philosopher she is a riddle. The simple observation shows us only the "how" of the proceedings of nature. The philosophical research of nature commences first with the question of "why." Man must first, to a certain extent, have cut the navel strings, which bind him to nature; he must, to a certain extent, dominate nature, have raised himself over her, before he can think of the mastery over her. And only in the degree in which the mastery of man over nature extends itself, in which technical progress advances, does the field of scientific research of nature extend itself. The philosophers would not have got very far in their "thought-revolution" without telephone, and microscope, weighing and measuring instruments, laboratories and observatories, &c. These produce not only the means of solving the problems of natural science, they produce the very problems themselves. But they themselves are the results of the economic development—results which through man again become the cause of further progress. The development of the natural sciences goes hand in hand with the technical development—this word being understood in its widest sense. Under the technical conditions of a time the tools and machines are not solely to be understood. The modern methods of chemical research and modern mathematics form integral parts of the existing technique. Let anyone build a steamship or a railway bridge without mathematics! Without the mathematician of to-day capitalist society would be impossible. The present position of mathematics belongs just as much to the economic conditions of the present society, as the present position of the technique of machinery, or the world-commerce. It all hangs together.

The development of natural and social philosophy is, therefore, bound up in the closest manner with the economic development. The economic conditions of the time give the philosopher not simply the necessary leisure

for his observations, but something more: the problems which stir the age and wait for a thinker to solve them, and the means of solution.

The direction in which this solution has to move in every single case is laid down once for all with the elements of the solution. That is not to say that it is always forthwith clearly recognisable to everybody. The problems, namely, those of society, and only with these have we to do, although, *mutatis mutandis*, it is valid also for the progress of natural science, are concerned with highly complicated phenomena.

Certainly, with the economic development, the aids to and methods of research increase, but in the same degree do also the objects of research become more complicated. The statesman and philosopher of the Middle Ages had not the means or methods of modern statistics at his disposal; but he had only to deal with small peasant and town communities, which each lived for itself, was easy to superintend, and was only brought into contact with the rest of the world through a commerce utterly insignificant. To-day the statesmen and economists have to deal with a commerce which embraces the most important elements of the production and consumption of the civilised states. So complicated are the phenomena which have yet to be explained, the tasks which have to be performed, that it is for the individual, as a rule, impossible to recognise all their aspects, and therewith to find what is in all points the right explanation and solution. Although there can be only one solution of a problem, yet we see innumerable solutions brought forward, from which each one draws one or other element of the question into account. On the other hand, none are the elements of the same. Therefore, the variety of opinions about the same subject among men, and among those even who stand on an equal height of knowledge and capacity. One cannot understand the other, not for this reason, that one is stupider than the other, but because in the same thing the one sees something quite different from the other.

Differences in intellectual capacity produce naturally also differences of opinion, but in the mass of mankind these differences of capacity are very unimportant. But what is very different among men, is their standpoint, which means in other words, the social position from which they approach the questions of their time. And these differences increase with the progress of the economic development. The differences of the position of the individuals in the society postulate not only differences in the development of their capacities and in their knowledge, but also in their traditions, therefore prejudices, and finally in their interests—personal and class interests.

In spite of all individual distinctions, the standpoint from which the mass of the members of a particular class approach a particular question is nevertheless a fixed one, and therewith is also given the direction in which it looks for a solution. This standpoint is, however, to be traced back to the economic conditions of the society at the time; through these conditions will not only the problem be given, and the direction in which alone it can find a solution, but also the various directions in which the various classes and sections of society look for this solution.

In the whole period which up to now has been subjected to the scientific investigation of history no class has ever succeeded, and still less any individual, in finding a complete solution of one of the social questions.

The right and only possible solution, which emerged from the struggles of interests and opinions, was always different from any one aimed at and sought by the various classes, parties, and thinkers. But we find continually that those classes whose interests coincided with those of the necessary

development are more open to the truth than others whose interests stood in opposition to this. And, while the ideas and views of the first always came nearer to the real solution of the whole problem, the other exhibited a tendency to get further and further removed from it. Here we are arrived at the point where we can see how far the individual can modify the development of society. He can invent no new problems for it, even if he is occasionally in a position to recognise problems there, where others have hitherto found nothing to puzzle them. He is in respect of the solution of these problems confined to the means which his time offers him. On the other hand the choice of the problems to which he applies himself, that of the standpoint from which he approaches their solution, the direction in which he looks for it, and finally the strength with which he fights for it are not, without qualification, to be ascribed to the economic conditions alone; for, besides these, also the individuality asserts itself with that particular energy which it has developed, thanks to the particular nature of its talent and the particular nature of the special circumstances in which it is placed. All the circumstances here related have influence, even if not in the direction of the development, nevertheless on its march, on the form in which the result, finally inevitable, is brought about. And in this respect individuals can do for their age a great deal, a very great deal. Some, as thinkers, when they acquire a deeper insight than the people around them, emancipate themselves more than these from the inherited traditions and prejudices, overcome the narrow class vision.

The last may sound curious in the mouth of a Marxist. But in fact Socialism rests on an overcoming of the narrow class vision. For the short-sighted bourgeois the social question consists in the problem, how to keep the workers quiet and contented; for the short-sighted wage-worker it is simply a food question, the question of higher wages, shorter hours of labour and assured work. It is necessary to have overcome the narrowness of one as well as the other, to attain to the view that the solution of the social problems of our time must be a more embracing, and such a one as is only possible in a new social order.

Certainly, that is not to say, however, that this higher knowledge of the Socialists is the complete knowledge, and that the new society will not perhaps develop quite other forms than we expect.

The thinker who overcomes the class tradition and class narrowness places himself on a higher position and thereby discovers new truths; which means that he comes nearer to the solution of the question than the average individual, therefore, he cannot reckon on the applause of all classes. As a rule, only those classes will agree with him whose interests coincide with the general development—very often not even these, if the thinker has raised himself too much above his surroundings. In any case, interest has wonderful powers of sharpening the intelligence.

But it is not the thinker alone who can shorten the path of development, and can lessen its sacrifices. The artist who grasps the truths discovered by the thinker and expresses them in a manner that is at once clearer, more attractive, more rousing, more inspiring; the organiser and tactician, who gathers the scattered forces and applies them to concerted action, they all can hasten and help the development.

I have spoken of organisers and tacticians. To these belong not only the politicians, but also the generals. It has become the fashion in democratic circles to look down somewhat on the general and on war, as if it were quite without importance for the development of humanity. That is the reaction against the historical conception of the royalist of the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, traces of which even to-day are to be seen in the historical works of men capable of forming an opinion, that all progress starts from the monarchs, and that wars are the most important and beneficial events of their reigns.

That is nonsense. But it is a fact, that hitherto among the most powerful levers of revolution, that is, the forcible hastening of the social development, has belonged war, and that the generals who won the victories for the cause of revolution are to be named among the first of those who have promoted the cause of human development.

Certainly, the number of those generals, who have opposed the development, and retarded it through their victories, would be probably much greater. But in the camp of the reactionaries and those who hinder the cause of the development are not only to be found generals, but also politicians and legislators; and not a few philosophers and artists have been drawn into this camp. No more than the reactionary tendency of the majority of officers in modern times should our opposition, on the grounds of principle, against militarism cause us to undervalue the influence of military genius on the process of previous historical development.

Still another democratic prejudice must be pointed out, which people only too readily seek to justify by means of the materialist conception of history; the dislike to the conferring of honour and distinction on individuals, what they reject as "worship of personality," "authoritarianism," &c. These are the war cries which we have inherited from the petty bourgeois democracy, and which on account of their beautiful sound are still current in our ranks, although they avail for nothing more than to give the Anarchists an argument against us.

It is certain that every individual is a product of circumstances; that he inherits the peculiarity of his organism and is indebted for his particular development to the special surroundings in which he has been thrown.

Genius is, therefore, not responsible for the fact that it is genius. That is nevertheless no ground why any public-house Philistine should have the same importance and interest for me as a thinker who has mastered the knowledge of his century, and who has infinitely extended my insight, or that I should pay as much attention to the opinions of a political recruit as to those of an experienced politician who, during a lifetime, has given proofs of his capabilities through numberless political victories.

We do not need to excuse ourselves for our "worship of personality" if we revere the memory of a Lassalle or a Marx; if we oftener ask to hear a Bebel or a Liebknecht than a Smith or Jones, and we have no need to protest heatedly against the reproach that we have leaders. Yes, we have leaders, and it depends in no infinitesimal extent upon the quality of our leaders whether our way to victory is longer or shorter, rough or smooth. But not only the reverencing, but also the antagonism to individual persons, is not incompatible with our materialist standpoint. People say, readily: "We do not fight persons, but against the system." But the system exists only in persons, and I cannot attack it without attacking persons.

I cannot abolish the system of monarchy without deposing the person of the monarch. I cannot end the capitalist method of production without expropriating the person of the capitalist. And if anyone among our opponents stands out through his special ability, power, or hostility, or inflict special damage on us, we must fight this person in particular. That is in no way incompatible with our materialist conception of history. In the present we are not simply historians, but in the first place fighters. Our

materialist conception puts us in a position to understand our opponents, but not in order that we should cease to fight them. The materialist conception is no fatalist conception. Only in battle, in battle against a hostile nature, a hostile people, a hostile class, hostile opinion, the hostile individual, does the individual come to complete development.

But not only the fighter in the present, also the writer of the history of the past will never be able to entirely ignore individual people, if he wants to portray the exact manner in which the historic development has proceeded under particular circumstances, and in so far will he find that the materialist conception of history alone does not suffice.

But only in so far as the sphere of the materialist conception of history reaches, is the investigation and description of the historical development a *science*. So soon it leaves this territory, it becomes simply *art*, which also requires to lay a foundation through the materialist method if it will win a sure foothold.

We see now clearly what this can achieve and will. It starts from the principle that the development of society and the views prevailing in it are governed by law, and that we have got to look for the motor power of this development and the ultimate ground of the same in the development of the economic conditions. To each particular stage of the development of the economic conditions correspond special forms of society and ideas.

To investigate these laws and connections is the most important and fundamental work of historical research. This accomplished, it is comparatively easy to comprehend the particular forms of the development in particular cases.

In this sense I conceive the materialist conception of history, and if I have not wholly misunderstood Marx and Engels, this conception is wholly in their sense.

But if it gives any pleasure to anyone, they can call it neo-Marxist.

The principal point is naturally the question whether it is right. The answer to that must be given by the practice, the application of the method.

A further article will give a few additional illustrations, in which we take Bax's criticism as a starting point.



TRUSTS AND COMBINATIONS.

In the November *Macmillan's Magazine*, F. W. Bockett writes an article on this subject. He says :—

The example of Trade Unionism has not been lost on the capitalist. So long as workmen competed with each other to sell their labour at the lowest price they remained the Calibans of the community. Not until they ceased to compete and combined to obtain a certain standard of wages, or profit on their labour, did they improve their position.

In the United States over a hundred articles, from steel rails to coffins, are in the hands of Trusts ; but there is no evidence of any of these combinations having been successful in obtaining a monopoly. In every case where

Trusts have endeavoured to raise prices above reasonable competitive rates, the attempt seems to have ended in failure.

What is a Trust? So far back as 1890, the Foreign Office issued a valuable report on "The Constitution, Attributes and Legal Status of Trusts in the United States," in which a Trust was defined to be—An organisation made possible by the surrender on the part of the stockholders of the different corporations entering into the Trust of their separate shares of stock to a board of trustees, the trustees holding from the individual stockholders an irrevocable power of attorney. In return the trustees issue trust certificates which represent an equitable share in the combined properties. The business of all the corporations is then managed in unison by the trustees, and the profits of all being pooled are distributed among the certificate holders in proportion to their holdings.

The writer says the Standard Oil Trust has certainly not destroyed competition, because the amount of oil refined at the present time by competitors of the trust is larger than the total quantity refined at the time the trust was formed.

Although the word trust has been little used in connection with English commerce, the combination of capitalists with a view to modifying competition is as old at least as the early years of the great railway companies. The railway mania had not existed many years before it was clearly seen that fierce competition meant financial disaster.

