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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. XIII., No. 1.

JANUARY 15, 1909.

1897-1909.

With this number the "Social-Democrat" enters upon the thirteenth year of publication. During the twelve years of its existence contributors and publishers have both endeavoured to fulfil the promise and achieve the object with which the magazine was founded.

The object which we had in view was to provide a vade mecum for Socialist propagandists rather than a propagandist organ; and to afford a medium for the publication of adverse articles, and a platform for controversy, which would be out of place in a purely propagandist journal or magazine. This idea was stated in our first number, January, 1897, thus:—

"While the principles we shall set ourselves to serve and promulgate will be those of scientific revolutionary Social-Democracy as set forth in the writings of its best-known writers, Marx, Engels, Hyndman, and others, we shall gladly welcome contributions from representatives of other schools of thought, not excluding those who are entirely opposed to Socialism

in any form. Indeed, we hope to make polemical discussion on all phases of the social problem a special feature of our magazine."

While it cannot be pretended that our hopes in this direction have been entirely realised, owing to the reluctance of opponents of all shades to contribute to a Socialist magazine, we may claim that we have done our best to have all sides of any subject presented, if not in original articles, in translations and extracts from other magazines. We can claim, therefore, to have achieved the main object of our endeavours, which in 1897, we stated to be "to present to Socialists, most of whom have neither the time nor the opportunity of reading these for themselves, in a condensed form, the various articles and criticisms on Socialism which appear each month in different magazines, books and newspapers."

This, then, was our object, to provide a periodical arsenal of facts, figures, and arguments for and against Socialism, for the use of Socialist propagandists, in a sort of Socialist "review of reviews," and a discussion forum for the threshing out of differences. This object we have carried out to the fullest extent that our space would permit, and if that space has been too limited, and the success of our efforts circumscribed, that is entirely due to the fact that the need for such a magazine has not been so widely felt, and the support we have received, therefore, has not been so great as was at first anticipated.

That the "Social-Democrat" does meet a real need we are, however, warranted in concluding from the amount of support which it has received. We therefore intend to persevere in the projected path, with the hope that with the growth of our party greater

success will attend our efforts. In the present number we give two articles on the ever-alluring drink question, each of which may occasion controversy. Our comrade Beer, whose recent utterances suggest that he, too, has suffered from the enervating political atmosphere of this country, resumes the series of most interesting articles which he commenced last year, and which was unfortunately discontinued for purely private reasons; and we also give an article, translated from the "Revue Socialiste," on "Neo-Marxism" which, as well as the extracts from Mr. Carnegie's article, should afford opportunity for criticism from Social-Democrats.

In the year before us we hope, with the co-operation of comrades, to make the "Social-Democrat" of far greater service to the cause than it has ever yet been, and thus to ensure its share in the work of making 1909 a fruitful year for Social-Democracy.

DRINK AND POVERTY.

Dryden has well said :—

“ Errors like straws upon the surface flow,
He that would search for pearls must dive below.”

To no question is the above aphorism more applicable than to the “problem” of drink and poverty.

Mere assertions and ex parte statements do not prove anything. Let us, therefore, make as thorough and scientific an investigation as is possible; otherwise we cannot possibly arrive at a conclusion even approximating the truth. Fortunately, we have much data which will enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion on this important question. Our first authority is Mr. Charles Booth, who inquired into the cause of poverty in London. This great task took many years to complete, even though he was assisted by many other persons. He divided the poor into two classes—(1) Lowest loafers, semi-criminals, casual labourers and the very poor, those who are in chronic want; (2) those whose family earnings average 18s. to 21s. per week.

Of class 1 :—

Four per cent. were loafers.

Fourteen per cent. were poor owing to drink and thriftlessness.

Twenty-seven per cent. to questions of circumstances (large families, sickness and the like).

Fifty-five per cent. to questions of employment.

Class 2 :—

Thirteen per cent. to drink and thriftlessness.
Nineteen per cent. to questions of circumstances.
Sixty-eight per cent. to questions of employment.

Thus, in the first class 18 per cent. were in poverty through drink. The remaining 82 per cent. being poor owing to circumstances over which they had no control.

Class 2 :—

13 per cent. only, were poor owing to their drunken habits, and 87 per cent. to questions of employment. Striking an average of the two classes we find that over 84½ per cent. were poor, not in consequence of drink, but through insufficient weekly income and precariousness of employment, large families, sickness, etc. Mr. S. Rowntree on investigating the cause of poverty in York found it to be owing to precisely the same causes as existed in London. This was necessarily the case, since, on an average, the same conditions prevail in all "industrial" centres. Mr. Rowntree, however, went further. He ascertained what is the minimum amount required to keep a family in York (where living is not so expensive as in some other cities) in bare physical efficiency. This he did to find out the "poverty line." And he says "the estimate is less generous than that which would be required by the Local Government Board."

To keep in merely physical health per week :—

| | | | | | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|----|----|
| I man cost | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 | 0 |
| I woman cost | .... | .... | .... | .... | 7 | 0 |
| I man I woman cost | .... | .... | .... | .... | 11 | 8 |
| I " I " 1 child cost | .... | .... | .... | .... | 14 | 6 |
| I " I " 2 children cost | .... | .... | .... | .... | 18 | 10 |
| I " I " 3 " " | .... | .... | .... | .... | 21 | 8 |
| I " I " 4 " " | .... | .... | .... | .... | 26 | 0 |
| I " I " 5 " " | .... | .... | .... | .... | 28 | 10 |

| | | | | | s. | d. |
|---|-----|---|-------|-----------------|------|------|
| I | man | I | woman | 6 children cost | .... | 31 8 |
| I | „ | I | „ | 7 „ „ | .... | 34 6 |
| I | „ | I | „ | 8 „ „ | ... | 37 4 |

I must here point out that these figures only allow a minimum amount of food, clothing and shelter, and take no account of beer, tobacco, papers, tram fares, doctors' bills, holidays, toys for children, etc. In a word, they allow for mere animal existence and for keeping in bare physical efficiency. Regarding the minimum amount of weekly income for village life, we have the evidence of an Indian merchant who, during his leisure time, investigated the cost of living in the village of Ridmont, Woburn Park, near the Duke of Bedford's estate.

His figures for the minimum amount necessary for food sufficient to maintain physical health are:—

| | | | | | s. | d. |
|------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|----|-------------|
| Man, woman or young person over 16 | | | | | | |
| years of age .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 3 | 0 per week. |
| Child 8 to 16 .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 2 | 3 „ „ |
| „ 3 to 8 .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 2 | 1 „ „ |
| „ to 3 .... | .... | .... | .... | .... | 2 | 1 „ „ |

Rents are put at 1s. 6d. for family, and for a single person 1s.

On this basis it is stated that a family of five persons would require 18s. 4d. per week to maintain themselves in physical health. Taking this standard he found that 31.5 per cent. were living below the "poverty" line. But of the actual wage-earning class 41 per cent. were in this awful plight. No one will, I think, attempt to maintain that drunkenness prevails in village life. The average family in Great Britain consists of five persons, and on referring to Mr. Rowntree's table we find the minimum required for bare maintenance is 21s. 8d., and in the table for village life is 18s. 4d. Let us keep these figures in mind while we inquire what the average wage of the

working class is. It is estimated that of the working class (adult men)—

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------|------------------------|
| 500,000 | receive from.... | .... | 30s. to 50s. per week. |
| 1,500,000 | „ „ .... | .... | 20s. to 30s. „ „ |
| 4,000,000 | „ „ .... | .... | 20s. or less „ „ |

Thus it will be seen that half of the adult male workers receive £1 or less per week.

G. H. Mulhall, in his "Wealth of Nations," puts the average income of the labouring classes at about £40 per annum. I am not aware of any political economist who puts their income higher than £45. Yet the minimum required, according to Mr. Rowntree, is £56 6s. The average wages of agricultural labour in the West of Ireland is 8s. per week, in the South of England 12s. to 14s., in the Midlands 13s. to 15s., in Lancashire and the North of England 15s. to 18s. We must remember, however, that as we travel north house rent increases in proportion as wages advance. Again, in London alone there are 300,000 families whose weekly income is less than 20s. per family per week. Professor Stirling, of the Victoria University, Manchester, estimates the cost of food alone for a working class family of six persons at 14s. 6d. According to Professor A. Lockhart-Gillespie ("Natural History of Digestion") a workman's daily food requirements are :—

| | | | | Cost. d. |
|----------------|------|------|------|-------------|
| 1 lb. bread | ... | .... | .... | 1½* |
| 1 lb. potatoes | .... | .... | .... | ½ |
| ½ lb. meat | .... | .... | .... | 4½ |
| ¼ lb. fat | .... | .... | .... | 2 |
| ⅓ lb. cheese | .... | .... | .... | 1 |
| 1 egg | .... | .... | .... | 1 |
| ½ pint of milk | .... | .... | .... | 1 |
| | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | 11½d. |

* Prices are the writer's.

Allowing three children to require as much food as two adults, then we shall have to multiply the cost of food alone, as stated by Professor Gillespie, by $11\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times 7 = 26s. 10d.$ Yet the average income of the labouring classes is less than 20s. per week per family. Of course, there is a great difference in the estimated cost of food as stated by Professor Stirling and Professor Gillespie. But we must remember the former's is for a minimum, whereas the latter is for a full amount of food required to sustain the body in health and vigour, which every man has a natural and moral right to demand if he is prepared to do his share in wealth production. Further, from a physiological, therefore a scientific, therefore a moral standpoint, the manual worker ought to have a higher wage than a brain worker, as with the brain worker there is less bodily waste and consequently less food required than is the case with the manual worker. Dr. Arthur Newsholme says:—

“ Dr. Lyon Playfair found as the result of elaborate analysis the amount of food required for

| — | Nitrogenous. | Carbonaceous. |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Subsistence only ... | 2—0 oz. | 13—3 oz. |
| Quietude | 2—5 „ | 14—5 „ |
| Moderate exercise | 4—2 „ | 23—2 „ |
| Active work.... | 5—5 „ | 26—3 „ |
| Hard work | 6—5 „ | 26—3 „ |

Thus, under the first three conditions of life, the proportion of nitrogenous to carbonaceous food is as one to six, for active work one to five, for hard work one to four.”

Hence we find that, with greater muscular as compared with mental effort, not only is a greater amount of food required to replace the waste tissue, but an increasingly greater proportion of nitrogenous than car-

bonaceous. Nitrogenous food consists of the lean of meat, the casin of milk, from which cheese is made, the white of egg, and the like—in a word, the dearer food—whereas carbonaceous consists of flour, potatoes (starchy), and such like cheaper foods. Much more evidence could be brought forward, but sufficient has been advanced already to prove that poverty is not caused through the workers spending their wages in drink, but to those wages being insufficient to buy the bare necessities of life. It is not denied that in individual cases drink is the cause of their poverty. But that is very different from stating that poverty as such, or in general, is caused through drink. Again, those who have studied this drink question are coming more and more to agree that poverty is far more the cause of drunkenness, than drunkenness is the cause of poverty. Sir James Crichton Browne, M.D., M.R.C.P., etc., says:—

“Alcohol is an anodyne and ‘sweet oblivious antidote!’ It is resorted to by crowds of ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished miserable beings, and one sometimes speculates how long the warm and comfortable censors of the improvidence and intemperance of the poor would, if plunged into the ‘chill penury’ and squalor of the slums, keep away from the public-house.”

When we reflect on the miserable structures in which most of the labouring classes are housed, the surprise is not that there is so much drunkenness, but rather that there is so little. For the people to be moral they must live in a moral atmosphere, and on this ground, common decency demands regarding family life that the husband and wife must have a bedroom to themselves, a second for the exclusive use of the daughters, and a third for the use of the sons. Yet we find that upwards of 50 per cent. of families have but two bedrooms, or even only one, the latter being a large minority. Yet in our prisons we allow 600 cubic feet of space for the vilest criminals. Here I make the bold and irrefutable statement, that not only is drink not the cause of poverty, but also that if the people did not

eat, much less drink, other things remaining constant, poverty would exist throughout the length and breadth of the land, their yearly incomes being absolutely insufficient to provide them with the necessary amount of clothing and shelter, etc., which nature demands they should have to enjoy a natural healthy life. And this apart from luxuries of any description. Now, poverty is an effect, and, as such, of necessity must have a cause. Our task, then, is to try and find out this cause. We will start by stating the fact that all wealth is produced by labour. Very well, if the people do not produce enough wealth to supply themselves with all the necessities of life, poverty is the natural outcome. On the other hand, if they produce more wealth than they can possibly consume, poverty ought not to exist. Remember, all wealth is produced by labour, there being no other means of bringing it into existence. The annual value of the wealth created in Great Britain is estimated to be £1,800,000,000 (eighteen hundred millions). Let us take the common illustration :—

Wealth produced annually,
£1,800,000,000.

How it is distributed.

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| Rent, Interest and Profit £1,200,000,000. | Wages £600,000,000. |
|--|------------------------|

We are told the working classes spend £100,000,000 in drink, which is questionable, but which we will accept for the moment.

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Drink Bill £100,000,000 | Wages £600,000,000. | Rent, Interest and Profit £1,200,000,000. |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--|

Are the people
poor because
they drink
this

out of this,

or because they are deprived of
this ?

From this it follows that anyone not blinded by prejudice will see at a glance that the people are poor, not because they annually spend £100,000,000 in drink as represented by our diagram, but because they only receive in wages about one-third of the wealth they create yearly, the remaining two-thirds going to a small section of the community, who, owing to our unjust social system, have been able to monopolise the instruments of production, and so determine the conditions whereby wealth shall be created and distributed. This, then, is the cause of the chronic poverty in which millions of the labouring class exist, and not, as falsely stated, the amount they spend in drink. We are no advocates of intemperance. We may claim further that there is no section of the community, apart from the Temperance Party itself, which has a greater percentage of temperance members than the Socialist Party. The present writer is not only a total abstainer but also a non-smoker. There is another side to this question. Who is responsible for the drink traffic? Why, the capitalist class themselves. It is they who own the breweries and also the retail (tied) houses in which it is sold. So that if they sincerely wished to suppress the drink traffic they have it within their power to do so. We, however, know full well that although individually the capitalists like steady, sober men in their employment, as a class they do not want a sober nation, as temperance men are thinking men, and, as such, are dangerous to the capitalist interest. The ruling classes, from Dukes downwards, are always preaching abstinence to the workers, yet it is they who are the shareholders in the brewery companies. A short time back Miss Wilson of Westmoreland stated that one-third of the ordinary shareholders in brewing companies were women. Of titled ladies there were 464, including duchesses, marchionesses, and countesses, 269 who had the title of "lady"; and 100 "honourables." Of rank and file there were between 30,000 and 40,000. The amount of money they held invested in brewery shares was a

little over a million. They were just beaten by the *clergy*, who held £1,600,000 in brewery shares. Again, last year the Rev. Dr. Leach, speaking at the autumnal meeting of the London Congregational Union, asserted that in three of the most important brewery companies the shareholders included:—

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 4 Dukes | 2 Archdeacons |
| 42 Peers | 1 Dean |
| 17 Earls | 2 Canons |
| 5 Viscounts | 82 Other rev. gentlemen |
| 84 Baronets | 33 Doctors |
| 31 Knights | 156 Army officers |
| 106 Honourables | 3 High Court Judges |

These people, who make millions of profit out of the beer traffic, have the audacity to turn round to the working classes and tell them their poverty is caused through drink. Formerly it was held that the drink trade increased with increasing trade. However, since the year 1900 the annual drink bill has yearly decreased. And the amount spent in drink in 1907 was upwards of £20,000,000 less than that of 1900, yet, during this time trade was gradually improving. In fact, the years 1906-7 were records in the annals of British trade. Yet in spite of our great trade prosperity and decreased consumption of alcohol, the aggregate amount of poverty in 1907 was greater than ever before. I am not concerned with the percentage to the population, which is misleading, but, as stated, the aggregate amount of poverty. It is awful to contemplate the poverty into which a large portion of workers sink as old age advances, in spite of the fact that they in general lead not drunken, but steady and industrious lives. A short time ago Sir J. Gorst stated that of the working-class 3 in 5 who reached the age of 65 years, received during some period of their lives pauper relief, and that 1 in 5 who attain this age is buried in a pauper's grave. Mr. Chamberlain, during his "Tariff Reform" campaign a few years ago, stated that of

the workmen who were 28 years of age, three in seven would during some part of their lifetime receive pauper relief. And, be it noted, neither of the statesmen mentioned so much as hinted that this poverty would be brought about by drink. No, they are perfectly aware that this result is brought about by the economic conditions that prevail at the present time, which necessitate the great mass of the working class being kept on the subsistence line—that is, they must not receive such income as would enable them to become independent of the employing class, but merely sufficient to keep them alive as wealth-producers and continue their species as labourers. Frederic Harrison put the case for the working class when he said: "To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom if the permanent condition were to be that which we behold—that go per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home they can call their own beyond the end of the week, have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; having nothing of value of any kind except so much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of a weekly wage which barely suffices to keep them in health, are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse, are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution, that a month of bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss, brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country." Thus we find that the great mass of the working class are necessarily in a state of chronic poverty, not because they spend the money in drink which ought to purchase the food, clothing, etc., for themselves, their wives and children, but because of our iniquitous social system of production for profit for the few, instead of the well-being of the many. We must remember that the pauper is the complement to the millionaire, and so long as we have the latter existing the former will abound. The people have the power to put an end to this awful state

of misery and want, which, under existing conditions, the labouring classes are foredoomed to suffer. But we must remember the words of Byron :—

‘ Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not who would be free

“ Themselves must strike the blow ? ”

This, however, can only be accomplished by organisation. We, therefore, urge the workers to organise in the only Party which has for its object not only the abolition of poverty, but also the political, social and economic emancipation of the working class, viz., the great international Social-Democratic Party. Then, as Ernest Crosby says :—

“ Gone, soon will be gone, the sham honesty which lives on others’ labour. Gone the sham authority which rests upon violence. Gone the sham respectability which is propped up by privilege. Gone the sham wealth which is drawn from others’ poverty. Gone the sham religion which covers all the other shams with its threadbare cloak of hypocrisy.”

JNO. RHIND.



“ For instance, I have seven thousand pounds in what we call the Funds or Founded things ; but I am not comfortable about the Founding of them. All that I can see of them is a square bit of paper, with some ugly printing on it, and all that I know of them is that this bit of paper gives me a right to tax you every year, and make you pay me two hundred pounds out of your wages ; which is very pleasant for me : but how long will you be pleased to do so ? Suppose it should occur to you, any summer’s day, that you had better not ? Where would my seven thousand pounds be ? In fact, where are they now ? We call ourselves a rich people ; but you see this seven thousand pounds of mine has no real existence ;—it only means that you, the workers, are poorer by two hundred pounds a year than you would be if I hadn’t got it. And this is surely a very odd kind of money for a country to boast of.”—“ Fors Clavigera,” by Ruskin.

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

THE RISE OF JEWISH MONOTHEISM.

CHAPTER II.—(*Continued.*)

Into the Babylonian exile were carried away from the kingdom of Judah the aristocratic and cultured families and the spiritual leaders of the people. Their fate was different from that of the Israelites of the northern kingdom who, a century before, were expatriated to Assyria. The families of Judah did not merge and disappear in the population of the Babylonian empire, as the "Ten Tribes" did in the Assyrian empire. The cause of the conservation of Judah in contradistinction to the disappearance of Israel was spiritual. The mental type of Judah had more time to differentiate and had, therefore, been able to withstand assimilation. The catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem helped to crystallise all those floating mental traits that had been called into being by the economic changes, the class struggle, the wars, and the exhortations and teachings of the prophets. It appeared to be a terrible confirmation of the truths enunciated by Amos, Micah, Isaiah the first, and Jeremiah. Chastened, repentant, and receptive, the expatriated Jews settled on the waters of Babylon, and there they saw the climax and consummation of the religious revolution that had begun on the waters of the Jordan. The new religious conception was consolidated by Ezekiel and Isaiah the second, both of whom lived in the exile.

Ezekiel, the prophet-priest, was constructive and dogmatic, building up the Jewish Utopia of a future

independent State, and promulgating the rules of its every-day life. He was not satisfied with sublime ideas and sentiments of God and morality, but desired to create a body for the new soul of the nation. His was a synthetic and practical mind. The past work of prophetism gave him monotheism, humanity, and new ethics; the traditions of priesthood handed down to him the idea of rule and order, of a religious practice. To him Yahve was the father of mankind, and the Jew a son of man, and the man an individual responsible to his maker. He was the first Jewish teacher who consciously did away with the old tribal tradition of collective responsibility, collective sin, and collective punishment. He taught man to be a moral individual. "Behold," he teaches in the name of Yahve, "all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die. But if a man be just, and do which is lawful and right . . . he shall surely live." The Jews, however, could not yet grasp individualism in morality, though they had long practised individualism in economic affairs; the old mental remnants of tribal conceptions still lingered among them. And they replied: "Why? doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father?" Ezekiel met those questionings in his elaborate and casuistic manner and explained individual responsibility. The wicked man is only responsible for his own actions. Moreover, there is no fatal guilt inherited from generation to generation. "If the wicked will turn from all his sins he hath committed . . . he shall not die. Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? saith Yahve God, And not that he should return from his ways and live? . . . Therefore, I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways. Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions, so iniquity shall not be your ruin . . . make you a new heart and a new spirit."

¶ In its clear, incisive exposition this teaching of individual responsibility was utterly new to the Jews.

It could never have arisen under a communal mode of life where the individual is merged in society. It had only become possible after a long and painful evolution from collective to private property.

His final vision (chapters 40-48) was a Jewish Utopia, where the people should live a saintly, righteous, and humane life. And not only the Jews: "And it shall come to pass, that ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you; and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you . . . saith Yahve God."

This Utopia is not new. No Utopia is. All imaginary constructions of future States are but the idealisations of the past and present. Ezekiel's was partly reactionary. He desired to efface the centuries of the disintegrating communal life and to reconstruct the old tribal system, giving it, however, the higher morality and the higher religious conceptions that were produced under individual economy. His Utopia remained a vision, but his religious and ethical views went to make History.

Of a different type, and more like the prophets of old, was that inspired and fire-tongued visionary and teacher whom we know as Isaiah the second. The evolution of monotheism from polytheism through new moral conceptions, as they arose in the struggle of the disinherited, found the clearest expression in his exhortations and speeches. The inarticulate sentiments of the dispossessed were transformed, in his mind, into ringing sentences. Moral conduct is religious service. Not sacrifice of animals, but self-sacrifice for the good of mankind; not prayers and fasting, but social service and the readiness to die for the salvation of man. "Yahve God hath given me the tongue of the learned that I should know how to speak a word in season for him that is weary. . . . Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and

show my people their transgression. Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways. . . . Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the hand of wickedness. . . . Is it such a fast that I have chosen? Is not this the fast that I have chosen—to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" And the purer his ethics, the more universal and sublime is his idea of God. In no other prophet is the logical nexus between the ethical character of God and the universality and oneness of God so visible as in Isaiah the second: "Thus saith Yahve, the heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool."

His vivid mind, fully immersed in these views of true religion, worked out the ideal of the religious man as he thought him and as the disinherited and oppressed desired to see him. This ideal is described in the famous chapter 53, the realisation of which the Jewish labourers, artisans, and small craftsmen of later centuries thought to see in Jesus Christ.

The spirit of Isaiah the second is still living among the poorer classes in Jewry. And to it I ascribe the astonishing ease with which Jewish workmen can be turned into social revolutionaries. It surely was one of the great formative forces of early Christianity in the Jewish communities.

(To be Continued.)

M. BEER.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

In dealing with the Alcohol Question from a scientific standpoint I am fully aware that there is a difference of opinion amongst eminent scientific men as to the actual effects of alcohol on the human system, and I am quite ready to leave the matter entirely with my readers as to whom they are prepared to believe.

I trust I shall not show any bigotry in the matter either, for although a life-long abstainer I hope I am sufficiently reasonable to allow of any difference of opinion without prejudice.

If, of course, my conclusions and deductions are wrongly based I shall expect toleration from any who may disagree with me. I honestly believe all I say, and only hope that my views will be received as honestly as they are expressed. I am prefacing my article with these remarks because I know that to discuss the drink question is almost as dangerous as to discuss religion or politics. Much bad blood is often created by the most harmless words, and inoffensive utterances are frequently made to bear a very bitter interpretation.

Very well, then ; alcohol is an intoxicating principle in wines, spirits, and malt liquors, and is produced by a process of fermentation. It is, I believe, a word of Arabic origin, and signifies "burning spirit," and is a limpid, colourless liquid, of an agreeable odour, and hot, pungent taste. There are, I believe, several kinds of fermentation, but the three processes which are associated with the production of alcohol are (1) "saccharine fermentation, in which gum and starch diluted

in water are changed into sugar ; (2) vinous fermentation, in which diluted sugar is converted into alcohol ; and (3) acetous fermentation, in which alcohol and other substances are converted into vinegar." On close examination we find that barley, when turned into malt, possesses this saccharine character, and is quite sweet to the taste. When an infusion of malt becomes fermented it produces the alcoholic beverages known as malt liquors. The saccharine in the juice of the grape, after fermentation, becomes wines. After these liquors have been subjected to a process of distillation certain kinds of spirits are produced, such as brandy, from wines ; rum from the fermented juice of the sugar cane ; and gin and whisky from fermentation of grain and malt.

What is called vinous fermentation, in which diluted sugar is converted into alcohol, is the principal process in the production of beers, wines, and spirits. To secure this vinous fermentation five agents are required—(1) sugar, or saccharine, (2) water, (3) heat, (4) ferment, (5) atmospheric air. If any one of these is suppressed vinous fermentation will not take place, and alcohol will not be produced. It is not imperative to have actual sugar, but molasses, common treacle, sugar cane, honey, milk, apples, pears, currants, gooseberries, or any sweet fruit is sufficient to produce the necessary fermentation ; but malt is the most common of all. To produce malt some grain (usually barley) is saturated with water for 48 hours, and, being in a close heap, it soon begins to "heat," or "sweat" ; this is followed by "sprouting," or germination. If this germination were allowed to continue too long the whole mass would be spoiled, so the "sprouting" is arrested by drying or kilning ; it is then malt. During germination a property called diastase is generated, which will convert 2,000 times its own weight of starch into maltose, or sugar. That is why malt is used, and not because of the nutritive properties of the grain—it becomes a cheap sugar for the brewer. The malt contains starch as well as sugar, and to separate them

hot water is poured over the mass—not too hot, but just hot enough to dissolve the sugar without affecting the starch. The product, now called “sweet wort,” is strained, and the grains—the only nutritious portion left—given to feed pigs and cattle. At this stage the yeast, or barm, is introduced. Yeast, or barm, is a fungus. It is a mass of small, round, semi-transparent cells, which under favourable conditions multiply with marvellous rapidity, and throw out buds, which soon become as large as the parent cell, detach themselves, and, in turn, become the parents of other smaller cells or buds. This process is common in all low organisms, and is called “budding,” or segmentation.

It is during this process of segmentation that the yeast cells utilise the sugar, and convert it into two distinct poisons—alcohol and carbonic-acid gas. When the preparation reaches this stage fermentation has to be checked, and the temperature is therefore lowered and air is kept away as much as possible—it is “barrelled” and “bunged.” If this is neglected the composition passes into the acetic stage, and becomes vinegar; and, if still further neglected, it rapidly putrifies and becomes totally decomposed.

These facts may be known to most readers of this article, but for the sake of those who did not know them I have stated them here as briefly as possible.

There are multifarious other ingredients introduced into the manufacture of stimulants, and the reply of Mr. Lloyd George to Sir John Barker in November last may be interesting to the readers of this article. The following is Mr. Lloyd George's list:—

Rice, flaked rice, rice grits, rice malt, gelatinised rice; maize, flaked maize, maize grits, maize flour; oats, flaken, rolled, malted, and crushed; torrefied barley, yeast foods. Preservatives: Mainly sulphites of soda and potash, and sold under various trade names, e.g., kalium metasulphite (K.M.S.), sulposite,

etc.; salicylic and boracic acids are also occasionally used as preservatives. "Burtonisers" (substances used for hardening brewing waters) are chiefly sulphates and chlorides of calcium and magnesium. Neutralisers: Mainly carbonates of potash and soda, and sold under various trade names, as regenerator, acid neutraliser, antacid, etc. Hop substitutes: Catechu or cutch, tannin, extrait de houblons d'Alsace, Davis's hop substitute, optanin, quassia and preparations containing quassia: Preparations used to precipitate albuminous matters from wort, mainly gelatine, Iceland moss, Irish moss, alginol, ibrite, etc. Miscellaneous brewing materials: Albumen maltose, linseed, liquorice, amide syrup (ceramide), dextrin.

I am only, of course, dealing with alcohol, and the numerous chemical and mineral substances introduced into the manufacture of drinks only make them more injurious.

Well, this alcohol—produced by decomposition—is the insidious agent which I claim is responsible for much social misery and degradation. The following table shows the quantities of alcohol in an imperial pint of the different drinks:—

MALT LIQUORS.

| | | | | Water. | Alcohol. | Sugar. | Acetic acid. |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|----------|--------|--------------|
| | | | | ozs. | ozs. | grs. | grs. |
| London Stout | ... | ... | ... | 18½ | 1½ | 280 | 54 |
| Strong Ale | ... | ... | ... | 18 | 2 | 270 | 45 |
| Mild Ale | ... | ... | ... | 18¾ | 1¼ | 280 | 38 |
| Pale Ale | ... | ... | ... | 17½ | 2½ | 246 | 40 |

WINES.

| | | | | Water. | Alcohol. | Sugar. | Tartaric acid. |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|--------|----------|--------|----------------|
| | | | | ozs. | ozs. | ozs. | grs. |
| Port | ... | ... | ... | 16 | 4 | 1 | 80 |
| Claret | ... | ... | ... | 18 | 2 | 360 | 160 |
| Champagne | ... | ... | ... | 17 | 3 | 1,130 | 90 |
| Madeira | ... | ... | ... | 16 | 4 | 400 | 100 |

SPIRITS.

| | Water. | | Alcohol. | | Sugar. |
|----------------------|--------|-----|----------|-----|--------|
| | ozs. | | ozs. | | grs. |
| Brandy | 9½ | ... | 10½ | ... | 80 |
| Rum | 5 | ... | 15 | ... | 80 |
| Whisky (Irish)... .. | 10 | ... | 10 | ... | 80 |
| „ (Scotch) | 9¾ | ... | 10¼ | ... | 80 |
| Gin (Best) | 12 | ... | 8 | ... | 80 |
| „ (Common)... .. | 16 | ... | 4 | ... | ½ oz. |

The variations in the colour are produced with burnt sugar.

Alcohol, in brief, has the same origin as the malignant and fatal exhalations of the pestilence—the death and putrefaction of organic matter—and is on a parallel with the malarial poison. The pestilence and malarial fever we shun and fight with all our medical skill and scientific knowledge, but its twin brother, alcohol, we hug to our bosoms!

(To be Continued.)

H. W. HOBART.



MUNICIPAL COTTAGE-BATHS.

“Chambers’ Journal” has the following in its “Science and Art” notes:—

A new movement in the provision of bath facilities for the poor districts of our large centres is now in progress. The first town to initiate the scheme was Brighton, where a number of old buildings in the slum districts were purchased and fitted up for both sexes. A purely nominal charge is made, and for this the parents can participate in a bath together with their family. The latest city to adopt the idea is Birmingham, though similar establishments have been in operation in Liverpool, Manchester, and one or two other towns, but not quite on the same lines. As the title implies, the principle is the erection or purchase of existing small houses situated in the neighbourhoods, and equipping them with baths. No swimming-bath is attached, but the ordinary slipper or other types are provided. Hot and cold water, together with soap and towels, are available for a humble coin, so that the luxury of a douche is brought within the reach of all.

THE MONTH.

A Happy New Year! That is the conventional greeting; and late though it may be, we heartily tender it, and in no conventional spirit, to all our readers. We sincerely hope that for every Social-Democrat the year 1909 will be as happy and prosperous as is possible under capitalism, and one fruitful of good for the whole Socialist movement.

Notwithstanding the "festive" season, the last month of the old year was more than usually gloomy. The numbers of unemployed were phenomenally great; poverty and distress were exceptionally rife in all centres of population, and the Poor Law returns showed a larger amount of pauperism than for many years.

The end of the Autumn Session was in keeping with the general futility of the present Parliament. Little attempted and nothing done—except mischief—might well serve as its epitaph.

The barrenness of Liberalism and of the official Liberal Party was never more strikingly displayed than by the action of the Prime Minister in declaring that the veto of the House of Lords is to be made the dominant political issue. It might have been supposed that the cry of "Down with the House of Lords" was altogether too outworn to deceive anybody, and that this very stale red-herring had lost all attraction even for the most simple. There are, it appears, however, no limits to the credulity of some people, and we have prominent members of the Labour Party—and Socialist members at that—expressing their keen admiration of the Featherstone Prime Minister and their firm belief that, in the present instance, he really "means business."

We have heard from time to time of the terrible doom that was to befall the House of Lords if the Peers dared to thwart the will of the Commons on this, that, or the other measure. And then, when the Lords have arrogantly and contemptuously ignored these threats and rejected the measure upon the passing of which their continued existence was supposed to depend, those who have been so glibly threatening them have turned tail and made all sorts of excuses.

So in the case of the Licensing Bill, The Government, if the Lords dared to throw out that measure, were going to appeal to the country against them and generally play havoc with the rights and privileges of the gilded chamber. But the Lords threw out that Bill, and there has been no appeal to the country, and nothing at all terrible has happened. For the Lords the evil day is once more deferred; the Liberal Prime Minister endeavours to hearten his more Radical followers by pretending to frighten the Lords by making wry faces at them. The silly farce, less serious than a Christmas pantomime, and not half so amusing, is all played through again, and still there are those who imagine that "business is meant"!

It would have been more to the credit of the Labour Party if, instead of gaping on and applauding this tomfoolery, they had devoted some time to a criticism of the Government measures. The preposterous clause of the Licensing Bill prohibiting children under fourteen from entering a public-house, which Lord Monkswell got transferred to the Children's Bill, was incorporated in that measure and passed into law without any protest whatever having been made against so shameful an interference with working-class liberty.