Combination and amalgamation have been going on persistently in the transport trade for many years past until competition has been reduced so low as to be a menace to public welfare.

In Sir George Findlay's book on the "Working and Management of an English Railway" will be found a clear statement of the methods adopted by the railway companies to suppress competition. The English and Scotch Traffic Rates Conference and the Normanton Conference settle the rates for the whole of England and Scotland. The cross Channel rates between England and Ireland are controlled by the English and Irish Traffic Rates Conference.

In our principal manufacturing industries there has been a steady tendency during the past 20 years for large firms to swallow up numbers of small firms with a view to checking competition and to creating possibilities in improved methods of manufacture.

Take J. and P. Coats, Limited. In 1890 it was floated as a public company with a capital of over five millions. It has since absorbed 16 other sewing thread companies, it has 60 branch houses and 150 depôts, a gigantic business in the United States, and factories in Russia and Montreal. The English Sewing Cotton Company has swallowed up all the remaining sewing cotton manufacturers, one French firm, the principal Scotch firm, and has a powerful interest in the American Thread Trust.

In 1898 31 firms of cotton spinners united to form the Fine Cotton Spinners' Association with a capital of six millions; 15 other firms have joined them since, and the extent of their dealings may be gathered from the fact that they have recently purchased a coal mine in order to save the profits of the coalowners.

In 1899 47 firms of calico printers and 13 firms of merchants combined to form the Calico Printers' Association. This concern now comprises 85 per cent. of the calico printing industry of Great Britain, and although in

1901 its balance-sheet showed a loss of £106,000, it has during the past six months made a profit of £157,568, after deducting £99,612 for depreciation, maintenance, &c., and £64,000 for interest on debenture stock.

The writer, after denying the truth of the Socialist view of the probable outcome of this ever-increasing trustification of industry, says: Free trade is a fairly good assurance against monopolies, if not a complete assurance. What we have to face is the painful fact that the sense of personal responsibility between employer and employed is being gradually destroyed, and the divorce between ownership and authority fast becoming obsolete.

The world smiles or sneers at those who suggest that the only real solution of the problems of modern industrial life lies in the gradual moralisation of capital and labour. We are face to face with one of the results of ignoring such a doctrine.

POPULARITY AND KARL MARX.

For popularity Marx entertained a sovereign contempt. What he especially praised in Robert Owen was that, whenever any of his ideas became popular, he would come forth with a new demand making him unpopular. Free from all conceit, Marx could not attribute any value to the applause of the masses. The masses were to him a brainless crowd whose thoughts and feelings were furnished by the ruling class. And while Socialism has not spiritually soaked through the masses, the applause of the crowd can, as a logical consequence, be bestowed only on men belonging to no party or to the adversaries of Socialism. To-day, when socialistic conceptions have begun to pervade the masses and to influence so-called "public opinion," this is no longer true to the same extent as 40 or 50 years ago. Then it was only a tiny minority within the labouring class itself that had raised itself to Socialism; and among Socialists themselves those in the scientific sense of Marx—in the sense of the Communist Manifesto—were in the minority. The bulk of the labourers, so far as they had become awake to political life, were wrapped in the mists of sentimental democratic wishes and phrases, such as were a part of the movement of 1848, with its preludes and epilogues. The applause of the masses: popularity—was to Marx a proof of being in the wrong, and his favourite quotation was the proud verse of Dante:

Segui il tuo corso e lascia dir le genti

(Follow your course and let the people talk).

How often has he quoted this verse, that also concludes his preface to "Capital." Nobody is impervious to blows, thrusts, stings of mosquitoes or bugs, and how often may Marx, following his course, attacked on all sides, worried by cares of existence, misunderstood by the mass of the working-men for whose battle of freedom he

was forging the weapons in the stillness of the night, even scornfully disavowed by them while they were running after shallow phrase-twisters, glistening traitors or, perhaps, open enemies—how often may he, in the solitude of his poor, genuinely proletarian study, have cheered his own courage with the words of the great Florentine and gathered new strength from them!

He was not to be turned aside from his purpose. Unlike the prince in "Arabian Nights," who lost the victory and the price of victory because he was tempted by the noise and the phantasms around him to look timidly around and backward, he proceeded in his path, his eyes steadily directed ahead at the shining goal—he "let the people talk," and if the world's orb had crumbled to pieces nothing would have restrained him in his course. And victory came to him. True, not the price of victory.

Before all-conquering Death felled him he had lived to see the seed he had scattered growing up wonderfully and ripening for the scythe of the harvester. Yes, he had the victory—and we have the price of victory.

Popularity being hateful to him, he felt a holy wrath against soliciting popularity. Smooth-tongued orators were an abomination to him, and woe to him who indulged in phrases. There he was inexorable. "Phrase-monger" was in his mouth the sharpest censure—and whomever he once had recognised as a "phrase-monger" he ignored forever. To think logically and to express your thoughts clearly—this he impressed on us "young fellows" on every occasion, and forced us to study.—LIEBKNECHT'S "Life of Marx."



It is a proverb in Germany that the Social-Democrats enjoy extraordinary good fortune in having enemies who are continually making propaganda for them by committing tactical blunders of the most egregious nature. The latest instance is in the field of co-operation. This movement in Germany is much more complex than that of England. It includes many forms of combination which would hardly come under the real meaning of the term "co-operative effort" as understood in this country. At a recent congress of these societies it was reported that a large number of distributive organisations had a majority of Socialist members who did not agree that the aim of co-operation was to prolong the existence of small industries and businesses. This was considered to be dangerous to the movement, and the congress decided to expel nearly one hundred distributive societies from the Co-operative Union. The wisdom or need of this step is hard to discover, seeing that co-operative organisations are forbidden by law to discuss politics or act politically. The effect of the action was seen in the immediate formation of a union for distributive societies only, to which it is expected that the bulk of these bodies, which are the most powerful and numerous, will attach themselves. Being mostly working-class organisations, they will stand as an advertisement of the power of the Social-Democrats and the fear they inspire in the minds of the other classes and parties of Germany.—*Ethics*.

THE BASE OF RICHES.

"But how?" asked the husband, smilingly. "It is generally said that the world is full of injustice and misery and that this cannot be remedied."

To this question the wife answered in a truly* womanly way, namely, by asking another question.

"But why," she said softly, "don't you take into account what is done for poor people, what a great deal of money is spent in charity, in hospitals, &c. ? Anyone would think that you did not know about this."

"But, my dear, I have spoken about injustice. Injustice is not put right by charity, even if it could relieve all misery, and you know that it cannot do that ; it is like a rivulet lost in a desert of sand. Charity presupposes evil or poverty, and the real cure is to put a stop to the cause, that is to say, to injustice."

"But what injustice?" asked the lady, who wished to understand.

"But I have already told you, a manifest injustice. And that is that riches which are produced by labour are not divided among the producers, but get into the hands of a few who thus become a privileged class which holds in its hands the means of subsistence and thus becomes more and more wealthy. Meanwhile the others are poor and ignorant."

The lady thought a little and then said, "I do not understand." Then, after a while she said, "But do not people become rich by labour?"

"By the labour of others, you mean."

"By making others work? Now, our neighbour Ferreri, for example, is rich, but he has worked, for did not he begin by being a stonemason?"

"Well, he began to be rich when he ceased working and got others to work for him. For if he had gone on working like his mates he would never have been rich."

"But he did go on working in a *fashion* ; he managed, he directed, he took a great deal of trouble."

"And you think that his fortune, on which 200 families could exist, is a just reward for his management? And is it right that the hundred working men, without whose labours his fortune would have been non-existent, have hardly enough to live, though they work ten hours a day, injure their health, and will die in the workhouse? Do you think that fair?"

"But, then, do you think that all riches have been unjustly acquired?"

"Not according to the law, but really they have."

"Do you mean to say that my father came by his fortune unjustly?"

"No ; excuse me, your father inherited his fortune."

"Yes, that is so ; then it was my grandfather, the lawyer, who was dishonest, but he worked for it."

"Not really. As a lawyer, he was one of the privileged classes, and he could easily get money. But in reality, if we go back far enough, we shall find that all fortunes were unjustly obtained."

EDMONDO DE AMICIS (from *L'Universita Popolare* for October).
(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

* This is an Italian lady. As a married man, it would be more than I dare to suggest that such a custom may, perhaps, also exist in this country.—J. B.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE WRONGED.

We have seen the reaper toiling in the heat of the summer sun,
We have seen his children needy when harvesting was done,
We have seen a mighty army dying hopeless, one by one
While their flag went marching on.

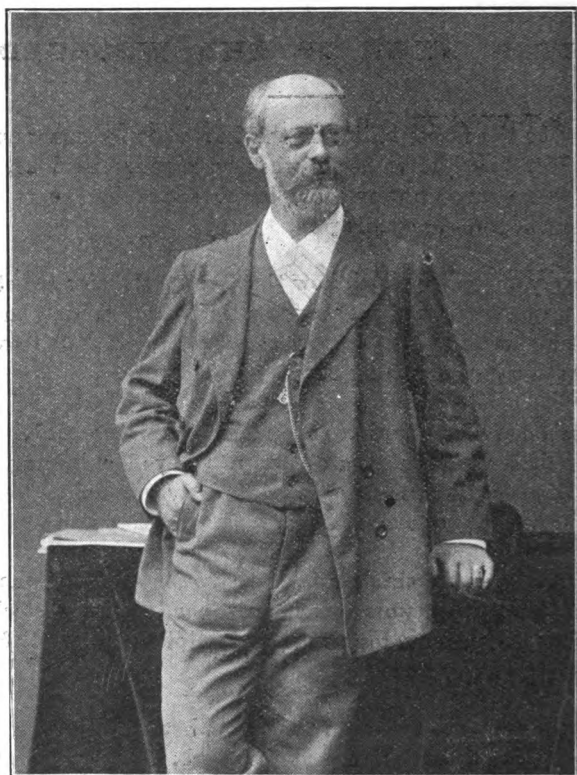
Oh, the army of the wretched, how they swarm the city streets !
We have seen them in the night where Goths and vandals meet,
We have shuddered in the darkness at the noises of their feet—
But their cause goes marching on.

Our slaver's marts are empty, human flesh no longer sold,
Where the dealer's fateful hammer wakes the yellow leaping gold,
But the slavers of the present more relentlessly now hold,
Though the world goes marching on.

But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel ;
We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel ;
In the mines and in the forests worn and helpless man shall feel
His cause is marching on !

Then lift your eyes, ye toilers in the desert hot and drear,
Catch the cool wind from the mountains ; hark, the river's voice is near—
Soon we'll rest beside the fountains and the dream-land will be here !
As we go marching on !

—HAMLIN GARLAND.



KARL KAUTSKY.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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KARL KAUTSKY.

In the following pages I have essayed to reproduce, in abbreviated form, an autobiography which our distinguished comrade wrote for Russian Socialists. I have kept to the original as much as possible, but can only regret that the requirements of space rendered a complete reproduction impossible.

J. B. ASKEW.

Russian comrades have requested me to write an autobiography for them. I felt that I could not do this. My personality, alone, is not important enough to make it worth while to follow up my career. Certainly a description of those phases of the party life which I have seen, and the personalities with whom I have come in contact, might afford an instructive appendix to the history of the party. But to gather together my memoirs in this sense is a task for which I have neither time nor place. Our strength is too much absorbed by the struggle for the future to leave much over for the description of the past.

But there are recollections of the past which throw light on the struggles of the present, and if a slight sketch of such reminiscences suffices for the Russian comrades, I am ready to give it.

I was born in Prague in 1854, the offspring of an international marriage. My father was Czech, my mother German, and both parents sprang in their turn from similarly mixed marriages.

Though thus, from birth on, inclined to internationalism, I was in the first place forced into a Nationalist attitude. In 1863 my parents moved to Vienna, the population of which, at that time, were extremely bitter against the Czechs. I was treated with contempt in school as a Czech, and I was only able to assert myself by placing myself in opposition to my surroundings and despising them.

I mention this here because I think that this remark has more than a personal interest. If we examine more closely those elements which come to

us out of bourgeois circles, we shall find that an uncommonly large percentage among them are formed from elements which in their proper bourgeois surroundings did not rank on even terms, from one reason or another.

In Germany and Austria, for example, the most of the Socialists who come to us from bourgeois circles are Jews.

In those very years, nevertheless, in which my political thinking developed in Austria, not the Jews, but the Czechs were the persecuted people, a people who with all their strength strained at their chains. Treason and hatred of the monarchy were at that time natural to every Czech; the Hussite traditions were cherished. What wonder then that the smashing up of Austria, the founding of a Bohemian Republic, became my ideal?

Then came the war of 1870. My sympathies were on the side of France, as was common among the Czechs. However, as the uprising of the Paris Commune followed, my revolutionary instincts conquered, and I transferred my sympathies to this rising. From that time on I read eagerly everything which I could obtain about Socialism, especially works of or about the French Socialists and the French Revolution. I was also influenced by Heine, Buckle, Mill, Darwin, and the German Darwinists, Haeckel and Buchner.

In 1874 I decided to join the Austrian Social-Democrats, and placed myself at their disposal. As long as I was a University student I contributed anonymously to the Austrian and German party press. At that time the party was undergoing a crisis. In consequence of the depression in industry, the Labour organisations lost all strength. In addition, the party was divided internally. The same divergence of view which to-day affects Socialism everywhere then divided the Austrian Socialists. On one side was the Oberwinder section, which advocated friendship with the Liberal bourgeoisie, and that we should confine ourselves to the immediately practical; on the other hand, there was the Scheu section, which raised the revolutionary banner, and insisted that Socialist propaganda among the masses was equally important. I never hesitated a moment, but joined Scheu, not from clear perception but from revolutionary impulse.

Then came the period of reconciliation. In Germany, where it was more a question of the form of organisation and of personality, the suppression by the Government of the Lassallean organisation led to unity. In Austria unity came about after the Opportunist leaders had proved their incapacity and disappeared from the party, and after this had itself so utterly sunk in importance, that agitation seemed its only hope. But the differences had not disappeared, and came again to the fore so soon as there was again opportunity for practical work. The new split was brought about by the loosening of the close ties which, up to the time of the Socialist Law, existed between the German and the Austrian Socialists. Up to October, 1878, the German party was our model. Then it disappeared, apparently entirely. We Austrians conceived that it was not equal to the situation, and had succumbed to the rigour of the exceptional law. We were

dissatisfied that our German friends did not resist the measures of Bismarck's Government. We were delighted when at last Johann Most founded the *Freiheit* in London, which was the first sign of life, where he uncompromisingly denounced German misgovernment, and also criticised our comrades. That I was now among the contributors to the *Freiheit* is natural.

Even before the Socialist Law I had completed my first big work on the "Influence of the Increase of Population on the Progress of Society." That was directed in the most essential points against the Marxian theory. I joined the Party, not as a clear Marxist, but as a sentimental Revolutionary, and my horror was to fall under the influence of an "authority" or a "school." Very mistrustfully I made a study of Marx and Engels, and the less I understood, the more I felt called on to criticise them. That is a phenomenon which I have since then been able to observe in hundreds of others. It will be understood that I am somewhat callous to that style of refutation of Marx, and that that appears to me a youthful malady of the Socialist student, what to the latter is a result of scientific maturity. To refute Marx is much easier than to understand him. With the first I began. I held that the weakest spot in our theory was its attitude towards the population question, and I wrote my book to correct it in that respect.

However, I took, despite my antipathy to the authority of Marx, the position of Marxism on two very important questions.

One was the conviction that the proletariat must win its own emancipation in fight against all the propertied classes, a view which met my inclinations, as political experience in Austria and elsewhere showed the decay of Liberalism and bourgeois democracy.

The other point was the materialist conception of history. I had applied myself to history at the University, but was also enthusiastic over Darwinism. My ideal was the introduction of Darwinism into history. As student I formed a plan, which was never carried out, to write a Universal History, in which the leading idea should be the struggle for existence of races and classes. My idea resembled Gumpłowicz's race-war theory. But as a Socialist I could not be content to limit myself to the race-struggle as a factor of progress. I could not ignore the factor of the economic development, which forms the classes and the class struggle. The more I occupied myself with the economic history the more had, in my view, the purely Darwinian factor of struggle for existence of races given way to the Marxian of the struggle of classes.

Thus I became first, as historian, a Marxist, even while I remained, as a Socialist, entangled in the toils of the eclecticism which then flourished in our midst, with only this difference, that in my Lassalleanism, which formed for us all in Germany the theoretical foundation, were mixed French elements—somewhat antiquated, but filled with the spirit of the French Revolution—from Louis Blanc, Blanqui, and even Rousseau.

My student days came to an end. I must choose a profession. Luckily the chance opened itself for me to devote my attention to the party, and it came from an opponent of Marxism. Hochberg, a well-to-do student, who

had founded a Socialist review in the seventies, was forced, just before the Socialist Law, to spend the winter in the mild climate of the Italian lakes. He took Edward Bernstein, then a clerk in a bank, as private secretary. In Lugano they met Malon, a semi-Anarchist, semi-State Socialist thinker. I do not know if Hochberg and Bernstein had more influence on Malon than the reverse.

Thanks to Hochberg's interest for the German Social-Democracy and generous assistance, the party was largely able to withstand the blow dealt on it by the Socialist Law.

In 1879 Hochberg and Bernstein moved to Zurich, in order from there to help the propaganda of the party, and after one or two attempts at scientific reviews, the *Sozialdemokrat* was founded at Hochberg's expense, as a set off to Most's *Freiheit*, and to give the party an organ of their own.

For this, however, literary talent was required. That was not easy to find. The Socialist Law had deprived the party editors, &c., of their livelihood, many were gone to America, the weaker ones deserted to the camp of the bourgeoisie, and even many of those who remained true, found it better not to compromise themselves by party work. Those literary people who remained had their hands full.

Hochberg turned to Austria and invited me to come and work on his literary undertaking.

I was delighted with the prospect of working for the great German party.

Certainly Hochberg's position was diametrically opposed to mine. He hated the revolution and the class-war. He hoped to win large sections of the bourgeoisie, therefore did not want to offend them. The historic materialism was his aversion, but he was no fighter, and still more unpleasant to him than the fight with the bourgeoisie was the internal feud. And the times were not suitable for picking and choosing of colleagues. It was a matter of collecting all possible forces for the common struggle. Thus Vollmar, then very revolutionary, was made editor, and I appointed to the staff, although I expressed my sympathy with Most, a sympathy which did not, however, last very long, as Most's Radicalism soon took most ridiculous forms. In the meantime, the *Sozialdemokrat*, under Vollmar, expressed my views, and those of the bulk of the party. I owe it to Hochberg that I was emancipated from my Austrian surroundings and given a larger sphere of influence, without any attempt on his part to interfere with the expression of my views.

Hochberg, however, offended the greater part of the party by a highly tactless article which he wrote anonymously, with others, where he told the party that their revolutionary phrases were partly to blame for the promulgation of the Socialist Law, and they must be more conciliatory, &c. . . . The storm of indignation caused by this led to Hochberg's separation from the party with his collaborators, his withdrawal of his subvention from the *Sozialdemokrat*, which, however, no longer needed it.

In the meantime, however, 1881, I had been sent to London and here I

made—the turning point of my life—the acquaintance of Marx and Engels, and also Bernstein, with the latter of whom I struck up a brotherhood in arms that was almost ideal. Logical Marxism was always much too uncomfortable a theory, too exacting to embrace even all those in our ranks who agreed with the Communist manifesto. The majority were always strongly influenced, but agreed more in the results than in the methods with logical Marxism. Also, we had elements which did not accept Marxism at all. And thus it came that in the *Sozialdemokrat*, the editorship of which was then taken over by Bernstein, we represented the left wing of the party, and championed those principles. In 1883 I took up the editorship of the *Neue Zeit* in Stuttgart, which was founded to provide, along with the *Sozialdemokrat*, a monthly organ of logical Marxism, certainly in a disguised form, as it appeared under the regime of the exceptional law.

In 1885 I moved to London to be nearer Engels, and lived till 1890 in almost constant communication with this intellectual giant and studying in the British Museum. It was a blissful period of intellectual enjoyment. During this period I wrote my "Thomas More," "Class Struggles in France," books which are my favourites among my own productions.

In 1888 Bernstein, with the staff of the *Sozialdemokrat*, was expelled from Switzerland and came to London, and thus our comradeship-in-arms became apparently more firmly established than ever.

However, an event occurred which was destined to turn our friendship into the sharpest antagonism. In 1890 the Socialist Law came to an end. The consequence was the abandonment of the *Sozialdemokrat* and the transformation of the *Neue Zeit* from a monthly to a weekly organ, on which Bernstein and I were to work together. As the editor must be on the spot, I came to Stuttgart. Bernstein was compelled to remain out of Germany. The time of my historical studies was over, my whole energies were now taken up with that practical work which had been impossible to me in England. I had now to deal with living problems of the day. My subsequently published "History of Socialism" formed only an echo of my London studies. Since then my books have all dealt with controverted questions of the day—my book on "Parliamentarism," the "Agrarian Question," and, alas! my "Anti-Bernstein."

Bernstein's activity since 1890 has taken quite another character. He had now no more to fight for the German proletariat, but to observe the English. He had, however, taken Marxism rather as a guide in the fight than as a help to observation. Now that he had to study, he had no more confidence. The old eclecticism began to influence him again.

The English surroundings encouraged these inclinations; among these the indifference of the English worker to all that does not promise immediate results, and the amount of sympathy in English middle-class circles for a kind of philanthropic Socialism. I ascribe the latter to the fact that such a large proportion of English capital is invested abroad, so that the capitalists in question are not so directly interested in the exploitation of English labour.

This Magazine will be enlarged next month. See last page.

Anyhow, discouraged by the failure to convert the workers, a number of English Socialists attempted to convert the bourgeoisie. This school, the Fabians, had a policy very similar to Hochberg, and Bernstein could not withstand their influence.

So long as Engels lived, and the old fighting spirit remained alive in him, these influences were counteracted by the charm of his personality. But Engels died in 1895, and at the same time began a period of good trade, which caused, even in sections of the workers, a tendency to contentment.

What influenced Bernstein most I cannot say. Enough! The antagonism is there, and is irreconcilable. It, however, is a very old phenomenon—the difference between the Chartists and the Owenites, the Labour movement and middle-class philanthropic Socialism. The conflict is certainly generally more or less confused by side issues. To me, and that is the main point, my, to me, painful fight with Bernstein appears as a conflict of principles; to Bernstein as a personal one. Certainly, what I fight to-day as Bernsteinism, I have always fought since I joined the party. And what I have learnt in the 25 years of my membership has only made me surer of my ground. The way to our ideals is longer and more thorny than I thought, much has turned out different to what I anticipated; but if I regard what we Socialists have achieved, measured not by my pious wishes or by the span of an individual life, but as a historian and not as fighter, then we can look on this quarter of a century with the satisfaction that we are considerably nearer our goal.

When I joined, the party was still a small band of enthusiasts; to-day it is everywhere a political factor of first importance. And if the general political and social progress does not advance, that is the consequence of the disappearance of middle-class democrats, who have abandoned to us the work of combatting and defeating reaction, and that we will do. But, consequently, the present time is a time of preparation for tremendous struggles, political and social.

To see, and as a fellow-fighter to outlive, these struggles, is my deepest wish.

ARMOUR AND COMPANY, of Chicago, are making a corner in potatoes, and their agents are busily engaged in making purchases, by which the entire control of the potato crop of the north-west will be in the hands of their firm. Whole train-loads of potatoes have been purchased, most of them from 8d. to 10d. per bushel. The Armours expect that before Christmas the price will run up to nearly 3s. a bushel, when they will unload.

An exhaustive report on the general question of the ventilation of factories has been presented by Dr. J. S. Haldane, F.R.S., and Mr. E. H. Osborne, the commissioners appointed by the Home Office. They point out that the existence of a certain cubic air space per person affords no reliable guarantee of reasonably sufficient ventilation, and, indeed, the most highly vitiated air met with was in rooms with an air space of about 10,000 cubic feet per person, or 40 times the legal minimum, 250 cubic feet of air space per person employed.