Speaking of the Labour Party, the forthcoming Conference at Portsmouth promises to be more than usually interesting. The Fabian Society are now proposing, on the initiative of Bernard Shaw, that the party should have a programme! Saul among the prophets, indeed! But the Fabian Society—which "consists of Socialists," we are told—will oppose the party making a declaration in favour of Socialism!

The Labour Party Executive propose to amend their constitution to prevent their members assisting any independent Socialist

candidatures; but they have nothing to say in regard to the decision of the Appeal Court which bids fair to deprive the party of its sinews of war. It may be that the chiefs of the party think it best to ignore so unpleasant a subject; but the ostrich policy of hiding the head in the sand is neither a very heroic nor, as a rule, a successful one. If the party leaders ignore the decision, the rank and file will certainly not do so, and the position created is one that has to be faced.

At last the London County Council has been compelled, reluctantly, to exercise to a very limited extent their powers under the Provision of Meals Act, by imposing on the rates a part of the cost of feeding necessitous children. The utter failure of charity has made this absolutely necessary, but even now the provision is totally inadequate. It amounts, really, only to an occasional meal for a small proportion of the children who are in actual need, instead of a full dietary for all of them. When will these good Christian people see the folly, not to say cruelty, of this child-starvation?

The Scottish Miners have once more, in their conference, declared unanimously in favour of Socialism, and have affirmed that no Labour candidate is worthy of support who is not pledged to its principles. We wonder whether this is to stand as a mere expression of a pious opinion, or if any attempt will be made to impress this view upon the Labour Party.

Mr. Haldane continues chirpily to assure us of the absolute immunity of these islands from invasion and of the impregnability of the force which could be mobilised to resist an invasion if that impossibility could be ever accomplished. At the same time he has to admit that not more than two-thirds of the Territorial Force have yet been recruited. Seeing that the greater proportion of these have only joined for twelve months and will, many of them, be leaving in six months' time, we have further demonstration of the failure of Haldane's scheme. It is easy, in these circumstances, to understand the frantic efforts which are being made to get recruits. The appeal of the Duke of Fife to Londoners to rally to this forlorn hope of the capitalists, was most touching, and now we have his wife's aunt, the Princess Louise, engaged in forming a Ladies' Recruiting Committee, in

support of this appeal. This latest move is quite in accord with the old-time fashion of duchesses, when men were wanted for the wars. If the ladies of the Duchess of Argyll's committee adopt the methods which are said to have been effective when employed by their predecessors, their efforts will probably be more successful than those of the Duke of Fife, but we doubt if even they will succeed in raising the required number of three hundred thousand men.

Sir Christopher Furness has ably assumed the mantle of the deceased Sir George Livesey, and is diddling and dishing the trade unionists quite as completely, but with more astuteness. Having induced the workpeople to accept his humbugging co-partnership scheme, he has them now practically bound to him body and soul. Having, therefore, established "industrial peace," and prevented the possibility of a strike, he is now engaged, in forming a huge engineering trust, which will be able to make its own terms with the men and hold them absolutely at its mercy.

Too much importance should not be attached to the reported riots between Mohammedans and Hindus in India. Until we have more direct and reliable information we shall suspend judgment on the matter. It may be the case, of course, that the attacks, on the one side and the other, have been due entirely to religious fanaticism and rancour. But there have been similar incidents which have been deliberately provoked and organised by the authorities for political purposes, in order to discredit one side or the other, and to prove that the people are quite unfit for self-government. The British ruling class have long learnt the practical utility of the maxim to "divide and govern," and they never cease to apply it whenever it will serve their purpose, as it has done often enough in their history. The working people of this country have been tricked often enough by this device of creating divisions on some non-essential but contentious point, and there may, therefore, be some excuse for the people of India, with their age-long differences of race, caste, religion and language. With the spread of education, however, these differences are weakening, and the British people will make a great mistake if they regard any petty conflicts their alien rule in India may provoke as evidences of the unfitness of the Indian people for self-government.

NEO-MARXISM.

I.—HEGELIANS AND MARXIANS—THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LABOUR— MIND AND INTELLIGENCE—ENERGY.

"An object may have some value as a gratuitous gift of nature to man," says Karl Marx, "as, for instance, the hide of an animal which a lost traveller in the desert may turn into a pair of boots, but it has no exchange value."

There was, for instance, an epoch when there were on the whole surface of the globe no shoes, nor leather, nor cobblers. But one day an individual tried to turn into leather the hide of an animal. If this took place in a desert it might have some value for the inventor but it would not have an exchange value, since where there is no society, there can be no exchange, and however well the work may have been done, yet, if there be wanting a social environment, there can be no surplus value which can be realised. On the other hand, as soon as society is formed, the slightest improvement added by human work to an object causes a surplus value to arise, that is to say, a value which will exceed the cost of production.

Therefore the first man who, by his labour on a hide, produced any article of utility, created by his intelligence a value over that already naturally existing in the animal's hide. Now this value given by nature might be expressed by zero, since when unworked the hide of the animal was useless. So all the utility represented in it by human labour and to which the name of value may be given is really only a summary of successive surplus values.

On the other hand, the natural state of man being a social state the only values which are of importance are exchange values, since they alone can be called social values. It follows, therefore, that labour alone confers surplus value, and is at the same time the source of all value.

Collectivists are said not to be clear in enunciating their theories, and, especially when value is referred to, to deal in terms which can only be understood by philosophers. I will not insult any of my detractors by thinking that the theory of value above enunciated is beyond the ken of their intelligence. And the doctrinal era of Socialism seems to be over; that time when positive

enunciations being absent, truth thought it desirable to take unto herself strange and didactic forms of dogmatism. Now we wish to deal with clear ideas clearly expressed, and I will try to arrive at that clearness in the series of articles in which I propose to study "Neo-Marxism." The present chapter alone, which is a dialectical recapitulation of old struggles of the past, will show traces of the times which gave it birth, and of the men who took part in them.

First of all, with work as a measure of value, the whole social question will be transferred into the domain of thought. All that is given by nature—land, trees, grass, hides, has not, *per se*, any exchange value. It is only in society, where intellect rules, that this factor appears, and only in proportion varying directly as all these things have been transformed in view of social utility.

Marxians are, therefore, right when they say they do not wish to belittle intellect. "If," says G. Deville, "it be quite true that we recognise the supremacy of the economic environment, it is wrong to accuse us of not acknowledging the action of human intelligence, since we assert that it is the creator of this environment, *we only decline to see solely in it a spontaneous phenomenon.*" I have italicised the preceding words, and it seems to me that they effectually show the futility of all dual systems. The common error of those persons—both spiritualists and materialists—lies in the concept of *spontaneity* which, in accordance with the orthodox doctrine of Deville, denies to mind, but grants it in this case by pretension, and as a consequence, in a very categorical way, inherent in matter. If, however, the word "spontaneity" appears to be too strong, I will use the word "anterior," and will thus agree with the materialists who make matter precede mind, instead of considering it as a simple phenomenon outside the notion of substance, as the tendency of modern discoveries appears to prove.

In any case, the conclusions of theorists are not wanting. It is, G. Deville adds, the inventors and not the inventions of men which have been the cause of progress. Well, I defy anyone to find in the writings of the worst enemy of democracy a more reactionary principle. If we are only to reckon, in order to attain the freedom of the proletariat, on ideas which embodied in inventions transform the environment, it may be 20,000 years before we can hope that the humblest will have what is absolutely indispensable to life, then we have nothing to do but to fold our arms and wait in an attitude of quietism for destiny to be fulfilled.

That is what we arrive at when in order to solve the problem we systematically ignore certain factors. That is why it has been said that logically the doctrine of Marx may attain the same results as that of his capitalist adversaries. The latter no more than he are not opposed on principle to the well-being of the people, only they wish this to result from the general rise in the scale without losing any of their present privileges.

According to Marx, the seizing by capital of the total of the means of production will have, as a consequence, almost

mechanically the rise of Socialism as a result of the competition between capitalist producers. The collective form thus given to wealth will therefore increase the number, the organisation, and the strength of the workers, who will end by destroying a system so contrary to their interests. Now, is that quite certain? And what would become of the theory if perchance it were proved that this concentration had been for a long time an accomplished fact, and that those who have been robbed remain apathetic without understanding their own martyrdom, which had been carried beyond the limits required by the nature of things? Nothing for certain could remain. A social system is characterised by the relations of power between the citizens. So that it matters little whether, according to Bernstein, property is being more subdivided, or less, according to Kautsky, for the mass of the holders, whether small traders or small manufacturers, have to follow the lead indicated by the great financiers who really rule the country whatever may be the existing form of government. In a country where a handful of plutocrats tyrannise over the mass of the workers, it matters very little if the latter have some small remnants of property which really only serve to conceal from them their true state. For millions of years the earth has been going round the sun, but the Eskimos have no idea of it. Indeed, the earth might go on turning for millions of years, and might become cold, when the sun had gone out, before certain tribes involved in the universal and final catastrophe had become aware of the discovery of Copernicus. In the same way concentration of wealth is an accomplished fact. Men alone are wanting to recognise this fact; it is not facts which are wanting for men, but men are wanting for facts.

Therefore, when making matter supreme over mind, when exalting, as if it were an unavoidable fatality, the advent of social justice, Marx helped the work of reaction. And, therefore, it has been said of him that the party founded by him is only a consequence of bourgeois parties, as its only object was to hypnotise the workers by the mirage of a felicity which it is perfectly known can never be attained.

So any system which is opposed to induction must fail, and will only be the art of talking nonsense by method. Hegel thought that reality was only the manifestation, the expression of an idea. "All this doctrine," says A. Franck, "is based on a strange illusion. To arrive at the pure being, to the logical abyss, all reality and all its determinations have had to be ignored; and then to explain reality and its categories we have had to give back reality to the idea of being, and to re-establish the pre-existing categories." Marx was a disciple of Hegel, and it is in vain that he tries to expound the converse of his master's doctrines. "By ways which appear to be different, he comes to the same antinomies, for Marxian materialism is only Hegelian dialectics turned topsy-turvy."

In his opinion, it is the logical principle of things, it is matter which first exists. That is just like materialism putting matter as

a basis of all that exists, granting it the same privileges as those demanded by spiritualists for mind, which, quite gratuitously, is endowed by them with pre-existing reason.

Thus each of these two philosophies considers exclusively in an abstract way, which is therefore metaphysical, all the nonmenal activity as being the whole cosmical activity. And that is why, starting *a priori*, in spite of the mark of genius which was stamped in them, they go both to a place where the progress of positive science awaits doctrines founded on the absolute.

I do not mean to say, however, that all must disappear in these magnificent constructions. At the stage of evolution which they have attained, Hegelianism, and Marxism—the former in philosophy, the latter in politics—correspond to the monism of physicists and chemists. For both the actual state of positive sciences allows to be inferred that the term “substance” (matter or force) is a meaningless word. For if you take away from a thing all its sentient qualities nothing consistent remains, not even the extension which Lubniz had made the substratum of all that is, defining it as a series of resisting points. Therefore it follows that phenomena alone exist and constitute the sole and total reality. They, however, can only be recognised inasmuch as they can be considered in the category of substance, that is to say, subject to the relation which the mind is accustomed to establish between substance and accident. The former, therefore,—the reality of attributes or properties—resides in the perception that we have of it. But the perception is, as far as we are concerned, the subjective aspect of the *being* whose objective aspect is necessarily the *act*. So that *to be* and *to act* are one and the same thing, and, consequently, the conception of energy, all substantiality not being considered, appears to be more and more the necessary postulate both of our reasoning and of our experience.

That is what, in Germany, is called *energy* by the school which has sprung from the Hegelian movement; I should like to be allowed to call it in politics “Neo-Marxism.”

In any case, with energy another name for motion, conceived as substratum of all that is, we leave the domain of metaphysics to enter that of science. Matter and force, as principles of explanation, have had their day. Modern scientists now fall back on ether as a first stage in which we can perceive phenomena. That does not mean that ether itself is the ultimate point to which things can be reduced when they are to be conceived as a cosmical element. Whether with Haeckel we see this in a molecule of ether, or with Graham we call it *ultimate*, or with Pioger infinitesimal, it really does not matter. The important thing is that positive sciences should agree to state that beyond beings and the universal evanescence of phenomena there exists a cosmic energy which is the final term of the world and of things. And it is this one element which, according to the mode and the intensity of the vibrations to which it is subject, will give rise to those manifestations called sometimes matter and sometimes force. Therefore, the words

"force" and "matter" are only different names for the same thing. When this thing, in affecting our senses, cannot be measured, seen or weighed we call it force. When it affects them in a way which we can feel, see and weigh, or whether in any one of these ways, then we call it *matter*, but the name does not affect the thing. Neither here nor there can we say that we are dealing with substance.

I have not the necessary competence to decide these questions, but I am able to see that motion is for chemists and physicists the postulate of all laboratory experiments; and that in philosophy it is also the basis of all ontological researches in being and in substance.

This also follows from the teaching of Hegel and Marx, and one cannot admire too much in these two great geniuses the power of intuition with which, starting from introspective premises which have, therefore, no positive value, they were able to find a way out of the labyrinths of dualism, where they wandered themselves, which was to lead their successors to scientific deductions. So extraordinary is this power of intuition that to-day in reading their works the student who is familiar with the most recent achievements of physics and chemistry seems to be reading an allegorical and prophetic description of the most recent discoveries.

If you ascribe to motion all that Hegel puts under ideas, all that Marx puts under motion—for they are both monists—then science has only to register their conclusions. And it is marvellous to see how they try to free their thoughts from primitive fetters—the old metaphysics which had held them captive at first—in order to establish autonomy and spontaneity—Hegel that of mind, and Marx that of matter—thus becoming heralds of parthenogenesis which as events have proved must lead to monism.

Now, in a previous essay, I sketched this philosophy and I was called a metaphysician. If I erred I did so in good company, in that of Faraday, of Graham, of Wurtz, of Du Bois Reymond, of Berthelot, of Curie, etc. But the news of their discovery had not reached the dense writers of the "Temps" or certain Radical-Socialists who write in provincial journals.

An exposition of the theory of energy, which is nothing else but monism, will be sufficient to show how Hegelianism and Marxism prepare the way for those modern philosophers who explain everything by life.

We are seeing what Nietzsche called a "revision of moral values." Mind, the human soul, intelligence, liberty, have been variously explained, sometimes in a most fantastic way, by scholastic writers. What replies do Marx and Hegel give to these questions? In what way do their explanations agree with science? In what do they differ from it? That is what I will now consider.

(To be continued.)

J. WALTER-TOURDE in "La Revue Socialiste."
(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, THE POOR LAW, AND OLD AGE PENSIONS.

The following paper was read by our comrade Dr. Garrett, member of the Chorlton Board of Guardians, at the North-Western Poor Law Conference, held at Ulverston, on September 25, 1908 :—

Mr. President, Friends, and Fellow Delegates,—The subject of the paper which I have the pleasure of placing before you at this important Conference is by no means a new one to many of those here. Several times before, papers have been read dealing with the same institutions, which are all closely connected with each other from one special point of view, namely, that which makes us consider the cause or need for their existence. As a Social-Democrat I hold opinions which, no doubt, many of you may differ from, but I hope to be able to state them in such a manner that all differences may be overcome. In my opinion, under proper conditions, there would be no need whatever for either friendly societies, the Poor Law, or old age pensions. But, unfortunately, such a happy state of affairs as the Socialist's idea of proper conditions does not yet exist, therefore these palliatives have to be resorted to, to ease the suffering, due to the insufficiency of the means wherewith to supply the barest necessities of life—food, clothes, and shelter, not to mention recreation or luxury of the smallest nature—which oppresses the majority of the working people of our country. By placing the subjects before you from a Socialist point of view, I hope the discussion which follows may be enthusiastically entered into by this Conference, which is the one great opportunity given to us annually as members of Boards of Guardians to meet and discuss unrestrictedly matters of importance and learn from one another.

The uncertainty of employment, the dread of an unprovided-for old age, and the fear of destitution through sickness or accident, all of which sad experience tells us have existed for generations, and nearly always resulted through no fault whatever of the individual sufferers, are the chief reasons for the founding of friendly societies for one section of the community and the Poor Law for another. Had the latter been carried out in the spirit

in which it was instituted, namely, the provision of the necessities of life for those who needed them; in other words, the prevention of, not the amelioration of, destitution, the common understanding that no one ought to be allowed to die of starvation through their inability to obtain food, that sickness ought to be immediately attended to, and the children and the aged receive special care, it would in itself have been complete; but the degradation which has most unjustly become attached to those who receive its aid, the classing of them as paupers, a term which has been made one of reproach, and is therefore absolutely detested by everyone, as well as the disqualifications and supervision which the receipt of relief from the Poor Law now entails, debars many from approaching it, and the keenest suffering is endured rather than do so, as is evidenced by the number of persons of all ages who are known to die annually from actual starvation, to say nothing of the much larger number whose death is indirectly due to the same cause.

Friendly societies, as I have said, belong to a distinct section of the community, and are intended to be for them their safeguard against want under certain well-defined conditions. This section is generally understood as the well-to-do artisan or skilled worker in the various trades and industries, warehousemen, clerks, and the better-paid wage earners generally. To their funds he contributes weekly or monthly as the case may be, trusting to them to provide for him in sickness and old age, and pay for his funeral, never thinking that when bad times come, and he can no longer pay his dues, membership lapses, and the money already subscribed, no matter for how many years, unless under the most exceptional circumstances, is lost to the individual member. To this constant lapse of membership, to a very large extent indeed, is due the prosperity of the societies through their great accumulation of capital. Even at the best, the benefits are unsatisfactory from every point of view, and unreliable. The societies are all more or less on the plane of the ordinary capitalist concern, with large invested funds, liable to complete failure at any time through the mismanagement of the board of directors, or from some serious and unforeseen depression in trade. The benefits are also by no means adequate, as the periods of their continuance varies, and the amounts generally decrease as time goes on; the subscribing to them is a levy upon the bread-winner of the family, which has to be paid at the expense of those who are dependent upon him. The statement so often made as to the small number of members of friendly societies who apply for relief from the Poor Law is, in my opinion, a misleading one, as no mention is made of those who have been members in the past, and whose membership has lapsed. In my own experience, I have come across a large number of applicants for relief who have at some time been connected with either a friendly society or trade union, and whose membership has been lost to them when they have been unable to keep

up their subscriptions. Even as it is, many are obliged to seek relief, which, to my mind, proves the failure of the societies as an insurance against want. This must be so from the very fact that by the "Outdoor Relief Friendly Societies Act" of 1894, Guardians are specially asked not to take into consideration the amount received from a society by an applicant for relief, and up to the sum of 5s. per week it is not generally done. This is undoubtedly an admission of the failure of the societies to make adequate provision for their members, and more than that, it is an unwarrantable preferential treatment for a certain section of the people, as had an applicant for relief such an income from an old employer, a relative, or any other source, it would certainly be taken into consideration.

The wages of the working people, as a rule, are so totally inadequate for the maintenance of their families that all possibility of their rising to better conditions of life is absolutely denied to them as a class. They are always on the verge of destitution, a few weeks out of employment from any cause whatever, through circumstances over which they personally have no control, reduces them to actual want so far as money is concerned, and compels them to part with furniture and clothes to provide themselves with food. This permanently intensifies their normal poverty, as they seldom or never succeed in either replacing or redeeming what they had in this way lost. The average wages of labourers in the large towns ranges from 18s. to 21s. per week; in country districts, 13s. 7½d. Mr. Rowntree, whom you all are aware has gone into the question carefully and minutely, estimates that the lowest possible sum upon which a family of two adults and three children can be maintained in a "state of physical efficiency is 21s. 8d." He distinctly points out what he means by the term "physical efficiency," and in his estimate of 21s. 8d. for five persons living together, an average of 4s. 5d. per head, no provision whatever is made for pleasure or luxury of the smallest nature, no stamps for letters to absent friends, no tobacco for the father, no nice clothes for mother or children, no daily newspapers, no club contributions, no tram nor train fares, no holidays, no medical attendance, no funeral expenses, in fact no provision for any of those things that make life endurable, not to say happy or worth living, to the ordinary man or woman, which proves beyond all possibility of honest contradiction that the wages of the average working man or woman are totally inadequate. Statistics tell us that nearly one in two of the aged have to apply for parish relief, although their lives have been one continual course of self-denial. The few who have children who endeavour to keep them without relief are depriving those children's children of their sustenance, and hastening the day when in their turn they will be reduced to want.

Thrift, of which we hear so much, which ought to ensure adequate provision for sickness and old age, is, under existing

conditions, absolutely impossible to the working man or woman. If the worker earning 18s. per week put by half of it for forty years without a break, and invested it safely, he would not have an income of more than £1 a week, or £50 a year—less than the average employer spends annually on his summer holidays. It is these facts that strike home and tell us how things are.

Private charities in any form whatever, in my opinion, do more harm than good as cures for distress and suffering; they tend to keep up an appearance of prosperity on the part of recipients which is only temporary, and by so doing blind our eyes as a community to the really serious condition of things that exists in our midst, through no fault whatever on the part of those who are the severest sufferers.

The wealth of the country is increasing annually by leaps and bounds; its resources are practically unlimited, and yet most of the children are underfed, ill-clad, and denied the ordinary decencies of life. "If a man will not work neither shall he eat" is a phrase familiar to us all as so many words, but they are words of serious condemnation of present-day so-called society, which is a class of men and women whose lives are spent in idleness and selfish indulgence, their existence of no use to anyone but themselves. No man or woman ought to be allowed to live at ease upon profits which are the unpaid for labour of others, for we must not fail to recognise that the land is useless unless it be tilled, the mine unless it be worked, and so are all natural products without exception. It is the hand and brain of the worker that produces all wealth, and this being so he has a right to his share of everything, especially in old age, after he has expended all the power and energy with which he has been endowed, and not to be cast aside as he so often is to-day like a worn-out machine.

The Poor Law, if it were divested of the taints which have become attached to it, made easier of access, and looked upon as the right of every citizen to seek aid from at any time when in genuine need, having, as it has, the resources of the community at its back, would in usefulness and far-reaching administration replace and render quite unnecessary every friendly society and charitable institution that exists. Every citizen contributes to it, either directly or indirectly, therefore it ought to be, above all others, the one source of help available to everyone, use of which ought not to cause any disqualifications, and relief from which ought to be always and quickly obtainable. On the contrary, what do we find to-day? Hundreds of Unions all over the country governed by men and women, the majority of whom regard the Poor Law as a charity and not, as it really is, the people's own fund; who look upon the recipients of relief as pauperised and degraded, and therefore of necessity make the obtaining of such relief difficult and unpleasant, and keep the amount granted on the lowest possible scale, thereby, perhaps unconsciously, driving the people to accept private charity, which help from their rela-

tives is in reality, for they themselves are ever on the border-land of poverty.

Actual experience tells us the heroic way in which the poor help one another voluntarily, and it is the fact that this charity is demanded and forced from them by the community through the mistaken administration of the Poor Law at the present time that makes the case so desperate. If the Poor Law were financed from the national exchequer, and not by local rating, thus placing the heaviest burden on thickly populated districts—which are those least able to bear it—and letting country and residential ones off practically free in comparison, with relief centres conveniently situated, and uniformity of administration, it would go far to relieve present difficulties, as would also State maintenance of the children and complete abolition of the half-time system. If this were done, instead of the nation of sickly half-developed men and women whom we see growing up amongst us in the large towns, and the serious increase of lunacy which is becoming almost a tragedy, which state of things is bound to go on and increase under present conditions, we should have one of healthy men and women, fit to undertake whatever duties would devolve upon them, and who would be a credit to themselves and their country. The wearisome and empty cry of "Save the rates" would be almost silenced, and the administrators of the Poor Law would become Guardians of the Poor in reality as well as in name.

The powers of Boards of Guardians, so long as they exist as a responsible body at all, ought to be unlimited. They ought to be able to deal with cases of poverty, and be preventers of destitution, not merely relievers of it. Mr. Theodore Dodd has pointed out that the Local Government Board and the Guardians themselves have been guilty of distorting the Poor Law to only cover "destitute persons." He maintains that this word is quite an improper one. The Act of Elizabeth, 1601, laid it down that the "poor" were to be relieved, and the famous old judge, Sir Matthew Hale, ruled that "reasonable" wages ought to be paid, and "by this means there would be a refuge for the poor from masters who underpaid them." The same Act, 1601, established the principle that every citizen, deserving or undeserving, if he be unable to maintain himself, had a right to maintenance from the State, overseers of the poor were to be appointed in every parish whose duties were primarily to provide for the sick, and so far as possible set to work the able-bodied poor.

Attention has been lately called to the provisions of the Poor Law authorising Guardians to provide "a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other necessary ware and stuff, to set the poor on work and pay reasonable wages." This part of the Poor Law has fallen into disuse, but it still exists, never having been repealed. The Local Government Board, which has succeeded the Poor Law Board which was constituted under the Act of 1834, has arrogated to itself the issuing of orders and

regulations which overlay and obscure the law, and Guardians who are either unwilling to do so, or are incapable of dealing with the reserve army of labour, the unemployed, excuse themselves on the ground that the Local Government Board will not allow them to act. Boards of Guardians all over the country would do well to apply to the Local Government Board for definite instructions on the matter; or, better still, appoint individual representative deputations to wait upon it.

The system of out-relief ought to be extended to the utmost limit, every possible care and attention being given to the needs of each case. I should like in this connection to draw attention to the question of house rent. The idea prevails in the minds of many Guardians that they cannot pay rent out of the rates. Shelter is as important to the family as food or clothes, and it must be provided. Article 5 of the Out-relief Prohibitory Order of 1844, which deals with this matter, was framed to prevent a practice which prevailed in some parts of the country whereby the poor rates were made a guarantee fund for the landlords. According to the ruling of an eminent barrister, it is in no way intended to prevent Guardians from taking into consideration, when assessing the amount of relief needed for a family, the portion required for housing accommodation.

The present barrack-like prison workhouses ought to be abolished entirely. The keeping of men and women fastened up in huge bastiles is neither good for them individually nor for the people as a community. It renders them permanently useless as citizens and deprives them of self-respect. The whole tendency of public institutions ought to be the raising up, not crushing down, of those under their control. Some Unions refuse out-relief altogether, with disastrous results. Last winter it was stated in the public press that twenty-eight deaths occurred from actual want of food in one London Union where this is done. That this could be possible through the private prejudices of a Board of Guardians when they have it in their power to prevent it, and have been elected by the people to administer laws which give them the power to prevent it, is a serious blot on the Poor Law as an institution, as is also the action of those Boards who pride themselves upon their administration being deterrent to those unfortunate wayfarers the tramps. The refusal of out-relief is a serious matter, and we in the Chorlton Union find that poor and respectable people will resort to all sorts of devices to come under our Board, as they know that they will be granted out-relief whenever possible, and that their homes won't be compulsorily broken up, as would be the case in a neighbouring Union.

Instead of Boards of Guardians not using the powers they do possess to the full, they need extension of powers, and freedom from all the restrictions and prohibitions which were framed fifty years ago, and which prevent them from dealing with the people under their care according to present-day requirements. They

ought to be able to cure poverty, not merely relieve it ; and this can only be done by the provision of remunerative work of all kinds for the unemployed, at proper rates of wages. First-class residential schools ought to be established in the country for the children, where, after the ordinary school course, they would be taught whatever means of earning their livelihood they might be found to be most suitable for : typewriting, teaching, music, nursing, medicine, book-keeping, tailoring, or any of the recognised trades and industries ; this is already successfully done to a certain extent in some of the certified schools. Only this year, 1908, four Chorlton girls at Holly Mount schools, near Bury, entered for the Junior Oxford Local Examination ; one for the musical competition, held at Bury, passing fourth in a list of eighteen ; several have been placed as probationer nurses ; some are already proficient typists, one of whom has taken a first-class in Pitman's shorthand examination. This is what is needed as a future for the children, and not the usual prospect of domestic service for the girls and casual labour for the boys, nor the emigration of them to Canada to become cheap labour for the capitalist farmers. From the Socialists' point of view this emigration of children, at ages from five upwards, is one of the most horrible things to contemplate, and the only possible reason for doing it must be a false idea of economy. They are sent out in batches, and placed with employers throughout the Dominion, under conditions of food, clothing, and schooling (such as it is) up to twelve years of age. After that age, wages commence at from 4s. per month. This employment of children is illegal in this country, and we Socialists consider that Guardians have no right to deprive them of the exceptionally good educational advantages of their own country, or in any way hinder their future prospects in life. The excuse that the children's consent is obtained is unworthy of discussion. Mr. John Burns considered his boy of twelve too young to decide whether he would join the Volunteers ; surely a child of younger years is not old enough to be called upon to decide its future career.

As immediate reforms, we need special Homes for the treatment of feeble-minded and backward children ; the establishment in central districts of well-conducted comfortable Homes for boys and girls who have gone out to earn their living ; large general hospitals for the sick, with modern appliances and accommodation, and an efficient staff of well-trained and well-paid capable nurses, no unpaid or pauper attendants whatever to be allowed in the wards, and the best medical and surgical supervision that can be procured. In connection with the hospitals we need the establishment of convalescent wards and homes. Many patients are well enough to do without the sick nursing of a hospital ward, but are quite unfit to return to their homes, and need special rest and nourishment provided for them ; these are too often discharged into the workhouse, and their recovery thereby

seriously retarded. For the aged who are unsuitable for out-relief, having no friends to look after them, nor homes to go to, we need Rest-Houses, where privacy, comfort, good food, clothes, and amusements would be provided. The provision of sanatoria for consumptives is an urgent necessity, and one which I hope this Conference, before it disbands, will come to definite conclusions upon.

The officials of the Poor Law are, in my opinion, with very few exceptions, underpaid: they ought in every instance to be people of education, tact, and refinement, especially the relieving officers. To get men and women of this class, the greatest possible care ought to be exercised in their selection, and the highest salaries paid. The work is of a most responsible nature. It is they who have to come into direct contact with the people, and for their treatment of the people the Guardians are responsible.

Old age pensions, which are said to have been discussed in the reign of Edward the Sixth, three and a-half centuries ago, and which were seriously agitated for in 1797, one hundred and eleven years ago, by the late Thomas Paine, are at last to become an accomplished fact. The desire for them has been a burning question for years past. Between 1893 and 1903, five Commissions and Committees sat to consider them, with no result. At last, by constant agitation, a Bill has been forced from the present Government, and passed, to come into operation next year, but it is of such a nature that I don't think anyone in the country, not even the most ardent supporters of the present Government, can possibly feel satisfied. The age, 70 years, is far too late in life, and the maximum amount, 5s. per week, far too low, and the barring of these venerable men and women who have been obliged to seek relief from the Poor Law, even for the next two years, is an unexpected and unnecessary cruelty, as they are a section of old people who have looked forward to this Bill with a yearning almost pitiful. New Zealand, with its maximum of 10s. per week, and its age limit of 65 years, set an example which at the very least ought to have been followed, if not improved upon, by the mother country. The Civil Service superannuates its officials at 65. The Manchester Royal Infirmary supersedes its honorary medical staff at 60. Capitalism says to the working man, "Too old to work at 40, too young for a pension under 70." The thirty intervening years of life, if lived at all are destined to be one long weary time of uncertainty and want for the working people.

These facts are neither happy nor healthy ones, nor are they worthy of the British nation. What we require is pensions of 10s. a week for every one upon attaining the age of sixty years, and at any age for those who are incapable of earning their living. It can easily be done without crippling anyone; a sliding scale of income tax on all incomes over £2,000 a year would soon provide the money.

I think you will agree with me that all the three institutions are closely connected with one another from all points of view. Their benefits are but a small portion of the fruits of labour which have been held back ; in other words, deferred wages, which are by these means to a small extent restored to their rightful owners.

In conclusion, I feel bound as a Socialist from honest conviction to say that the problem of poverty can never be solved until the capitalist system be entirely abolished, and the people set free from the tyranny of their fellow men, and allowed to become self-respecting and independent citizens with unrestricted access to the natural products of the world. The Poor Law can be made to serve a temporarily helpful purpose if properly administered and always stretched towards the people, and not against them. But "Justice, not Charity," and "To every man his due," are the first principles needed in all administrations.



DIVORCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Socialism would break up the home ! Socialism would destroy the family ! Thus are Socialist speakers assailed by anti-Socialists. But here are a few statistics of how capitalism breaks up the home and destroys family life :—

That divorce is two and one-half times as common in the United States as it was forty years ago, and that one marriage in twelve nowadays ends in divorce, are conditions met by officials in the census bureau in a new compilation of statistics of marriage and divorce covering the twenty years from 1887 to 1896, inclusive.

In the twenty-year period covered by the latter investigation there have been 12,832,044 marriages recorded. In the same time there have been 945,625 divorces. For the previous twenty years there had been reported 328,716 divorces, little more than a third of the number of the second twenty-year period. When the first investigation was instituted forty years ago divorces occurred at the rate of 10,000 a year. Now that rate is 66,000. This increase, however, is to be considered in connection with the increase in population.

The report adduces statistics to show that divorces are now increasing about three times as fast as population, while during the decade 1870-1880 they increased only about two and two-thirds as fast. The divorce rate for each 100,000 of population increased from twenty-nine in 1870 to eighty-two in 1905. In the former year there was one divorce for every 3,441 persons, and in the latter year one for every 1,218.

But a more significant divorce rate is that which is based, not upon total population, but upon married population. The rate for each 100,000 married population was eighty-one in the year 1870 and 200 in the year 1900.

THE REVIEWS.

SOCIALISM VERSUS PROGRESS.

Andrew Carnegie has written—and Socialism is proved a failure, is vanquished, is utterly crushed. So thinks the "Daily Express" and the other mouthpieces of capitalism. We shall see. This is what Andrew Carnegie really writes in the current "World's Work":—

The two schools of Socialism, evolutionary and revolutionary, differ upon the crucial question of wages, although it is fundamental and must be settled one way or the other, for until it is what Socialism really means cannot be known. If wages are not to be equal, all classes cannot be merged and kept uniform—the basis of Socialism. Socialism must either establish equality of wages, for thus only can it maintain uniformity of living, or retain the present system of inequality of wages, involving variety of living.