FEMINISM IN EXTREMIS.

It is an undeniable fact that many Socialists hold their social creed to involve the doctrine of what is called sex-equality, by which is commonly meant, not merely the freeing of the female sex from certain arbitrary, economic and social disabilities, equal reward for equal work, the right to follow, in general, any pursuit for which qualification can be shown, &c., but the same rights as man in all things, political, economic, domestic or what-not, supplemented by certain sex privileges and immunities, airily defended on the vague ground of physical weakness. Now in order to maintain this position it is necessary to assume the complete intellectual and moral equality of women with men, while judiciously conceding their physical inferiority. A desire, conscious or unconscious, on the part of these Socialists, as of other advocates of Feminism, is to make out a claim for women to all that is honourable and agreeable in the functions of human life, while safeguarding them from any obligation to accept rough or dangerous duties. Thus Bebel, in his "Frau und der Sozialismus," while maintaining that no social function filled by men ought to be inaccessible to women, since any seeming unfitness in the latter is only the result of certain cruel oppression at the hands of vile man, yet is careful to guard his fair clients from the danger of being called upon for military purposes, even of defence. Now if we are to assume the physiological possibility of the results of oppression being inherited through one sex only, it would seem somewhat singular that only the physical inferiority should be inherited, and not the mental, since there is no obvious reason for assuming that while one is the result of oppression, the other is of original constitution. The consequence, however, shows itself in that while it is deemed only reasonable to regard women as unfitted for soldiering, it is in the eyes of the Feminists crass and blind male prejudice to deem them unfitted for responsible political office.

The best-known Socialistic exponent of Feminism is, of course, August Bebel, but in his book, *i.e.*, in those portions of it treating of the woman question, the violent prejudice is so obvious and the apparatus of argument so plainly coloured by *parti pris* that some Feminists are prepared partially to surrender Bebel in conceding his argumentation to be "doubtless open to criticism." In the present article, therefore, I prefer to take as an exponent of the Feminist position an undoubtedly able and eminently sober-minded English publicist, and to constitute as my text an article of Mr. J. M. Robertson in No. 362 of the *Reformer*, consisting of a criticism of Enrico Ferri's position on the subject of the equality of woman and man, a position shared by the present writer.

As already said, this question of moral and intellectual equality between

the sexes is the key of the situation as regards Feminism, and hence it is to this point I shall address myself chiefly in the following paragraphs.

Mr. Robinson accuses Enrico Ferri of being "unscientific." This means, as we shall see, merely that Mr. Robertson disagrees with Enrico Ferri. In a long footnote (pp. 20-22 of the English translation of "*Socialismo e scienza positiva*") Ferri points out that the tendency of some Socialists to make the equality of man and woman an article of faith is due to a mental habit surviving from utopian Socialism. He might have said that it is also, and perhaps chiefly, due, as I have repeatedly pointed out, to the confusion between sex and class—i.e., a primarily biological category with a social and economic category. However, Enrico Ferri goes on to show how recent investigations have tended to confirm the fact of the physiological and psychological inferiority of woman to man. Now Mr. Robertson falls foul of Ferri on the ground of his using the general terms "woman" and "man," his plea being that these terms are abstract, and, therefore, "mediæval" (as he calls it), since no two concrete men and no two concrete women are exactly alike. I confess, on reading this, I fairly gasped at the straits to which Feminist advocates can be reduced for an argument, and the recklessness with which a usually telling and logical thinker will throw his reputation into the breach on behalf of the cause he has espoused—when it is that of the fair sex. To read Mr. Robertson one would think he were in a state resembling Mr. Jourdain's, before he had discovered that he had been talking prose all his life without knowing it. For Mr. Robertson writes as if he were altogether unaware that the form of the *Concept*, at the basis of what is known in Logic as the "class-name," is not only the primary essential of all human thought and language, but is a crucial factor even in our perceptive consciousness. In all his walk and conversation, Mr. Robertson, like the rest of us, has been employing this "abstraction," the logical class-name, ever since he arrived at self-consciousness at all, and has, accordingly, to adopt his own phrase, been "mediævalising" all his life. Our critic now suddenly makes the astonishing discovery (which, by the way, every mediæval schoolboy could have revealed to him) that the class-name is an abstraction in that it never covers the entirety of the qualities of the particulars or individuals falling under it, which hence may differ *inter se*. But the still more astounding deduction he draws from his discovery would seem to be that we should abandon the use of the "general term" or "class-name" altogether, and so we suppose become Jogis, doing our level best to divest ourselves of all logical thought and human language. Yet no! This would be a too hasty view of Mr. Robertson's position. He knows mercy and will still allow us to talk, even in scientific conversation, of dogs and horses, Hottentots and Russians and the like, and to predicate things concerning them, without branding us with the terrible stigma of being unscientific mediæval survivals—and this, notwithstanding that no two dogs (not even of the same breed) are exactly alike any more than any two horses, or two Russians, or even two Hottentots. No, where he draws the line is at

human sex. If you speak of "man" or "woman" in general terms, if you employ the class-name in this case, then his anathema descends on you; then you are, indeed, a mediæval survival discussing an abstract "man" and "woman" having no counterpart in "reality," but being merely the coinage of a mediæval brain. Mind you, I repeat, if you are a zoologist or a veterinary surgeon, you are not unscientific in differentiating between a greyhound and a spaniel, notwithstanding that no two greyhounds or spaniels are "concretely" alike. Similarly, if you are an ethnologist, you may talk of the race-characteristics of Hottentots and Slavs without even a stain on your scientific character! In this case the abstraction is all right; but, if you are a sociologist, and venture to distinguish sex, *i.e.*, human sex, or to discuss the general characteristics of "woman" as distinguished from "man," then woebetide you! Is the suspicion unnatural, that the sudden desire to confound the harmless and necessary class-name or logical "universal" is due to the fear lest its normal use should in this case lead to conclusions derogatory to the claims of emancipated womanhood?

When Mr. Robertson talks about his million female college graduates (he would have a difficulty in getting a million together, I fancy) as against a million grooms or sailors, with a view of upsetting comrade Ferri, he is simply trying on the old dodge of placing exceptions against exceptions to subvert a rule. The female graduate is an exceptionally gifted woman, the groom in most cases an exceptionally non-intellectual man. Granted that a clever and well-trained dog might show more intelligence than a neglected human idiot, it would not bring us any nearer to a proof of the intellectual equality of man and dog. Place the groom from childhood under the same educational circumstances as the Girton girl, or *vice versa*, and you might have the basis for a comparison, but as the argument is stated by Mr. Robertson it is, I submit, simply an evasion of the issue. Brought up under special conditions, I believe, cats have been trained to eat grass, and sheep mutton chops, but this fact is not usually regarded as rendering the man unscientific or mediæval who describes the former as carnivorous and the latter as herbivorous animals, and who proceeds to argue on this basis. In violation alike of physiology and ordinary observation, Mr. Robertson, in order to save the situation for feminism, would apparently maintain the thesis that the sexual system plays as important a part in the general intellectual and emotional life of the average man as it does in that of the average woman. Says Ferri, "all the physiological characteristics of woman are the consequences of her great physiological function, maternity." "This is as good as saying," observes our critic, that "man's characteristics are *not* thus consequent on sex," to which I reply, certainly they are not, at least to anything approaching the same extent. The whole mental life of the average woman is completely dominated by her sexual organisation. It determines her attitude in every question and in every department of life. Her sexual relation to man is the fulcrum moving her whole life until she becomes a mother, when this is, of course, modified by the maternal relation. With man, on the contrary, sex is only an element, generally even, by no means the strongest, in determining his *general* mental life. It exists more as

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something *per se*; it may be strong or it may be weak, but in only exceptional pathological cases does it infiltrate that mental life in the same way that it normally does in woman.

As I have elsewhere put it, we are justified in referring to normal woman as *being* a sex (in common language, woman is spoken of as "the sex"), and to normal man as *having* a sex. The actual sexual instinct or passion may (if you will) be stronger in man than in woman, but, even if so, it does not in the same way interpenetrate his entire life. It is not the fulcrum on which his whole mental constitution turns. To deny, as is apparently done by Mr. Robertson, that a woman's mental processes are consequent on her sex-function to an extent and in a sense in which men's most assuredly are not is, I repeat, a procedure so flagrantly in contradiction with physiology and ordinary observation that Mr. Robertson can hardly expect us to accept it without more ado, even on his authority.

Mr. Robertson, like other Feminist advocates, would, as we have seen, deny that there are causal elements in the female constitution, physical and psychical, that are *sui generis*. To do so, he says, is "reducing psychology to chaos." What he means by this I do not profess to know. All I can say is, if the recognition of a self-evident fact is to reduce psychology to chaos, the sooner this happens the better, since so much the sooner will poor psychology have a chance of being reconstructed on a more reasonable basis—a basis which will include all facts, however distasteful they may be to the individual psychologist.

Pursuing his extraordinary line of argument, the first condition of which, like that of most Feminists, seems to be the denial or ignoring of patent truths, Mr. Robertson goes on to emphasise his point, alleging that Ferri's contention as to the influence of the sexual system on women could not be true except on the hypothesis that every woman were in a continual state "of pregnancy, parturition or lactation"! And this is a critic who veritably runs amuck with the word "unscientific" among all whose science leads them to results uncongenial to the Feminist mind. We note by the way that Mr. Robertson writes as though he had never heard of *menses* as the most constant and hence in the long run most severe manifestation of the female sex-organism. Mr. Robertson actually goes so far as to allege that the sex-function apart from maternity is more of a drain on men's than on women's strength! To what length of absurdity will *parti pris* not carry us! But the really startling fallacy of our author lies in the assumption that the peculiar sexual-organisation of women can only affect their general bodily and mental structure and functions during the period of its special activity. That the mere fact of this sexual organisation being present, the whole system otherwise having to contribute to its maintenance, he apparently regards as quite immaterial. Yet it is precisely on the existence of this sexual system as such and on the demands it makes that Ferri's argument is primarily based, and not merely, or even chiefly, on its special periods of activity.

Ferri's critic is fond of using the expression "bluff" respecting controversial statements he does not like. But if there ever was an instance of "bluff" in argument, I submit the article under discussion about "takes the cake." Mr. Robertson, as we have seen, begins with a piece of logical "bluff," endeavouring to bamboozle those unversed in the "Tree of Porphyry" anent the proper use of the "class-name" or logical "universal." He next tries on a physiological piece of bluff—the assumption that the action of the sexual system in man and woman respectively on the general life is comparable in kind and amount. He emphasises this by a further piece of bluff—viz., the assumption that Ferri's argument, as based on the peculiar characteristics of the female sex-system, could only be applicable during the periods of the latter's special activity. He goes on making the astoundingly "bluffing" assertion, unbacked by any proof, an assertion refuted by common experience, that the sexual function, apart from maternity, is more of a drain on men's than on women's strength—and so on.

Mr. Robertson is naturally prepared to grant the inherent muscular weakness of women as compared with men. But he is careful to point out that physical or muscular strength and intellectual capacity are seldom united in the same individual. This is very true, only, unfortunately, it does not help the Feminist position. The problem for Feminism is to maintain the *mental* equality of woman with man, while speciously conceding the *physical* inferiority. Hence this observation as to the respective proportion of physical and mental capacity present between *individuals* of the *same* sex is made to do duty as an argument when the question is of *one sex with another*. The (logical) class or category called man contains a general potential capacity that may actualise itself either in physical or mental capacity. But this is, says Mr. Robertson, often distributed in inverse proportions between individual men, the mentally strong man being often the physically weak, and *vice versa*. Hence, he argues that the physical inferiority of women does not presumptively imply their intellectual inferiority.