If the former were adopted, human life would be changed, with results unknown. No wonder Mr. Hardie relegates the consideration of that question to the future, for he is undoubtedly right in saying man is not to-day prepared for such a change. Those whose services command more than the common labourer would not agree. Such is human nature as it stands to-day, and the idea of uniform income may be dismissed until the nature of man changes.

On the other hand, if different wages be paid according to service rendered, Socialism becomes impossible. As Mr. Spargo says in the "The Case Against Socialism": "There must be approximate equality of income, otherwise class formations must take place; and the old problem incidental to economic inequality reappear." Here is a step which Socialism must overleap or else fall down.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., is a philosophic Socialist who writes well. He tells us:—

"If the Socialist State is ever to come, it is not by a sudden change in economic and personal relationship, but by a steady

readjustment of existing relationships until the organic structure has been completely altered."

Never were truer words written. Would that Socialists apprehended that they are fatal to the realisation of the Socialistic State with its uniform incomes and abolition of private property, not only during our time but until or unless "the organic structure be completely altered."

Man's progress in the past has been steady, and he has travelled upward from savagery, but long is the road and devious the way to complete change of the organic structure of the economic and personal relationships of human society. Yet this must be reached before Socialism as a system can be introduced. . . .

Thrift cannot commend itself to the true Socialist, who forbids private capital, but the story of the talent hid in the ground inculcates the duty of man not only to guard his capital but to increase it, and we are told that "He that provides not for those of his own house hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

Proper provision certainly requires a reserve fund for contingencies. If we were to divide the vast army of workers of mature age into two classes, the savers and the spendthrifts, we should practically separate the creditable from the discreditable, the exemplary from the pitiable, the progressive from the backsliders, the sober from the intemperate. A visit to their respective homes would confirm this classification. The thrifty would be found not only the best workmen, and foremost in the shop, but the best citizens and the best husbands and fathers, the leaders and exemplars of their fellows. Many are those who have risen from the ranks of manual labour and achieved reputation for useful work performed for the community, and been held in general esteem as model citizens. Much good have they accomplished for their fellows. That they were thrifty, thoughtful men goes without saying. They would not otherwise have risen. If the workmen depositors in savings banks, members of friendly and of building societies, co-operative stores, and similar organisations were to march in procession, preceded by the workmen who are not, spectators would take heart again after their depression from seeing the first. If the workmen who own their homes were to march and to be followed by those who do not the contrast in appearance would be striking.

Apply to the masses of men any of the tests that indicate success or failure in life, progress, or stagnation, valuable or worthless citizenship, and none will more clearly than that of thrift separate the well-behaved, respected and useful men from the unsatisfactory members of society.

The writer lived his early years among workmen and his later years as an employer of labour, and it is incomprehensible to him

how any informed man, having at heart the elevation of manual labouring men, would fail to place upon the habit of thrift the highest value, second only to that of temperance, without which no honourable career is possible, for against intemperance no combination of good qualities can prevail. Temperance and thrift are virtues which act and re-act upon each other, strengthening both, and are seldom found apart.

THE LAND QUESTION.

The land figures prominently in political and social questions only in the British Islands. It has settled itself in all other regions occupied by the English-speaking race. It is not a burning question in America, Canada, Australia or New Zealand, nor in most European countries, where the land is mainly divided in small portions among the people.

Instead of one great mammoth landowner, the State, as Socialists suppose, Britain should have hundreds of thousands of small owners, necessarily developing into men of a much higher type than mere tenants or employees can ever become. The magic of ownership works wonders, not only upon the soil, but upon the happy working owner thereof. The type of men developed in America upon farms they own, taken all in all, is not to be equalled, as far as the writer has known large classes of men. The same qualities characterise the land-owning workers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Denmark.

Land in these countries is everywhere free, as other property is. The laws of primogeniture and settlements exist only in Britain. No English-speaking people elsewhere would tolerate them.

The truth is that the Socialistic leaders have not hesitated to propose the most sweeping changes, amounting to a revolution of existing conditions, without having first considered how these were to be accomplished. They differ upon equal and unequal wages, a fundamental question; and upon payment for or confiscation of the land—purchase or robbery—another fundamental question. These two questions determine what Socialism is, or is not. They are the pillars of the Socialistic edifice, and not yet agreed upon. Upon one point, however, there is unanimity. The land must, in one way or another, be nationalised. All agree in this.

A STORY OF GLADSTONE.

Lord Wolverhampton has recently flashed light upon this subject of payment for or confiscation of the land by telling a story of Gladstone. The world's foremost citizen, being asked about Socialism, replied that it had to meet this query, "Did it propose to buy the land or to take it? If the first, it was folly; if the second, it was robbery."

Let us assume for the present that the demand for confiscation made by the Radical section of the Socialist Party will be rejected by the Moderates. The query then arises, How is the land to be paid for? The great bulk of it has been acquired under law as it then existed, and as it exists to-day. Territory won by force in bygone ages, as a whole, is now in the possession of innocent purchasers. It has been paid for. Now, if there be one tenet of honest dealing firmly rooted in the conscience of civilised men it is that the title of such purchase is valid. The possessor must be paid a fair price for what the law has declared to be his. He can be robbed of his property, of course, but an advance toward heaven upon earth founded upon robbery would infallibly be a step in the other direction, backward, not forward; downward, not upward. Civilised man has advanced under present conditions beyond the idea of robbery. Its advocacy would shock him, and the entire Socialistic movement be discarded as not only visionary, but confiscatory, a proposal to rob the neighbour. If it be clear that the property must be bought, it is equally clear that honesty compels the State to pay a fair value for it. As the State alone could be the purchaser, it must deal fairly in forcing compulsory acquisition. To whom will payment go, to whom can it go, except to the owners of the property taken? Ah, there's the rub? What becomes of the Socialist State in that event? Where is the "equality" upon which such State is to be founded? Impossible, because the rich and the poor we would still have with us, and the present division into classes be revived; for it is wealth, not birth, in our day which creates class distinctions.

It is not only the land that the State has to purchase. The mills and furnaces, the shipyards, the railways, all means of production and distribution, must also be acquired and paid for. To say that all productive property could be rented and paid for out of the profits does not affect the question. The rents would go to the owners, and they would remain rich. What just power could compel them to leave their present homes and modes of life, surrender their rents to the State, and become Socialists? The payments made for their property would become a mockery if they were not allowed to spend what was their own. Yet, unless the payment made to the owners with one hand be promptly taken away by the other, no Socialism would be possible, for it must be based, not upon the capital of the few, but upon wealth in common, owned, not by the individual, but by the State. . . .

A DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

Should the Socialist be driven from the idea of taking land from private owners without paying for it, how is payment to be made? The cash could not be raised. Evidently there is but one mode. The State must issue Consols. Sixteen or more hundred millions sterling for land and farm improvements; for mines, machinery, etc., say half as much more, or altogether three times the amount of the National Debt. What price would Consols,

already much below par, reach under such an issue? Let the enthusiastic Socialist ask the banker and learn what would ensue. What receiver of Consols would feel safe, holding the bond of a Government that forced compulsory sale and snatched from him his home, the dearest spot on earth to him and his?

Who would wish to live under such a Government, or in such a land? Few, indeed, of those most desirable to retain. Canada and America would be too attractive, and the despoiled would follow the Pilgrims, their forefathers, who left their old home and settled in the new, where men had rights and liberties then denied at home, and private property was inviolate.

Let the Socialists produce one enterprise managed upon Socialistic principles as proclaimed. "To put an end for ever to the wage system, to sweep away all distinctions of class" (Joint Manifesto, British Socialist Bodies). "The complete emancipation of labour from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes" (Social-Democratic Association).

A COMPLETE FAILURE.

So far as experiments with these doctrines have been attempted, as Hepworth Dixon informs us, they have failed. There have been some attempts to live together by small parties of mature age, seeking a retreat from active life. The ventures lay in the eddies out of the rushing current of human existence, their members striving to content themselves with the present, while the part which active men have to play on earth is that of improving conditions in every direction, making new discoveries, inventing new machines and processes, and extending the boundaries of knowledge. . . . Until Socialists can point to successful communities based upon their principles fulfilling this mission of progress, the Socialist question is not within range of consideration—all is mere speculation, vain imaginings of a supposed heaven upon earth, as illusory as other dreams.



UNEMPLOYMENT FROM THE "UNEMPLOYED" POINT OF VIEW.

Mr. T. Good writes the following in the January "Nineteenth Century and After":—

Despite all that is said and written about unemployment, it is evident that many dangerous fallacies concerning this great industrial and social canker are entertained by statesmen, politicians, and reformers—fallacies which, if they are not dispelled, may lead to

the application of some costly and mischievous treatment. It is high time to indulge in plain speaking.

The statements and suggestions I have to make on this huge, tragic, and much-misunderstood problem may not be in strict accord with the commonly-accepted theories—they are certainly not put forward in the interests of any party or school of thought—but they are based upon the facts and actualities of unemployment. My evidence is that of an eye-witness; my experience is that of a victim; and my proposals are made to meet the needs of the genuine unemployed without subsidising the wastrel, and without encroaching upon the rights of the rest of the community.

Unemployment is an indispensable corollary of civilisation. It is foolish to offer to solve this problem. That is the bed-rock fact upon which our unemployed legislation must be founded, unless such legislation is to fail. All we can do with success—certainly all we need attempt—is to lessen unemployment and mitigate, within reasonable limits, the sufferings of the genuine victims. The ideal of “work for all, with overwork for none,” is impossible of realisation, and until we recognise its impossibility and absurdity our efforts at reform will not be very successful. While human industry rests upon its present foundations, while the seasons remain, while fashions are liable to change, and while man is able to invent new appliances, we must, at all times, have some unemployed somewhere. That is no reason why we should have too many unemployed, nor is it any excuse for the slow starvation and deterioration of the unemployed. The problem before us is not how to *abolish* unemployment, but how to confine it within reasonable limits, and how to *feed the victims*.

The unemployed are an integral part of our industrial organisation, and as such they need consideration and wise treatment. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the unemployed (some of them) are essential to enterprise and progress. Unless we have a reserve army of idle workmen to draw upon at will our industries must lose the power of expansion. . . . Industrialism both creates and requires a reserve of idle labour; therefore, this reserve army of industry must be kept efficient, respectable, and *within call*. But if you seek to abolish this reserve army by “right-to-work” schemes—if you take the suspended workmen out of the ordinary labour market, and out of reach of the employer who may need him at a moment’s notice—you are going to injure, if not paralyse, the nation’s legitimate industries. For example, if you take all our unemployed men away to some farm colony, how are some of our ordinary industries, which may require many hands one day and only a few the next day, to be conducted? Unless men are available employers will be deterred from entering into contracts, and our industrial system must fall to pieces. That ought to be plain to anyone of ordinary intelligence; yet we have gentlemen claiming to be authorities, and leaders of public opinion, suggesting all

manner of artificial relief work in competition with, and at the expense of, natural industry, proposing measures which, if they could be carried out, would denude the ordinary labour market and stop the supply of the prime essential of industrial and commercial activity. These quack unemployed schemes, designed by dreamers and advocated by cranks, would, if put in operation, disorganise industry, destroy enterprise, demolish progress, drain the nation's resources, and demoralise the workers; they would prove a curse to the community and a derision to the workers.

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The employed of to-day may be the unemployed of to-morrow. For that reason we want an unemployment scheme, or schemes, to embrace every wage-earner in the country. To meet the needs of the real unemployed we want a national scheme, supported by and covering all our workers, employed and unemployed. We want a non-pauperising and non-degrading scheme. We want a scheme that will benefit the bona fide workman, without loss of dignity or independence. We want a scheme which will put no premium upon indolence, or lying, or begging. We want a scheme that will not damage private enterprise. We want a scheme that will leave the unemployed man where he is—in the labour market—free to seek ordinary work on his own account. The only scheme capable of fulfilling these conditions would be one of national and compulsory insurance against unemployment, or more correctly speaking, against hunger in the event of unemployment. We cannot abolish unemployment therefore we ought to insure against it.

But we could do much to lessen unemployment.

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In my opinion the one and only practical remedy for unemployment—there is no absolute cure—is the expansion of our productive industries through land reform, tariff reform, mining royalty reform, and transit reform, and the most practical method of relieving the sufferings of the victims of unemployment is by compulsory insurance. To these two remedies might be added labour exchanges in order to avoid the weary and exhausting tramp of the unemployed from shop to shop; the Workmen's Compensation Act might be so amended as to stop the elimination and consequent unemployment of elderly and delicate men; the casually employed young men and youths should be encouraged to indulge in military training in their spare time; and the employment of British labour on British ships should be subsidised. By these means we could confine unemployment within reasonable limits, and benefit the real unemployed; while the sham unemployed and the unemployable could be handed over to the prison and Poor Law authorities.

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FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION FROM A SOCIALIST STANDPOINT.

INTRODUCTION.

In discussing Free Trade and Tariff Reform from a Socialist standpoint it may be stated at the outset that Socialists being internationalists are necessarily in principle Free Traders. But since wealth, as such, is not for the workers, but only wages that will enable them to maintain themselves as efficient wealth producers and perpetuate their species as labourers, it therefore follows that it makes no difference to the workers, as such, what the fiscal policy may be. It may be objected that here and there a worker becomes a capitalist. The same holds good regarding a capitalist occasionally falling back into the ranks of the workers. Yet the fact remains that the great mass of the workers continue to be such from generation to generation, and must do so as long as capitalism exists. Hence we arrive at the conclusion that the questions of Free Trade and Protection are purely capitalist questions.

DETERMINING FACTOR.

Those capitalists whose business interests are directly or indirectly connected with the "export"

trade are, in general, Free Traders. And those capitalists whose business interests are directly or indirectly concerned with "home" are, in general, Protectionist. This becomes self-evident when we remember that the Protectionist and Free Trade organisations are spending and will continue to spend enormous sums of money to further their respective fiscal interests. Again, we find the Protectionist capitalists are Free Traders with regard to the commodity labour, hence their patronage of the Free Labour Association, Industrial Freedom League, etc. On the other hand, Free Traders become Protectionists when it suits their financial interest. This is clearly seen by the Master Cotton Spinners' Association, Calico Printers' Combine, Bradford Dyers, etc., which are undoubtedly Protectionist in theory and practice.

PROSPERITY FALLACY.

Free Traders point to our enormous import and export trade, and tell us we are the greatest importers and exporters in the world, and that it is owing to this fact that we are the wealthiest country in the world. Let us inquire how their case stands. But before doing so, let me here state that the Board of Trade figures are not correct, and therefore are not worth the paper they are printed on. In fact, Mr. Lloyd George, I believe, acknowledged this to be the case when Minister of that department. However, we will accept them as correct for the moment.

VOLUME OF TRADE, 1902.

| | | In million £. | | Export trade per cent. |
|-------------|-----|---------------|-----|---------------------------|
| England ... | ... | 820 | ... | 18 |
| Germany ... | ... | 500 | ... | 15 |
| America ... | ... | 470 | ... | 4 |
| Belgium ... | ... | 160 | ... | " |
| Holland ... | ... | 300 | ... | " |

Now the population of Belgium is $6\frac{1}{4}$ millions or one-seventh that of Great Britain, so that to do proportionately the same volume of trade (imports and exports

combined) as Belgium our foreign trade would have to amount to 1,420 million £. If we take Holland, we find their foreign trade is nearly four times that of England. Thus, volume of trade 300 million £, population four millions, one-eleventh of that of great Britain. So that to equal the Dutch, our foreign trade would have to amount to 3,300 million £. Now I ask, will any person assert that though Belgium's foreign trade is proportionately nearly twice and Holland's nearly four times that of England, the two former countries are wealthier than the latter; or that the U.S.A., with but 4% of export trade, is a poorer country? I think not.

BALANCE OF TRADE FALLACY.

The Free Trader argues that when imports exceed exports, the balance of trade is in our favour, as the foreigner is evidently giving us something for nothing. The Protectionist answers, "No. When imports exceed exports, the balance is against us, as we have lost that amount of trade, and consequently so much less work for our workers, equal to the difference between imports and exports." Both these conclusions are fallacious, as imports must of necessity balance exports. The year 1908 was an abnormal year from a trade standpoint. So for the sake of the Free Trader we will take the report of 1907, which was a record in the annals of British commerce.

| | | In million £. | |
|------------------|-----|---------------|----------|
| 1907. | | Imports. | Exports. |
| From America ... | ... | 131.1 | 53.2 |
| „ Germany ... | ... | 38.0 | 48.3 |
| „ China ... | ... | 3.3 | 12.3 |
| „ Japan ... | ... | 2.9 | 13.1 |
| „ Holland ... | ... | 33.6 | 16.8 |
| „ France ... | ... | 53.8 | 28.7 |
| „ India ... | ... | 37.8 | 46.4 |

These are enough to illustrate our case. Let us take the U.S.A. returns: imports £131,000,000, exports £53,000,000, which stand as three to one in our favour. Does anyone outside a lunatic asylum sup-

pose for a moment the Americans, who are such sharp business men, would give us 120,000,000 sterling for 53,000,000 sterling? I trow not. Or is it likely that we Britishers would give the Germans £48,000,000 in return for £38,000,000; or France give us £53,000,000 for £28,000,000. And India above all. Would we ever dream of giving the latter country £46,000,000 for £37,000,000 and so on to the end of the chapter?

THE RIDDLE SOLVED.

We must bear in mind that nations, as such, do not trade with nations, but as individuals or combinations of individuals with each other, and all bills are settled at stated times according to terms. We must further remember that commodities are paid for by commodities, and not in money, the bankers being the mediators. This may be elementary but it is necessary to mention it to prove our case. We said imports must balance exports, commodities are paid for by commodities. Now let us add that labour-power is a commodity. As an illustration, we will take the case of Adelina Patti, and suppose she is engaged to sing at a series of concerts in America for, say, £50,000. Now, the only commodity Mme. Patti has to sell is her labour-power—in her special case, her voice.* If, then, this commodity is exported to America it becomes, in a scientific sense, an export, and ought to appear as such. If, when she has completed her contract and received her price (scrip), she goes and purchases some jewellery, or antique furniture, when these commodities leave America they will be entered as exports and on their arrival in England as imports. Take again, the shipping business. The U.S.A. pays our British ship-

* This is a very loose use of the terms "labour-power" and "commodity," although it serves to illustrate the case in point. Mme. Patti's voice is not a commodity in the strict economic sense, any more than is Mont Blanc, or the Bay of Naples, a Raphael or a Rubens, a Rembrandt or a Velasquez painting. Capitalist production is concerned with the perpetual production of commodities not with Patti voices or rare pictures.—ED.

owners £200,000 per week, or £10,000,000 per annum, for carrying American freights, and the payment is made in the form of commodities which appear as imports. Ships being commodities, to the extent of their depreciation (exchange) in the service of the U.S.A. they ought to appear as exports, though we are perfectly aware they do not. One more illustration should make this perfectly clear, even to those who do not study scientific economics. The bulk of the world's shipping is in the hands of the British, the tonnage amounting to approximately 12,000,000, earning in foreign service £70,000,000 yearly. This vast sum is paid for in the form of commodities—imports. Ships used for carrying foreign cargoes are clearly as much exports to the amount of their yearly depreciation as cotton, machinery, or any other commodity. If, therefore, the foreigners carried their own cargoes our imports for shipping alone would be reduced by £70,000,000. It will now be seen that if all such items are taken into consideration and our statistics were based on a scientific foundation, it would be clear that our imports as stated above would of necessity balance our exports. Where one country has an excess of imports over exports with another, it will be in reverse order with a third country, and so on. These apparent difficulties are settled by our banking and credit system. Thus A owes B, say, £1, B owes C £1, C owes A £1. A does not actually pay B nor B C, nor C A; in balancing at the bank, they find the debit and credit side of various countries cancel each other. So in a sporting phrase they say, "We will call it quits." That, in essence, is the manner in which bills of exchange are settled.

CAPTURING TRADE FALLACY.

We will now turn our attention to the Protectionist. He states that, owing to Free Trade, the foreigner is capturing, not only our foreign markets, but also our "home markets." (Vide Mr. Chamberlain's tariff reform speeches.) There never was more nonsensical rubbish uttered by man! As a matter of fact, a

nation's trade can never be captured. What is a nation's trade? Evidently the sum total of its industries, and not any particular section. Besides, the inhabitants of every country have natural wants to supply, as food, clothing and shelter; consequently they must produce them either directly or by exchange. He (Mr. Chamberlain) started off thus: Our silk trade has gone; our tinsplate trade has gone; our pearl button trade has gone; cotton will go, etc. But, strange to say, they never mention new industries or increase of old ones. A tyro must know that our total trade increases generation after generation with increasing population, and must continue to do so. The more a country exports the more they must import, and conversely. Sale implies purchase and purchase implies sale. You cannot sell unless you buy, you cannot buy unless you sell. The German export trade is increasing by leaps and bounds; with what results? Here they are:—

“In 1871, Germany was a nation of 39,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 60 per cent. were engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1900, it had increased to an empire of 58,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 35 per cent. were engaged in agriculture and 65 per cent.—nearly two-thirds—in industry and trade.”

Thus, like ourselves, they are exporting more manufactures and importing more food-stuffs. This is inevitably the case. However, let us follow Mr. Chamberlain's argument to its logical conclusion; cotton has gone, steel has gone, calico-printing has gone, dyeing has gone, and so forth. But, be it observed, this does not mean we are short of cotton, steel, printed calico, dyed stuffs, etc. No, it only means, so they say, that the foreigner has supplanted us in our own markets. Very well, then, we continue to lose our trades until we have had a fourth captured, now two-fourths, now three-fourths, till finally we have only one industry left. Alas! they even capture this. Industry ceases, everyone is unemployed, yet all the commodities we require

are pouring into England, we are dressed like gentlemen, and feeding like fighting-cocks! That, I claim, is the logical conclusion of capturing our markets theory. The argument is too absurd to cram into the brain of a North American Indian! I have not bothered with our foreign investments, which, after all, are exports; besides, what about the hundreds of million pounds of foreign capital invested in England and which the Lloyd-Georgeites say will increase by the Patent (Protectionist) Act?

TRUSTS UNDER FREE TRADE.

We are told that trusts cannot flourish in a Free Trade country, yet some of the largest trusts in the world are in England. Take the Fine Spinners' Federation, with something like 40,000,000 spindles under their control, comprising about 80 per cent. of the total in the country. The Calico Printers' Combine is practically a monopoly, since those firms outside are a negligible quantity. The Velvet Dyers' Association is almost a complete monopoly. So far as the public are concerned, the brewing industry is the same. So also are the railways, whose aggregate capital is well over one thousand million pounds. The trend of modern capitalism is towards monopoly, and will continue spite of any fiscal policy, even among the banking interest.

FAILURE OF FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

The wealth of a country is determined, not by its fiscal policy, but by the capacity of people for producing wealth. Neither are the economic conditions of its workers determined thereby, but by their capacity for organisation in defence of the wealth they produce. Free Trade and Protection must stand or fall by the results. We will, therefore, inquire into the economic conditions of the mass of the people in various countries.

GERMANY

Is a Protectionist country with internal Free Trade, known as the Zollverein. We are informed there are

5,000 cellar dwellings in Berlin, 7,300,000 men whose weekly income is less than £1, and long hours of labour. Poverty and unemployment is rampant through the land. The homeless in Berlin numbered in:—

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|
| 1895-6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,118 |
| 1900-1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9,359 |
| 1901-2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10,858 |

Bebel, speaking in the German Parliament at the end of 1908, said: "The number of unemployed workmen who are wandering about Berlin number between 30,000 and 40,000. The 5d. loaf, which used to weigh 4 to 4½ lbs., now only manages to turn the scale at 3 lbs." Capital and labour come into conflict there as here, as seen by the riots of 1908, when the military were called out.

FRANCE.

In 1905 ("Labour Gazette") 10.5 of the French workers (exclusive of miners) were unemployed before the winter began. Then think of the wine growers' condition in 1907, when they even defied the law owing to their poverty-stricken condition. Protectionist France, then, is face to face with the eternal poverty problem.

ITALY.

The extreme poverty which abounds in Protectionist Italy needs no emphasis. It will be enough to state that 100,000 inhabitants die from a disease caused, it is said, by the want of common salt—the people being too poor to buy any.

RUSSIA.

Here, again, we know the awful condition of the Russian peasant, whose average income is estimated to be £10 per annum, 4s. per week. True, money in different countries has varying purchasing power. Prince Kropotkin says the exchange value is here double that in the agricultural districts of England. Even on that basis it only amounts to 8s. per week. Think, then,

of the awful suffering this must entail. In some of the remote parts the peasants have practically to resort to hybernating. Each family retire to their own homestead, fastening the door, stopping up all crevices, and, having lighted the fire, they lie on the floor, one member being told off to see that it is kept in, the rest of the family getting up once each day to take a morsel of food to keep body and soul together, so as to make their small stock of food last until the warm weather again returns.

INDIA.

Mr. Chiozza Money, writing in the "Daily Dispatch," claimed that we had made India a Free Trade country. India a Free Trade country! Good heavens! Look at the result! Average income, 1 rupee per week (nominal value 2s., exchange value 1s. 3d.). Millions of families whose yearly income never exceeds £1. Salt is taxed to such an extent that millions of people cannot afford even this article of necessity. Thousands die of starvation in the most prosperous years, and millions during years of famine. Famine in a prosperous (?) Free Trade country. Such a state of affairs ought to be impossible in the present stage of science. It would be with proper organisation. For his own self-respect Mr. Chiozza Money ought never to mention India in defence of Free Trade.

JAPAN.

This country is emulating the Western nations, having adopted capitalism. It may be described as Free Trade-Protectionist, since as the Japanese claim to have adopted the best of each fiscal system. Well, what is the result? In 1889 a family of the lower middle class, consisting of five persons and one servant, could live decently on 16 yens (32s.), whereas in 1899 it was only with strict economy they could live on 32 yens (64s.), and prices of food are continually rising—e.g., taking the prices 1901 as 97, they had risen in 1904 to 108. There factories do not stop work on Sundays,

but the 1st and 15th of each month are holidays. Unemployed meetings are commonly held there as here.

AMERICA.

America has internal Free Trade and external Protection. In 1850, it is said, they had one millionaire and no tramps, meaning, one would suppose, that for all practical purposes they were non-existent. Yet in 1907 they are stated to have 300 millionaires and 3,000,000 paupers. According to Senator La Follete, 76 men, representing 1,600 corporations and directorates, control the industries of the United States. In 1903, 14 per cent. of the families of Manhattan were evicted, and every year 10 per cent. of those who die have pauper funerals. In ordinary prosperous years quite 20 per cent. are in poverty (Robert Hunter).

ENGLAND.

Now we come to our own country, the mother of Free Trade, of which we are so proud. In London there are 300,000 families with incomes of less than 20s. In Glasgow, the second city of the Empire, upwards of 25 per cent. of the families live in one-room houses. In the most prosperous time we have upwards of 40,000 tramps. In times of bad trade this number is double. One in 40 of our population is a pauper, 938 out of 1,000 die without leaving any taxable property. Our unemployed needs no emphasis.

The number of indoor paupers in England and Wales reached the highest point for 40 years at the end of October, there being 252,537 inmates in the workhouses as against 141,332 in 1867 and 185,211 in 1887.

WHAT FOOD COSTS.

Of course, Free Traders never think of taxing the food of the people !

The following figures are taken from the official Blue Book (Cd. 1,761), pages 222-3, and they show the

prices of leading articles of food in 1901 in Great Britain and the three principal protected countries:—

| | Free Import England. | Protected Germany. | Protected France. | Protected America. |
|-----------------|---|--|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Beef per lb. | 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to 9d. | 7d. to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. |
| Mutton „ „ | 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. „ 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. | 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. „ 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. | 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. | — |
| Pork „ „ | 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. „ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. | 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. |
| Eggs per dozen. | 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. | 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. | — | 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. |
| Butter per lb. | 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ d. to 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. | — | 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. |
| Milk per quart. | 4d. | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | — | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. |

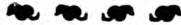
We raised £13,247,669 in 1904-5 by taxes on the following articles:—

| | Rate of Duty. per lb. | English Food Taxes. | American Food Taxes. |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------|---|
| Tea | 6d. | £6,281,663 | Tea free, no tax. |
| Sugar | $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | 6,115,319 | Sugar „ |
| Coffee | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. | 179,587 | Coffee „ |
| Chicory | 2d. | 51,458 | Chicory „ |
| Cocoa | 1d. | 177,580 | Cocoa, raw „ |
| Cocoa, prepared | 2d. | — | Cocoa, prepared, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. |
| Figs, plums and raisins | $\frac{3}{4}$ d. | 334,199 | — |
| Currants | $\frac{1}{4}$ d. | 107,863 | — |
| | | £13,247,669 | |
| Tobacco | 3s. | 16,342,000 | Tobacco free, no tax. |
| Total England pays on food taxes and tobacco ... | | £29,589,669 | Total America pays: Practically nothing. |

Here, then, we have traced the economic condition of Germany, France, Italy, Russia, India, Japan, America and England. Of course, we shall be told that wages and the standard of living are higher in England than almost all those mentioned, which is perfectly true. This, however, is not owing to Free Trade, but, until the advent of the Labour Party, almost entirely due to trade unionism, which could easily be proved but space forbids. What we require then is not a change of our fiscal system but of our social system to one in which production will be carried on for the well-being of all, instead of the benefit of the few;

where every one will be thoroughly educated that he may develop his faculties to the full, so that every man, with due regard to qualification, may follow the bent of his genius. And as nature varies and guides the tastes and abilities of men into different channels we would find that supply and demand would automatically balance. We would hear no more of the idle rich or the lazy poor. Then we could supplant cut-throat competition with emulation, and develop the altruistic spirit, when everyone would give according to his abilities and have in return his natural wants supplied. Then we would get a maximum output with a minimum of effort. For as Ruskin says, "When a man is rightfully employed his amusement grows out of his work, as a colour petal out of a fruitful flower."

JNO. RHIND.



In our next issue will appear an article by E. Belfort Bax entitled "A Study in Socialist Heresy-Hunting : Why I am Opposed to Female Suffrage."

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER III.

Cyrus, the founder of the ancient Persian Empire conquered Babylon in 538, and in the same year granted permission to the exiled Jews to return to Palestine. True to their religious conception, the Jews saw in that act of a great statesman the hand of Yahve, and the form in which they expressed it is characteristic of their advanced view of monotheism. We read in EZRA: "Yahve stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, 'Thus saith Cyrus, King of Persia, Yahve, God of Heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of earth, and he has charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah.'" In reality, however, the proclamation in favour of the Jews was dictated by those considerations of military geography and of diplomacy which sway all far-seeing empire-builders. In the work of consolidating the newly conquered empire Cyrus could not fail to notice the importance of the geographic position of Palestine and the value of having there loyal and grateful subjects to impede an Egyptian invasion, or to prepare a military position for the conquest of Egypt. Indeed, his successor, Cambyses, actually made war on Egypt and subdued it in 525, only 13 years after the proclamation issued by Cyrus.

To the first batch of families who returned to Palestine fell a long and arduous task. The work of re-organisation met with obstacles from within and

without, and no real progress was made until the return, nearly a century later, of Ezra and Nehemiah, who, owing to their learning and executive capacity, succeeded in establishing a certain measure of religious and civil order. Ezra, on his return from Babylonia in 458, brought with him the Pentateuch, which fact may serve as evidence that the Jews in exile formed an active religious community with definite conceptions and ideals differentiating them from the people in the midst of whom they dwelled. Still, it would be erroneous to assume that they were utterly impervious to the influences of the comparatively high civilisation of Babylonia. The story of creation, the building of the tower of Babel, the story of the flood, the angelology, and the calendar of the Pentateuch were of Babylonian origin. But monotheism was a purely Jewish product of pre-exilic life.

No sooner was a certain order evolved out of the chaos of re-settlement than the class struggle began to manifest itself. We read in NEHEMIAH: "And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons, and our daughters, are many: therefore we take up corn for them that we may eat and live. Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth. There were also that said: We have borrowed money for the King's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already, neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards." By the intervention of Nehemiah a crisis was averted; it is, however, safe to conclude that this intervention had but a temporary effect. The division and differentiation of society into rich and poor, into great landowners and impoverished peasants and labourers, into merchants,

artisans, and workmen went on, at first at a slow pace, but gained in momentum from the third century B.C. onwards.

The fifth and fourth centuries appear to have been remarkable only for the fervent piety which moved the Jews in consequence of the rebuilding of the Temple. In Ezra and Nehemiah there is ample evidence of a religious revival that absorbed all emotions and thoughts of the Jewry. In this age of monotheistic efflorescence a great number of Psalms were composed. On the other hand, the economic development appears to have been very little marked; only the population must have considerably increased and made emigration a necessity. Even in the pre-exilic times emigration had gone on, and it became a normal feature in the post-exilic centuries. After the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great, Palestine fell under the supremacy of the liberal-minded Ptolemæans, and the development of Jewish life began to move at an accelerated pace. Jews settled in Egypt, and formed in Alexandria an increasingly important commercial colony. Also the Seleucidæ bestowed upon the Jews the rights of citizenship in Asia Minor, Northern Syria, and Antiochia, where they evidently settled as merchants.

The close connection of Palestine with the Jews of the dispersion, the differentiation of the economic activities of the Palestinians themselves, and the gradual entrance of Palestine into the Hellenic sphere of civilisation, contributed greatly to the development of trade and commerce in Palestine. The third century must have been an age of material prosperity and general well-being, which filled the Jewish mind with an optimistic view of life. In that age were collected the proverbs of Solomon and of Jesus Sirach. The Jews believed then that there prevailed a certain harmony between virtue and happiness, and that a God-fearing life, prudence, industry, thrift, honesty and good government are the surest means to human happiness. This optimistic, middle-class period was put an end to

by the wars between Egypt and Syria, by internal struggles, and, finally, by the sanguinary oppression of the Jews at the hands of Antiochus IV. Jewish prosperity withered away, and the reaction from an unbounded optimism was an unbounded pessimism. In the age of this pessimistic reaction were produced such literary monuments as Job and Ecclesiastes, in which the great question of the discrepancy between virtue and happiness and the despair of any intelligent management of the world, find partly sublime, partly cynical expression. This was, however, a passing phase. The Jews shook themselves free from these paralysing sentiments, and following the call of the Maccabeans smote the oppressors hip and thigh. Palestine, after long centuries of vassalage, rose again to the height of an independent kingdom, making treaties, even with the Roman Empire. The national and economic crises had been overcome and the country progressed rapidly. The more important sea and commercial towns in Palestine were occupied and settled. In Joppa, Gaza, Tiberias, Accho, Cæsarea, etc., Jews settled in considerable numbers, controlling the import and export of foreign and Palestinian goods.