The fallacy here is obvious. A fact which applies between the individuals of one category he would make apply as between two distinct categories. The sex-category man, say for the sake of argument, possesses a certain general potential energy, capacity or power. This may actualise itself in any given individual man as mental power (at the expense of physical) or as physical (at the expense of mental). But over the whole range of men both are present. If, however, you admit in the case of woman that there is a persistent inferiority *throughout* the whole sex, of one form of actualised capacity, the physical, the presumption is surely strong that the total capacity, mental as well as physical, in the sex-category woman is less than that in man, and it is, I submit, a presumption which will require a good deal of rebutting. No mere reference to the distribution between individual men, as regards the physical and psychical sides of the total potential capacity of man as a whole (*i.e.*, as a sex), will suffice to effect this

since the basis of an analogy is wanting. For a gentleman, however, who has such a sovereign contempt for logical forms as Mr. Robertson we suppose it would be too much to expect that he should recognise this.

But, says the Feminist, the intelligence of woman may be different from that of man but not necessarily inferior. The whole of the evidence available, I answer, points to woman's inferiority as an organism. In addition to the facts brought forward by Ferri we have a mass of cumulative proof which is overwhelming. Let us enumerate some of the main points in connection with this.

1. The smaller average size of the organism, otherwise, in the main, the same in essentials as that of man.

2. The proportionately inferior mass and quality of the brain matter (as shown by anatomists).

3. The special character of the female sexual-system and its functions, especially menstruation, which necessarily tends to draw off strength from the brain, the nervous and muscular systems.

4. The earlier ripeness of the female organism as compared to that of the man (it is well known that, other things equal, an organism inferior in the order of evolution reaches perfection sooner than a superior organism).

5. The lesser susceptibility to pain proved of women by the experiments of Lombroso and others, and the greater constitutional toughness of vitality in women than in men, characteristics at least strongly suggesting a lower form of evolutionary type.

6. The liability of women to hysteria in one or other of its forms, one woman in four or five, or according to some estimates even a higher percentage, being affected by it to a greater or less extent, varying as it does from slight and unimportant nervous symptoms to positive insanity (a remarkable illustration of how this tendency handicaps women in all occupations demanding close attention is afforded by the recent report concerning the employment of women in Post Offices and other Government departments in Germany.)

7. The fact that, even in those directions (*e.g.*, art and literature) where no special prejudice or barrier has stood in the way, women have, with one or two exceptions, never achieved anything noteworthy.

8. The fact admitted by every observant person who has not taken a brief in the Feminist cause, of the usual comparative absence in women of the foundation of all morality, the sense for abstract justice, of a regard for truth, and of the capacity for forming an objective and disinterested judgment.

In conclusion, I would once more call attention to the singular circumstance that, whether really so or not, while, *on the face of things*, women are inferior to men mentally as well as physically, yet the Feminist, while readily accepting the second kind of inferiority as essential to women, storms and raves at the bare suggestion that the first kind of inferiority

This Magazine will be enlarged next month. See last page.

may also be necessarily part of the equipment of the female sex. To deny essentiality for either would be at least consistent, but then what would become of woman's privileges based on her supposed weakness? Mr. Robertson's desperate attempt to confound the distinction between Men as such, and Women as such, in endeavouring to maintain that the difference between the average man and the average woman is no more than that between one man and another, or one woman and another, is too thin to pass muster outside the brotherhood and sisterhood of sworn Feminists.

I think I have shown that Mr. Robertson's science, whatever it may be at other times, when infected with Feminist *parti-pris*, does not amount to much. On the other hand, what has Mr. Robertson done to show anything unscientific in Enrico Ferri's "note" in *Socialismo e scienza positiva*? He sets up sundry assertions contrary to received physiology and certainly contrary to the results of ordinary observation, in opposition to certain of Ferri's statements. The only score he makes is over a slip or misprint of the word *no* where the word *few* was quite obviously intended. In Sahara one is thankful for anything in the shape of moisture, and, considering the hopelessness of our critic's case otherwise, I do not grudge him the capital he seeks to make out of a typographical error. This error is, in the opinion of Mr. Robertson, sufficient to entitle the "Feminist" to deny him (Ferri) any further hearing! When we have to deal with woman's rights champions, it is clear we must look sharp after our proof-sheets after this.

For the rest, I venture to say that to any impartial person the "note" criticised will be found to be as rigorously scientific as the nature of a brief statement admits. The characterisation, moreover, of women "as ranking between the child and the adult male" seems as happily to hit off the case as presented to common observation as it is possible to do in a short sentence. And now our last word on the relation of Feminism to Social-Democracy. As Dr. Möbius, in his remarkable pamphlet, truly says, "if Social-Democrats allow themselves to be caught by the Feminist fallacy, they are only injuring their own cause." The same author also justly points out that the proletarian woman-movement has no necessary connection with the so-called "woman's rights" or Feminist movement, which is rather individualist or anarchist. The aim of the latter is, in a word, to obtain for the female sex men's rights combined with women's privileges, and this goal, I am afraid, also seems at the back of certain Socialist pronouncements on the woman question.

E. BELFORT BAX.

WHY THERE ARE TWO PARTIES.—*New York Life*: There are always two political parties; not so much because there are two sides to every public question as because there are two sides to every office—viz., the inside and the outside.

SOME NOTES ON THE EARLY FLEMISH PAINTERS.

FROM AN ARTICLE BY JULES COUCKE IN *L'Humanité Nouvelle*.

It is pleasant to welcome back amongst our contemporaries *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, the work of which, under the able editorship of Monsieur Hamon, had been temporarily suspended in consequence of trouble that had arisen with the publishers, Schleicher Frères. The Revue, which covers ground not covered by any other publication, opens its columns to the advanced thinkers of every country, whose cause is the cause of humanity, irrespective of race, colour or sex. The resuscitated Revue opens with articles that range in subject from Trusts, the Military Question in Finland, and the Political Situation in France, to the subject of Law in Psychology, and the recent Exhibition of Primitive Painters in Bruges; besides containing many interesting reviews and criticisms of current literature by Emile Vandervelde, Elisée Reclus, Lawrence Jerrold and others. It is to the article on Early Flemish Painters, by Jules Coucke, that I should like to call the attention of Social Democrats, for a unique exhibition of the works of these marvellous craftsmen has been held this year in Bruges, where so many of them lived and worked, and where some of the most characteristic specimens of the art of Memling may still anyday be seen and studied in the quaint old Hôpital de St. Jean. The reason that the "Primitives," as the French call them, are of special interest to us Social-Democrats is, that at the time they worked and painted, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the power of the Guilds (those Labour organisations whose solidarity, combined with minuteness, still excites our admiration) was at its height; and that all these painters, whose work still persists and will persist, when the materials in which most modern art is executed are crumbled to dust, were members of various guilds, by whose rules they were bound to use only the tools, mediums and materials sanctioned by the corporate body to which they belonged. "In this unrivalled school of social solidarity, and of collective labour," writes Jules Coucke, "every active force of the whole being was exercised and prepared for use, till they vibrated in unison, and acquired their maximum of intensity and of suppleness; in that school the mind refined its own native qualities, opened out latent faculties, and set all the springs of its inner mechanism, so that it was able at any given moment to obtain an easy and harmonious equilibrium of working, through the normal and regular movement of its machinery. It is this which gives the finishing touch and the characteristic form to that which stamps the Flemish soul; a genius that is industrious and practical, rude in its exterior, and brusque in its expression, turbulent but discreet, pressing obstinately towards its goal, desperate in struggle, tenacious in success, unconquerable in defeat, triumphing in the end over all obstacles, reverses and adversity, through dint of patient energy, of quiet audacity, and of invincible obstinacy." Is not this the gospel of art labour, which Ruskin preached so strenuously during the mature years of his life, and which Frederic Harrison has summed

up for us in his recent life of Ruskin as being that writer's conviction that Art in all its forms was but a manifestation of a sound personal and social life—that the life of the body politic was the dominant problem for us all?"

The principal representative of these carefully trained craftsmen, who, after a long period of apprenticeship, during which they studied with extreme thoroughness the *métier* and the technique of their art, are the two Van Eycks, Van der Weden, Van de Goes, Memling and Gerard David, contemporaries of Fra Angelico, Lippo Lippi, Botticelli, and Ghirlandaio in Italy. Though some of these early Flemish masters journeyed to Italy, the schools of painting of Florence and of Siena had but little influence on their art; and in some respects, such as in purity of colour, and in exquisite finish, the Flemish Primitives have no rival.

Jules Coucke in his article joins in the general regret that the masterpiece of the brothers Van Eycks, "The Adoration of the Lamb" was not exhibited in its entirety at Bruges. This marvellous picture was originally painted for the Church of St. Bavon, at Ghent, where it hung in one of the side chapels. It consisted of a central panel and six wings, all crowded with multitudes of lifelike and animated figures of exquisite colour and finish. At the time of the French invasion of Belgium the panels were removed and placed in the Louvre. After the fall of Napoleon and the victory of the Allies, these panels were restored to their place in the church, but soon afterwards, on October 19, 1816, some member of the chapter sold them clandestinely, through a dealer, for 5,000 florins, and the panels, painted with angels, found their way into the Berlin Museum. It was in vain that the Commune of Ghent protested against this slur cast on the honour of a whole town; it was impossible to buy back the panels that had crossed the border; though the "Adam and Eve" panels, which had not yet left the dealer's hands were repurchased for the Brussels Museum, where they now hang. These magnificent specimens of the nude, with their warm flesh tints and simple realism were on view at the Bruges Exhibition, and were the only specimens of this unique masterpiece of which the exhibition could boast, though the Van Eycks were well represented from other galleries and from private collections. It is of interest to note in passing that we possess in our own National Gallery a very fine specimen of the art of Jan van Eyck in the portraits of a Flemish burgher and his wife, and a little dog; whilst in the Louvre Gallery in Paris (which is, in these days of cheap excursions, accessible to many at holiday times) there is to be seen, by the same artist, one of the loveliest pictures, perhaps, in the world, a Madonna and the Donor; it would be difficult to surpass the technique displayed in the figure-painting in this picture, or in the tenderness of the landscape, bathed in the opal lights of the setting sun. Doubtless, as Jules Coucke says, it was the illumination of a faith, "tranquil, undoubting, and serene," which inspired these early Gothic masters, who worked during the same period as that in which were built the great churches and cathedrals of Europe, "a faith grave and profound in Van Eyck, more minute in Memling, more all-embracing and enveloping in Gerard David, and more

profane in Mabuse." It is not, however, only in sacred subjects that these artists excel; some of their portraits and interiors are amongst the finest that have ever been painted, whilst Memling, the chronicler in painting of St. Ursula and her ten thousand virgins, yields the palm to none in his portraiture of his contemporaries. "Let me cite amongst his portraits," says Jules Coucke, "those of G. Moreel and his wife and children; of Martin van Nieuwenhove, and of Marie Portunare; that of Sibylle Sambetha, and finally that of the 'young man,' slight and erect, with bared neck, with the rapid subtle glance, with the energetic and intelligent head, framed in thick silky hair, which falls gracefully over the collar; a radiant whole, in which the original delicacy and natural distinction of the sitter are nervously and faithfully translated."

But after the first early masters, we begin to note in their followers traces of the decay of primitive faith, till in Gerard David art becomes softer in its expression, it might almost be said less Gothic, without losing anything of its greatness or of its primitive simplicity. The economic greatness of Flanders at the dawn of the Renaissance, when Bruges was a second Venice, and a mart for all the finest products of the East and of the West, was reflected in the art of the country; and one observes a more positive, a clearer, and a more precise spirit taking the place of the vague and mystic reveries of Memling and his contemporaries. "In painting this spirit shows itself by a closer observation and study of human anatomy. . . . The lines cling more lingeringly to forms, which before were flaccid and floating; bosoms appear more rounded, waists are longer and more attenuated, hips more accentuated; and the whole body leaves its ascetic straight waistcoat, and shows as a tempting fruit, with lovely exterior of delicate fair flesh." This transformation in painting, which was initiated by David, is amplified and accentuated by Quentin Matsys, the blacksmith and iron-worker of Antwerp. This painter is another glowing example of the early guild worker and craftsman; the artist who could ennoble his art through his craft, and his craft through his art. Visitors to Antwerp will remember near the cathedral the exquisitely wrought-iron canopy to a well, the work of this master; and will have been told the tradition of his being induced, by his love for the daughter of a painter, to add to the craft which he already practised with such marvellous skill, a knowledge of painting; in which art he soon became proficient.