The following two factors contributed largely to the development of the Palestinian trade. First, the compulsory pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On the great festivals Jews from all parts of the civilised world met at the Temple of Jerusalem: from Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Syria, etc. For the most part they were merchants or manufacturers. On such occasions Jerusalem was turned into an international exchange. Secondly, the overburdening of agriculture with duties and taxes for social and religious purposes, while trade and commerce had hardly any public burden to bear. Consequently, the Jews withdrew from agriculture in favour of commerce, shipping, and manufactures.

However, these factors reacted favourably on agriculture. Bound up as it was with religious life, it was

regarded as a most honourable calling. And with the growth of towns and commercial activities, agriculture gained large and profitable markets for its produce, and, therefore, exceedingly great care was bestowed upon the cultivation of the soil. In the second and first centuries B.C., the fields and vineyards of Palestine were worked with a diligence and thoroughness as never before or after. Even the mountain slopes were carefully tilled and turned into terrace-like gardens and fields. The exports of Palestine were: wine, perfumes, olives and olive oil, dates, figs, roses, balm, myrrh, corn, honey and wax, cattle, cheese, wool, flax, textile fabrics, purple, carpets, dye-stuffs, gold and silver goods, iron and copper, nails and pins, leather and parchment, ropes, salt, asphalt, sponges, crockery, weapons, and boats.

(To be Continued.)

M. BEER.

A SOCIALIST MESSAGE OF PEACE.

"FELLOW CITIZENS,—I stand before you to demand a mandate for revolution. . . . I am here to announce my desire and my intention, if you will give me the commission, to inaugurate a scheme for altering the whole basis of property. . . . The conditions under which we are living are admittedly preposterous. A few of us have far too much, some of us enough, but most of us far too little. Those who have very little work hard for it, when they are allowed, all day and every day, at the most disagreeable, dangerous and exhausting labour, or else, not being even allowed to work, people our workhouses and prisons or join the criminal class, or starve. Those who have too much, work too, some of them, but at the more pleasant and stimulating kinds of labour; others do not work at all . . . the children of the rich are brought up with every advantage of education and opportunity, and those of the poor with every disadvantage. Our society is thus a handicap, but one based on no principle . . . described as free competition . . . we have learned to call it by its true name, social anarchy. We all deplore it; we all wish to alter it; but we are afraid to do so. For we see that to do it we must attack property; and though our law of property is the source of all our iniquities, yet we see it to be the foundation of our society, and we fear that if we tamper with it the whole building will come down about our ears. This fear we must put away from us. I invite you to commission me to draft a scheme of transition, a plan to prepare the way for a more prosperous, a more free, a more noble community, by the willing co-operation of all classes.

"I invite you all, and, first, I invite the rich. . . . I appeal, and I appeal with confidence to their chivalry; I go further, I appeal to their true interest. . . . We shall proceed gradually and with discretion in the redistribution of wealth; and what we ask from the rich is less an immediate money-sacrifice than the active co-operation of the ablest among them in discovering the most statesmanlike method. . . .

"To the poor I have a different message. I have to ask them . . . to wait yet another half-century; to be content to view the promised land into which not they, but their children and their children's children, will enter. They have the power of numbers;

but that is not enough, they need the power of ability. . . . Hitherto you have worked under the lash of fear for yourselves and your children; henceforth learn to work under the stimulus of citizenship for the public good. The future for which I invite you to prepare is not one of mere prosperity; it is not even one of mere equity. What we offer is the charter of your spiritual liberty; make yourselves and your children worthy of it. We open the gate of the temple of Humanity; make yourselves clean that you may enter."

Slightly abbreviated, this is the message of peace heard "in the heart" by Professor Henry Martin, who gives vocal expression to it on the insistence of "Mr. Charles Stuart, a banker," who is one of the three speakers in "Justice and Liberty: A Political Dialogue," by G. Lowes Dickenson (Dent and Co., 4s. 6d. net). The speech provokes no comment from "Sir John Harington, a gentleman of leisure," and the champion of autocratic institutions; but the banker exclaims, "Is that all?" and recommends the Professor not to try it on the platform when he gets home. We are tempted to endorse the recommendation. If "home" is in London, and the platform in Queen's Hall, the well-to-do section of the audience, attracted by curiosity and the prospect of having their ears tickled, if not shocked, by revolutionary phrases, will mutter, "Is that all?" while many of the occupants of free seats will vigorously resent the invitation to wait another fifty years the redress of their wrongs.

As a text-book for students of Socialism who wish to equip themselves with answers to intelligent objections to our theories, Mr. Lowes Dickenson's work is indispensable, and many passages in the book rise to that height of eloquence which can be inspired only by depth of conviction and intense earnestness. This cry for Peace! Peace! where there is no Peace, is the only jarring note in the symphony in which he delineates the victory of the champion of Socialism whenever he engages in an intellectual wrestling-bout on the soft turf that carpets academic groves, either with the philosophic Radical banker, or the chivalric Tory squire. Yet one discovers in some pages of

"Justice and Liberty" that the author is scarcely prepared to controvert our belief that the only way to the social peace that will abide is through fighting the class war through to the finish, for earlier in the dialogue the Professor remarks: "It is not enough to urge the rich to be generous and chivalrous, or the poor to be patient and thrifty; such appeals leave men cold. What really stirs them is a demonstration that the order under which they live is neither practicable nor just. They may then come to find it so intolerable that they can no longer rest in it."

There is some potency in Sir John Harington's plea that aristocracy—the rule of the select, is preferable to that of ochlocracy, the rule of numbers. Number, he says, determines the policy of our Government, the character of our education, the direction of our social and national ethics. Are we to be drunk or sober? We ask the majority. Are we to be an empire or an island State? We ask the majority. Are we to study Latin and Greek or shorthand and book-keeping? We ask the majority. Numbers rule us, and numbers composed of the casual, untrained, characterless, units of Ochlocracy. Against this charge the Professor cannot altogether defend our society, but he suggests that Ochlocracy is only the masque under which the transformation from an Oligarchy of birth to an Oligarchy of wealth is being accomplished.

"It is not really numbers that rule, but that which controls numbers. And what is that? At every point wealth. Modern society, as I see it, from top to bottom, is a descending hierarchy of oligarchic groups, each with its own peculiar privileges, for which it fights, and in and by which it lives. I imagine society as a pyramid, broadening down from its apex in a series of steps, each cut off from the one above, not, indeed, by an impassable barrier, but by a height which it requires a considerable degree of athleticism to scale, and on each step, crowded together, a fighting, trampling mob of desperate men, bent, everyone, above all, on enlarging his own space and making room for his children, under penalty, if he fails, that he or they will be thrust down to the step below, and perhaps, through all the degrees, to the very bottom."

One may surmise that Mr. Lowes Dickenson's studies of contemporary Socialism have not been made

in the market-place, but within his library. They have enabled him to recognise that the principle on which classes are organised being radically defective, the necessary consequence is friction and discord, but his remark that "on the Continent this situation has been frankly formulated by the Socialists as class war" indicates little familiarity with the street-corner propaganda carried on in this country by the S.D.P. for more than a quarter of a century. Nine-tenths of the Socialists of Great Britain gained elementary instruction in Socialist theories at these open-air meetings, where the class war has been preached in season and out of season, in summer and in wintry weather, during all those years. One may conjecture too, that the author of "Justice and Liberty" has had little, if any, commercial training, for he does not seem to appreciate the fact that the head and front of the offence of the capitalist system of production is that by the operation of its laws poverty is bred of plethora. He tolerates the suggestion that the means of production might be let out to private persons to exploit, though he would prefer on the whole that the community should exploit them itself. The great instruments of modern industry cannot be handled by the individual, and their only value to private persons lies in the fact that by controlling them they are able to appropriate the product of other people's labour. We must forgive Mr. Dickenson for fathering upon the Socialist professor a demand for the nationalisation of capital, for have not many eminent Labour leaders failed to grasp the fact that when the propertyless class is abolished it will be impossible to utilise wealth, or any portion of it, as capital, and where M.P.'s rush in to move resolutions to the same effect the author of this delightful political dialogue need have no fear to tread. When my fellow-Socialists have read the book they will censure me for pointing out motes in a sunbeam, and when they have equipped themselves from the armoury of answers codified by the Professor, with replies to those objections to Socialism which are

raised even by intelligent searchers after truth, they will forgive the pacifism of an author who whetted the weapons that will help them to confound opponents.

J. HUNTER WATTS.



SOCIALIST GAINS AND LOSSES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The gains and losses of 1908 are a distinct encouragement to us of the "left wing," who prefer to say much of the class struggle and little of "immediate demands," who think it is more important to awaken the wage-workers to the fact that it is to their interest to destroy the whole capitalist system than to agitate for municipal ownership, scientific reforestation and tax reforms. Massachusetts is the State where "Municipal Socialism" arose in a blaze of glory a few years ago. Two cities were "captured," the congressional vote of 1902 was about 35,000, a number of comrades were elected to office, and they did in office all that could reasonably have been expected of them. But they could not meet the unreasonable expectations raised by the wrong emphasis in our propaganda. The movement there has dwindled until it is weaker than in States of like population in which we have never elected a man to office. Here in Chicago our large vote of 1904 resulted in diverting the energies of our most experienced workers from the revolutionary propaganda in which Chicago had been foremost into elaborate schemes of precinct organisation which have nothing to do with the revolutionary work of the Socialist Party, which may be essential to the election of our members to local offices. And here in Chicago is the heaviest loss that the party has sustained. Our most notable gain is in the States of Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma. We have large gains in Idaho and Colorado, where the party threw itself unreservedly into the fight of the Western Federation of Miners against organised capital. In most of the north central states, including Wisconsin, we scarcely held our own, but in Michigan and Minnesota, where the "left wing" is in control, our gains are large. In the East, the best record is made in Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania is the one Eastern State in which the party organisation is circulating Marxian literature on a considerable scale. On the whole, we have every reason to feel encouraged at the general result. The collapse of the Hearst, Watson and De Leon movements leaves ours the only party likely to attract those who come to see that Republicans and Democrats alike stand for the interests of the employing class. Let us keep to the one issue of the class struggle, and the votes will come.—"International Socialist Review."

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

IS THERE ANY FOOD IN ALCOHOLIC DRINKS?

(Continued from last issue.)

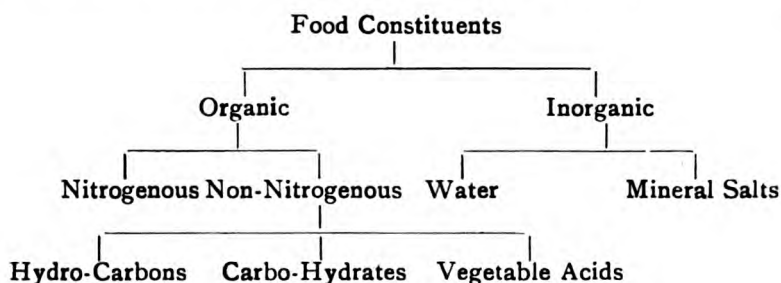
I do not desire to be misunderstood, nor to beg the question in any way. I do not suppose anyone would claim that alcohol itself contains any food products; but there are many who sincerely believe that there are food qualities in wines and malt liquors, and some think in spirits also. It would be tedious and perhaps unnecessary to analyse all the three kinds of drink, so if I take malt liquors, and show their ridiculously low percentage of food stuff, it may suffice.

The human body is a living organism, and, in common with all living organisms, is constantly undergoing a process of change. This change consists of three forms: 1. A process of continuous waste and decay; 2. A process of oxidation—i.e., a slow burning, producing body heat; 3. The generation of force or energy. Food, then, is required:—

1. To repair and replace wasted, used-up, worn-out material, or tissue.
2. To produce heat.
3. To furnish force, or energy.
4. To provide materials for growth.

The first three functions of food, therefore, are practically, to replenish exhausted nature, while the fourth is to prepare the way for further development. I am quite aware that there are diversities of

opinion as to the actual work performed by the different foods we take; but I think we are fairly safe in saying that the essential constituents of food are water, starch, sugar, and fat, and that these consist primarily of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, with a proportion of "salts," and these again may be reduced to two essentials—nitrogen and carbon. The following general classification is taken from "Domestic Science and General Hygiene":—



If we now refer to the table given on a previous page, showing the constituents of malt liquors, we find that they contain, on the average, 18 ozs. of water, 2 ozs. of alcohol, 260 grains of sugar, and 44 grains of acetic acid. Taking water first, we can readily dispose of that, because we know that 75 per cent. of the solid tissues of the body, and 80 per cent. of the blood, is water, and in an imperial pint there should be rather over 20 ozs., and malt liquors only contain 18 ozs. We will next take sugar, a carbo-hydrate, whose work is to give heat to the body. Of this you have only 260 grains, and of these there are roughly two parts water or hydrogen to one part carbon, the exact formula being $C_6 H_{12} O_6$. Then we come to acetic acid, which contains little or no food qualities at all. Finally alcohol, 2 ozs., and the formula is $C_2 H_6 O_1$; therefore the food products of alcohol are practically *nil*.

The following figures are compiled chiefly from Parke's tables, and appear on page 242 of "Elementary Biology":—

| Articles of food. | Alimentary principles or food constituents. | | | | Elements. | |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | Water per 100. | Proteid per 100. | Fat per 100. | Carbo- hydrates per 100. | Carbon per 100. | Nitrogen per 100. |
| Milk... .. | 86 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 0.6 |
| Eggs | 75 | 14 | 10 | — | 15 | 2 |
| Beef Steak ... | 70 | 22 | 5 | — | 15 | 3.3 |
| Bread | 40 | 8 | 1.5 | 50 | 28 | 1.25 |
| Beer... .. | 89 | 1 | — | 10 | 5 | 0.15 |

It may not be out of place to briefly analyse this table. The percentage of water in beer is higher than in any of the other articles of food here given, while the percentage of proteids (foods of first importance) is the lowest. Of fats there are none, and of carbo-hydrates (the heat-giving factor of food) only 10 per cent., as against 50 per cent. in bread, although alcoholic stimulants are so frequently advocated for the purpose of warmth. In the essential elements—carbon and nitrogen—beer is almost the lowest, milk being a little higher in nitrogen.

We will now institute a comparison made by Baron Liebig to show the relative value of malt liquors to bread as a food: "If a man drinks daily eight or ten quarts of the best beer, in the course of twelve months he will have taken into his system the nutritive constituents of a 5-lb. loaf of bread." Therefore, in order to get the equivalent food value of a 5-lb. loaf a man must drink from 3,000 to 3,600 quarts of beer, and about 300 quarts of alcohol. These facts and figures are respectfully commended to nursing mothers, who are, in many cases, the unfortunate victims of the fallacious teaching that "beer gives milk." As will be seen by the table quoted from Parke, all the food elements are contained in human milk, the chemical composition of which is, for 1,000 parts: water, 870; butter, 35; casein, 30; sugar, 35; chlorides, phosphates of lime, magnesia, iron and carbonates, 30, or about 3 per cent. Alcohol will alter this proportion.

If the mother's digestion is bad, and the supply of milk fails, the doctor is usually consulted, and he orders ale or stout, and the apparent result is that she has an abundant supply of what she erroneously thinks to be milk, but which in reality is only the water portion, for the chemical composition of alcohol and milk have nothing in common but water.

From another point of view there are many people who are prepared to admit that there is little, if any, food product in drink, but they claim that it is a solvent—an aid to digestion. I shall now endeavour to show that the wretched stuff does not contain even that diminutive virtue.

Digestion of food in the human body is not through a gizzard by the aid of stones and grit, like poultry; but in the alimentary canal—a long, complicated tube, running the entire length of the trunk—and by the aid of gastric juice, with a constant revolving motion which keeps the food on the move. The inside lining of this digestive tube, a soft, moist, reddish kind of skin, is called mucous membrane, and has a number of absorbent tubes called lacteals. It is not necessary to go into any more details of the digestive organs; they are probably known to all, and if not, they can readily be learned. The process of digestion begins with mastication, during which operation the food is mixed with the saliva of the mouth.

This is in the case of solids, but in liquids the saliva is, or should be, swallowed with the drink. Then, when the food reaches the stomach it becomes mixed with the gastric juice and the pancreatic juice, and with chyme and chyle. I want now to give an experiment made by Dr. Monroe to establish the precise action of alcohol on food in the stomach. He had three bottles containing finely-minced meat, with gastric juice from the stomach of a calf. In the first bottle he added water; in the second, alcohol; and in the third, pale ale. The temperature was maintained at 100° F. The contents of the bottles were churned

to imitate the movement of the stomach during the process of digestion.

The result of this experiment was as follows:—
The first bottle, containing minced beef, gastric juice, and water, after being shaken for

| | | |
|----|--------|--------------------------|
| 2 | hours, | became opaque, |
| 4 | „ | digested and separated, |
| 6 | „ | beef much loosened, |
| 8 | „ | „ broken up into shreds, |
| 10 | „ | „ dissolved like soap, |

thus showing a complete state of digestion. The second bottle, containing minced beef, gastric juice, and alcohol, after being shaken for

| | | |
|----|--------|-------------------------|
| 2 | hours, | no alteration, |
| 4 | „ | slightly opaque, |
| 6 | „ | slight coating on beef, |
| 8 | „ | no further change, |
| 10 | „ | beef solid on cooling, |

showing that no digestion whatever had taken place. The third bottle, containing minced beef, gastric juice, and pale ale, after being shaken for

| | | |
|----|--------|---------------------------|
| 2 | hours, | no change, |
| 4 | „ | cloudy, with fur on beef, |
| 6 | „ | beef partly loosened, |
| 8 | „ | no further change, |
| 10 | „ | no digestion on cooling. |

From this experiment it seems very evident that alcoholics destroy the solvent power of the gastric juice and prevent digestion, and the stronger the alcoholic percentage the more digestion will be interfered with, and digestion can, therefore, only take place when the alcohol has been expelled from the stomach.

(To be Continued.)

H. W. HOBART.

THE MONTH.

By the time these lines are read, Parliament will have re-assembled and the Ministerial programme for the ensuing session will be before the public. Another attempt at "Temperance" legislation, in the direction of the mischievous system of "high licence," is anticipated, as well as some juggling with the incidence of taxation, and still another Education Bill. There may be a half-hearted attempt to redeem the promise of permanent legislation on the unemployed question; or it may be that the continued prevalence of exceptional distress will once more afford the excuse that any legislation on the subject would be mere "panic" legislation, and must therefore be deferred to a more convenient season.

Whatever other items may be contained in the Ministerial menu, we do not anticipate that the promised Reform Bill will be one of them. That, we should say, will be reserved for the final session, and whatever the quidnuncs may say as to the prospects of an early appeal to the country, we expect the Government to hang on for at least another eighteen months, and, indeed, see no reason at all why they should dissolve before 1911.

That means not only that the Suffragettes will have still a considerable season yet in which to carry on their diverting, dancing dervish tactics, and thus throw more discredit on the cause they profess to serve—it means also that the promised assault upon the House of Lords is once more to be deferred.

We say "promised" and "deferred" advisedly. No one who knows anything of the political game, however, can have ever supposed that the Liberal threatenings and bluster were ever more than mere bluff—all sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Among the most important events of the past month for Socialists and trade unionists was the Labour Party Conference at Portsmouth. The story of this assembly as told by some of its recorders will require much sifting by the historian of the future if he desires to obtain the truth. The Executive of the party appears to us to have desired as little discussion as possible—to that end the best part of a day was wasted in mere windbagery at Special Conferences on Unemployment and the Incidence of Taxation; the report of the Parliamentary Group was treated by the Chairman as not open to discussion—being merely a statement of fact; in every conceivable way the important business was rushed through, and though notwithstanding this some severe criticism was dealt out to the Labour Party leaders with regard to their want of action on behalf of the workers and also as to their wanton zeal for capitalist Liberal measures; in spite of this some of the scribes who recorded the proceedings in the Labour press have the audacity to declare that no attack was made, and that no such criticism was offered.

As far as the resolutions of the Conference are concerned, they leave the party ostensibly where they found it, still committed to alliance with Liberals, still with a hypocritical lip service to Socialism which enables the party secretary and Mr. Keir Hardie to delude the Continental Socialists into accepting it as to all intents and purposes a Socialist Party. Though, curiously enough, after the fight is over the two gentlemen referred to admit that the critics were really right—only that their criticisms applied to individual members and not to the party as a whole.

Last month we expressed some surprise at the silence of the Labour Party leaders over the decision of the Appeal Court which threatens to deprive the Party of its sinews of war. There appears to have grown up the idea that most of the unions would ignore the decision and continue to enforce the Parliamentary levy. Recent actions in the courts, however, and notably the injunction obtained against the London Society of Compositors, go to show that there is every likelihood of this idea being rudely dispelled. It seems strange that trade unions should not be allowed to use their funds for any purpose, which is not a criminal one, upon which the members may, by a majority vote, decide. But that is held to be the law, and there is little likelihood of the Lords reversing the decision of the Appeal Court, or of Parliament altering the law in favour of the Labour Party.

Out of evil cometh good; and two good results may accrue if the present position of the Labour Party in relation to trade union subsidies is maintained. The Parliamentary group will have to depend upon the voluntary contributions of those of the rank and file who agree with them, and will no longer be able to boast of representing a huge number, consisting largely of indifferents and dissidents. On the other hand, they will be more eager to press for the public payment of members and election expenses than they have hitherto shown themselves.

Mr. Haldane has now been compelled to have recourse to the "mummers" in order to obtain a further proportion of his Territorial establishment. A stupid, nonsensical play, miscalled "The Englishman's Home,"—the title of which had to be altered before it would pass the censor, and the tenor of which ought to have made every volunteer and every civilian to grind his teeth with anger—has been pressed into the War Minister's service. Then not only have employers been induced to coerce their employees into joining the "Terriers" as a condition of employment; but a lying manifesto has been issued to the citizens of London by the Duke of Fife and Lord Esher, which promises the intending "Territorial" that the Service will equip him for the defence of *his* country "without requiring him to surrender any of his rights and privileges as a citizen in the time of peace." One truth the manifesto utters is that the only alternative to "Voluntary" is "Compulsory Service." Compulsion is being introduced already under the rose.

When the Kaiser visited London in 1907, the unemployed made a demonstration against the hypocritical junketting that then took place. When King Edward made his return visit to the German capital, the Berlin unemployed made it the occasion of a great demonstration against their own ruler and capitalism generally. The latter was certainly the more effective demonstration of the two, and both police and military had to be employed to keep our Teutonic comrades in check.

It is interesting to note how often the line of action taken by us Social-Democrats, for which at the time we are "faithfully" taken to task by some of our friends, comes to be fully justified by after events. That was distinctly the case in connection with our attitude on

the Boer war and over the Dreyfus affair. We were told that these were mere bourgeois quarrels, in which the proletariat had no interest. The correctness of our policy has, however, been overwhelmingly justified by subsequent events.

So, too, when we urged that the visit of the Kaiser to this country afforded an occasion for a popular demonstration against the fêting of one of the bitterest and most powerful enemies of Social-Democracy and of peace in the world, we were accused of playing the jingo game, and stirring up anti-German feeling, as if the Kaiser had been a member of the German Social-Democratic Party, instead of its most relentless persecutor !

Our comrades in Berlin, however, have taken advantage of the King's visit to organise popular demonstrations on behalf of the unemployed, and against monarchism and militarism, and all their works, on a scale that we could not attempt. We heartily congratulate them. We do not pretend to discover, in their plucky defiance of Kaiser-capitalist "law and order," in the tearing down of flags, and other manifestations of disgust at this flaunting of wealth in the face of poverty, any display of German chauvinism, any anti-British feeling, or any desire to embitter the relations between the two nations. We wish them more power to their elbow, and any harsh things they choose to say about King Edward or his Government will leave our withers quite unwrung.

It was, perhaps, too much to expect that the delegates from the four South African Colonies would declare for a complete democratic constitution. Natal is always a reactionary force, and the Boers are, perhaps, equally with the English residents of South Africa, averse to conferring the vote either upon the Kaffir or on the white woman. Still, it is certainly a step forward that the principle of proportional representation based on the single transferable vote is to be applied, not only to the South African Assembly and Senate, but also to the Provincial Chambers as well. It is to be hoped that the principle may be adopted in the Mother Country before long, as a result of agitation and of the Commission which has recently been appointed.

A "HYMN" OF "ANCIENT AND MODERN" SOCIETY.

Airs, "Austrian Hymn," or "Deerhurst," 292 and 436 (2) A. and M.
Hymns.

Hark! The sound of myriad voices murmur ceaseless as the sea,
Crying, moaning, sighing, groaning, on the rack of misery.
Multitudes in cruel bondage, like to gangs of convicts, slave,
Scanty-clad, nigh-starv'd, and longing from their cradle for the grave.

Bishops, Canons, Vicars, Curates, Ministers, Evangelists,
Sectaries, Dogmatic Wranglers, self-styled "followers" of the
Christ,
Anglicans, Free-Churchmen, Romans, Theologians "Old" and
"New"—

Are ye *really, truly*, CHRISTIAN? as would Jesus, do ye do?

Jesus Christ on earth an Outcast, for his fellow outcasts cared:
"Friend of publicans and sinners," their ha'd lot, thro' life He
shared:

He, on seeing in the Temple, those whose God was Gold, o'erthrew
All their wares, in scorn, with anger cast *them* out as he would
you!

Jesus Christ denounced all *hirelings*, High Priests, Elders, Sadducees,
Scribes and Pharisees and Lawyers—livers in luxurious ease;
"Common people" gladly heard Him, till conspiring *Classes* lied,
And, in fiendish malice seized Him, charg'd, condemn'd and crucified.

Jesus truly preached "good tidings" of a happy home on high,
But He fed the hungry *bodies*, while He trained *souls* for the sky.
Christ's "New Earth" is for the workers—not the lazy, loafing rich,
Who, to raise our hopes to Heaven, kick us deeper down the ditch!

Kings and Rulers, "Patriots" claiming Empire of ne'er-setting sun,
Great and gold-laced Lords and Ladies who have toil'd not, nor
have spun,

Ye are few, but we are many, slowly waking to the light;
Might not built on Right shall perish, Right is ours, soon ours the
Might!

Winchester.

ELLA TWYNAM.

NEO-MARXISM.

(Continued from last Issue.)

As I have said, according to Hegel the idea is the expression, the manifestation of the idea. A pure idea, as it develops and determines, makes nature and history. It would be superfluous, I repeat, to note that these propositions contain much that is arbitrary and forced. As we can only know things by thought, it does not follow that their reality depends on thought, and is a consequence of our mind. And so, applied to nature, the Hegelian conception falls to the ground as being too weak.

Things are otherwise when, with Marx, we apply these principles to the vast matter of technicality, which is the result of intelligence and the mainstay of history, as we see it unrolled before our eyes. If the human mind be not the author of nature, no one will deny that civilisation owes to it the marvels in the midst of which we live. But that is the economic world, the work of man, as far removed from nature as is the hide of a beast when changed into boots. Now such is, I say again, the very thesis of Marx, for he says that matter exists first. Granted that matter is, then force is too, and therefore so is intelligence; thus all the series of transformations is possible, as they are the only real ones.

It can, therefore, be said that each system completes the other. The principle enunciated by Hegel only attains its full value and significance with Marx.

No doubt, between the two works in which the master and the disciple have stated their theories, the "Phenomenology of Mind" and "Capital," there is the same difference as between a psychological study and a treatise on strategy; but each one retains its own meaning, and produces certain consequences.

Thus, while Hegel evolves in the world of thought, Marx, by virtue of his historical materialism, strictly confines himself to the class struggle, that is to say, to politics. The world, as it is, having been constructed by intelligence, what are the consequences due to this as far as the relations of citizens are concerned? Marx, as a materialist, whatever his disciples may say, placed above all the question of the stomach. Hegel, being an idealist, pursues his way towards ideal heights which, according to him, are alone worthy of being reached by the highest man. In his opinion it is

the movement of thought which, taken *per se*, produces the absolute idea, the concrete idea, notion or universal substance. Then his evolution by thought constitutes nature or the material universe, and as it returns on itself with a full consciousness, mind is produced.

So that if, on the one hand, Hegel only sees in nature an image and an inadequate manifestation of ideas, on the other hand, he makes mind the outcome of the development of natural life. In that way, by a dialectical rather than a philosophical artifice, logical idealism, for which nature is only the manifested idea, attains absolute realism or naturalism, according to which nature is the principle of mind. Mind then appears as the last result, as the truth of nature. "The idea, by its development, produces nature, and nature by producing the human soul, produces mind." Well, these are the very conclusions of science. Mind is congenial to matter, for it is nothing else but life, which, just as matter, is spread all through nature. For inert matter, though our forerunners did not think so, is an abstraction, a concept; in different degrees all matter is alive, that is to say, capable of becoming the place where phenomena, to which we give the name of vital, rule. But if these be vital phenomena there are not, there cannot be, bodies having life *per se*, no more than there are bodies, *per se*, endowed with electricity. Here are in a battery acid and a metal; their junction produces a state—the electric state. But no one will think of making of that electric state an entity, and saying that if the metal and the acid were separated, the electricity would still exist. And so life, as Claude Bernard proved, is not bound up with a fixed form but with a combination, with a particular physico chemical arrangement. So it is not the atom which lives, but life manifests itself owing to an arrangement, to an association, to a particular grouping of atoms and of molecules of different bodies.

Not long ago physicists only recognised eight forces which they admitted were different forms of motion. To-day they agree that there is a ninth life—which is also a form of motion but a higher one. The ancients called it "mind," "psyche," the soul of the world. It is this which creates bonds of solidarity between all living things; by means of it, the lion and the gazelle, the tiger and the antelope, would live in peace if intelligence did not teach them that struggle is the law of species.

And so, in spite of the scholastic impediments which handicap Hegel, yet, by the very strength of the truth to which he devotes his researches, he is led to the very deductions of science.

The more science advances the more the idea grows that society is a natural order of nature. On the other hand, as I said at first, society is the natural order of man, the tree existed before the forest, the drop of water before the river, but society, like the family, is co-existent with man.

It is, therefore, understood that societies can only be established among the higher animals where the mind determines the modes of relations which are best adapted to the keeping up and the prosperity of men—the supreme aim of nature. All that sociology postulates is nothing but that the facts which we call social are in nature, that is to say, that they are dependent on the principle of order and of universal determinism. Society is the thought of the universe.

One would be very much deceived if, under the pretext that society is only formed of individuals, one pretended that it is in the nature of the individual that one should seek the determining causes which are alone competent to explain social facts. It is thus that, not recognising the true sense of biological organisation, Herbert Spencer only notices man in society.

No one better than Dr. J. Pioger, one of the theoreticians who have best understood and developed the organising theory of society, has denounced this point of view, which is equivalent to saying that "a society of bees only offers the characteristics of a bee, that an ant heap is only made up of a more or less considerable number of ants, that human society, a savage tribe, a barbaric horde, a nation or an empire is only made up of human beings and possesses no other characteristics or properties beyond the characteristics or properties of individuals." For it is sufficient thus to state the question in order to see immediately the error or insufficiency of such a conception.

Our eminent and lamented friend adds that the characteristics and the properties of a compound are due to the combination of the characteristics and properties of the component parts, and are more than the sum of these characteristics and properties. Besides, who does not understand that function is different from the simple vitality of the living element, just as the properties of the compound are different from the combined element? That is why a society is something more than a single individual, and social life is different from physiological life. There are, therefore, distinctly social phenomena, different from those relating to other sciences having man for their subject, such as psychology. That is why it can be said that there is a social soul just as there is an individual soul. The soul of masses, the mentality of a religious sect, the psychology of a political group are not merely metaphors. What constitutes a society is the method of relation and of action, that is to say, the reciprocal organisation of its constituent elements in a more or less individualised whole, making of it a superorganism. And all this takes place according to the rhythm of technics, which are no longer a mystery. A kind of mind or common sense, says G. Duprat, harmonises impressions and confused impulsions, gives to each of us a kind of psychic resultant which is no one's thought or sentiment but that of all together.

That is also the opinion of Marx: "What each of these forces wants is prevented by all the others, and the resultant of their com-

bined action is something which was not willed by any of them." And Bernstein writes in the same strain, "In the economic competition each individual has in view certain desires, but the general result is always something else, different from what the individuals desired."

Doubtless, the first human groups only appear and cannot understand each other better than by being the resultant of a kind of spontaneous solidarisation of needs and aptitudes. It is no less true that the first social organisations, though quite rudimentary, represent a very natural method of grouping, since it is the exclusive resultant of the conditions or vital needs of the collectivity. Looking at it from the point of view of well being, this mode of existence was not quite ideal, but man found therein the satisfaction of his deepest and most precious instinct—liberty. This liberty was going to be suppressed for many by the economic struggle, born of intelligence, of which Marx is the coryphæus. For the struggle can be turned to the defence of collective interests, but it cannot be inspired by separatist ideas.

It will be sufficient to say how monists consider intelligence to have appeared in societies, in order to explain how it differs from mind. "First of all, as proved by physiology, the brain is only the prolongation of the spinal cord, which, owing to the modifications that the environment has caused, has become so delicate that it registers all the shocks of the organism due to outside impressions, and which vibrate in it, register themselves, so to speak, as in a recording apparatus, always ready to react to stimuli of the same nature. No doubt the primordial interior event constituting our knowledge is sensation. But it is owing to the physiological sensibility that the living organism can react from the different solicitations. True, nerve centres, after having received impressions from the organs by the objects themselves, retain the tremour, which, by the state of tension, become *images* (ideas). All this is in strict conformity with the ordinary laws of physics. And one sees that images, thus stored up, exercise afterwards on the brain true reactions, and determine exactly, as the objects themselves would do, the facts known, as thought, judgment, etc. But, just as in the phase of sensation, the cosmical element successively changes its name, to be called sometimes force (that is to say, heat, electricity, magnetism, etc.), sometimes matter (that is to say, gas, liquid, solid), according only to the mode and the intensity of its action on the physiological sensation, just in the same way, in the *phase of cerebration*, the image, in its turn, is called 'instinct,' 'thought,' 'judgment,' according to the mode and the intensity of its action on the psychic sensibility. But physiological and psychic sensibility are one and the same thing, conscience only being the manifestation of sensibility by which the living subject becomes conscious of its own psychic states, just as sensibility is the consciousness which it has of its physiological states, whether these proceed from an exterior excitement or result from actions and

internal reactions. Whatever be the reason, here as elsewhere, the cerebral substance remains the pole where all differentiation is centred, and psychic activity is only a nervous differentiation on a higher plane by the formation of its intellectual senses from all points analagous to our physical senses." (J. Pioger.)

And that is how with these three things: organic alltropism, matter which causes it to vibrate, consciousness which registers the vibrations, we have an explanation of all intelligent acts. Yet in sensation, all that the individual perceives is not matter itself but only its proper organism modified by the impression received.

And here we have the classic example of young chickens. Put on a carpet a dozen young chickens just hatched. First of all they will seem astonished and even frightened. But spread some sand on the carpet, then the chickens rush and scrape it with an ardour and zeal worthy of a kinder fate; for the carpet does not respond to their advances.

Now, this single fact allows a naturalist to reconstitute if not the rise of intelligence, at all events that of instinct in these animals. The organisms which, in the course of ages, were to become chickens, being very fond of worms, seeing their prey disappear into the earth, it was natural that they should try and pursue them. As it recedes reaction produces action, and now behind the veil which generally hides his prey the brain of the chicken sees it there even if it be absent. That is why he scratches.

First, then, it was the object itself which determined the reaction to which we give the name of an intelligent act. Now its image, engraved in the brain along with the habit acquired by the worm seeking refuge, is sufficient to determine a movement identical with that which the reagent caused in its most remote ancestors. Now that is, as I have said, a fact due to instinct which has become automatic in the race because numerous similar acts have been accomplished, but as intelligent acts, by the first gallinaceous birds.

(To be continued.)

J. WALTER-JOURDE, in "La Revue Socialiste."
(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

THE REVIEWS.

THE FUTURE OF OUR RAILWAYS.—REFORMATION OR NATIONALISATION?

Mr. Roland Belfort writes under the above headings in this month's issue of "World's Work." He says:—

One of the most pressing problems of the day is the future reserved for our railways, which have, during the past decade, suffered from a variety of causes—some unavoidable, others preventable or remediable. In order to thoroughly understand the present serious position it is essential to consider the conditions under which the entire railway system has been conceived, financed, constructed and exploited. For many of the principal evils from which they are now suffering result from the ruinous, slipshod, unscientific manner in which they were originated and organised by the pioneers—promoters, financiers, and last, but not least, lawyers!

THE PRESENT POSITION.

To-day the crisis has become so acute, the position of the railways so disastrous, that the directors, noting the universal dissatisfaction with their administration, are beginning to take the very steps that they formerly described as "impossible," "ruinous," "unsuitable for British railways." They see railway securities declining in value on the London Stock Exchange (during the past decade the shrinkage has amounted to nearly £300,000,000) the British capitalist becoming less and less inclined to invest therein; the task of raising capital for urgent developments becoming almost impossible; the railway workers sullen and discontented; the shareholders forming associations to protect their threatened interests by pressing reforms on the directors; the traders raising their voices in complaint against the unfair, arbitrary and ruinous rates exacted for the transport of their goods, and, worse than all, the preference shown the foreigner which enables the latter to beat British traders on their own ground. Year after year millions have been wasted on cut-throat competition, while the rate of interest paid on capital has seriously declined. Shareholders have been astounded to find that even during periods

of abnormal trade prosperity the railways alone have derived no benefit therefrom—that they have continued to pile up their capital accounts and also their working expenses, which have steadily risen from 57 per cent. in 1897 to 63 in 1907. Moreover, while the profits have dwindled the receipts have constantly risen. Who can wonder that during the threatened railway strike in 1907, Mr. Lloyd George should have advised the directors to “put their houses in order,” or that the Prime Minister should have so emphatically denounced the chaotic, ruinous state into which our railways have been allowed to fall? Clearly, reforms are overdue, the only question is: What direction shall they take? Reformation from within, or the summary abolition of the present costly, unscientific, wasteful system by nationalisation?

THE “DEAD HAND.”

Like most other old-established British institutions, the railways are now suffering seriously from the “dead hand”—the misdeeds of those who plundered them without any restraining control by the Government. Promoters, financiers, lawyers, landowners—all unblushingly blackmailed the railways of millions on which interest has had to be paid during the past seventy years, and must continue to be paid. The lawyers alone have mulcted the railways to the extent of £300,000,000 since their inception, or a quarter of their total cost. Huge sums were made by promoters and financiers; legislators in both Houses were bribed for their support or silence. So colossal were these extortions that the average cost per mile of our railways now stands at about £60,000, as compared with £24,000 per mile for the whole of Europe. Another source of immense expense has been the attitude of Parliament towards the railways and their development, which the House insisted on controlling. Generally speaking, this attitude may be summarised thus: No progress without Parliamentary powers; the more railways the better; competition will be keener, the public will benefit. This policy of competition without common sense has produced the grotesque spectacle of four or five trains running long and identical journeys when there have been scarcely enough passengers for one train. Similar tactics have been adopted throughout the country, causing colossal waste, confusion and dissatisfaction among those who have suffered, mainly the traders and the shareholders. If we seek the source of this systematic development of unbridled competition we shall find that it has been largely due to the lawyers, always so powerful in Parliament, aided by the promoting and financial interests. Working in unison these interests have contrived to control railway policy as completely as the directors themselves. The latter, who are, and always have been, mainly amateurs, have been compelled to depend upon their lawyers and their technical experts for guidance in general policy and practical management. The cost of getting railway business through Parliament is enormous; the Parliamentary lawyers are the

richest, best paid, and most "clannish" section of the legal profession, and the railways furnish them with their most lucrative and permanent practice.

DIRECTORS *v.* SHAREHOLDERS.

Railway shareholders constitute an army of between 200,000 and 300,000, composed of all classes of the community. They are probably the greatest sufferers by the present disastrous developments, for they find themselves between the Scylla of directorial mismanagement, waste and extravagance, and the Charybdis of the workers' insatiable demands for higher wages and shorter hours. Their position is aggravated by the fact that they have no practical remedy. An inchoate, unorganised, inarticulate body, they can seldom bring any effective pressure to bear on the directorate.

CONFESSIONS OF A CHAIRMAN.

Compare the power of the shareholders with that wielded by the lawyers, working through the directors! Generally speaking, the directors have resented the interference of the shareholders in practical management, preferring to keep them outside their directorial zone until—more capital was required! For years such practical men as Mr. Nathaniel Spens and Mr. Burdett Coutts pounded away at the Board of the London and North-Western Railway to induce them to introduce reforms which could place that colossal enterprise on a business-like basis. They were supported by a large body of shareholders, but their efforts were, for some time, bitterly condemned, and opposed by the Board and their friends. The former, armed with big packets of proxies from ignorant, apathetic shareholders, triumphantly maintained their position of non possumus. What has since happened? The directors have been compelled to admit that the policy of fierce competition has proved disastrous, and, in order to save themselves and the system they control, they have made peace with their former enemies. Not only does this apply to the London and North-Western Railway, but to other big railways, which are in a disastrous position, from similar causes. Note this extraordinary admission recently made by Lord Allerton, Chairman of the Great Northern Railway:—

"The lines are blocked; your lines are crowded; trains are delayed, which leads to all sorts of waste and extravagance; and if it were only for the purpose of saving the enormous waste which necessarily goes on now, I say it would have been well worth your while to have made this agreement (with the Great Central) many years ago."

Who could frame a more formidable indictment against a board of directors than this formulated by the chairman responsible for the state of affairs he is condemning? What prevented railway boards effecting these reforms many years ago? They were in full

control; the shareholders could not embarrass them, for they were always "proxied" into silence. Yet the directors allowed things to drift for years, tolerating this gross extravagance, waste and confusion, piling up capital accounts to the breaking-point, and arrogantly resenting any outside suggestions or criticisms, even when made by influential bodies of shareholders. To-day there would probably have been no effective reforms undertaken had not the directors felt their hands forced by a combination of influences—the Board of Trade; the railway workers; the traders; the shareholders; apprehensions of State purchase or closer control. During the last strike it was claimed that there was no money available for the improvement of the men's position. But the latter claimed that for years the directors had been wasting millions in senseless cut-throat competition. The time they should have devoted to the elaboration of reforms and economies has been devoted to quarrelling among themselves. The chairman of the London and North-Western Railway Company once publicly complained of his company being "robbed of traffic," and "robbed right and left." Then, again, the chairman of the North-Eastern Railway confessed that, instead of thinking of the public, they were "quarrelling over a ton of goods." From industrial autocrats who have always fiercely resented criticisms or suggestions these admissions are surprising.

THE ATTITUDE OF LABOUR.

The railway problem bristles with difficulties for the directors; one of the most formidable is the tension arising from the constant claims of their employees, who still consider they are overworked and underpaid. They are becoming better organised every year; they are active, persistent, ever propagandising for the increase of their wages and privileges, the most eloquent being frankly Socialistic in their ideas, aims and methods. Their statistics concerning the staff and wages are admitted to be far more complete and better co-ordinated than anything the companies have attempted. Indeed, the latter do not furnish the Board of Trade with staff and wages statistics similar to those which are furnished the Board by other industrial and agricultural bodies. Strange to say, the Board never asks for them. What is the attitude of Labour toward the railway question? Leaders and men simply desire to obtain what they regard as a fairer share of the profits made. . . .

REFORMATION OR NATIONALISATION?

To those who are accustomed to look below the surface, the zeal for reform recently displayed by the railway directors might suggest the question: Do they anticipate that the Government may possibly decide to approach the question of nationalisation in

order to absorb the attention of the elector to the exclusion of Tariff Reform? And are they, in preparation for this eventuality, doing a little "window-dressing"—endeavouring to improve their dividend results? In this connection it is worth recalling that should the State ever acquire the railways it would be according to the famous Act of 1844, by which it is enacted "that the State may purchase any line sanctioned subsequent to its enactment for 25 times the average dividend for the previous three years." Obviously, the higher the dividends during these last three years of private exploitation, the better would be the terms procurable by the railways in dealing with the Government. On the other hand, the purchase itself would be complicated by the fact that the above conditions would only apply to those shares participating in the profits. Guaranteed, Debenture and Loan Stocks would have to be paid their interest as before or the Government would be compelled to pay full market price for the securities. Then many important sections of the system, including Liverpool to Manchester, London to Birmingham, Manchester to Crewe, London to Colchester, Nine Elms to Southampton, do not come within the scope of the Act. Moreover, there are many categories of companies, formed and exploited under widely different conditions. The acquisition of these would involve endless negotiations. For, among other things, the Government would then be confronted by the problem of the canals, many of which belong to the railways. Unless this gigantic operation of railway nationalisation were conducted with greater ability than the purchase of the telegraphs in 1870, the nation would be saddled with a burden which might involve the loss of many millions yearly. Experience shows that whenever the Government has to meet private experts the public has to pay a heavy price. The telegraphs in 1870, the Boer War contracts, the purchase of War Office land—these constitute striking examples of unsuccessful Government "dealing."



AN INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT SCHEME.

Miss E. Sellers writes the following in the "Nineteenth Century and After":—

To the Basle scheme for insurance against unemployment special interest is attached, and for two reasons. It is the newest of all these insurance schemes—the one founded on the latest statistics and most in accordance with latter-day notions. And it has the crowning merit of being framed on economical lines: towns that adopt it will certainly find, at the end of a few months' trial—providing, of course, they work it in the spirit in which it is devised

—that they are spending less money on their unemployed than they have spent on them for years before. Although this scheme was framed only some few months ago, the Cantonal Government of Basle City have long been hard at work trying to devise an insurance scheme for the solution of the unemployed problem. Already, in 1899, they drew up an Insurance against Unemployment Bill which they hoped would content all classes, and they succeeded in passing it through the Cantonal Parliament. When the measure was submitted to a plebiscite, however, it was rejected by a majority of nearly five to one, chiefly because it was drawn up on compulsory lines. The aristocrats of labour, men fairly sure of constant employment, bitterly resented being called upon to pay fees for insurance against unemployment. The Bill was nothing but an outrageous attempt to tax the better class of workers for the benefit of the worse, they declared roundly. So high did feeling run on the subject that the Government decided to give up all thought of organising insurance against unemployment on a compulsory basis, and to try what could be done in the way of contriving a voluntary system.

In 1901 the Basle Home Department drew up a scheme under which the Government, instead of founding a State Insurance against Unemployment Office, were to induce the Labour unions to found private offices of their own. It was proposed that every union which would undertake to provide, under given conditions, allowances for such of its own members as were out of work through no fault of their own, should receive an annual subsidy from the State. This scheme met with but scant support, however, because under it, as its opponents urged, nothing would be done for the very men who most need help when out of work—i.e., the poorer class of casual labourers, who do not belong to a union.

By 1902 the Government were at their wit's end, for all classes were clamouring that the unemployed problem must be dealt with, and they did not know how to deal with it. They had recourse, therefore, to that general refuge of perplexed Ministers—a Commission.

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The Commission consisted—and consists, for it is still sitting—of 21 members, among whom were employers of labour, Labour leaders, and labourers, clergymen, professional men, tradesmen, men of all classes in fact; and their chairman was a Minister of State, Regierungsrath Wullschleger.

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The framer of the new scheme, Herr Wullschleger, has evidently benefited by the painful experience of the framers of other schemes of the kind, and has learnt useful lessons from their mistakes. For he has carefully avoided the pitfalls into which they stumbled, and has found a crevice through which to make his way in more than

one of the stone walls they vainly sought to climb. . . . His scheme, therefore, is contrived on voluntary lines: under it no one need insure unless he wishes; and among those who do insure everything that can be done is done to hold the balance even. What is more important still, perhaps, neither Poor Law officials, nor yet Poor Law authorities, are to have anything to do with the working of it.

. . . The Basle Commissioners were convinced that to try to organise an insurance office in which workers of all classes would insure, would be sheer waste of time, as skilled well-paid artisans would never of their own free will insure against unemployment in an office that opens its doors to casual labourers, much less to women. Under the scheme for which they are responsible, therefore, no attempt is made to club together the diverse classes of workers, or to frame for them a uniform system of insurance. It is proposed, it is true, that a General State Insurance Office shall be opened for the benefit of wage-earners of all degrees; but it is proposed also, that private insurance offices shall be opened for the benefit of special sections of wage-earners; and that so long as these private offices shall grant insurance policies under the same conditions as the State Office grants them, and shall regulate their financial affairs on lines approved by the State submitting their accounts to State auditors, the State shall contribute to their funds at a fixed rate, besides making good any deficit there may be in the funds of its own offices. What is aimed at, in fact, is securing all-round insurance against unemployment; and this may be secured, not only in the State Insurance Office to be organised, but a helping hand is to be given to any friendly society, trade union, or other labour association that is willing to organise, under certain condition, a private insurance office for its own members. Thus, practically, the scheme is twofold; and it is founded on two separate measures, both of which will, it is hoped, be passed by the Cantonal Parliament next month, be ratified by the people in the course of the spring, and become law. At the end of three years they will be submitted to the Cantonal Parliament for revision, as the Government regard insurance against unemployment as an experiment for the time being.

AN ACCIDENT.

St. Médard, the old church in the Rue Mouffetard, which was very famous in the eighteenth century owing to the "miracles" performed on the tomb of the deacon of Paris,* is a very poor parish. On Sundays there are only a few people present; they are nearly all women—about twenty women of the middle classes, a few servants, and three or four old men, looking like peasants, who have strayed to Paris; but on week-days there was nobody. True, in winter, on Thursdays, a few children would come to be taught their Catechism. Sometimes a poor woman would bring a candle to burn before the statue of the Virgin, or sometimes the cries would be heard of a child being christened, and, more often, a poor man would be buried; the priest in a hurry would bless the bier in presence of a few women, because their husbands were Freethinkers, and were waiting outside at the marchand de vin (a public-house) opposite.

So that when old Abbé Faber, one of the curates of the parish, came to his confessional box, either there would be nobody there, or he would only have to listen to the confessions of a few old women. But he was a man who was a slave to duty, and on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at seven o'clock precisely, he always came to the side chapel of St. John, even if only to say a prayer or two and go back if no one were waiting.

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One day last winter it was raining, and Abbé Faber had great difficulty in keeping his umbrella open while he was slowly walking in the Rue Mouffetard to go to his church. He almost felt sure that no one would be there, and he was sorry to leave his comfortable fireside in the Rue Lhomond and the folio volume of the life of the saints which he had been reading. But it was Saturday night, and he thought that some old women would be coming to confession, and he was prepared to hear their usual tales of venial sins.

When he arrived in the church, after making the sign of the cross and praying before the high altar, he went towards his

* See Hume's "Essay on Miracles."—J. B.

confessional. He had not come for nothing, for a man was waiting for him.

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A man! This was so strange that Abbé Faber, looking at him and noticing that he was dressed as a working man, thought it was some peasant who had recently come from the country. He sat down in his confessional, took a pinch of snuff and drew back the little serge curtain.

"Monsieur le Curé," murmured a rough voice, which tried in vain to speak in a low tone.

"I am not the curé, my friend. Say your Confiteor, and call me Father."

The man managed to get through his prayer, and, continued: "Monsieur le Curé, no, my father. Excuse me, but I have not been to confession for 25 years since I have been in Paris. But to-day, the weight I have on my conscience is too heavy for me to bear alone, and you must listen to me. I have killed a man!"

The Abbé jumped up from his chair. A murderer, that was a very different penitent from those with which he was used to deal. And he hardly knew what he was saying when he went on to say in a mechanical manner—

"Confess, my son! The mercy of God is infinite."

"Listen then to the story," said the man in a voice broken with sobs. "I am a mason, and came to Paris a quarter of a century ago with a man from my village. We had been to the same school and had gone bird-nesting together. He was like a brother. His name was Philip, mine is James. He was a tall, handsome man. I have always been clumsy and awkward. There was no better workman than he, while I am a muff; he was good and generous. We often worked together, but he always spent his evenings with friends. I had to be economical, because my old mother was infirm and I used to send her some money. I lived and boarded with a greengrocer, he lodged there but dined elsewhere, as he was rather particular. The cooking was not very good, and I could see that the greengrocer, who was a widow, was glad to have me as a boarder. Then I must speak the truth and tell you that I had fallen in love with her daughter. But for three years I never spoke a word. I told you that I was a poor workman, and did not make enough money to keep a wife and my mother. Well, my poor mother went to heaven and I was better off. I spoke to the girl, Catherine was her name; she neither said yes nor no at first, but she agreed to marry me. She did not seem very much in love with me, but I hoped that would come afterwards. Of course, I had told everything to Philip, and I was anxious to introduce him to Catherine. Well, perhaps you have guessed what followed, Monsieur le Curé. Philip was a very handsome man, very lively, very pleasant and without, of course, doing it on purpose, he made

Catherine fall madly in love with him. She was honest and told me all. I shall never forget the day, it was the day of her birthday, and I had bought a golden locket which I had put in a little box filled with wool. We were in the room at the back of the shop and she was giving me my dinner. I took the box out of my pocket, opened it and showed her the locket. Then she burst into tears.

“‘Forgive me, James,’ she said to me, ‘and keep that for the girl whom you will marry. I cannot become your wife. I love another, I love Philip!’

“What could I do, since I loved them both? I could only stand back. And as Philip was short of money, I lent him some to buy his furniture.

“So they were married, and at first all went well. They had a little boy, of whom I was godfather. Shortly afterwards Philip gave way to drink; he used to shirk work, and his wife had to go to the pawnshop and to go out to work. Once when I reasoned with him he accused me of making up to his wife. We nearly fought, and I left off going to see them.

“But I could not forget her or the child, and often on Sunday I would give the boy some money. Philip did not seem to mind. Years passed, and now the boy is a young man of twenty, who is in an architect’s office; he is getting on well, and is good to his mother. And I liked to see him dressed like a clerk. But yesterday evening, when I saw him, he seemed quite upset.

“‘Well,’ I said, ‘what is the matter?’

“‘The matter is that yesterday I drew lots for my military service. I drew No. 10, and that means I shall have to go abroad in the colonies for five* years, and I shall have to leave mother alone with father, who drinks more than ever.’

“I passed a dreadful night, but I had to go to work this morning at a house which is being built in the Boulevard Arago; the poor must work, however they feel. So I climbed up the scaffold as far as the fourth storey, and began to work. Suddenly someone tapped me on the shoulder. I turned round, and it was Philip. He only worked now and then, and as the builder was in a hurry to finish the building, so as to avoid paying a fine, he took on anyone.

“I had not seen Philip for a long time, and I was struck by his appearance; his hair was grey, his hands trembled, and he had no strength.

“‘Well,’ I said, ‘the boy has been unlucky.’

“‘What then?’ he said. ‘Do you think that I am going to bother about him and the wife? He can serve his country. I know what they would like; they wish that I was dead, for if his mother was

* When this story was written the term of military service was five years, it is now two.—J. B.

a widow he would not have to serve. But so much the worse for them, for I am not going to go just yet.'

"The words, 'widow's son,' put all kinds of thoughts into my head. Just then eleven o'clock struck, and the men were getting down to go to lunch. We—Philip and I—were alone, but as he was going down the ladder he jeered at me, saying, 'You see, I am all right, my wife will not be a widow just yet.'

"Then the blood rushed to my head. I seized the ladder, shook it, and sent him down to the ground before he could do anything.

"He was killed on the spot; they think it was an accident, but the boy will not have to go away.

"That is what I have done, Monsieur le Curé. I felt I must tell you and God. I repent, and beg pardon, of course, but I could not see Catherine again, or I might be glad of having committed this crime. I will emigrate and go to America, but take this golden locket which I had bought for Catherine, and which I had always kept in remembrance of the only happy days which I have ever known. Take it and sell it, and give the money to the poor."

When James rose from his knees, was his sin forgiven because the Abbé gave him the absolution? I do not know. But the old priest did not sell the golden locket; he put the money he thought it was worth in the poor box, and he hung it up as an *ex-voto* before the altar in the Chapel of the Virgin, where he often goes to pray for the poor mason.

FRANÇOIS COPPÉE.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

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THE PROPOSED BREAK-UP OF THE POOR LAW.

The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress have now published their Report, and it is a remarkable and voluminous Blue-Book that comprises the result of their labours. It is the most important pronouncement on this question since the Report of the Commission of 1832, on which the new Poor Law of 1834 was founded.

I do not anticipate any such speedy or drastic legislation to follow this Report as followed that of 75 years ago. If we are to believe the earlier Report, it was quite a different state of affairs that then confronted the Commissioners. We were told that owing to the laxity of administration and the wilful mal-administration then obtaining, the nation was becoming a mass of pauperism and was tottering to its ruin. And so steps had to be taken to stiffen the administration, to make it more difficult for the workers to obtain relief, and if relief must be given that it should be given in such a manner and under such conditions as to make it repellent and repulsive to the recipients. The two principal measures in bringing about this end were the institution of the Workhouse, and the supervision by a Central Board; and these, together with a

harsh and unsympathetic administration by officials and middle-class Boards of Guardians, succeeded so admirably in their deterrent policy, that the workhouse came to be regarded with horror by the poor, the Poor Law was looked upon as a degradation and an insult, and rather than apply for "parish relief," the workers would suffer untold misery and privation.

But economical laws have a way of asserting themselves in spite of political Mrs. Partingtons. Necessity has compelled many thousands to come under the shadow of the Poor Law, notwithstanding its repulsiveness. This has been aided during the last generation by the work and agitation of Social-Democrats, which, on the one hand, has created a public opinion in favour of a more humane administration of the Poor Law, especially in regard to the internal conduct of the Workhouse, and the treatment of the aged, the sick, and the children; and also by continual agitation demanding that Guardians should use their powers to relieve the unemployed. And so the governing classes have seen their cherished bulwark, the Workhouse, break down as a deterrent, as is evidenced by the steady rise in the number of inmates, and at the same time have been worried by the constant demands for "work for the unemployed."

It was probably with the object of shelving and delaying any action in connection with providing work for the unemployed, that the Tory Government of 1905 appointed the Commission, as it is usual to advance as a reason for doing nothing the fact that they must wait for the Report. This attitude was loyally followed by the present Liberal Government, thereby exhibiting a classic illustration of the truth of Belfort Bax's position on the Continuity of capitalist policy under either political party. Now that the Report is published we must see to it that they take refuge under this excuse no longer.

Except in one important particular we cannot deal with this Report as one complete whole, as there is a Majority Report signed by 14 members, and a

Minority Report signed by four. But although only signed by four members, it is probable that the Minority Report will overshadow and eclipse that of the Majority. The main point on which they agree is the abolition of the Guardians. To deal first with the Majority Report, they state that there is much in connection with the Poor Law which requires altering, and they attribute this mainly to the Boards of Guardians being elected bodies, which they maintain has not resulted in those best fitted for the work being obtained to do it. Therefore, the new authorities are to be nominated and co-opted. Starting with the Central Authority, there will be a department of the Local Government Board called the Public Assistance Division, and the local authority will be the Public Assistance Authority, which is to be a statutory committee of the County or County Borough Council. This Committee will consist, half of members appointed by the Council, who may be members of the Council, the other half to be appointed by the Council from outside their number, and to consist of "persons experienced in the local administration of Public Assistance or other cognate work." Women are to be eligible under either head. This Committee will in its turn set up and supervise the Public Assistance Committees who will deal with the applicants, these latter committees consisting of members nominated by the Urban and Rural District Councils and the Voluntary Aid Committees.

But the aid of charity is to be invoked. First, a Voluntary Aid Council for the County or County Borough is to be established, and these councils are to submit schemes and appoint the members of the Voluntary Aid Committees, under the approval of the Charities Commission. It is proposed that some members of the Public Assistance Committee shall be members of the Voluntary Aid Committee, and vice versa.

"Classification by Institutions" is to be the method of relief, separate institutions are to be established for

the relief respectively of children, aged and infirm, sick, able-bodied men, able-bodied women, vagrants, and feeble-minded and epileptics, and a general tightening-up and stricter administration is to be practised. A mass of minor recommendations make up the essentially Poor Law portion.

The chief recommendation with regard to the Unemployed is the provision and extension of Labour Exchanges. It is also proposed that trade unions be granted contributions from public funds for unemployed insurance, and that Labour Colonies should be established. True, Home Assistance to the unemployed is also among the recommendations, but it seems to me to be hedged about with such conditions that those most needing it will not get it.

The Minority Report is a production of conspicuous ability, and some idea of its exhaustive and complete nature may be gathered when it is stated that it occupies over five hundred of the twelve hundred and thirty-eight pages of the whole Report. Every department of the Poor Law is dealt with, the failure and shortcomings exposed. It condemns the Workhouse chiefly because of its promiscuous character, all classes of poor being dealt with in the one institution. This, indeed, is the note dominating the Report, and the keynote for the change they advocate. In recommending that the Poor Law be entirely swept away, the Minority base their conclusions on the ground that at present a Board of Guardians has to deal with all classes and all kinds of poor, and that the Master of the Workhouse and the Relieving Officer have to perform duties which ought properly to be performed by entirely different individuals and bodies. Specialisation in the various departments of relief is the golden remedy. To accomplish this, they advocate that the Poor Law and the Guardians be abolished, and the services at present administered by the destitution authorities be handed over to other authorities already existing; that is to say—

- (i.) Children of school age ;
- (ii.) The sick and permanently incapacitated, the infants under school age, and the aged needing institutional care ;
- (iii.) The mentally defective of all grades and all ages ; and
- (iv.) The aged to whom pensions are awarded ;

should be dealt with under the directions of the County and County Borough Councils, by—

- (i.) The Education Committee ;
- (ii.) The Health Committee ;
- (iii.) The Asylums Committee ; and
- (iv.) The Pensions Committee, respectively.

A Registrar of Public Assistance, with an adequate staff, would be appointed to carry out the decisions of the Committees.

On the question of the Unemployed, it cannot be said that the Minority have not gone thoroughly into the aspects of this difficult problem. Like the Majority, they place in the forefront of their recommendations the establishment of a National Labour Exchange, with a Ministry of Labour, and insurance against unemployment by subsidising trade union funds. They also recommend a system of maintenance and training for all those not provided with work, or who are below the normal standard of physical efficiency. The Majority recommend that boys be kept to school till fifteen years of age, but the Minority go one better, for whilst recommending that no child be employed at all below the age of fifteen, they add that up till the age of eighteen the youth of both sexes should only labour for thirty hours per week, and should attend for thirty hours at suitable technical schools.

I do not pretend to cover the whole ground in this article, but I have dealt with the main changes proposed. Perhaps my readers will agree with me when I say I do not think very much of them. After a study of this Report, I feel that it is disappointing.

Whilst it is true that the present hideous Poor Law system is thoroughly condemned, I feel that what is proposed will not go very far towards a real remedy. Personally I agree with the Minority in the breaking up and abolition of the Poor Law, and in their proposals so far as the non-able-bodied are concerned; but I also feel that the causes of unemployment should have been stated, and stated boldly and without any disguise, and that much more drastic proposals might have been made in this department of the question. Really, the raising of the school age stands out as the most useful recommendation in the whole Report, but it was hardly worth while to expend all the time and trouble for this.

I must not omit to mention that the Minority recommend Local Pensions for those not receiving the National Old Age Pensions.

With all its shortcomings, it cannot be denied, the Report is a revolutionary one, seeing that it proposes to uproot or radically alter what has been rooted in our national life for centuries. I do not anticipate that the present Government will do much with the Report now that they have it. All the more reason for us to continue our agitation on behalf of the provision of suitable work for the unemployed. We should also, I think, bring pressure to bear on them to put into force the proposals of the Minority with respect to the children and the sick.

The Social-Democratic Federation (as it then was) was asked by the Commission to submit the views of our party. This was done in a Memorandum. The first portion dealt with the abolition of the Work-house; this was followed by a number of examples of how unemployment is caused under present industrial conditions, and how this involves resort to the Poor Law. I append the concluding portion, and hope that the whole may be published:—

“We may divide those coming under the Poor Law broadly into three classes: 1st, the children; 2nd, able-bodied men and women capable of earning their living by labour; 3rd, the aged,

sick and infirm generally. With regard to the first and third, people of all descriptions are agreed that adequate and proper provision should be made, yet the practice has not followed this humane theory. Dealing first with the children, Social-Democrats are of opinion that a far higher standard should be aimed at in the rearing of the children than now obtains. Schools should be built in the pure air of the country districts, the school not being one large barrack-like building, but consisting of a number of residences each accommodating, say, 30 children, and each with a house-mother in charge. Meals could be taken either in the dining-room of each house, or a larger number could be grouped together. Swimming, physical exercises, music, etc., should form part of the education, and each boy and girl should be trained to some calling. Their subsequent career we will touch upon presently. The buildings should be of tasteful design and of the best material, and the food, education, and, indeed, everything in connection with the life of the children should be of the best. A sufficient amount of land should be taken in every case to provide plenty of space for playing-fields and garden cultivation. The object must be to rear the youth of both sexes in the best possible way in order to produce the best possible results.

"The aged should receive an adequate sum to live upon if they reside in their own homes or with relatives, the money being regarded as an honourable pension, and not as pauper relief. Those not able or willing so to live are to be provided for in houses situated in rural districts, near enough to towns for the old people to feel that they are still in the living world, yet sufficiently far from the towns to avoid the evils of town life. Each home should accommodate a certain number of the aged, and be under the care of kind-hearted attendants. The sick should be attended at their own homes, or in excellently-appointed infirmaries, and as quickly as possible sent to convalescent homes provided by the nation, the object being to restore them to robust health in the quickest and surest way. Special homes for all other infirm (epileptics, mentally deficient, deaf and dumb), should be provided nationally, and the treatment should be of a curative character.

"The 'able-bodied' are the thorn in the side of the middle-class Poor Law administrator. Yet we are convinced that inability to find employment is at the bottom of the trouble. If employment at proper remuneration were provided for all able and willing to work, the problem of the 'loafer' and the 'casual' would be solved, and those refusing to work, yet endeavouring to impose on others, could be dealt with. Firstly, there is scope for a large amount of employment in undertakings of national importance, such as afforestation, national main roads, reclamation of foreshores. Secondly, land could be taken over by the nation, and the men could most usefully be trained to agriculture, and to become tenants of the nation, and instead of being herded together should be paid a wage, and enabled to live with their wives and families

within easy access of their work until actually becoming tenants. When this stage is reached, they should be assisted with expert advice, and their future operations should all be arranged on a co-operative basis, with easy access to and lodging in towns at slack periods. In this respect every inducement should be offered to keep men in the rural districts, so that the nation should not be confronted with the difficulty of trying to make agriculturalists out of worn-out town dwellers. Finally, for those who were craftsmen, workshops and manufactories should be set up under municipal or national auspices, the products of their labour being used by those cultivating the soil, and not coming on to the market at all; the same applying to the products of the cultivators. Provision for malingerers could be made in special places, where some curtailment of privileges or power of detention could be instituted, but a proper remuneration in return for toil would reduce these to a small percentage, and soon eradicate them altogether. As the boys and girls from the schools grow to adult life, those requiring it could be provided for in these national farms and workshops.

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"In conclusion, as Social-Democrats, we want to make it perfectly clear that the problem of the Poor Law is the problem of poverty, and that poverty will be the portion of a large number of the working class whilst the land and the wealth of the country are privately owned, and industry is carried on for profit. We assert that only when the land is decreed the common property of the nation, when the wealth created by the people shall belong to the people, and when industry is organised and controlled by the people in their collective capacity, will poverty be banished and the Poor Law or its equivalent be unnecessary."