Another interesting personality among painters of this period is that of Hugo Van de Goes, an artist of rare merit, but of whose life little is known. He seems to have been the victim of a too highly strung nervous temperament, which at times induced fits of intemperance, and at other times of black melancholy. When these fits shook his life to its foundations he used to take refuge with the monks of Rouge Cloître, near Ghent, who, tradition says, soothed his troubled moods with the strains of rare and tender music, and gradually nursed him back to life and to art. The good old monks seemed to have practised even in those days what scientists are experimenting in now, the "ministering to minds diseased" through soothing external influences; and it is good to know that, in spite of the vulgar

attack of the *Times*, music has its share in the cure of those afflicted ones who are forced to sojourn in our county asylums. Van de Goes is believed to have been a pupil of the Van Eycks, but until late years many of his canvases remained unrecognised. He is represented in the Bruges exhibition by a masterpiece, "The death of the Virgin."

"Quentin Matsys is the last of the great line of Flemish painters, known as 'Primitives.' . . . Those that succeed him are painters of the transition period; Gossart, better known under the name of Mabuse, Pourbus, Van Orley, and Lancelot Blondeel." Of these Gossart is by far the most charming, more especially because of the exquisite quality of his blues which possess a vivid sobriety all his own. Both England and Scotland lent of their best to do honour to this fascinating painter, with the result that the exhibition of his works, both in number and quality, was almost unique.

"The Stones of Venice," Ruskin wrote in the last volume of "*Fors*," "taught the laws of constructive art, and the dependence of all human work or edifice for its beauty on the happy life of the workman." And, later on, when lecturing at Oxford, he contended that "neither sound art, policy, nor religion, can exist in England until, neglecting, if it must be, your own pleasure gardens and pleasure chambers, you resolve that the streets which are the habitation of the poor, and the fields which are the playgrounds of their children, shall be restored to the rule of the spirits, whosoever they are, in earth and heaven, that ordain and reward, with conscious and constant felicity, all that is decent and orderly, beautiful and pure." It was long and earnest meditation on the works of the Italian Gothic masters, and strenuous heart-searchings for the collective soul that inspired their work, that gave John Ruskin the fulminating social gospel which he preached so long and ardently. "The happy life of the workman"—happy because he possesses an active reverence for a dominant moral ideal, and builds, or paints, or chisels that dominant ideal into the work that he has in hand; this is the message that these primitive craftsmen whisper to us as we commune with the souls that speak through the eyes of their contemporaries, their saints or their Madonnas, whom they have reproduced for us on canvas. "Read," says Frederic Harrison in the life of John Ruskin before quoted, "read all these glancings of a keen and pure soul from heaven to earth on a multitude of things social and humane, and you will recognise how truly John Ruskin forty years ago was a pioneer of the things which to-day the best spirits of our time so earnestly yearn to see. He is forgotten now, because he went forth into a sort of moral wilderness and cried, 'Repent and reform for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.' The kingdom of Heaven is not yet come on us, perhaps is yet far off; but John was the forerunner of that which will some day come to pass. He was not as the mocking crowd, said 'a reed shaken with the wind.' Has he not taught us among other things to attempt, as Jules Coucke so sympathetically puts it, 'to search into the intimate thought, to penetrate the inner life, to reconstitute the moral atmosphere of these upright artists of the Gothic age, who have left us documents of such imperishable beauty?'"

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

This Magazine will be enlarged next month. See last page.

LETTERS FROM KARL MARX.

(These letters precede those published in *Social-Democrat* for November).

London, February 14, 1871.

DEAR KUGELMANN,—You know my opinion of middle-class heroes. Messrs. Jules Favre and Co. have more than exceeded my expectations. First they allowed Trochu, that "orthodox sword," that "military idiot," as Blanqui rightly called him, to carry out his plan. This plan was simply to continue the passive resistance of Paris to the end—i.e., to starvation point—and then to make a few platonic sorties. I am not speaking unadvisedly, for I know that Jules Favre himself wrote a letter to Gambetta, in which he states that he and the other members of the Government who were shut up in Paris vainly tried to get Trochu to adopt a more vigorous attitude. Trochu only said that in that case the Parisian demagogues would get the upper hand, and Gambetta told Favre that he had condemned himself. Trochu thought it far more important that his Breton National Guards, who formed his own bodyguard, just as Bonaparte was guarded by Corsicans—should hold the reds in check than that he should beat the Prussians. This is the true secret of the defeats, not only in Paris, but all over France, where the middle class, acting in concert with most of the local bodies, have all adopted that attitude.

When the plan of Trochu had achieved its object—that is to say, when Paris must either surrender or starve—then Jules Favre and Co. ought to have followed the example of the commander of the fortress at Toul. He did not capitulate. But he told the Prussians that he could not keep on as he had no more provisions, and he could only open the gates of the town. The Prussians could do what they liked.

Jules Favre, however, thought he would like to sign a formal capitulation; and, though he only represented the Government in Paris, yet he was not ashamed on talking to the King of Prussia, as if he was acting on behalf of France. What did he know of France except what took place in Paris? Absolutely nothing, except what Bismarck was good enough to tell him. But worse follows. These gentlemen—the prisoners of the King of Prussia—go further and say that the Government at Bordeaux, representing, as it does, the whole of non-invaded France, has lost its power, and that they (the prisoners) have that power. These prisoners, before even they know the will of their masters, proclaim that the King of Prussia is the *de facto* highest authority in France.

Even Louis Bonaparte, after his capitulation and captivity at Sedan, was more ashamed than that. He declared to Bismarck that he could not enter into negotiations, because he was a Prussian prisoner, while there remained any authority in France. Jules Favre ought not to have agreed to an armistice for the whole of France, until he had first consulted the Government of Bordeaux, which was alone competent and capable of discussing this question with the Prussians. That Government would not have allowed the eastern portion of France to be excluded from the armistice. They would not have allowed the Prussians to define their lines of occupation in such an advantageous manner.

Bismarck was not slow to avail himself of the advantages conceded to him by the faults committed by Jules Favre. So he protested against Gambetta's decree relating to the elections, because that decree interfered with

the freedom of the electors. Really! Gambetta should have replied by calling attention to the martial law and other matters which in Germany prevented a free election to the Reichstag.

I hope that Bismarck is hard enough in his claims. £400,000,000* as an indemnity—half the British National Debt. The French bourgeois will understand that. He will, perhaps, understand that after all he might have been better off if the war had gone on.

The mob—both the educated and the uneducated section—judges by appearances only. For twenty years all over the world they extolled Louis Bonaparte. But I, even when he was most powerful, always thought he was a middle class ruffian. And that is my opinion about Bismarck. But I do not think that Bismarck would be so foolish if his diplomacy was his own. But he has been put into a net by the Russians, and only a lion could tear the meshes, and he is not a lion.

Just think that Bismarck wanted the twenty best French men of-war and Pondichery, in the East Indies! A Prussian diplomatist would never want that. He would know that a Prussian Pondichery would only be a Prussian pledge in English hands, and that she could capture the twenty men of war before they got to the Baltic. Such demands can be of no advantage to Prussia, and would only make John Bull mistrustful before the Prussians are out of the French wood.

But Russia is interested in bringing about this result in order once again to make Prussia a vassal State. And, as a fact, these demands have made the English peace-loving middle class very angry. They are now crying for war. This provocation of England, and this injury to her interests, make even a bourgeois angry. It is more than probable that, thanks to this Prussian wisdom, Gladstone and Co. will be kicked out of office and supplanted by a Ministry declaring war against Prussia.

In Russia, too, people are very angry. Since William has been transformed into an Emperor the old Muscovite, anti-German Party, headed by the heir-apparent, has again acquired the upper hand. And the people are of that opinion, too, and do not understand the fine politics of Gortschakoff.

It is, therefore, quite possible that the Czar will again change his foreign policy, or that he will "disappear," as his predecessors—Alexander I., Paul, and Peter III.

If these events were to occur, where would Prussia be when its northern and southern frontiers would be open to invasion? And we must not forget that though in the beginning of the war 1,500,000 men were sent against France, that only about 700,000 of these are alive now. So that the outlook for Prussia is anything but pleasant.

If France uses this armistice to reorganise her army, and gives the war a real revolutionary character—and Bismarck is really working in that way—then the new German Empire may receive quite an unexpected baptism of fire.—Yours,

KARL MARX.

By the way, you spoke once of a book by Haxthausen on "Westphalian Tenure of Land," and I should be obliged if you would send it to me. Be so good as to send the enclosed to Dr. Jakoby at Königsberg.

The enclosed is a letter which Marx sent to the *Daily News*, and which was published in that paper under the heading "Freedom of the Press and Speech in Germany." The following is the letter:—

DEAR SIR,—When Bismarck complained to the French Government

* This is wrong; it was £200,000,000.

that "it was impossible for him to make known his opinions in the Press and to the Deputies," he was only making a Berlin joke. If you want to know the "true" opinion of France you should ask Mr. Stieber, the editor of the Versailles *Moniteur* and a paid Prussian police spy.

Bebel and Liebknecht have been arrested on a charge of high treason by order of Bismarck because they, as German Deputies, did their duty and protested in the Reichstag against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, against the voting of new supplies for the war, and expressed their sympathy for the French Republic and their abhorrence of the attempt to turn Germany into a Prussian barracks. In the same way the members of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Party have been treated like convicts since the end of September, and are still awaiting their trial for high treason. The same fate has awaited many working men who have distributed the Brunswick manifesto, and the same thing has happened to Herr Hepner, a writer on the Leipzig *Volkstaat*, who is charged with high treason. The few free newspapers which exist out of Prussia are not allowed to circulate in that country. Meetings in favour of an honourable peace with France are daily forbidden by the police on the ground naïvely expressed by General Vogel von Falkenstein, who utters the true Prussian doctrine that anyone opposed to German arms in France is guilty of high treason. If Gambetta had acted in accordance with German methods and had proclaimed martial law in France, he might have justified it by the fact of the Germans being in possession of part of France. But the only French soldiers which are on German territory are prisoners, and that this compels the German Government to proclaim martial law in Germany is surely the barest and worst form of military despotism, the end of all civil law. The soil of France is in possession of a million of Germans, and one can understand the French proclaiming martial law. But look at the two countries! Germany has by Bismarck's commands put down free speech where she could. When the people of Luxemburg were expressing their sympathy for France, Bismarck tried to get the neutrality of that country abolished. When the Belgian press began, too, to be sympathetic to France the German Ambassador at Brussels, Herr von Balan, called on the Belgian Foreign Minister not only to suppress all anti-Prussian articles in newspapers but also to prevent the circulation of any news which might encourage the French in their resistance for the sake of freedom. Indeed, then the Belgians were made to work for Prussia. When some Stockholm newspapers had made some harmless jokes at the notorious piety of William, Bismarck at once threatend the Swedish Cabinet by a comminatory despatch. Even in the latitude of St. Petersburg he found an unruly press. At his command the editors of the most important Petersburg papers were called before the Censor, who ordered them to abstain from any criticisms about Germany. One of the editors, Herr Saguljaeff, was careless enough to talk about these secrets in the *Golos*. At once the Russian police sent him to a distant province. It would be a mistake to imagine that all this has only occurred because of the war; it is really the true and methodical method of the spirit of Prussian law. There is a wonderful article in the Prussian code by which theoretically anyone "offending the Prussian King" or being guilty of "high treason against Prussia" can be punished. France, at the present time, is not only fighting for its own national independence, but also for the freedom of Germany and of Europe.—I am, yours truly,

KARL MARX.

This Magazine will be enlarged next month. See last page.

THE AIMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By K. KAUTSKY. (*Neue Zeit*, Jahrg. XV. 9.)

PART III.—THE APPLICATION OF THE THEORY.

Every theory must be founded on facts. But, on the other hand, a methodical investigation of facts is not possible without a fixed theoretical standpoint. The appearances of reality are so many-sided and complicated that the empiricist, pure and simple, loses himself hopelessly in them. The way through the endless brushwood can only be found by him who has previously acquired a wide outlook, and who knows how to distinguish between the essential and the unessential, the accidental from the typical, the general from the particular, the real cause from the occasion. Therefore the methodical investigation comes after and not before the theory.

A new theory can only arise when certain new facts become known, or previously known facts appear in a new light, facts which are so striking and characteristic that they, at a given state of theoretical thinking, force at least the genius to a new conception of things. Through the laws acquired by generalisation we arrive at a new theory.

Every theory is in the beginning defective, for it arises before we have attained to a systematic investigation of the whole of the facts which it wishes to explain. Exactly as aid to this investigation has it to prove its worth.

It is, therefore, no valid objection to a new theory when the fact is brought against it that it had not explained all phenomena to which it is applicable. The number of the phenonema which it has not yet explained, and still leaves to be explained, shows only its comparative youth and the limited number of its representatives, but can never be used as a proof against its soundness.

For this there is only one test—the criticism of the theory where it comes to be applied. By its fruits must it be known, and must be judged by what it has performed, not according to that which it ought to have performed.

If, for example, the Marxists or the neo-Marxists have as yet written no materialistic history of philosophy, that does not prove in the least that philosophy is not dependent upon the material conditions of society.

Despite the youth of the materialistic method, and despite that its originators, and since then, almost without exception, all its younger students, were no well-to-do professors who could apply themselves exclusively to the theory, but were fighters for the cause of the proletariat, has this method already been brought to application in the most various fields of history. There is, therefore, no lack of opportunities to apply to it the only test which is decisive, and to enquire whether it can explain better than any historical theory hitherto brought forward those facts of history whose explanation it has attempted. That is the question, and not "whether man can regard it as final truth or not."

But so many opponents as the materialist conception of history has already found, still no serious attempt has been made to apply this proof to

the historical achievements even of only one of the pupils, let alone the master.

But one can turn the tables, and apply the above proof to the performances of our opponents. This shall be attempted in the following manner. We take two examples which come handy, which friend Bax has given in his reply. By these it will be seen how far his method is superior to that of the neo-Marxists, whether it is more fruitful than this.

"Kautsky asks," remarks Bax in his reply, 'why, if that is so, the modern Greeks have produced no Aristotle, no Pericles, &c.; in other words, why modern Greece is different from ancient; he is of opinion that in reality only the economic conditions have changed, thereby he ignores everything which does not agree with his theory; as, for example, that a race, just as happens with individuals, can get old; secondly, the fact of the mixture of races; thirdly, that a large period of the historical development of humanity, quite apart from the economic, has taken place in the meantime. All these factors have co-operated in Greece and elsewhere. The Greek spirit, literary, philosophic, and æsthetic, was manifestly exhausted long before any real alteration in the means of production and exchange had taken place. If this exhaustion could be brought into connection with any social factor, it would be rather of a political or a religious kind than an economic. Loss of political independence, and the introduction of Oriental ideas, and later of Christianity, can well have contributed a great deal to hasten the decay. Moreover, a great many races have passed through Greece, all of whom have left traces behind; Goths, Slavs, Normans, Catalonians, Venetians, and Turks, from whom also many, especially Slavs, have settled there and become quite absorbed in the previous population. The modern Greek is ethnically quite a different being from the ancient. Finally Kautsky ignores, as stated, in his zeal, the entire historic development, spiritual, political, and ethical as well as economic, which has taken place between the ancient and the modern time.'

In the first place, I must say that I asked quite another question than Bax makes me ask. I have in my first reply to Bax (in No. 47 *Neue Zeit*), thrown out the question, which of the three elements that control human affairs, the human organism, nature, and the economic conditions of society, had changed since ancient times. I explained that the first had not altered, and its power of thinking is the same, as in Greece; the brain-power of an Aristotle is scarcely surpassed, just as little the artistic talent of the ancients. Also nature has not altered. "Over Greece laughs to-day the same blue heaven as at the time of Pericles." But the society has altered; *i.e.*, in the last resort, the economic conditions. These are the variable factors of human development.

It is clear that is quite different to the question as stated by Bax. This divergence can be regarded as a striking illustration of his accuracy, so often mentioned. Bax's obstinacy is a thing to be wondered at. To accuracy he makes no claim. Scarcely have I spoken the names Aristotle and Pericles, at once Bax confronts me with the question why Greece has to-day no Aristotle or Pericles to show. Yes, still more, he already hears me give an answer to that and learns from me that essentially "only the economic conditions have altered," and not the whole society with them. In the meantime, this kind of criticism has in the above case one advantage. It causes Bax to set out the grounds which, in his opinion, explain why Greece has ceased to produce men like Pericles and Aristotle, to show what are the causes of the decay of Greek philosophy and art.

There Bax has a series of causes to hand which are to make the economic quite superfluous. As first and principal he gives the mixture of races which has taken place in Greece. Now, I am very far from denying that the race peculiarities exercise a certain influence on the way in which the historic development proceeds. But this influence must not be over estimated, as the upholders of the modern theory of heredity are ready to do. The human organism has shown itself to be one of the most adaptable organisms, and certainly the human brain belongs to the most adaptable and most variable human organs. In any case, if the Greeks had intermixed with the Botucudos or the Patagonians, this might, at least temporarily, have paralysed their artistic and philosophic capacities. The peoples whom Bax names, Germans, Slavs, Spaniards, Italians, are, however, certainly not to be counted among those who lack all philosophic and artistic aptitude. Perhaps one can say this of the Turks, but these came first in the fifteenth century to Greece, and have had only a small influence on the racial existence of the Greeks. But even the other peoples arrived too late in Greece to explain the artistic and philosophic decay. This began in the fourth century B.C.; the first invasion of the Goths came in the third century A.D. At that time Greece was completely decayed.

The mixture of races in this relation therefore explains nothing. If I had really occupied myself with the question which Bax as a matter of fact first raised, then I should have had every reason to ignore the fact of the mixture of peoples.

But Bax has a second consideration to bring forward, which I, by my never-written discussion of a question which I never put, "have left out of account," naturally because "it does not fit in with my conception," namely, the fact "that a race, just as happens with individuals, can get old. . . . The Greek spirit was manifestly exhausted long before any real alteration in the means of production and exchange had taken place."

It is doubtless "evident" that the "Greek spirit" was exhausted when the degeneration of the Greek philosophy and art began. This "exhaustion of the spirit" is, however, nothing else than a somewhat poetical way of describing the fact of the degeneration. I could just as well say "evidently the Greek spirit was completely degenerated, when the degeneration of the Greek art and philosophy began." So evident that is to me, I hope I shall be excused if this exhaustive explanation "does not fit in with my conception."

Equally right is Bax when he assumes that the assumption that a race gets old just like an individual "does not fit in with my conception." Does Bax wish to say, by that, that the social organism is an organism of the same kind as the animal, so that the laws of one are without any further ado applicable to the other? Then I would call attention to the peculiarity which the race possesses, in contrast to the individuals, the renewal of youth. The French nation under Louis XV. had become very senile. The steel bath of the great Revolution made them young again and gave them giant strength. Also in our own time we have seen that the Japanese nation, which also gave many signs of senility, was rejuvenated by a similar, certainly a weaker, steel bath, and has forced itself into the row of the growing and promising peoples.

The old age of a people is also nothing else than a poetical and therefore not quite exact description of the fact of its social decay. With that kind of phrase we explain practically nothing.

Finally, have I as third consideration in the explanation of the decay of

the Greek spiritual life "ignored in my zeal" the whole concrete development between ancient and modern times.

That I said nothing of all that in my article, I must in any case allow, but I may beg Bax to ascribe that not to my zeal but to the circumstance that I have undertaken to answer this question simply according to his imagination and not according to the reality.

I am, namely, of opinion that everything depends upon the concrete development. But unfortunately Bax leaves us at the decisive point without help, and contents himself with an obscure reference to the loss of political independence and the degrading influence of Christianity, but himself ascribes to the factors only the hastening, not the cause, of the decline.

What, then, does the improved method of Bax offer us as the cause of the decline? Nothing, nothing at all.

Now, let us attempt, if not to treat exhaustively—for which we have no room and for which a weekly review is not suitable—at least to give an outline of the article already by Bax criticised even if not written by me over the downfall of the Greek spiritual life, to see whether we, with the factors which Bax has ignored, will not have better luck.

In the first place our business is to exactly define the task. The spiritual decline of Greece begins in the fourth century B.C. If one is to lay bare the roots of the same, they must not be looked for in phenomena which came first at a later period, but only in phenomena which were already at work in the fourth century. If one is to learn to comprehend why Greece in later centuries did not produce an Aristotle or a Pericles, then one must first know the reason why Greece at one time brought forward an Aristotle and a Pericles. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the period of the bloom of Greek culture as well as the period of decline. This is limited to a few generations of mankind, to one century.

The century between Greece's greatest philosophers: Heraclitus the dark (circa 500 B.C.), and Plato (born 429 B.C.), and Aristotle (born 385 B.C.), saw also Greece's greatest historians, Herodotus and Thucydides; its greatest dramatists, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes; its greatest masters in the field of the plastic arts, Phidias and Polygnotos. The fourth century B.C. sees still other great performances in these fields as after-effects of the great movement of the fifth century B.C., but already commences the decline, fast and irresistible.

Now that we have exactly defined the phenomenon to be explained, let us examine the economic movement, which coincides with the above movement in respect of space and time. There we find that the flourishing period begins with the Persian wars (492-479 B.C.) and ends with the Peloponnesian (431-404 B.C.). Each of these wars inaugurated an economic revolution. Up to the Persian wars the economic, and also the intellectual, centre of gravity of the Greeks lay in Asia Minor. It is noteworthy that Albert Lange, the great opponent of materialism, explains the philosophy of the Greeks of Asia Minor (and also of the Magna Græcia) quite in materialist fashion. Certainly, only because the facts forced him to that, not from materialistic zeal. He says:—

"If we cast a glance to the shores of Asia Minor in the centuries that immediately precede the brilliant period of Hellenic intellectual life, the colonies of the Ionians are distinguished for wealth and material prosperity, as well as for artistic sensibility and refinement of life. Trade and political alliances, and the increasing eagerness for knowledge, led the inhabitants of Miletos and Ephesus to take long journeys, brought them into manifold intercourse with foreign feelings and opinions, and furthered the elevation

This Magazine will be enlarged next month. See last page.

of a freethinking aristocracy above the standpoint of the narrower masses. A similar early prosperity was enjoyed by the Doric colonies of Sicily and Magna Græcia. Under these circumstances, we may safely assume that, long before the appearance of the philosophers, a freer and more enlightened conception of the universe had spread among the higher ranks of society."

It was in these circles of men—wealthy, distinguished, with a wide experience gained from travel—that philosophy arose. (Lange: "History of Materialism," English translation, pp. 7 and 8.)

The victory of the inhabitants of Greece proper over the Persians transferred the economic centre of gravity from the east coast to the west coast of the *Ægean* Sea. It brought not only enormous booty for the Greek peasants and sailors, who up to then lived for the most part in very simple circumstances; it brought it also about that the victors, after they had warded off the attack, passed over to the offensive. This was not, however, the business of the peasant clinging to the soil, but the quick-moving sailor. The commercial town, Athens, won the lead in the struggle; and she attained to the mastery over, and exploitation of, the *Ægean* and the Ionian—indeed, also of the Black Sea. The exploitation was in part direct, by means of the tribute of the conquered islands and coasts, in part indirect; while Athens sought as far as possible to monopolise the Greek trade, which was grown to a world commerce, an intermediary between East and West. Enormous treasures were gathered in Athens; an unheard-of economic awakening was the result, but also an awakening of the arts and sciences. Athens became the centre in which the most brilliant intellects of Greece gathered together, to which they dedicated their services. Nowhere did artists and thinkers find such favourable conditions to develop themselves and exercise their activity, nowhere such plentiful suggestion as there.