A. A. WATTS
(Member of Poplar Board of Guardians).

SCIENCE AND REVOLUTION.

"The method of production in material existence conditions social, political and mental evolution in general."—KARL MARX.

For a quarter of a century Socialists who had no comprehension of Science, and scientists who had no comprehension of sociology, have kept us Revolutionists busy explaining that we were not unscientific and in conflict with the evolutionary theories of Darwin and Spencer, because we believed a social cataclysm or revolution to be necessary to break the shell of capitalism within which the chick of the Society of Fellowship has been developing.

I had thought that our untiring labours had brought forth some fruit, and that there were at least few Socialists left now who were not well enough informed to know that in biology, in geology, in astronomy, as in sociology, Nature has always utilised both methods—evolution and revolution—and that the man who would try to rule either method out as unscientific thereby but proclaimed his own ignorance of science. But I was rudely awakened from this dream of progress when I received the "International Socialist Review" for April, 1908, in which I found a review of Jack London's splendid and virile "Iron Heel" by our versatile comrade, John Spargo. To my utter consternation I found that Spargo gave as one of his reasons for looking on the book as "unfortunate" that "it gives a new impetus to the old and generally discarded cataclysmic theory."

I now wish to thank comrade Spargo most sincerely for those words, for they led me to think over once more the whole question of the evolution of scientific theory. The result of this re-examination has been to convince me that the statement of Marx in the Preface to the "Critique of Political Economy" that "the method of production in material existence conditions mental evolution in general" applies just as fully and as truly to science as it does to any other department of human thought. And note right here just what Marx said. He did not say that economic conditions determine rigidly every minutest detail of human thought, nor did he say that they do not; but he did say that they "condition mental evolution in general."

Socialists have never hesitated to show how jurisprudence, ethics and theology had been moulded by economic conditions and transformations; but we have usually approached the sacred portals of the Temple of Science with bated breath. We have not really freed ourselves from the fetters of superstition, but have merely transferred superstition from religion to Science. Engels in his "Anti-Duehring" gave us some fruitful hints that Science was not too good for human nature's daily use, and that it, too, was modified by the manner in which we got the wherewithal to fill our bellies. But in spite of Marx's broad statement and Engels's pregnant hints, most of us have stood in too much awe of Modern Science to dare apply to it the Materialist Conception of History.

I have no disposition to deny the essential truth of Modern Science and the great potential benefits it has conferred upon humanity, when I assert that the form of scientific theories has been largely determined by the economic conditions amid which they arose, and that—this is the important point—their acceptance by large bodies of adherents has depended upon their fitness to meet the desires—desires produced by economic needs—of those adherents.

This general position was assumed by Karl Kautsky in his "Social Revolution," and, with more facts at his disposal, Arthur Morrow Lewis has elaborated it still further in his lecture on De Vries's "Mutation" in his excellent little handbook "Evolution: Social and Organic" (Chicago, 1908); but even since those books were written the development of scientific theory has overwhelmingly re-enforced the view that science responds to economic stimuli.

Space will not permit me to give here any save the briefest sketch of scientific theory during the last century and a quarter.

When the bourgeoisie were fresh from their revolutionary conflict with feudalism—the great French Revolution—and were still extending their dominion, they were iconoclastic and revolutionary in spirit. It was precisely then that the cataclysmic theories of Cuvier in geology and biology became the generally accepted theories of science. Cuvier accounted for the existence of fossil remains of animals different from any living species by assuming that from time to time in the past great cataclysms (earthquakes and eruptions) had occurred and wiped out all living forms of life, and that fresh creations had filled the vacancies. This theory at the same time accounted for the conformation of the earth's surface. The same cataclysms had dug oceans and lakes and piled up mountains.

Contemporary with Cuvier was Lamarck, and Lamarck proclaimed the true theory that animals had descended from ancestors unlike themselves, but there was no large class of people to whom this doctrine was acceptable, and Lamarck died disgraced, and Cuvier in the height of his glory was called upon to pronounce his eulogy and took advantage of the opportunity to malign him.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie were firmly seated in the saddle; the last vestiges of feudalism and the restrictions of the guild system (and in England of protective tariffs) had been

wiped out; they had the proletariat just where they wanted them. In a word, they had no more use for revolutionary theories in their business; if changes must come, let them come a step at a time. Thus the conditions for the wide acceptance of evolutionary theories in biology and geology were ripe, so that in spite of the rage of the clergy nothing could prevent the general conquest of the scientific world by the Natural Selection of Darwin and Wallace, and the Uniformitarian Geology of Sir Charles Lyell. So true is this that on last Friday, the centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin, many of the clergy who had been called upon to deliver Lincoln orations were unable to restrain themselves from adding a word of tribute to Charles Darwin.

Darwin, like Lamarck, taught that animals had descended from ancestors unlike themselves, and that the changes in animals leading to new species had been very slow and gradual. It is true that Darwin and Lamarck differed as to the means by which these changes had been brought about, but in the particulars I have named they were at one. Yet Lamarck was dishonoured, and to-day most men look upon Darwin as the greatest genius of the nineteenth century. Why this difference? Economic conditions is the only possible answer.

Sir Charles Lyell laid great stress upon the minute changes in the earth's surface that are always in progress, and reduced the rôle of cataclysms to an extremely insignificant one—and he became the recognised father of Modern Geology. Sir Charles Lyell taught us much and valuable truth; the small changes he noted are actually constantly going on, and their accumulated effects are tremendous, and before Lyell's day they had been unnoticed and neglected. But his great reputation raised to a sacred dogma the utterly indefensible doctrine that (to translate the pedantic Latin) "Nature makes no leaps."

Darwin taught that natural selection seizes upon the minutest variation that gives an individual even

the slightest imaginable advantage in the struggle for existence, and that the fixing and accumulation of these infinitesimal variations in time brings about the introduction of new species. At the very time when Darwin was pursuing his researches, the laws of heredity were being experimentally worked out in a monastery garden in Brünn, Austria, by a monk who had previously studied natural science in Vienna. This monk was Gregor Mendel, the discoverer and formulator of the laws of heredity. His studies have enabled us to predict mathematically the results of almost any conceivable experiment in hybridisation. Incidentally, his studies showed that slight variations in height, etc., that might be of marked advantage to the individual in whom they occurred, were no more likely to appear again in his progeny than they were in the progeny of less favoured individuals. The remarkable results of Mendel's studies were published in the "Proceedings of the Natural Society of Brünn" in 1865, just six years after the publication of Darwin's famous "Origin of Species." It is only fair to note that, so far as we know, Darwin never knew anything of the work of Mendel. But the important point for us is that there was at that time, as it were, no market for the discovery that the raw material for natural selection to work upon must consist of "leaps" or, in other words, of much more marked and considerable variations than Darwin and Wallace had worked so hard to prove the adequacy of. And the fact is that Mendel's remarkable paper was forgotten and buried, and was not exhumed and resurrected until the dawn of the twentieth century by some earnest scientific workers at the University of Cambridge.

What had happened in the meantime to bring about a readiness in the minds of large bodies of intelligent men and women to accept cataclysmic theories in the Natural Sciences? There can be but one answer—the appearance of the ever-growing International Social-Democracy. Economic conditions had created

an army of 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 earnest men and women steadfastly striving for revolution, and among them were to be numbered the cream of the intellectuals of both hemispheres. Here was the "demand" for cataclysmic theories, and with the closing decade of the nineteenth century science began to furnish the "supply." This supply is now increasing so rapidly that the task of keeping abreast of the new theories is bewildering, and the danger appears to be that by the close of this, the first decade of the twentieth century, our most advanced scientists will be teaching that nature makes nothing but leaps, that all development is by cataclysms or revolutions. At all events, we are reasonably sure that the charge of being unscientific will not much longer be hurled at the revolutionists in the Socialist ranks. In the second decade of the twentieth century we may expect to see the Opportunists and Reformers using their utmost ingenuity to answer the very charge they have so often hurled at our heads.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century a Dutch botanist, Hugo De Vries, noticed some new varieties of evening primroses in his garden near Amsterdam. They came from some self-sown plants of the common American *Lamarckiana*. "In the test conditions of De Vries's own garden," Mr. Lewis tells us, "in an experiment covering thirteen years, he observed over fifty thousand of the *Lamarckiana* spread over eight generations, and of these eight hundred were mutations divided among seven new elementary species. These mutations when self-fertilised, or fertilised from plants like themselves, bred true to themselves, thus answering the test of a real species. De Vries also watched the field from which his original forms were taken, and saw that similar mutations occurred there, so that they were not in any way due to cultivation."

That was the main contribution of the nineteenth century to cataclysmic biology. De Vries held that Darwin admitted the possibility of such mutations in addition to the ordinary variations or "fluctuations"

which Wallace and most Darwinians have held to be the only raw material that Nature provides for Natural Selection to work upon, and in this he is probably correct, though it is beyond question that Darwin devoted most of his life to prove the adequacy of "fluctuations."

Mr. Punnett, of Cambridge, who is the leading exponent of Mendelism, in his book on that subject "Mendelism," (Cambridge, 1907.), says that where fluctuations appear to be inherited they are probably "in reality small mutations." He summarises the case in this way: "Of the inheritance of mutations there is no doubt. Of the transmission of fluctuations there is no very strong evidence. It is therefore reasonable to regard the mutation as the main, if not the only, basis of evolution."

The interesting point to note is that while Mendel's studies had been available since 1865, it was not until the German Social-Democracy had polled more than 3,000,000 votes and the British Labour Party had returned more than a quarter of a hundred members of Parliament, that a leading British biologist began teaching that mutations were "the main, if not the only, basis of evolution."

Remember this is the extreme swing of the pendulum. He really admits that natural selection preserves some small changes too, but he rechristens such changes "small mutations." But it would be just as fair for a revolutionist to infer from this that Nature works only by revolutions, as it ever was for an opportunist reformer to infer from Darwin's teaching that Nature works only by evolution. As a matter of fact, in neither case is there any justification for transferring a law of biology to a totally different science, sociology.

Space will not permit me to give more than a glimpse at similar changes in other sciences. Professor T. J. J. See, who has been in charge of the United States Astronomical Observatory at Mare Island, near San Francisco, has made a profound study

of earthquakes, and publishes his results in the "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society" at Philadelphia. He has also summarised them in more popular form in the September (1908) number of the "Pacific Monthly." His conclusions are that *all* mountains have been formed by earthquakes caused by the secular leakage of the ocean bottom. Is not that cataclysmic enough for you? Is it true? I do not know, but it appears to have the endorsement of such scientists as the Swedish physicist, Arrhenius, and the French astronomer, Camille Flammarion. At least, it seems beyond question that *some* mountains are formed in that way, so we must bid a long farewell to the old uniformitarian geology.

Astronomy has shown itself equally unable to resist the cataclysmic tendency of the day. In "Harper's Magazine" for January, 1909, Professor Robert Kennedy Duncan, of the University of Kansas, tells that "the Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace is no longer tenable," that its place has been taken by the "Planetesimal Hypothesis" of Professor T. C. Chamberlain, of the University of Chicago. This means that astronomers now believe that our solar system has been formed, not by the infinitely slow cooling down of a vast sphere of fiery vapour, forming one ring and then one planet after another during almost an infinity of time, but by a sudden explosion in our ancestral sun which formed all our planets at once by a single cataclysmic stroke! To describe the character of their production Professor Duncan uses the word "catastrophic."

It is true that the cataclysmic theory was "generally discarded" twenty years ago, when comrade Spargo and I were picking up our smattering of science, but it is likewise true that it is difficult to name a branch of science in which the cataclysmic theory is not triumphant to-day.

Hegel's maxim that "Nothing is; everything is becoming" has become the fundamental assumption of

all science. The chemists who have investigated the radio-active bodies have shown us one chemical element turning into another in a fashion to make rejoice the heart of an old-time alchemist. Discussing this point M. Lucien Poincare says: "We shall have to abandon the idea so instinctively dear to us that matter is the most stable thing in the universe, and to admit, on the contrary, that all bodies whatever are a kind of explosive decomposing with extreme slowness." ("The New Physics," Appleton, New York, 1908.)

Let us be careful not to go to extremes and deny the fact and the fruitfulness of slow evolution, but let us with equal determination assert the necessity and efficacy of cataclysmic revolution!

For my own part I find it difficult to understand how any sane man can see the people of England and Germany and America all starving simultaneously, as they are, because in each of these countries there are too many of the things that these same starving people need, because of the necessarily growing disparity between the value of the product of modern industry and the purchasing power of its slaves and victims—I find it difficult, I repeat, to see how any sane man can see and realise this and not believe a cataclysmic revolution not only inevitable, but a consummation devoutly to be desired.

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

New Canaan, Conn., U.S.A.

February 16, 1909.

A STUDY IN SOCIALIST HERESY-HUNTING.

WHY I AM OPPOSED TO FEMALE SUFFRAGE.

The Feminist dogma, including the women's suffrage plank, first made its appearance in the modern Socialist movement, I believe, at the end of the sixties in the old International, at the instance of Bakounin and his friends, and was one of the few proposals emanating from that quarter which was accepted by the Marxian Party, at least as regards Adult Suffrage. But for a long time the question remained in the background, and as far as my memory serves it was not included in the earlier programme of the German Party. In fact, in the German Party what is known as the "Woman Question" (as apart from the general social question) first received serious attention on the publication of Bebel's book in 1883, on "Woman and Socialism," the first edition of which, more betoken, under the title of "Woman in the Past, Present and Future," contained a precious lot of Woman and precious little Socialism. (In the later editions it is only fair to say the proportion has been altered.) In this work Bebel, who virtually admits in his preface that the bulk of the then party was against him, maintained the dogma of the equal capacity of woman with man, with its corollary the right of women to occupy all positions and exercise all functions hitherto held by men. In France, Lafargue and others were active on the feminist side during the

early eighties. Since then the feminist dogma has found much favour with Socialists everywhere, and officially the demand for female suffrage has been embodied among the planks in the immediate political platform of the Socialist Party. At the same time a pressure has been exercised among Social-Democrats to prevent dissentients from expressing an adverse opinion. Conservative and Liberal organisations, who have also been coerced by the wave of feminist sentiment into passing woman suffrage resolutions, have left greater freedom of opinion on the subject, it may be observed, to their members.

Time was when manhood suffrage was the cry of all democrats, and there are doubtless plenty of comrades to-day who, at the bottom of their hearts, would be glad enough to return to the old suffrage-platform which was good enough for Chartists and earlier Socialists, if they did but dare.

The fact is, of course, this sex-question cuts athwart other issues. Hence it is that the conventional bourgeois, unwilling as he is to admit the sins of his class toward the proletariat, is often perfectly ready to smite his manly breast and deplore the assumed harshness of his own to the opposite sex. There is no logical reason for Socialism specially championing the position of modern Feminism. That Socialism must bring about changes in the position of women may be allowed, but the special direction of these changes must be the co-efficient of the permanent physiological structure and functions of the female sex with the new economic conditions and the resultant new social forces. To dogmatise on the future as to the precise nature of these changes at the present stage is eminently unscientific.

To come to the practical issue of the suffrage. People commonly talk as if the franchise were an end in itself rather than what it is, simply a means to other ends. Now, I admit that the reasons given for their attitude by some opponents of the

suffrage for women do not strike me as altogether conclusive. For example, the argument that the sphere of women is the home is undoubtedly true in the past and retains much of its truth to-day, but there are modifications which cannot in fairness be quite ignored. Then again an esteemed friend of mine and member of the S.D.P., who opposes woman franchise and has the courage to say so publicly, urges as his ground the desire to keep women undefiled by political life, unspotted from the world of politics, with its intrigue, ambition, sordid rivalries, etc. Here also I don't think the argument is altogether convincing. The rabid feminist might easily retort that his pet sex would, on the contrary, infuse such an elevating spirit into public life that a whiff of the breath of womanhood would like magic disinfect it of those evils and raise it at once to a level of pure, disinterested virtue. We may personally be quite convinced that such would not be the case but very much the reverse, yet since the experiment has not been tried (on any large scale) it is difficult to prove this to anyone who chooses to affirm the contrary.

Now, the foregoing and some other arguments are put forward, I think, by many men with the unconscious desire to avoid acknowledging the real ground of their objection to female suffrage. They don't like to state this ground straight out ; some, if hard pressed, will try to shuffle out of admitting it perhaps even to themselves ; but their secret conviction is that women, *as a sex*, are organically inferior to men, not only physically but intellectually and morally as well, and hence not fit to be trusted *promiscuously* (i.e., barring exceptions) with political power. Now, no man likes to say this, because it sounds rude and arrogant to "the ladies," but the evidence, physiological, psychological, historical and common-observational, is too crushing for many. In my essay on "Female Suffrage and its Implications" I have briefly indicated some of the main heads of this evidence, and do not propose to enter into it again here. But I must insist on the fact that for me

(barring one other reason which, though decisive for the moment, is not of a fundamental nature, and which I shall refer to directly) there seems no logical ground for opposition to the granting of the franchise to women save the recognition of inferiority, if not an all-round inferiority, at least, an inferiority *ad hoc*. If one acknowledges complete equality in capacity between men and women, the case for the suffrage seems to me, in itself, unanswerable.

I have said in itself, since, as things are at present in this and most other countries, even if the capacity for political and administrative judgment were conceded, there is another ground on which, so long as it obtains, it would be just to refuse women the franchise. And this ground is the fact that women at present constitute an almost boundlessly privileged section of the community. A woman may, in the present day, do practically what she likes without fear of anything happening to her beyond a nominal punishment. The English marriage laws, with their right of the wife to maintenance, give her almost unlimited power to oppress her husband. (See a case reported in detail with names, addresses, etc., in "John Bull" for September 19, 1908) Only some three months ago a case occurred in the north of England where a workman, out of employment, was about to be committed to prison at his wife's behest for omitting to pay her the weekly allowance ordered by the court. Exasperated, the poor fellow struck his tyrant a fatal blow—hanged! About the same time a wife, during an admittedly trifling tiff with her husband, stabbed him fatally with a hatpin—released on her recognisances! These two cases are typical. It is this practical immunity of women from all consequences for their actions upon which the crew of Suffragettes trade. Were they liable to one quarter of the penalties men incur they would think a good many times before inciting to raid the House of Commons or to commit other breaches of the law. As it is, they know the worst they have to fear is a short term of

pampered imprisonment (with all sorts of privileges thrown in), over which, moreover, they whine like whipped curs. Male Socialists have to go to prison not for trying to raid the House of Commons but for merely breaking some local bye-law while maintaining the right of free speech. No "second division" with hot water to wash in and easy chairs for them! Don't let us forget that the women who are loudest in bawling for the suffrage do so on the ground that they are not sufficiently privileged already, and that to obtain the supremacy over men, the savagely vindictive laws against men and complete immunity for women they consider their due, they require the leverage the vote will give them. Under the circumstances one would like to examine with a very strong electric light the intellects of those persons who profess to believe in equality between the sexes and who yet, as things are to-day, can advocate female suffrage. Their idea of equality is, I suppose, "All yours is mine and all mine's my own." No military service for women and yet they shall dictate war or peace! No corporal punishment for them and yet they shall decide on the maintenance of corporal punishment for men in prisons, &c.! No liability to maintain husband or children and yet the right to decree laws relating to marriage; and many more such anomalies. For let us make no mistake—no feminist has the smallest intention of abandoning any one of the existing privileges of women. On the contrary, the intention of increasing the power and privileges of the sex is expressly declared without any subterfuge. And be it remembered the "adult suffrage" so much advocated by Socialists means an excess of a million female over male votes so far as Great Britain is concerned.

The S.D.P. proclaims "social and economic equality between the sexes" as one of its aims. Now, as a "stepping-stone" toward this end I would suggest to the advocates of sex equality (so far as our present society is concerned), besides *equal wages for equal work*, which we are all able to agree to, (1) *Obligation of wife to*

maintain herself, also her husband if sick, and to contribute something to the maintenance of the children of the marriage: and further (2) Equal punishment for equal crime as between men and women; and (3) Abolition of all laws (e.g., the law as regards libel and slander) favouring women at the expense of men; and (4) the liability of women to all duties imposed on men; these items to be incorporated in the programme of the S.D.P. I can imagine the sort of face the feminists of the body would make at the bare suggestion of these equitable demands. Perhaps it would be better for Mrs. Montefiore, or some of her feminist friends, to move that a note be appended to the clause as to "social and economic equality between the sexes," explaining that terms connoting "equality" in the S.D.P. programme are (to quote the famous phrase of the "rule in Shelley's case") to be taken as "words of limitation"—in short, that the word "equality" is to be understood in a non-natural sense, as implying "all the kicks" for the brute man and "all the halfpence" for the angel woman. This is advisable, for as the sentence stands it might be interpreted by unsophisticated comrades as meaning what they otherwise understand by equality, and think of what a shocking misconception that would be!

Now, personally, as a plain man, I hold that it would be *unjust* under any circumstances for women to possess the suffrage until something like the conditions I have above formulated obtain. If other comrades think that giving an already privileged order of human beings the franchise spells equality I do not.

But supposing the present balance of inequality in favour of women were remedied there would then remain solely the question of the average inferiority of women. Now, here I must again point out that the exercise of the vote is mainly a means to an end, the progress and well-being of society. Hence, if women on the average show an inferiority all-round to men, or even an inferiority in the power of practical and equitable judgment in public affairs or in the administration of such affairs, then there is no injustice in refusing them

"in the bulk" the right of interfering in these matters, where they are ex hypothesi less competent than men. Here we have to deal with a question of fact and evidence. For those who, like myself, regard the evidence for the inferiority as conclusive, there is no possible alternative to opposition to a disintegrative force such as can only be harmful to Socialism and to progress. To discuss the question as to the nature of the evidence would take us outside the immediate purpose of this article, but I deny that those to whom the evidence for incapacity appears conclusive can be otherwise than opponents of female suffrage in all its forms. For to favour it in the teeth of such a conviction would mean sacrificing the interests of society to a barren abstraction, to wit, the abstract right to exercise a function whether fitted for it or not. And to this no one who really values progress ought, I think, to be prepared to consent.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

(*Conclusion.*)

IS ALCOHOL A POISON ?

A poison is that which is destructive or injurious to vitality, and I think I shall have no difficulty in showing that alcohol comes under that head. But there will probably be much greater difficulty in convincing the users of alcohol that they are not immune from its ravages. Every man who drinks intoxicants is quite convinced that it does not hurt him. It may hurt others, and they are mostly acquainted with some other person who would "be better without it." But to my mind, as the result of careful observation and much reading on the subject, "no one can touch the adder without feeling its sting."

To be perfectly clear on the matter of poison it is perhaps worth while to discuss it at length. Every poison is not a deadly poison; but every poison is positive and determinate in its action, unless combated by an antidote. That is to say, a poison always injures or destroys the whole or a part of the human system with which it comes in contact. It is just as certain in its action whether the quantity taken be large or small, although if the quantity be small the recuperative powers of the tissues, if they be healthy, may throw off its effects without the injury being manifested. Just as in the case of an explosive. A small quantity of dynamite is as certain to explode as a large quantity; but the effects are not so apparent. Exploitation is just as much exploitation (to use another illustration, which

Socialists will understand) whether it be practised by a small employer or by a powerful company. Exploitation is an injury to the industrial system; explosion is an injury to the physical system; and poison is an injury to the human system. I should not have laboured this question so much had it not been for the fact that one frequently hears that alcohol is only a poison when taken in large quantities, and that if taken in "moderation" it is not a poison. That is entirely wrong. A poison is a poison, whether you take a ton or a teaspoonful. The smaller the quantity the less the injury—but injury for certain.

Let us first consider how alcohol affects the working of the heart—one of the most important parts of the human frame. The heart of an adult healthy man makes, on the average, 73 strokes per minute, pumping about three ounces of blood with every stroke. It is difficult to know exactly where to start to give an easy description of the circulation of the blood. It is like trying to explain the beginning of the production of commodities. However, let us take the following:—

"Elementary Biology," p. 203.—"The heart may be regarded as a double organ, composed of a right and left part, completely separated by a partition wall, each side having an upper chamber, the auricle, that communicates with a lower chamber, the ventricle. Flaps of membrane, attached to the inner walls of the heart, between the auricles and ventricles, form valves, which allow the blood to pass from auricle to ventricle, but not in the reverse direction. Into the right auricle blood passes from the head, neck, and upper extremities by a large vein, called the *superior, or upper vena cava*, and also from the lower part of the body by another large vein, the *inferior, or lower vena cava*. From the right auricle the blood passes into the right ventricle through the opening between these chambers, which is guarded by a valve with three flaps, called the *tricuspid valve*. From the right ventricle the blood is forced to the lungs through a large artery that divides into two, called the *pulmonary artery*. It is returned from the

lungs by four pulmonary veins into the left auricle. From the left auricle the blood passes into the left ventricle, the opening on the left side being guarded by a valve with two flaps, called the *mitral valve*. From the left ventricle the blood is forced, on the closure of the right valve, into a great artery, called the *aorta*."

To perform this work, as I have said, the heart beats about 73 strokes per minute, which multiplied by 60, and again by 24, gives 105,120 strokes per day of 24 hours, and as the heart lifts, about one foot high, 3 ozs. of blood, and as both auricles contract together, and then both ventricles, the heart is really responsible for lifting 6 ozs. of blood 1 ft. high at every stroke, or 630,720 ozs. in 24 hours.

Dr. Parker and Count Wellowsty tried some experiments with a healthy adult man to ascertain the extent to which the heart is affected by the use of alcohol, and, with the aid of delicate mechanical appliances, were able to discover, with mathematical accuracy, to what degree the heart was excited by the influence of alcohol. They found that 1 oz. of alcohol, or 2 ozs. of brandy, when taken by this man, excited the heart to beat 4,300 times in 24 hours more than it ought to.

2 ozs. of alcohol made it beat 8,172 times more.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--------|---|---|
| 4 | " | " | " | " | 12,960 | " | " |
| 6 | " | " | " | " | 18,432 | " | " |
| 8 | " | " | " | " | 25,488 | " | " |

This gives some idea of the enormous amount of work which the heart is forced to do by the action of the alcohol. Even taken in what is called moderation—a most elastic abstract phrase, differing in every individual—the heart is over-worked, and if taken freely the amount of strain placed upon the heart is alarming. If the body were called upon to multiply its work in the same proportion we should be the first to cry out.

This strain continues as long as the alcohol remains in the system, and it is not quite clear, even now, how long this poison remains in the system, nor how it is exuded. Dr. Liebig, some 50 or 60 years ago, wrote: "According to all the observations hitherto made (and I believe nothing further has been discovered since), neither the expired air, nor the perspiration, nor any other evacuation, contains any trace of alcohol after indulgence in spirituous liquors; and there can be no doubt that the elements of alcohol combine with oxygen in the body; that its carbon and hydrogen are given off as carbonic acid and water. The oxygen which has accomplished this change must have been taken from the arterial blood; for we know of no channel, save the circulation of the blood, by which oxygen can penetrate into the interior of the body."

Of experiments on animals and the results there are quite an array, and the authorities are of unquestionable integrity. Drs. Percy, Fontane, Courten, Longoni, Viborg, and others, have experimented on animals, with the following results:—

2½ ozs. of alcohol were injected into the stomach of a full grown dog, which immediately fell lifeless to the floor. Dr. Percy says death was precisely like that of poisoning from prussic acid.

Leeches when wetted with alcohol died in two or three minutes, and when partly immersed in it, that part which came in contact with the alcohol became paralysed.

40 drops given to a frog killed it in 40 minutes; but when injected under the skin it killed it in one minute.

Turtles were speedily killed by injecting it into the stomach or the bowels, or into the cellular tissue.

Fish lost all their activity in water containing but a small quantity of it.

One ounce injected into the stomachs of rabbits killed them in from 1½ to 2 hours.

The smallest amounts of alcoholised water poured

over growing mustard and cress blanched the plants and arrested their growth.

Dr. Gordon says it would be difficult to find a more destructive poison than ardent spirits.

Sir Frederick Treves, who is probably the greatest living authority on affections of the bowels, and who performed the operation for appendicitis on the King, classes alcohol with opium, laudanum and strychnine.

Sir Astley Cooper says spirits and poisons are synonymous terms.

In the "Second Stage Hygiene," by Ikin and Lyster, appears a quotation from the recent international manifesto issued by the British Medical Temperance Association, the American Medical Temperance Association, and the Association of German Speaking Medical Men. The following are extracts:—

"1. Experiments have demonstrated that even a small quantity of alcohol, either immediately or after a short time, prevents mental action and interferes with the functions of the cells and tissues of the body, impairing self-control by producing progressive paralysis of the judgment of the will; and having other markedly injurious effects. Hence alcohol must be regarded as a poison, and ought not to be classed among foods.

"2. Observation establishes the fact that a moderate use of alcoholic liquors, continued over a number of years, produces a gradual deterioration of the tissues of the body, and hastens the changes which old age brings, thus increasing the average liability to disease (especially infectious disease), and shortening the duration of life."

These are evidences, if not proofs, of its deleterious effects, and he will be a foolish man who, knowing them, continues to ignore their warning.

If, however, the pleasure given to the palate outweighs the fear of personal punishment, can the users of alcohol equally ignore the effects on posterity?

That it is baneful to offspring even Aristotle knew, for he says: "A drunken woman brings forth children like unto herself."

Plutarch writes: "One drunkard begets another."

Dr. Darwin says: "When chronic diseases arise from the use of spirits they are liable to become hereditary, even to the third generation."

These are a few brief corroborative evidences of alcohol as a poison. I have tried in vain to find some adverse evidence. In a series of articles which appeared in the "Times" in 1906, there is nothing tangible to be quoted, as the articles are little less than an eulogy of Allsopp's brewery. In a little booklet called "L'Entente Cordiale and the Temperance Question," which is purely an advertisement for a certain brand of lager beer, there are certain quotations from Professor Duglaux which corroborate the views I have enunciated quite as much as the reverse. For instance: When 100 grammes of sugar ferment they yield (in round numbers) 50 grammes of alcohol and 50 grammes of carbonic acid. The latter evaporates, and is lost in the atmosphere, but in thus disappearing it does not carry away any force. *The carbonic acid provides neither heat nor nutriment.* (Italics mine.) The sugar, transformed into alcohol, has lost half its weight, but has retained all its properties, and, therefore, as an alimentary substance, alcohol, for giving nutriment and warmth, is worth twice its weight in sugar."

Read carefully, in conjunction with the tables I have given in the previous articles, and the effects of alcohol on animals, the latter part of the quotation is obviously incorrect; for if, as Professor Duglaux himself says, 100 grammes of sugar yield 50 grammes of alcohol and 50 grammes of carbonic acid, the whole 100 grammes of sugar have been transformed—then there is nothing left; and twice the weight of nothing is nil.

Again:

In a book called "The Heresy of Teetotalism," the author quotes a lot of extracts from reports of Professor

Atwater, but not one of the quotations is of a rebutting character, and the experiments referred to in these quotations are quite as unsatisfactory. The only thing to be deduced from some 50 pages of such flimsy material is, that he has not come across any evidence sufficiently strong to influence him to make a definite pronouncement, and the concluding words of a quotation from Sir Michael Foster hardly help him in establishing his heresy: "What is to me most encouraging is that not only thoughtful people in general, but also scientific specialists, are more inclined, by precept and example, to discourage the use of alcohol except where it is clearly beneficial."—"Heresy of Teetotalism," p. 276.

I think I have said enough to encourage those who believe as I do to continue in their belief, and to stimulate those who disagree to inquire further into the question, and for the sake of the latter I append a list of a few books and pamphlets that they may be interested in reading:—"The Temperance Compendium," "Proving our Case," "Temperance Physiology," "The Beverages we Drink," by Dr. Norman Kerr, "Essay on Alcohol" by Dr. Chadwick, "Alcohol and Science" by Dr. W. Hargreaves, "Physiological Action of Alcohol" by Dr. Monroe.

H. W. HOBART.

THE MONTH.

The Ministerial Menu for the Parliamentary Session, as presented in the King's Speech, proved even more meagre than we had anticipated. The Government has had enough, for the present, of attempting "Temperance" legislation, and a new compromise on the so-called religious difficulty in education is, for the time being, in abeyance.

As we anticipated, however, there is to be some tinkering with the incidence of taxation, but the chief measure of the Session is to be—a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church !

Not unemployment ; not drink ; not education, or the feeding of starving children ; not even the terrible fight with the House of Lords, is, it appears, of such pressing urgent importance as Welsh Disestablishment !

As we anticipated, the promised Reform Bill is not to be brought forward this Session, and although an Adult Suffrage Bill is to be introduced by a private member, that can only be regarded as an attempt to get an indication of how far the House of Commons is at present prepared to go in that direction. In the meantime, the Suffragettes will pursue the Merry Andrew tactics which have already done so much harm to the movement for the political emancipation of women.

To some people the vehemence with which the Suffragettes have attacked and denounced the Adult Suffrage movement, and their bitter denunciation of the Adult Suffrage Bill of Mr. Geoffrey Howard, will appear somewhat strange. Really, however, there is nothing strange about it. They are, and have always been, opposed

to Adult Suffrage. They pretend, in order to get the support of Adult Suffragists, that the limited measure they desire is a step towards Adult Suffrage, but they know, just as well as we do, that it would prove a bulwark of reaction.

That the promised attack on the House of Lords would be deferred was a foregone conclusion. None but a simpleton would expect a Liberal Government to seriously contemplate any material reduction in the power and influence of that august assembly, which the Liberals, for at least three-quarters of a century, have done so much to maintain and enlarge. The House of Lords is quite safe for this Session, at any rate.

As we suggested would probably be the case, the Government has failed to bring forward any of its promised measures of permanent legislation for the unemployed. All that we are promised in this connection is the establishment of labour exchanges, which are already provided for, as a matter of fact, in the present Unemployed Workmen Act. Labour exchanges may be useful as a means for increasing the mobility of labour, but they will do nothing to increase the volume of work to be done, or to reduce the overwork by which unemployment is created.