It was not the riches alone which offered these conditions; that was also to be found elsewhere. But never and nowhere in antiquity did an economic revolution, as I have just described, proceed with such rapidity, or so immediately, as in Athens of the fifth century B.C. Nowhere, therefore, did it give such a powerful impulse to thought and imagination, the philosophic and artistic capacity; nowhere were such unheard of successes so unexpectedly won; nowhere was the population so full of confidence and bravery which communicated itself to the artists and thinkers and forced them to attempt the most difficult problems.

The wealth which flowed to Athens did not remain, as elsewhere, confined to the narrow circle of a ruling aristocracy. Athens was a democratic community, the collective body of citizens had a share in the economic awakening, as well, however, in the intellectual. Nowhere found thinkers and artists such a public as in Athens. But if the thinker and the artist make their public, so the latter also, *vice versa*, and to a still greater degree, make the former.

To all this must be added the fact that Athens at the beginning of the Persian wars already stood at the head of contemporary civilisation. That was not the case, for example, in Rome, whose development was similar, when not quite so concentrated as that of Athens. The Romans came to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean as barbarians, as upstarts, who at best came up to a civilisation already existing, which they could not at once carry independently farther and surpass. In Rome the wealth brought in in consequence of the policy of conquest and exploitation might bring forward lovers of art, collectors, scholars, and compilers, but not original philosophers and artists as in Athens.

But when Rome had assimilated the culture of the East, then her

economic development had already arrived at the period of decline, and then the Roman world empire could not produce anything more on the intellectual plane—than Christianity.

Rome, therefore, could never do in the domain of intellect what Athens had done, but even for the latter the economic development proceeded in the same direction as that of Rome.

The wealth which, since the Persian wars, flowed to Greece, destroyed the old system of barter, and money became the medium of exchange. On the land the peasant got into debt and was ruined; in the place of the peasant came big estates, worked by slaves. The country was depopulated. The mass of the people crowded to the cities. By the side of the rich, growing ever richer—merchants, speculators, usurers, big landlords, fortunate generals who returned home loaded with booty—was crowded an ever-growing mass of the "submerged tenth." The old virtues disappeared, the characteristics of the new classes asserted themselves. In the place of a feeling of solidarity came venality, instead of valour came cowardice and effeminacy. The citizen-soldier who fought for his own hearth was supplanted by the mercenary, who served him who paid best.

All that led in Greece, as in Rome, to general social decay. But in Greece the decline did not spin itself out in a process lasting for centuries, as in Rome, but it was just as unexpectedly brought on through a catastrophe in war as the awakening by a victory.

In Athens, the centre of the economic revolution, the corrupting influences of the new economic conditions made themselves first and most strikingly felt. But Athens became the centre of the hatred of the whole of Greece. So much the more the use of money developed, and the "submerged tenth" increased, so much the more increased the economic pressure on the subjects of Athens, so much the greater also became the covetousness of the reactionary peasant cantons for the treasures of the world-city. Neighbours and subjects made alliance, and in a desperate struggle destroyed for ever the world-power. This thirty years' war exhausted and laid waste the whole of Greece, and thanks to the declining tendencies of her economic development, she never again fully recovered. Soon she became the booty of foreigners, who drained her; the world-commerce, the trade between East and West, took paths which led past Greece, and thus it remained economically without importance till the present day.

Those are the most important facts, to which I should have had to point if I had really undertaken to explain the decay of the Greek intellectual life from the materialist standpoint. I think these facts speak clearly enough for themselves. As well in the rise as in the fall, the economic development took the lead and the intellectual development followed it truly. The connection between the two is, however, too close for the *post hoc* in this case not also to be a *propter hoc*; this will be more evident when one goes more into detail than is here possible. Beside this, the same parallelism is also elsewhere observed, therefore it is no mere chance.

I must leave it to readers to decide whether anybody who arrived through the materialist conception of history to a knowledge of this parallelism still feels the need to look to the mixture of races with Slavs and Turks, or even to the "exhaustion of the Greek spirit" and other desperate means, to make the intellectual decay of Greece comprehensible.

With the second historical example, in which we compared the Bax method with the materialist method, we can express ourselves more briefly.

In my reply in No. 47 of the *Neue Zeit*, I had accused Bax of inconsistency, in that he, in "Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome," traces the loss of the mediæval love of life and the rise of Puritanism in England on one occasion to the economic development, and a few lines later to the peculiar spirit of the English people.

"In general I agree readily with Kautsky and his friends that the alteration in the English temper at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, is to be traced to the economic revolution which took place then. But there are certain characteristics of the English Protestant movement which, on the Continent, although a similar revolution took place in the economic conditions—even if this in many places took place somewhat later—have nowhere shown themselves in anything like the same degree. Where, on the Continent, does one find the English Sunday, the dogma of the wickedness of dancing, of the theatre, or reading novels? All these peculiarities are not to be explained through a general formula, accordingly I made the suggestion that the Puritanism from which these sprang, could somehow or other be traced back to the peculiarity of the mixture of races which produced the English people."

Here again, therefore, the mixture of races plays a part. But, unfortunately, even this time it does not come at the right time to explain anything. The mixture of races with the Greek people commenced 500 years after the commencement of that phenomenon which it, according to Bax, was to account for. The racial mixture in the case of England was already completed in the twelfth century—at the end of the eleventh century the last great invasion of England, that of the Normans, took place. It comes, therefore, about 500 years too soon to account for the English Puritanism of the seventeenth century. Between this mixture and Puritanism lies exactly the period of merrie England. We materialists are in the first place inclined to look for the cause of the peculiarities of an age in the conditions of the same. Can it now be that the England of the seventeenth century was only distinguished from the rest of Europe through its mixture of races, so that we must ascribe the English Puritanism to this?

If we look closer, we find at once a very striking and important peculiarity of England in the seventeenth century. It is for England the most prominent fact of the whole century: The Revolution of 1642-1660, that is the rule of the democratic classes, small shopkeepers, peasants, and wage-workers. This phenomenon is quite unique in the whole of Europe during the seventeenth century, since everywhere else the feudal absolutism won the upper hand, and the democratic classes were completely crushed.

Just as well known is it that Puritanism was not a characteristic mental tendency of the whole English people, but the mental tendency of special classes, and indeed of those very classes who in England, in opposition to the rest of Europe, attained temporarily the upper hand during the seventeenth century.

But if one looks still closer, one finds still more. If Puritanism was the mental tendency not of the English people, but of particular classes in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, neither was it anyway simply in England characteristic of these classes, but in the whole of Europe.

As Bernstein and I were at work on the second volume of the "History of Socialism," we were not a little surprised, when we, quite independently of each other, in all Socialistic-Democratic parties and currents at the end

of the Middle ages and the beginning of modern times found exactly the same puritanical views, in often quite ludicrous agreement. What Bernstein found in England, I found among the Bohemian Brothers, among the followers of Münzer, the Anabaptists, and the Mennonites. We came to the conviction that this agreement was no chance one, but a historical necessity. Puritanism is a necessary method of thought of particular classes under particular conditions. As during the Middle ages, with their almost universal system of barter, "live and let live" is the maxim of peasants, small bourgeoisie and wage workers, so these classes succumb at the commencement of the capitalist method of production to a gloomy Puritanism, and, indeed, the more, the faster, and more incisively the economic and the corresponding political development makes itself felt the more lively is the reaction of the lowest classes against it. But because Puritanism, although it came up also in the rest of Europe, only got the upper hand in England, could only there force itself on society, explains itself after what has been related.

This very phenomenon, which Bax with his "improved" method found so completely insoluble, that he for the solution of the problem took refuge in a completely arbitrarily conceived peculiarity of an already many-centuries-old mixture of races, forms for us one of the most brilliant corroborations of the materialist conception of history.

And this fruitfulness and accuracy has been shown in all departments in which we have tried it, be it the research of the past or in the understanding of the present.

It serves the latter purpose just as well as the former, and therein lies its practical importance, therein its great importance not only for the Socialist engaged in research, but also for the fighting Socialist, and for that reason the materialist conception is no simple question for the learned, but a question of interest for all.

OUR GREATEST COLONIAL MINISTER.

Diplomaticus has an article in the *Fortnightly*, on Mr. Chamberlain, entitled "Our Greatest Colonial Minister," words uttered by Mr. Balfour in his speech at the Guildhall, on November 10. As a matter of fact, to describe Mr. Chamberlain as the greatest of our Colonial Ministers is in itself no very extravagant compliment. There were brave men before Agamemnon, but we may search the history of the Colonial expansion of Britain with a double magnifying microscope, and we shall not find a trace of real statesmanship in any of Mr. Chamberlain's predecessors. Until a very few years ago the dominant conviction among British statesmen was that the secession of the Colonies was sooner or later inevitable, and that the function of the Colonial Office was—as Lord Blachford wrote as late as 1885—"To secure that our connection, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation, when it comes, as amicable as possible." What scope for constructive policy was there in this pessimistic conception of Ministerial duty? The Colonial Secretary was only a sort of Official Receiver, and if at times he felt it his duty to develop a policy, it was generally, as in the case of Lord Glenelg, in the direction of hastening the final liquidation.

When Mr. Chamberlain took the seals of the Colonial Office in 1895, two things were clear. Little Englandism was at its last gasp, and the new Government's expectation of life was phenomenally high. Mr. Chamberlain

was a greater Englander by conviction, one who had found a physical basis for the dream in economic necessity, who had persuaded himself that its realisation was practicable, and he had a cut-and-dried plan for giving it form and life.

Diplomaticus thinks that in the summer of 1895 Mr. Chamberlain believed that the hour of sympathetic Imperialism had struck, and that the circumstances justified him in thinking that he was the appointed Mahdi of the Pan-Britannic gospel.

After describing Mr. Chamberlain's attempt and failure to create an Imperial Zollverein, "the great ambition of his life," the writer has to turn to other spheres of activity to justify Mr. Balfour's praise.

Compare his record in the domain of Imperial integration with that of his predecessors since the first Colonial Conference in 1887. In eight years previous to Mr. Chamberlain's appointment all that had been done had been to secure an annual contribution of £126,000 from the Australian colonies for naval defence, to arrange for the fortification of Table Bay and Simon's Bay, to conclude an agreement with the Australian colonies in regard to the administration of New Guinea, to settle the New Hebrides question, and to pass the Colonial Probate Act. During the past seven years Mr. Chamberlain has obtained an increase of the Australasian naval contribution from £126,000 to £240,000 annually, induced Cape Colony, Natal, and New-foundland to contribute together £88,000 annually. He has prevailed upon the Colonial Premiers to make the Colonial Conference a permanent institution, and has thus established the rudiments of an Imperial Council. He has secured the denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties of commerce, and, as a result, has obtained a tariff preference for British imports in Canada, and the promise of similar concessions in the other colonies. He has established Imperial Penny Postage, he has solved the question of the Pacific cable, he has passed the Colonial Stocks Act, and, while helping to nurse the Australian Commonwealth into existence, has secured a modification of the Appellate Jurisdiction Clauses of the Constitution, which assures the efficacy and uniformity of an important link of Empire.

Mr. Chamberlain's work as administrator is next dealt with.

"One of the main theories with which he set out on his career as a Colonial Minister was that, however backward any of the colonies might be, there was hope for them if they were only treated in a business-like way as 'undeveloped estates.'"

His aim has been essentially Roman, and he has largely worked with roads and railways. In West Africa he has bought out the Niger Company, and has reorganised the whole of Nigeria. The vast area from the Niger to Lake Tchad is now in effective British occupation. The Lagos Railway has now reached Ibadan, and is slowly creeping towards Kano, one of the greatest markets in the interior of Africa. In the Gold Coast, Ashanti has been annexed and pacified, a railway is being constructed to the gold mines at Tarquah, and five great high roads, with bridges, have been constructed. In Sierra Leone 30,000 square miles have been occupied, and a railway to Rotifunk has been opened to traffic. In the Far East the Malay States were federated in the first month of Mr. Chamberlain's Colonial Administration. New railways have been built, and the whole country has been plentifully endowed with roads, telegraphs, waterworks, schools, and an irrigation system. For the relief of the West Indies generally, the most notable thing Mr. Chamberlain has done has been the energetic prosecution of the negotiations for the abolition of Sugar Bounties, which resulted in the Convention of last March.

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