The Labour Party are certainly to be congratulated on the vigour of their attack upon the Government over this neglect of the unemployed. It is quite evident that the criticism to which the Party has been subjected has had a good effect. Some of the speeches, however, made by the Labour members in criticism of the inaction of the Government make a rather striking commentary on the eulogies bestowed upon the Government by leaders of the Labour Party during the recess. Perhaps this experience will teach the Labour Group that they are in opposition as long as they are in a minority, and have no business to chant the praises of the Government.

The attack of the Labour Group inside the House of Commons was well emphasised and backed up by demonstrations outside. That organised by the Church Socialist League on the Saturday preceding the opening of Parliament was one of the most significant events of recent times; but the demonstration of women and

children on the actual day of the Royal Parliamentary Pageant was one of the most terrible exhibitions of want and misery that the metropolis has ever witnessed. But the ruling classes still remain callous, and will so remain until they are made to fear.

The tardy recognition by the Labour Party of their duty towards the unemployed has not cured them of their readiness to swallow the quack remedies for poverty formulated by bourgeois puritans. Thus we have Mr. George Barnes supporting and eulogising the latest attempt at repressive legislation for Scotland, now being brought forward by a private member. When will representatives of the working-class understand that it is no part of their business to support this kind of petty class legislation, which is only directed against the little liberty of the working-class, and does not touch the master-class at all? It is quite understandable that they should wish to promote temperance, but that would best be done by improving the homes and general life conditions of the people, and providing decent places of public refreshment and social intercourse; it will not be done, as experience shows, by puritanical suppression.

The whole principle of the thing is wrong, and a gross and deliberate insult to the working-class. It assumes that working people are a drunken set of reprobates who need to be saved from themselves. As a matter of fact, of course, the working class is the most sober class in the community. The masters take care of that! As a rule, the workers do not get enough wages to get drunk with. And now other steps are being taken. The London Gas Light and Coke Company has issued an order that its employees are not to go into the public-houses in the neighbourhood, except on the company's business. This, of course, applies to the men's own time; it need scarcely be said that they would not be allowed to go into a public-house in the company's time.

This, of course, is quite in keeping with the eternal fitness of things. Capitalism means coercion, and it is quite right and proper that capitalist employers should order their work-people to keep out of public-houses if they so desire. If the work-people don't like the conditions of employment they can leave their job. There is no compulsion, of course. We wonder the employers don't exercise their power to a still greater extent. Why

not insist that all their employees should be total abstainers? If they did that there would be no need for repressive "temperance" legislation.

The employers might just as well use their power in this direction as in some others in which they are exercising it. The success of Mr. Haldane's Territorial Army scheme depends absolutely upon the amount of pressure the masters are prepared to bring to bear upon their work-people to compel them to enlist. Unfortunately for poor Mr. Haldane, the employers have not all hitherto recognised this, but a patriotic playwright has been arousing them to a sense of their duty in vicarious patriotism, and they are now responding with alacrity. There is a good deal of outcry about this just now, but that will soon die down. Otherwise Haldane won't get his Terriers!

That this amounts to conscription, and conscription of the most objectionable kind, is a small matter. The "voluntary" nature of our standing army is all humbug. It is the same kind of compulsion which drives men into the factory that drives them into the army. If it were not for the pressure of poverty and want, the Army would get precious few recruits, unless much better pay was offered.

And the Government cannot afford to offer better pay to the soldier. Already the Liberals are grumbling that the promise of their Government of reduced expenditure on armaments has not been redeemed. Any hope of a reduction in naval expenditure they now recognise is out of the question. But they did hope for a considerable saving on the Army. Mr. Haldane has reduced the Army in three years by some 38,000 men, besides the saving effected by bringing regiments home from South Africa; but there is no corresponding reduction in cost. On the contrary, the actual expenditure is greater than ever, and the slight reduction of £24,000 shown in the Estimates is only made possible by saddling poor India with an additional charge of no less than £300,000.

And now we are to have an "Army of the Empire," which means that the forces now being organised in the Colonies for self-defence are, if possible, to be co-ordinated under central control,

so as to be used for imperial purposes of aggression and suppression whenever the master class may think necessary.

It might have been supposed that the frightfully impoverished state of India, to say nothing of the growing popular discontent with British rule, would have caused even our purblind War Office to hesitate before adding to the imperial burdens of the Indian people. But the madness of those doomed to destruction is proverbial, and our rulers appear to be doing all in their power to goad the people of India into rebellion.

Clandestine arrests, deportations and imprisonment without trial, police outrages, tortures and flogging, these are the features which characterise British rule in India under the recreant Radical Morley. We have no hesitation in saying, and have never hesitated to say, that we desire to see India completely emancipated from British rule, and that the Indians have as perfect a right to free themselves from that rule as ever the Italians had to throw off the yoke of Austria, but, at the same time, we have never hesitated to condemn outrage and assassination. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that outrage and assassination are the natural outcome of tyranny and suppression. If Russian methods of government are adopted in India, nobody can be surprised if Russian methods of reprisal are resorted to, however regrettable that may be. Like causes produce like results, in one country as in another.

The danger of war in Eastern Europe has constantly threatened during the past month, and is by no means averted yet. In the conditions existing in the Balkans, which make for the outbreak of one of the most terrible conflicts in the world's history, we see the impossibility of reducing all the impulses of human action to a simple economic formula. Although it would be idle to ignore the economic factor in this case, the primary influences dominating the situation in Eastern Europe to-day are unquestionably racial. The report that Russia has withdrawn her support from Serbia and has advised the latter to surrender to Austria may be perfectly true, but it is scarcely in accord with the traditional expansionist policy of Russia, and is scarcely likely to be acquiesced in for long by the Slav peoples in the Near East.

The injunctions obtained against trade unions to prohibit contributions to Parliamentary funds are intended to cripple, and may have the effect of crippling, the political activities of the trade unions. But the profit-sharing trick now being played on them by certain employers will certainly have the effect of completely paralysing the unions in any other than the political field. The example of Livesey, Furness and others has now been followed by Lever, of Sunlight soap fame. The employees are to become "co-partners" under certain conditions, and are to receive a share of the profits. It simply means that they will be tied hand and foot, and will be compelled to submit to any conditions Lever may impose.

Frank Smith polled quite as well as anybody could possibly have expected him to do at Taunton. That he received less votes than the last Liberal candidate only shows, as might have been anticipated, that some Liberals preferred the Tory to a Socialist. But why did he fight Taunton? There are plenty of industrial constituencies claiming the attention of the Labour Party before they attack reactionary rural districts like Taunton. But it will doubtless have pleased the Liberals.

NEO-MARXISM.

(Continued from last issue.)

From this it is evident that, contrary to the received opinion, the fact of intelligence always precedes the act due to instinct, since it is the acts of the former which, registered in the brain of a given animal race, always constitute the latter. But science could not stop here. The physicists and the chemists were succeeded by the biologists, who demonstrated that life is a superior form of motion. In order to do this it was sufficient to prove that life is identical with sensibility, that these two words, "sensibility" "life," express the same processes of abstraction by which we denote the common property which living beings offer having a special reaction, due to excitement coming from outside. For a substance can be moved (is called liable to sensation, to excitement) in direct proportion to its being alive. Henceforth sensibility (irritability, excitability) is life.

If, therefore, first of all the facts of instinct, of intelligence, of consciousness, can be reduced to sensibility, if afterwards sensibility is nothing else but life, and if, finally, life itself is only a form of motion, then by an invincible chain the facts called "intelligence" can be expressed as a form of motion just in the same way as the physical phenomena.

Just as, then, for spiritualists intelligence is an inner energy which precedes in us the action of outside things, and which tends to exercise and develop itself according to certain a priori laws which are the very laws of reason, so for monists, modern hylozoists, sensibility explains all. Consequently, in the formation of intelligence, the real educating force was nature, which by the most varied reagents never ceases from soliciting the action of animated beings. As to moral reagents, resulting from relations between individuals, it is society which furnishes them.

Now, this conception of the origins of intelligence—the ultimate postulate—at the present time of positive sciences, could not fail to be that of Marx himself. One can even say that it is made more important in his case by all the materialist doctrines which consider thought as the result of motion of matter, and especially of that of the brain.

Thus, we see the difference between mind and intelligence. Mind is a primary faculty, a gift of nature like that of the body; intelligence is a phenomenon, the result of the joint working of mind and of the environment. "In the history of the world intelligence appeared in due course. Not only is it not, as in mind, one of the primordial factors of creation, but it is entirely explained by the law of progressive adaptation of living beings to their respective environment." So now it is no longer a question of sociology but of economics. To create society is not to organise it. Intelligence creates its elements, it is the function of the social soul to class them, to classify them and to co-ordinate them. Now the mind is the stuff out of which the social soul is made, intelligence that same mind struggling with matter whose secrets it seeks to discover. This is why there is all the difference between instruction and education.

Instruction (from the Latin *instruere*—to aim) addresses itself to the intelligence with a view to the struggle; education (from the Latin *educare-educere*—to draw up from below) addresses itself to the mind with a view to peace. The idea of peace cannot be extended as it cannot be curtailed; that of struggle allows for an infinity of degrees. Nature, by placing man in society, had created him for peace, his intelligence has brought about war. Yet it must not be forgotten that the discoveries of imagination have singularly raised the environment. Instead of the cave of the troglodyte, we have the palaces of marble and of porphyry—more marvellous than those described in the "Arabian Nights"; instead of the buffalo or the reindeer painfully dragging primitive carts, we have the lightning itself made use of by man and carrying man through space in a hurricane of fire and iron.

To each economic momentum there corresponds a social momentum. In the primitive tribe the social sense function of a homogeneous environment is the cement which unites among themselves all the elements of the environment, economic as well as moral. But heterogeneity, as says Herbert Spencer, soon appears, overturning all harmony, or, at all events, creating different conditions of a new order. Whatever may be, here as well as there, work is the basis of society. Owing to it, in a natural society, the social environment gradually rises bearing on the wings of technics all the citizens. But soon, owing to the confiscation by some of the instruments of production, the fruits of common effort, castes are formed, because some rise at the expense of others. Yet the barriers which separate castes are more moral than economic. Revolution substitutes classes for castes, founded solely on the possession or non-possession of riches. Now it is the struggle indeed, and a struggle where all reconciliation is impossible, even if the most numerous class absorbed the other. Then, indeed, it would be the elect submerged in the mob. Now, progress does not ebb. Everywhere where it is different there is formed in a formidable idleness, energetic debauchery; and if one only listens one hears the first steps of the approaching barbarian.

If anyone thinks that the distinction drawn between mind and intelligence is too subtle, I will refer him to Kant. He notices two degrees in intelligence—the understanding, which acts at once on the postulata of the senses, and reason, which frees itself from them, and gets further and further away from them, either in its theoretic or its practical use, and only makes one with will under this last aspect—will—intelligence identifies itself with mind—a gift of nature and the only factor of social peace.

Man certainly is right to be proud of his conquests, and no one better than Marx has understood his greatness. He addresses the hymn, sung by Rousseau to nature, to intelligence. But nature looks on with indifference at the theft of its own glory, she is infinitely patient because she is eternal. Whatever may be reason, to expect from intelligence alone the improvement of the relations between men would be saying that nothing better than war exists to draw closer the bond of friendship between two nations. In other words, to pretend that social peace must be due to the realisation of justice is nonsense. Besides, the idea of justice only exists where private property exists. As long as human societies shall be based on intelligence, that is to say, on conflicts, all that can be done by a legal status will be to award the palm to him who has the best weapons. But understood thus, justice leaves on one side the principal elements of right by granting to the individual that which is the property of all.

Legal ideas, like political and religious ideas, are the creations of the economic world. If I say nothing of moral ideas it is because under a capitalist system they are summed up in the respect of property and are liable to be confounded with the ideas of justice. As to politics, whose aim is the taking possession of all that can be appropriated, its spoliating character is a result from its very definition. Finally, religion, at first a simple sentiment of the relation of man to the forces of nature, then soon industrialised by priests of all faiths, now its only function is to make of God a policeman guarding the rich. Even religions, which try to sever themselves from the economic tyranny, fatally fall under its "Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and to God the things which are God's." It is always the principle of authority whatever be the artifices used, never the social principle.

We say that true justice cannot be realised as long as it proceeds from abstract right, but with abstract right we enter the psychic world, the only place, as we shall see afterwards, where the advent of true society can be concentrated. Logically it is the majority which makes right; at first it corresponds to the totality of the citizens, but soon, thanks to the unconsciousness of the masses, which allow a few to seize public money, it is no longer anything more than the interests of a minority consecrated by the suffrages of all.

If the latter awoke from their sleep, justice will change its name and will be called Equity.

Equity is justice administered, not according to the letter of the law, but in accordance with a sentiment of natural right implanted in the heart of man. "Equity," says A. Karr, "is the eternal law, its code is reason; justice properly called, is sometimes its image, sometimes it is the contrary." "Law is the finest discovery made by man for use against equity." (C. Delavigne.) "Equity is the first equality." (V. Hugo.)

So with the social environment the terminology, which is and can only be a class terminology, imposed on the conquered by the conquerors, will change. Justice based on written laws is a myth, equity alone is worthy of our efforts.

But I think that I have said enough to make you understand that intelligence is, above all, an instrument in the struggle; reason or mind is the instrument, the cause of peace. Peace cannot come from war; war begets war for ever in alternum.

Certainly, in the organisation of society you cannot fail to notice the degree of evolution at which the economic environment has arrived, for it is on that basis that the building must necessarily rest. Institutions, it has been very justly said, cannot change unless feelings and manners change, and the transformation of manners, in its turn, is conditioned by the necessary and sufficient progress of intelligence—that is to say, of the economic environment.

And no one thinks of denying the advantages of intelligence, to which at present humanity owes the magnificent progress of applied science, and whose discoveries are necessary to its organic life, as society is necessary to its social life. But it can be said that, thanks to the struggle developed by technics, the latter diminishes as the former rises.

Therefore, Marx made a mistake, because he would take into account nothing outside the economic world created by intelligence. In primitive society, equality was completely based on equal poverty; in the society of the future, which will be created by the human mind when man has regained possession of himself, it cannot exist without its necessary corollary, liberty. Here we have stated the whole important problem of liberty, which was considered by Hegel as an inevitable postulate of the pure idea.

J. WALTER-JOURDE, in "La Revue Socialiste."

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

THE REVIEWS.

THE MISSING ESSENTIALS OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE. MALLOCK ON MARX.

Mr. Mallock has this to say in the current "Nineteenth Century and After":—

I.—THE FALLACIES OF KARL MARX AS AIDS TO THE ELUCIDATION OF TRUTH.

It has been often and truly said that the creed of orthodox Christianity only achieved precision through the need of refuting heresies. Only when errors became definite was it necessary to trace them to their sources, and exclude them by a barrier of doctrines, equally definite, which were true.

In this respect theology is not peculiar. A striking analogy may be found in the science of economics. When this science first achieved a specific position and authority, and developed into the system which has since been known as the "orthodox," and which Socialists now denounce as the "capitalistic" or "bourgeois," the main objects of its exponents was to elucidate such detailed problems as arose out of the industrial order of things which they found existing around them. That order they accepted. . . . They did not examine it, because nobody called it in question.

Such, however, was the disturbing event which actually took place when a hundred years or so after the appearance of Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Karl Marx issued his treatise on "Capital," a work with regard to which we may admit the claims of his admirers, that it formed the foundation of that reasoned economic heterodoxy which is, under various forms, now known as "scientific Socialism."

By most Socialists of to-day who rise above the level of mere demagogues . . . the particular doctrines by which Marx is most widely known are repudiated. But in spite of all the fallacies which even sympathetic critics have discovered in it, his treatise on "Capital" retains more than an historical interest. It embodies and it invests with a masterly definiteness of form one fundamental truth and also one fundamental fallacy, which the Socialists of

to-day, however they may disavow the latter, still use as their principal weapons in assaulting that economic organisation of which the orthodox economists were the exponents, and to the efficiency of which it was their aim to minister. And the orthodox economists even to this day, though they have refuted the Socialists successfully as to many detailed points, have never succeeded in establishing any body of positive principles which, by placing the truth just mentioned in its proper setting, and killing the fallacy by substituting a further positive truth for it, shall destroy Socialism at its roots instead of cutting down its branches. The very language of orthodox economics does not even yet possess generally accepted and properly defined terms sufficient to render an attempt of this kind intelligible.

When we say, then, that Socialism as a reasoned theory is defective, that it represents, in short, not a true science but a sham science, we are bringing a corresponding charge against orthodox economics also. We are not, indeed, saying that it is a sham science; but we are saying that, as it stands, it is a radically defective science. It has elucidated with signal success the secondary phenomena with which it deals; but the primary facts and forces from which these phenomena arise it has left to be assumed by a slovenly common sense which, though trustworthy enough so long as its assumptions are not questioned, has no means of defending them when they are subjected to systematic attack. It was in this region of assumed but undefended fundamentals that Marx secured for Socialism its main strategical basis. His success has been hitherto but the measure of his opponents' weakness; but it puts in their hands the means of recovering their original strength, and making it incomparably greater than it ever was before. The errors of Marx are of a kind so precise, so coherent, and so positive, that they serve to indicate, like a red line drawn on a chart, the route which it still remains for sound science to follow.

II.—THE THEORY OF MARX, AND THE IMPOTENCE OF ORTHODOX ECONOMICS TO REFUTE IT.

If we look into any ordinary school text-book of economics we are sure to encounter the time-honoured proposition at the beginning of it, that all wealth is produced by land, labour and capital. Land stands, we shall find, for the materials and the forces of nature; Labour for indeterminate exertion of minds actuating muscles; and capital for the indeterminate product of indeterminate Labour in the past, which is set aside to enhance the productivity of Labour in the future, and which certain labourers accumulate because they have abstained from consuming it. Further, we shall find that these three generalised agencies are brought into touch with the practical facts of life by being identified severally with individuals of a corresponding class. Land is identified with the landlord; Labour with the wage-paid workman; and capital with the man who has

managed to obtain possession of it. Each of these men, as representing a productive agency, so the argument proceeds, takes a certain share of the product; and the next task which the orthodox economist sets himself is to analyse the principles by which the share of each is determined. Here he is at once involved in a discussion of value. When each group of producers produces but one class of commodity, such, we will say, as chemicals, of which they themselves consume little or none, the gross product of which each share is a part, is for them wealth, not in proportion to its own volume and qualities, but in proportion to the assorted commodities which they are able to get in exchange for it, and which constitute for them the means of life and enjoyment. What determines the amount of food, clothes, fuel, tobacco, spirits, and house-room which a group can get in exchange for so many tons of chemicals? The details of this problem have been the subject of much debate. It is enough here to observe the orthodox economists generally, assuming that land has supplied the materials of production, that capital has given so much aid to it, and that for the products exchanged there is a relatively equal demand, maintained that a mass of commodities of any one kind will exchange for any assortment of others in proportion to the amount of labour embodied in the two aggregates. Indeed, if we follow Ricardo, whom Marx rightly recognised as one of the chief of the orthodox or "bourgeois" economists, the labour involved is ultimately the sole determining element. It is to active labour that the landlord supplies his materials. It is to active labour that the capitalist lends the aid of his capital. It is only because labour can use what these two personages supply to it that they take a share of the product in the proportion to the things supplied to them.

Such, reduced to a brief but sufficient summary, is the argument of those economists who, when Marx addressed himself to his work during the middle of the reign of Queen Victoria, were found by him in possession of the field, and whose science, as still represented in the text-books of their pre-ent representatives, has not radically amended its methods or enlarged its borders.

Such being the case, then, what Marx did was as follows. Seizing on Ricardo's doctrine that labour is the measure of value, and on the fact that value is the admitted measure of wealth, he confronted the orthodox economists with the very pertinent question of why, if such things are of value in proportion to the labour embodied in them, all values or wealth do not go to the labourers. The landlords and the capitalists only take what they do take because, under present conditions, land and capital happen to be owned by them. What right, in the nature of things, have they, he asked, to either? And since it was possible to answer with respect to land that most existing estates have been honestly acquired by purchase, so much capital having practically been the price paid for them, he concentrated his main criticism on the question of capital

itself. In what, he asked, does capital itself originate? By what right or by what means have its present owners come into possession of it? To this challenge the orthodox economists were ready with one answer, and with one answer only. Capital, they said, is "the reward of abstinence." It represents so much of the products of bygone labour as the labourers who produced them had prudently abstained from consuming. . . . The fact on which Marx insisted was that, under modern conditions, capital to an increasing degree is being concentrated in a few hands; and even if the men who possess it claim that they have been labourers once, the great growth of their capital takes place after they have ceased to labour. 7

If we wish to understand, Marx said, why in the modern world capital, as fast as it increases, is monopolised by a non-labouring class, while the labourers—its admitted producers—see it slip through their fingers, we must not only cease to indulge in idle talks about "abstinence." We must cease to limit our attention to things as they are now, and look for the desired explanation not in the present but in the past. For the whole present régime—that of the employer and the employed, of the capitalist and wage-paid labourer—which the orthodox economist accepts as the only régime possible, is, he said, in its most distinctive features, a wholly modern phenomenon, evolved by historical causes from conditions that were widely different. Indeed, so modern is it that, although we can trace its birth to a period coinciding with the decline of the feudal system, and identify thenceforward the precise nature of its development, it can hardly be said to have assumed considerable proportions at a period earlier than the beginning of the reign of George the Third, and even then it was practically confined to England, from which country, since then, it has been spreading itself throughout the world.

If we take, then, a bird's-eye view of the history of human civilisation, remembering that labour is always the sole producer of wealth . . . we find that labour has exerted itself under three successive systems, each of which has gradually given place to another owing to historical causes which have pertained to an evolutionary world-movement, and have lain entirely outside the intentions or the desires of individuals. The first of these was the slave system, the second the system of *corvée*, or work exacted from the labourer as an incident of his feudal status; the third is the system of wage-paid labour, or of capitalism.

The essence of modern capitalism is, in short, simply this, a divorce unknown in any previous stage of civilisation between the implements of production and the producers, the result of which is that the class which owns the implements is able to exact from the producers, as the price of being allowed to use them, the whole

of the product except that irreducible fraction needed by the producer to keep body and soul together.

This divorce in Henry the Eighth's time was but just beginning to be appreciable. To bring it to its completion was the gradual work of centuries; but the eighteenth century saw it a completed fact in England, and from England it has spread itself like an epidemic throughout the civilised world generally.

The labourers remain, however, the sole producers still. The interests and profits of capital are created by them alone, being merely names for a portion of their products which is taken from them. But, though under capitalism they have lost much, there is something which they have meanwhile gained. They have gained a mobility they did not possess under feudalism, and through that mobility they will ultimately find redemption. Their economic condition, bad as it is already, will necessarily grow worse and worse. Capital will take more and more, leaving them less and less, until out of unified misery a unified class-consciousness shall complete itself, and Labour, combining against capital, shall repossess itself of its own implements. It will thus recover the independence which it had gained by the substitution of feudalism for slavery, and retain the freedom which it had gained by the substitution of capitalism for feudalism. This new régime, when established, will constitute what is meant by Socialism, and thus Socialism will be evolved from capitalism by a general and impersonal process, just as capitalism was evolved from feudalism, and feudalism from the régime of slavery.

Here in its outlines we have the 'bold and far-reaching theory with which Marx confronted the theory of orthodox economists, who explained existing conditions by taking their existence for granted, whereas these conditions in reality were the things which themselves required explanation.



A SOCIALIST LABOUR MEMBER'S VIEW OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

In "National Defence," under the above heading, our comrade Will Thorne puts "The Socialist View" in a well-reasoned article, from which we quote the following:—

... We Socialists might be inclined to say "Let the classes to whom the country belongs themselves undertake the burden and the risk of defending it. The workers have no country; why, then, should they trouble themselves about protecting what they don't possess?" But, unfortunately for them, the workers have no free choice. In any invasion, while they may have no property to lose, it is unquestionably they who would suffer the most in other

ways; and whether we have a professional army or the armed nation, the rank and file would always be drawn from the working class. On the other hand, with every man drilled and trained and armed, a citizen and a soldier, such an armed nation, such a nation of citizens armed, would be in a position to demand greater rights of citizenship, and a greater share and interest in the country they would be called upon to defend, than the unarmed proletariat now enjoys, or is able to demand.

And there are other considerations outside these purely material ones. Our national institutions, while they may, from a working-class standpoint, be far from perfect, and stand sadly in need of reform, do offer advantages over those under which other nations have to live; they are, in a measure, free institutions, and do afford us the opportunity of practically working out our own social salvation and our own national destiny. No one who knows anything of Russianised or Prussianised Poland, and of the national sentiment existing among the subject races of Europe, but would admit that our national institutions, imperfect as they may be, are still worth defending. When we witness the enthusiasm with which the Socialists and the organised workers of the whole world have applauded the heroic efforts and the self-sacrificing devotion of the Russian revolutionists in their struggle to obtain even that measure of political freedom which we enjoy in this country, it would be idle to declare that this political liberty is not worth defending at all, and not worth making any sacrifice for. We who want to enlarge the boundaries of this political liberty, to make our institutions broader, freer, and more democratic still, must surely be prepared to agree that it is our duty to defend them against any attempt on the part of a foreign invader to sweep them away and to subject us as a nation to arbitrary foreign rule.

Admitting this, the duty and the necessity of military organisation for the national defence become obvious. We have, therefore, now to consider what is the best form of military organisation: the best adapted to the national requirements, the least burdensome, the most economical, the most efficient, the most democratic, the least inimical to popular liberty and free institutions, and the least conducive to the cultivation of militarism and jingoism. On all of these points the citizen army—the armed nation—meets the demand. As to our national requirements, it cannot be gainsaid that the Navy is our first and most important line of defence. In spite of the optimism of the “blue-water school,” however, few people doubt the possibility of invasion. This possibility does not demand the maintenance of a standing army in barracks, but it does require national preparedness and the possibility of speedy mobilisation and concentration at a given point, all of which would be secured by the armed nation.

. . . . We are sometimes asked in what this proposal, as embodied in the provisions of my Bill, differs from conscription. It differs in the most vital particulars. For one thing, the force cannot be used in

civil disputes ; it is for national defence only. Then, there is no service at all, only training, and no mobilisation for service except in case of actual invasion. Then again, and not the least important, the force is in every sense of the word a *citizen* force. It is free from military law, except when on active service in the field, for which a special code is to be devised. Otherwise the members of the force are always civilians, always treated as such, and amenable only to the civil law and to the jurisdiction of the civil courts. Further, the officers—subject, of course, to being properly qualified—are to be selected by the men they are to command. The special education and training required for young men who wish to be officers will be entirely at the public cost, and they will be chosen because of their special aptitude for the profession, not because of any family or monetary advantage. There will thus be less danger in the future of the British Army being described as an “army of lions led by asses.”

I may say at once that I am an anti-Imperialist, and that one of the chief merits of the National Citizen Force is that it clearly could not be used for wars of aggression. On the other hand, with the National Citizen Force, there need be no difficulty in getting volunteers to garrison the various coaling stations and other places necessary to maintain the efficiency of our fleet ; and as for holding the outlying parts of the Empire, I do not think this would, or indeed should, be done against the will of the people themselves. Our great self-governing Colonies will either remain in the Empire from sentiment and motives of self-interest, or they will break away for precisely the same reasons. In either case, therefore, the question is rather political than military ; the latter question they are settling for themselves by organising for self-defence.

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HAVE PUBLIC SERVANTS THE RIGHT TO STRIKE?

The recent strike of the postal servants in France has raised a new question that puzzles and leaves many undecided. In fact, the ordinary public are unable to grasp the idea that State servants have the right to strike, and at first sight it would appear as though such were the case.

Let us examine the question a little closer. The powers given to a public servant emanate, or should do, from the nation, that is to say, from each individual member composing the nation, as approved and consented to by the representatives chosen to carry out the nation's will.

Thus, in theory at least, public servants are, to a certain extent, their own employers, as they are their own employees, and should have a voice in the determining of the conditions of labour special to themselves. Therefore it is inadmissible that a public servant should hinder or cause the suspension of a public service, the proper working of which he has formally undertaken to assure. In causing the stoppage of a public service he prejudices his own interests, being his own employee, in the same way that an employer's interests are prejudiced by a strike of his employees.

So much for theory, based upon the supposition that mankind is above reproach and that social conditions are perfect. The reality is totally different. Under the existing order of things the Government is not the nation and the nation is not the Government. The reins of State are in the hands of a handful of selfish plutocrats and scheming politicians, whose Parliamentary efforts consist chiefly in mutually protecting and fostering their own private interests to the detriment of those of the nation, with an occasional sop, when the murmurs of discontent grow all too loud, under the form of delusory concessions to the victims of their greed.

It follows that the State, under such management, does not alone neglect the interests of the nation, which it has the mission of safeguarding, but gravely prejudices them by using the powers it is intrusted with, not to the profit of those to whom, after all, it owes these powers, but to the maintenance of a social order beneficial to the few and detrimental to the great bulk of the nation.

There is no need to insist upon this only too well-known axiom, which has just had its repercussion in the strike of the postal servants in France. Deriving no benefit from their titular rights, as members of a democratic community, to a share in the management of State business, but labouring under the same disadvantages as other workers, it is hardly to be wondered at when they resort to exactly the same weapon in order to assert their legitimate rights.

No existing law forbids to public servants the right to strike, any more than to other workers. In the law of 1864 in France, which freed the strike from the stigma of unlawfulness, State servants are not excluded. This being so, we come to the conclusion that they have the same rights to strike as other people, since there is no law to the contrary, although the question of passing one to this effect is already mooted in the French Chamber. And if the theory

of social discipline does not admit of this conclusion, what can theory do against the stern reality, when such a strike is effectively put into practice?

From the standpoint of civil law a strike is a rupture of a contract to work, a rupture that can give rise to a claim for damages from the non-striking party. It rests with the judges to decide whether the grounds for the breaking of the contract are sufficient and legitimate. Should these motives not be legitimate, according to capitalist ideas of justice, the strikers can be sentenced to pay damages. As the capitalist class carefully provide that their workers are not solvent to such a point, this is rarely resorted to.

Are such proceedings between the State and its employees possible, and, if so, in what court of justice are they to be carried on—in a court of common justice, or a court of administration? Can the State in its quality of employer and interested party fill the rôle of disinterested judge at one and the same time?

Before discussing whether or no public servants have the right to strike, we should like to know *who* has the right to decide.

Up to the present it has not been taken enough into account that the industrialisation of State services has been the cause of the entry into the ranks of officialdom of a distinct type, of a salaried class, which stands in the same relation to the State as workmen to a private employer—let us call them workmen-officials. Whereas the ordinary type of clerks follow their calling without even dreaming of striking, because they do not provide *skilled labour* and so can be replaced with the greatest facility, the working-officials, that is to say public servants, such as those of the postal service and State railways, form an influential class apart, and in solidarising after the manner of their fellows elsewhere, they are able to impose their own conditions and are aware of it. It is perfectly natural that, as long as they are treated as pawns in the great industrial game of profit-making, their sense

of duty towards the nation cannot come to fruition, suffocated as it is by the desperate struggle for existence. Encouraged by the success of trade unionism on every hand they are awakening to the possibilities of ameliorating, by the same means, the conditions of their forced labour sale.

They are told that their situation is quite special and privileged in the world of workers; that they accept with full knowledge of the conditions; that no one forces them to accept; that they have a light day's work without risk of being turned off, of being thrown out of work through the financial failure of their employer; that their old age is cared for by a pension, etc.

They reply that they are free to choose their profession, but that they have often gained it by merit; that they have not on that account renounced the guarantees of justice that are due to all workers; that they fulfil their engagement, whereas the State is the first to violate it through unpardonable acts of favouritism; that against the State they have only platonic protestation or a forced resignation; that whereas there are judges to decide the conflicts between private employers and employees, there are none for the public services, the State being judge and partisan, and rendering itself justice, whether in the right or wrong, in the teeth of all principles which form the basis of the republican constitution; that the meagreness of their salary compensates the short working-day and the non-risk of stoppage of work; as to the pension, they have acquired the right to it in abandoning 5 per cent. of their salary, etc.

Thus they have no scruples in striking, and the only resource left open to the powers that be is a brutal dismissal en masse, or a humiliating retreat. Against such an important body of specially trained men refusing to work, the Government is in a serious dilemma, as they cannot be replaced at a few days' notice, and as they strike at a vital part of the national organisation. Even the most democratic Government

has only, in such instance, in order to assure the circulation of the very life-blood in the veins of the nation, the option of appealing to the principle of authority, an authority of which it is itself the source.

This is a bad remedy for a worse evil, as the French Government was forced to recognise during the strike. The question of calling in the strikers for military service was raised. By this means, if the strikers had persisted in refusing to work, this would no longer have fallen under civil law, but under military law, which is quite a different matter, the former legalising the strike and the latter treating it as mutiny and high treason. But this method of solving the problem, brutal, absurd and contrary to all ideas of common justice as it is, was quickly abandoned.

Open hostilities have ceased and the postal servants have resumed work as before. This accomplished fact is the best answer to those who still question the rights of public servants to strike. And, in spite of all the inventions of ingenious legislators, as long as the vice lies with the institutions and not with the men, the latter have the right, and will make use of it, to safeguard their interests, in the only way that assures success.

It remains to be seen whether the reforms will be granted or whether the French Government will now abuse its position and endeavour to make a striking example of the offenders. Let the rulers beware, as they only unloose against their caste still another sword from the scabbard. Keen-edged and pointed is this weapon, and pricks them to the quick, and more than any other its sharpness will arouse the nation from its lethargy to a truer appreciation of the facts, hastening the beginning of the inevitable downfall.

HAROLD DE GACKOWSKI.

“WHY I AM OPPOSED TO FEMALE SUFFRAGE.”

Under this title Mr. Belfort Bax has an article in the March number of the “Social-Democrat.” As my hands are more than full just now with daily active work for the cause of Adult Suffrage, I do not know that, under the circumstances, I should have troubled to read the article in question, but the editor of the “Social-Democrat” was good enough to send it to me in galley proof asking me to write a reply, so I propose to jot down replies to one or two points raised. For the rest, the whole question of the position of women in the Socialist movement, including, of course, their political enfranchisement, is treated in a pamphlet I have just written for the use of the Women’s Circles of the S.D.P., in which pamphlet I reply more at length to Mr. Bax’s oft-repeated staccato shriek of “women being, *as a sex*, organically inferior to men.” He now states in the present article that the reason the majority of men do not join him in this shriek is, “that their conviction is a secret conviction,” that many men have “the unconscious desire to avoid stating the real ground of their opposition to female suffrage,” and adds: “Some, if hard pressed, will try to shuffle out of admitting it, perhaps even to themselves.” Others, according to Mr. Bax, “do not wish to appear rude and arrogant to the ladies.” Now, these various classes of men known to Mr. Bax, and who, no doubt, have confided to him their secret hopes and fears, have the sincere sympathy of Socialist women like myself, because they must, at the present time, feel themselves

but strangers and pilgrims in a froward and naughty world, which insists on taking for granted, both in scientific works, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in the press, women's human claims to equality with men, irrespective of their sex functions. Mr. Bax does not say if these timid friends of his are Socialists, or whether they belong to the ranks of the titled and distinguished personages in the Anti-Suffrage Organisation, of which he is such a bright and particular star. I take it for granted that they are *not* Socialists; because, as he himself admits, "the feminist dogma," having found much favour with Socialists everywhere, officially the demand for feminine suffrage has been embodied among the planks in the immediate political platform of the Socialist Party. As it is only, therefore, with Socialists that I have to deal, the few remarks that I have to make in my reply to Mr. Bax will be made from the Socialist standpoint, and will be addressed to Socialists alone. What, it appears to me, differentiates the Socialist interpretation of social conditions from that of the two orthodox political parties is that Socialism considers the woman first as a human being, and only secondarily as a creature of sex; that is to say, that as a human being her first natural instinct and function is nutrition, or the obtaining for herself of food, clothing and shelter. Her second instinct and function is reproduction. It is not, therefore, as a "feminist dogma" that the woman question has taken its right place in the Socialist demand, but as a "human dogma," and as part of a great evolutionary demand for the social, economic and political freedom of every human being.

Mr. H. G. Wells, in his book, "First and Last Things," writes: "One of the most important and debatable of these ideas is, whether we are to consider and treat women as citizens and fellows, or as beings differing mentally from men, and grouped in positions of at least material dependence to individual men. Our decision in that direction will affect all

our conduct from the large matters down to the smallest points of deportment; it will affect even our manner of address, and determine whether, when we speak to a woman, we shall be as frank and unaffected as with a man, or touched with a faint suggestion of the reserves of a cat, which does not wish to be suspected of waiting to steal the milk." That, it seems to me, expresses the difference of view and conduct between a Socialist, who, because of his Socialist interpretation, looks upon women as first of all human beings, and therefore entitled as such to every opportunity of equality, and of those Anti-Socialists, who, being still obsessed by ideas of personal property, consider women as in the first place creatures of sex, which sex is part of that property. Mr. Belfort Bax gives as his supreme reason why women should not be admitted to political equality with men that, in England at least, "women at present constitute an almost boundlessly privileged section of the community." Would he have thought so, one is tempted to speculate, if he had been in the place of the elderly woman who, having married an Englishman and brought up a family of English children, and then on the death of her husband, having married a man of German nationality, when she applied for her old age pension was told she was not entitled to it, because she was not a British subject? If she applied in Germany, she certainly would fail to get a pension there; but if the case had been reversed, and an English widower had married a German woman, he would certainly have not forfeited his English pension. Yet English women, according to Mr. Bax, are "boundlessly privileged." Then, as regards the law passed a few years ago for the feeding by the Poor Law authorities of necessitous children living "with their father." That being the wording of the law, the children of widows, of deserted wives, of wives whose husbands are in prison, or in hospital, are not entitled to be fed. The feelings of these mothers who often work at 2d. an hour, and for 18 hours out of the

24, cannot perhaps be realised by Mr. Bax, whose eye is filled with the "boundless privileges" of the women of England. Under the Unemployed Workmen Act no married woman whose husband has registered at the Distress Committee can also register; so that, though such a woman is ready and willing to work, she has no means of bringing her claims before the public; again, out of the many thousand women who have registered for work on the Distress Committee, only two or three hundred in London have been given work; yet English women are "boundlessly privileged."

Mr. Bax makes the assertion that "No feminist has the smallest intention of abandoning any one of the existing privileges of women." If, by this, he means privileges before the law, I traverse his assertion; for if by "feminists" he means those Socialists who are working for the social, economic and political equality of men and women I can assure him they ask for no privilege, only strict equality. This, they are quite aware, can never be obtained under the tortuous and overwhelming mass of English common law. Such a patched, bedraggled, mouldy and evil-smelling garment can never be repaired; it must be cast on one side, and its place must be taken by the new and purer texture of social revolution.

Mrs. Lida Parce, of the University of Chicago, writes: "Two things are essential to this revolution: The socialisation of industry, which will give woman a free chance to work in a social capacity, and the ballot, which will enable her to remove those special and artificial disabilities which have been placed upon her by male legislation." A fair field and no favour, that is, in effect, what Socialist women are demanding in every country of the world: and when that is understood, I do not think it will be necessary to carry out Mr. Bax's suggestion to myself and to my "feminist friends," to move that a special note be appended explaining that the terms connoting "equality" in the S.D.P. programme are to be taken as "words of limitation." Such an explanation is not necessary

among comrades, though it might be possible among the angel men and the brute women of patriarchal times. One word in conclusion. Misstatements of facts never help to strengthen a case; and, as one of those who went to prison for speaking in the Lobby of the House of Commons, I must protest against the statement in Mr. Bax's article that our imprisonment (for there were ten women suffragists in at the same time as myself) was pampered, "with all sorts of privileges thrown in, such as hot water to wash in, and easy chairs." We underwent the same régime as do the drunkards, thieves and prostitutes, who are swept up daily from the London Police Courts in "Black Maria," without, as far as I know, having enjoyed a single privilege. The furnishing of our cells was a plank bed, 2 ft. wide, a mattress made of cocoa-nut fibre, and two thin blankets; the stool had no back to it, the utensils were made of tin, and the daily work of keeping them bright occupied several hours. At six o'clock in the morning, when the cell door was thrown open, we had to get our supply of cold water for the day. If we were ill during the day, as I was before leaving the prison, we had to lie on the cement floor of the cell, as neither the plank bed nor the mattress were allowed to be taken down during the daytime. Our clothes were the ordinary half-cleansed prison garments of the unfortunate class of women to whom I have already alluded. Our food was exactly the same as theirs; our treatment by the wardresses and officials, accustomed to deal with these derelicts of Society, would, I believe, have thoroughly satisfied Mr. Belfort Bax that in our case at least we were not pampered. When I have since been asked at meetings by men comrades if I do not advise the unemployed and their leaders to follow the tactics of the Suffragists and risk arrest and imprisonment, in order to bring their sufferings before the public, I have always replied to the same effect, "I cannot advise men to follow our example, because there is one phase of imprisonment for men which is

more degrading than imprisonment for women. Men, when in prison, may be flogged for a breach of prison discipline, women can only have dark cells and bread and water." As flogging is an outrage to the dignity of humanity, I will never be a party to advising men agitators to risk going to prison. A breach of prison discipline may be something as trivial as not cleaning your utensils to the satisfaction of the warder or wardress, or it may be placing your "books of devotion" on that part of the shelf where your tin mug should stand; it is very easy, therefore, for an ill-disposed prison attendant to get up a case of a breach of prison discipline; and a man who went to prison for an ideal might leave prison tingling with rage and embittered for life by the fact that his dignity as a human being had been outraged. One of the first pieces of work for men and women Socialists, I hold, is to do away with flogging in prison for men, and with imprisonment in dark cells in irons for both men and women.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER III.—(*Continued.*)

From the sources available it is not easy to give an exact picture of the economic divisions and social classes of Palestine during the last century B.C. and the first century of our era, that is, in the two centuries of the birth and rise of Christianity. The Jewish writers and historians of those times attached little importance to things economic; they wrote chiefly from a religious, political, and legal point of view. Economic phenomena were alluded to only incidentally, some of those allusions being however pregnant with historic significance. According to JOSEPHUS, whose writings form the chief source of history of those times, the Sadducees consisted of nobles and rich. The TALMUD (Gittin, 56A), in dealing from a purely religious point of view with the incidents during the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, relates that there were then three rich men in Jerusalem whose stores of provisions were so considerable that they could supply the city and its surroundings for a period of 21 years. That means, obviously, that those three men controlled the whole provision market of Judæa. The bitter internecine struggles during the Jewish wars against the Romans, which are mentioned in Josephus as well as in the Talmud, and which undoubtedly bear all indications of a relentless class war of the lower classes against the rich, reveal the existence of a large revolutionary proletariat as a natural corollary of the existence of a small class of monopolists. Unhappily, the

leaders of that proletariat left no trace in Jewish literature. What we know of them we owe to Pharisaic writers who were out of sympathy with them, and who regarded them as murderers, incendiaries, and desperate fighters. We can no more expect from Pharisees a just appreciation of those revolutionary elements than from French bourgeois writers a dispassionate opinion of the Jacobins, Hebertists, and Babouvists of the French Revolution or of the men of the Paris Commune of 1871. They simply branded them as zealots and murderers. Only modern Socialists, with their insight into historic crises, are able to throw some light on the civil wars of the Jewry in the age of Christ. It would, however, be a mistake to speak of the Jewish proletariat of those times in a modern sense. The revolutionary class consisted then of journeymen, labourers, small craftsmen and peasants, and disappointed Pharisees. There was no clear-cut line between the lower classes and the Pharisees. Indeed, it is one of the most difficult problems in Jewish history to define, from an economic point of view, the party of the Pharisees. On the whole, we may say that that party consisted of the middle-class — shopkeepers, small traders, and independent artisans.

But, while the economic conditions formed the basis of Jewish social life, they are not sufficient to explain the rise and development of the Jewish crisis. Religion played a very prominent part in it; also politics, especially the rise of the Roman Empire, affected it deeply. It is, therefore, necessary to deal with the religious and political factors.

The result of the pre-exilic life of the Jews was, as it was shown in previous articles, monotheism. The disintegration of primitive communism gave rise to a long struggle between the possessors and the dispossessed, which expressed itself mentally in the opposition between polytheistic modes of worship and moral action, or between priesthood and prophecy. The most sublime expression of the work of the prophets is

to be found in Isaiah the Second, while Ezekiel combined both elements, the prophetic and the priestly. And it was Ezekiel, and not Isaiah, who became the teacher of the post-exilic period. His real successor was Ezra, who codified the law, and who by his great organising capacity made the law the predominant mental factor in Jewish life. The pre-exilic period knew little of law; it was custom, tradition, individual interest, and the interpretation of the priest that regulated Jewish life. Ezra gave to his people the five books of Moses as a guide, and put legality in the place of traditional uncertainties. The return of the exiles from Babylonia, the restoration of the old temple, were moments which deeply affected Jewish mentality, and Ezra made use of those moments of religious exaltation to make the law prevail. And the law of the Pentateuch is a compromise between priestly regulations and prophetic morality. The post-exilic society being once more firmly placed on the basis of private property, the priestly law became a fact while prophetic morality and humanity remained an aspiration.

Just as pre-exilic life produced monotheism, so post-exilic life produced religious legality; a code of laws as a guide in the worship of the monotheistic Yahve.

According to the law the Jews separated from the Gentiles; they became a distinct religious community—a State, the members of which aspired to the priesthood of Yahve. The priests and scribes were the leading men of the nation, and the vision of the prophets ceased. Sacrifices, temple service, and psalm singing took the place of the free speech and ethical remonstrances of the prophet. In the first three centuries after the return from the exile the economic development was slow, the divisions and inequalities in society were less marked, and, therefore, the difference between priestly law and prophetic ideals was less noticeable. The law became the centre of Jewish life. The Jews elaborated the conception of being a chosen people, a nation of priests, holy in

their relation to Yahve, righteous in their relations to their brethren. Their foreign rulers, the Persians, the Ptolemæans, the Seleucidæ, left them alone in the exercise of their religious ceremonies. The first change occurred in the third century, when Hellenism and economic intercourse with the Hellenic world encroached upon Jewish exclusiveness. Economic and religious disintegration set in, which, in the second century, led to the formation of antagonistic parties within Jewish society. There arose the Sadducees and the Pharisees. Already in the rising of the Maccabæans against the violent Hellenising of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes we discern the two parties which, despite the Maccabæan victories, remained and developed.

The Sadducees, the party of the nobles and rich, desired a Hellenised but politically independent Jewry, with its own King and Government. Apparently they were the national party, in reality they were not national. The real national party were the Pharisees, the middle-classes, whose political ideal was a Theocracy; they cared nothing for worldly politics; they looked to a holy priesthood as their guides; in their eyes the Jews had for their mission to worship Yahve according to the law. Still, the notion of a Theocracy, and the fact of vassalage to a Gentile Power, were bound earlier or later to come into collision with each other. As long as the foreign overlord did not interfere with their religious worship they gave little thought to politics. But as soon as the foreign yoke became oppressive two things happened: either the Jews fought the oppressor with all the death-defying courage that religious fanaticism inspires, or they regarded the oppression as a punishment by Yahve in consequence of the neglect of his commandments, and they therefore tried to elaborate the law more minutely and to conform to it more strictly. The first case happened in the second quarter of the second century B.C., when the violent attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenise the Jews met with a stubborn resistance which led, in

142 B.C., to the independence of Palestine ; the second case happened after loss of Jewish independence in 63 B.C., when Palestine came under Roman sway. In the last century B.C. and the first century of our era Roman interference with Jewish life became more and more oppressive. Rome was a standing defiance of Pharisaic belief in a Theocracy. The law was therefore incessantly elaborated and constantly multiplied. It was as if the Pharisees and scribes were obsessed with the notion that the whole misfortune of the Jewry was due to the fact that Yahve demanded a most elaborate code of ceremonies to be observed by all those who desired to approach him. In the last century B.C. the middle classes had already lost all fighting capacity and relied solely for their defence on God. Or as it is said in the PSALMS: "There is no King saved by the multitude of an host; a mighty man is not delivered by much strength. . . . Our soul waiteth for Yahve: he is our help and our shield."

While the ceremonial law was growing to immense proportions on account of Roman oppression, the observance of the ethical laws became more and more impossible on account of the same cause. The direct and indirect oppression of the Jews by the Romans and their appointed Jewish Kings and High Priests, the heavy impositions and taxes inflicted upon the Jews, bore heavily upon the lower middle classes, which belonged to the Pharisaic party. The pious, puritanic and ceremonial Pharisee was of necessity a bad employer. He simply could not pay good wages and treat his workpeople as the law prescribed. He was impoverished by bad government, by corrupt officials, and the plunderings of the Roman Consuls. Oppressed and outraged in his religious conscience by the Roman sway, robbed by the corrupt representatives of Rome, dependent in his economic life on the rich or noble Sadducee, taunted and fought by the workman, the Pharisee was indeed a pathetic figure. From this world of wickedness, so full of disharmonies and contradictions, he took refuge in the law, which

he further elaborated until it became an unbearable yoke. But the law was not the only refuge. If man was unable to find a way out of the harrowing contradiction between religious superiority and foreign servitude, Yahve will send his Messiah to save the Jews from Rome as he once saved them, through Moses, from Egyptian servitude. And not only from Rome, but from sin, and then the Kingdom of God will reign for ever and ever. The belief in God sending a saviour to Israel was an old one and became intense in periods of oppression: Yahve could not forsake his chosen people. Law and Messianism thus became the haven of refuge of the Pharisees.

The development of legalism had for its effect an estrangement between the Pharisees and the working population in town and country. The self-consciousness, the pride of learning, and the puritanism of the Pharisees gave them a certain refinement and sense of superiority which kept them aloof from the common illiterate people. We have in the Talmud ample evidence of the hatred that existed between the legalists (Pharisees) and the *Ameh-ha-Arets*,* as they contemptuously called the common people. To this mental antagonism was added the economic one, as the middle-classes were by their economic position compelled to exploit and sweat the working people. The latter never accepted legalism as the rule of life. The common illiterate people kept in an inchoate manner the old spirit of prophecy, the ethical view of religion, alive, and there is handed down a saying of the early rabbis from which it may be concluded that the common people adhered to the old communistic traditions. In a famous tract, "The Saying of the Fathers," it is said: "With regard to property there are three ways: The upper-class says, What is mine is mine, and what is thine is also mine; the middle-class says, What is mine is mine, what is thine is thine; the lower-class says, What is mine is thine, what is thine is mine."

(To be Concluded.) M. BEER.

* *Ameh-ha-Arets* means folk of the land or pagans.

ALCOHOLOPHOBIA.

To those who, like myself, believe in temperance in all things and are in entire sympathy with the crusade against alcoholism it is a matter of some encouragement to see so much space in the "Social-Democrat" devoted to consideration of the various aspects of the drink question. Indeed, it would seem that the immense importance of this question bade fair to overshadow that of Socialism altogether.

It is as well, of course, that the physiological aspect of this question of drink should be put as well as the sociological, and that there is much to be said against the excessive use of alcohol from this point of view there can be no question. But what there is to be said should be stated temperately—without exaggeration. Otherwise, it seems to me, it is likely to do at least as much harm as good. That excessive indulgence in alcohol is harmful there cannot, I imagine, be any two opinions. But that is true of everything. Mr. Hobart, however, sets out to show, with all the fanaticism of the total abstainer and abolitionist, that temperance or moderation in the use of alcohol is impossible. He begins by declaring alcohol to be a poison; then goes on to an endeavour to show that it is not a food, and then returns to the poison charge, and having asserted that, as a poison, it is injurious if taken even in the smallest quantities, winds up with the declaration that it is really nothing. "For if," he says, "as Professor Duglaux himself says, 100 grammes of sugar yield 50 grammes of alcohol and 50 grammes of carbonic acid, the whole 100 grammes

of sugar have been transformed—*then there is nothing left*; and twice the weight of nothing is nil."

Therefore, instead of being a poison, after all, alcohol is not only not a food, it is just nothing at all. And if it is nothing at all it certainly cannot be a poison; because if "twice the weight of nothing is nil," so also twice the quality of nothing is nil.

In the quotation Hobart gives from Professor Duglaux, the latter speaks of the transformation, by fermentation, of 100 grammes of sugar into 50 grammes of alcohol. The 100 grammes of sugar yield, says Professor Duglaux, "50 grammes of alcohol and 50 grammes of carbonic acid. The latter evaporates, and is lost in the atmosphere, but in thus disappearing *it does not carry away any force*." The italics are mine. The conclusion, therefore, is that the whole force, nutriment, and virtue of the 100 grammes of sugar is contained in the residuum of 50 grammes of alcohol into which the sugar has been "transformed." That appears to me to be perfectly clear. So many ounces of beef may be "transformed" into a less but more nutritive quantity of beef tea; so many yards of cloth may be "transformed" into a single garment; the admixture of two or more quite harmless and useful liquids may "transform" them into a single powerful and dangerous explosive. But for Hobart "transformation" does not mean transformation at all, it means annihilation! And so, according to him, when by any process a thing is transformed it does not merely change its quality or nature; it evaporates into nothingness! I should have thought that it would have been Hobart's "lay" to have claimed that in the "transformation" the harmless necessary sugar had been changed into a virulent poison. But no, it becomes nothing!

And this is the kind of reasoning to which Hobart treats us all through his articles. I do not think very much of the food argument. Man is not a tree or a cabbage, nor does he live by bread alone. The amount of alimentation contained in the food or drink

we take is not the sole consideration. If it were, we should feed on scientifically compounded tabloids, carefully weighed and measured with regard solely to the quantity of bone, flesh and blood-forming elements they would impart to the body, no matter how disagreeable in taste they might be. But man is not a tree or a cabbage to be satisfied with a given amount of solid and liquid manure. He is possessed of an æsthetic sense, and, outside of the mere workman who only lives to work and does not dine, but simply "stokes," like an engine, so as to be able to do his work, that sense has to be taken into consideration. And even the workman does sometimes endeavour to gratify his æsthetic sense, if not always in the highest or most desirable manner. When he indulges in his glass of beer, or his pipe, after his day's work, he would not be concerned to know that neither the one nor the other will strengthen his thews and sinews or increase his capacity for the morrow's toiling and moiling. He would probably retort that he had but few pleasures, and that he was not prepared to give up any of them simply in order to be able to work a little harder.

In regard to this food aspect of the question, however, Hobart treats us to elaborate tables giving the respective food values of various liquids and solids, very much, of course, to the disadvantage of alcohol; and he caps these by a quotation from Liebig, to the effect that, "if a man drinks daily eight or ten quarts of the best beer, in the course of twelve months he will have taken into his system the nutritive constituents of a 5 lb. loaf of bread."

Well, I have heard of a man swallowing a red herring in a quart of beer, but that was only by accident. If a man wanted the nutriment of a 5 lb. loaf, the best thing for him to do would be to eat one; but if he thirsted for the gratification of a good drink of beer, he would prefer that, although he knew that there was not the nutriment of half an ounce of bread in a hogshead of it.

Hobart "respectfully commends" these "facts and figures" to "nursing mothers." He should have said figures, for the "facts" are conspicuous by their absence. Here, perhaps, is one of them. "If the mother's digestion is bad, and the supply of milk fails, the doctor is usually consulted, and he orders ale or stout, and the apparent result is that she has an abundant supply of what she erroneously thinks to be milk, but which in reality is only the water portion, for the chemical composition of alcohol and milk have nothing in common but water."

Was there ever such a begging of the question? Why "apparent result," and "erroneously"? How can we tell that the more abundant supply of milk, resulting from drinking the ale or stout, is not as good in quality and nutritive elements as the smaller supply given before, except by making a comparison? Yet Hobart gives us no comparison. It is as though the mother said, "Before I took the beer I had a poor supply of milk; I could not satisfy the hunger of my baby, who constantly cried for what I could not give him. Now I have a much more abundant supply. I am able to satisfy the baby, who sleeps well-fed instead of crying with hunger, and I feel better myself also, because he does not seem to drag me to death as he used to do." And Hobart replies, "You are quite mistaken, madam; the more abundant supply is only apparent; it is not real, and your conclusion that your babe is better satisfied and that you yourself feel better is a mistaken one, 'erroneously' arrived at by supposing that there was anything in common between milk and alcohol except water." This is a sort of Christian Scientist reasoning. A woman is not ill or well, not the better for drinking beer, or the worse for going without, as she feels she is; all that is merely "apparent," and she should reason herself into distrusting appearances and into the belief that a smaller supply of milk is really larger, of better quality and more nutritious than a more abundant supply. Hobart gives us the chemical composition of

human milk, which he says contains all the elements of food ; but, he tells us, "Alcohol will alter this proportion." So that by the mother taking a small quantity of alcohol she turns her milk into something different from milk. In other words, her milk becomes "transformed," and as transformation according to Hobart means, as we have seen, annihilation, the mother does not have, as she vainly supposes, a more abundant supply of milk ; she really has none at all !

All this, of course, is purely hypothetical nonsense on Hobart's part. I do not know if doctors do generally advise ale or stout to nursing mothers with bad digestion and a failing milk supply. But if they do, and if a woman in such case finds her digestion improve and her supply of milk more abundant, and she and her baby more healthy, happy and comfortable in consequence, I would rather accept her experience as a "fact" than all the theories Hobart may advance to show that the improvement was merely apparent and not real. And exactly the same may be said with regard to the tables setting out the effect of alcohol on digestion. I am not prepared to say how far the digestive operations of the stomach can be artificially reproduced as in the experiments described by Hobart, but I do know that nothing can be much more dangerous than to generalise on such experiments. Here, again, an ounce of practical experience is worth a ton of theory. I know people who dare not take spirits with their food or they will suffer indigestion. I know others who never digest and assimilate their food so well as when they take whisky with it. For my part, I find spirits a hindrance and beer an aid to digestion, but never suffer from indigestion except through smoking. Hobart, who, I think, is an inveterate smoker, will probably say that my indigestion is only "apparent," because I do not eat or drink the tobacco, and there is nothing in common between alcohol and tobacco except water. That is the teetotal method of reasoning : Alcohol ruins your digestion ; if you suffer from indigestion it must be because you

have taken alcohol. If you complain that you suffer from indigestion when you take no alcohol, and are free from it when you take a moderate quantity, why, then you are mistaken, and the indigestion is only "apparent," not real. It seems to me, on the contrary, that there can be no greater mistake than to dogmatise on such a subject; that one man's meat is another man's poison, and that the wise and temperate man is he who allows practical experience to guide him in what to eat and drink and what to avoid.

But, according to Hobart, any experience to the contrary notwithstanding, "digestion can only take place when the alcohol has been expelled from the stomach." Alcohol is a poison, and injurious even when taken in the smallest quantities. It is none the less a poison because of the smallness of the quantity which is taken. "A poison always injures or destroys the whole or a part of the human system with which it comes in contact. It is just as certain in its action whether the quantity taken be large or small, although if the quantity be small the recuperative powers of the tissues, if they be healthy, may throw off its effects without the injury being manifested." Nevertheless, and in spite of this latter possibility, "observation establishes the fact that a moderate use of alcoholic liquors, continued over a number of years, produces a gradual deterioration of the tissues of the body, and hastens the changes which old age brings, thus increasing the average liability to disease, etc."

I deny this absolutely. I say that observation has established no such fact. In my own experience, extending over half-a century, of a large number of acquaintances, moderate drinkers and teetotallers, I find the former as hale, as "fit" mentally and physically, as hearty and as free from disease, as the latter. Whereas, had the "fact" been established as stated, the moderate drinkers would all have been dead, and only the teetotallers would have been left alive to tell the tale.

But alcohol is a poison, and every poison, says Hobart, "is positive and determinate in its action unless counteracted by an antidote." It does not seem to occur to him, that just as dirt has been described as only matter in the wrong place, so whether any given compound is a food or a poison depends largely upon the quantity in which it is taken, and other circumstances—and that what is a poison in one set of circumstances may be an antidote in another. Almost all fruits, I believe, contain a certain amount of poison—and poison of the most deadly kind. Therefore, as "poison always injures or destroys," and "is just as certain in its action whether the quantity taken be large or small," we should sedulously abstain from all kinds of fruit in order to escape the evil effects of the ineradicable small quantity of poison they contain.

Again, the bite of a rattlesnake is one of the most deadly, and the only known antidote is alcohol. The only way to escape the fatal effect of a rattlesnake bite is to fill one's self up with alcoholic liquor. I imagine, however, that Hobart would prefer to die!

Alcohol only forms a very small proportion of ordinary alcoholic beverages. In stout and mild ale, as Hobart shows, there are less than two ounces of alcohol to more than 18 ounces of water, in claret and strong ale two ounces of alcohol to 18 of water, a smaller proportion of alcohol, as a matter of fact, than is to be found in some "temperance" drinks, and an amount much less poisonous in its effects probably than some of the elements of tea or coffee. Yet it is alcohol which is the one virulent poison to be attacked, nothing else matters.

That being so, it would be only natural to suppose that the more alcoholic drinks were adulterated the more the teetotaller would rejoice. On the contrary, however, Hobart appears to be quite indignant over the number of foreign substances "introduced into the manufacture of stimulants," and, after giving a list of these, he tells us that "the numerous chemical

and mineral substances introduced into the manufacture of drinks only make them more injurious." So, like the poet, he finds in "the lowest depth a deeper still," and having set out on a crusade against alcohol, he discovers that even alcohol is not so bad as the "numerous chemical and mineral substances" by which it is adulterated. But what will the manufacturers of mineral waters and other "temperance" drinks say to this indictment? And what of the numerous table waters, which are highly recommended on account of their mineral qualities? According to Hobart, these are worse than ordinary unadulterated alcoholic beverages.

Hobart makes a great deal of the alleged ill-effects of alcohol in stimulating the action of the heart. Leaving aside the assertion that alcohol is at once a poison and nothing at all, which would seem to make it incapable of stimulating anything; and accepting the stimulant theory, the question arises whether such stimulus is always and necessarily injurious. Pleasurable excitement, vigorous exercise, animated conversation, the meeting with friends, will also quicken the heart-beats. Are these, then, all injurious and tending to shorten life? And are health and torpidity synonymous? It is doubtless true that undue stimulation of the action of the heart is injurious, but the question is what is "undue." Here, again, it seems to be another case of the danger of generalisation. This, at any rate, I think might be claimed with assurance—that, in this connection, in stimulating torpid vital organs into activity, alcohol has saved innumerable more lives than it has ever destroyed. I think, too, that few who have given any attention to the subject will deny that smoking is much more injurious to the heart than the drinking of alcoholic liquors.

The conclusion of the matter appears to me to be that the tremendous indictment framed by teetotallers against alcoholic drinks is not proved, otherwise would the difference between drinkers and

abstainers be everywhere self-evident and manifest; that the moderate use of alcoholic beverages is not harmful and may be beneficial; and that while we should do all in our power to combat "alcoholism" we should carefully avoid alcoholophobia, and should strive to be, as the Apostle enjoins, temperate in all things.

PERCY SCOTT.



THE CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH LABOURER AFTER THE PEASANTS' REVOLT IN 1381.—After this great insurrection came what has been termed the golden age of the English labourer, and it lasted all through the fifteenth century. Food was cheap and abundant; wages were amply sufficient. True, the employers of labour still tried, by various petitions and Acts, to enforce the Statute of Labourers, but they were practically unsuccessful, and prosperity was progressive and continuous till the evil days of Henry VIII. The wages of a good agricultural labourer before the Plague had been £2 7s. 10d. per year as an average, including the labour of his wife and child; after the Plague his wages would be £3 15s., and the cost of his living certainly not more than £3 4s. 9d. An artisan, working 300 days a year, would get, say, £3 18s. 1½d. before 1348, after that date £5 15s. 7d., which was so far above the cost of maintenance as to give him a very comfortable position. His working day, too, was not excessive, while the fixed rents of the time were very low. These low rents were also one great cause of the prosperity of the new yeoman, or tenant farmer class (p. 73) that had arisen after the collapse of the capitalist landowners in consequence of the Plague. This class remained for at least two centuries the backbone of English agriculture. . . . But food was abundant and cheap. The cost of living was not more than one-tenth of what it is at the present day. Three pounds of beef could be bought for a penny; a pig cost about fourpence; beer was only a halfpenny a gallon. Employment was fairly constant and regular, and in addition to their wages, labourers still possessed the valuable old manorial common rights of common pasture and forest.—H. DE B. GIBBINS in 'Industrial History of England.'

THE MONTH.

Last month we had occasion to congratulate the Labour Party on the vigour of their attack on the Government over their neglect of the unemployed. It really looked as if the criticisms of the Party on their tameness and supineness towards the Government had had a good effect, and that they were going to justify their existence as an opposition party in the House of Commons. But any hopes of that sort have been quickly extinguished; the zeal displayed in the debate on the Address has quickly evaporated, and the whole Party has gone to sleep again, only to wake up for an occasional speech in favour of Free Trade, or another attack on the vicious habits of the working class.

Keir Hardie has not yet set out with the fiery cross to rouse the indignation of the people against the criminal indifference of the Government, as he threatened he would do; George Barnes has not shaken the dust of Westminster from off his feet as he suggested he would do unless something were done for the unemployed. On the contrary, he seems to consider that he is doing his duty to the working people he claims to represent, and who pay him his salary, by supporting puritanical "closing" Bills, which are an insult to the working-class.

And Grayson? Has the burning indignation, which moved him to hurl defiance at the Speaker and get ignominiously "chucked" entirely died out of his breast? Does he no longer see the misery of the unemployed men, hear the cry of the hungry women and children about which he has talked so eloquently? Has the motor-car trip which so disappointed and disgusted his friends and so delighted his enemies completely hypnotised him? Enthusiastic Socialists, easily pleased, thought after his outburst in the House of Commons that at last they and the unemployed

had found a champion there. But now he is as somnolent as the rest. Another disappointment!

The result of the Croydon election may be taken as a foretaste of the defeat which awaits the Labour Party at the general election, whenever it may come. The outcome of an enthusiastic movement on the part of the working-class for independent Labour Representation, the Labour Party had a magnificent opportunity of making the House of Commons a platform for the ventilation of the grievances and the declaration of the rights and aspirations of the working-class. That opportunity they have deliberately, or ignorantly, thrown away. On every conceivable occasion they have identified themselves with the Liberal Party and the Liberal Government. No official member of the Liberal Party has spoken in higher terms of praise of the Government, or bestowed more fulsome eulogy upon the Featherstone Prime Minister, than have prominent members of the Labour Party. Judging by what these men have said of the Liberal Government, people were led to ask themselves whether there really was any difference between a "Labour" man and a Liberal. The result of such questioning has been evidenced at Croydon. It will be still further manifested when the Labour Party goes down in the débâcle which inevitably awaits the Liberals at the next election.

The Children Act, which, most appropriately, came into force on April 1, is an excellent example of Liberal "social legislation." It is all repression, coercion and punishment. Gladstone once said that it was the duty of a Government to make it easy for people to do right and difficult for them to do wrong. That is a sound principle; but it is not the principle inspiring present-day Liberalism. On the contrary, the principle at present acted upon is that all the influences which are mischievous and make for wrong-doing should be left unchecked, but poor people—and only poor people—should be punished by being influenced by them.

Where is the sense of excluding the children from public-houses, when public-houses remain the only places to which working-people can resort for social intercourse, and the only institutions which bring a little brightness into their dull and dreary lives? Why not set up decent places of public entertainment—

under public ownership and control—to which working-men could take their wives and children? Above all, why not take steps to provide decent housing accommodation for the people, so that they will not be compelled to fly to the public-house as the only refuge from the hell-holes they call home?

Of course, neither Liberals nor "Labour" men had any regard for the insult they were putting upon, or the injustice they were doing to the decent, respectable workman who, out for a walk with his wife and youngsters, finds the public-house the only place to which he can go for rest and refreshment. The absurdity, in such case, of compelling him to leave his children outside never occurred to these lordly personages. They have forgotten all they ever knew about working-class life, and their present knowledge of working-class needs and customs is on a par with that of Marie Antoinette, who suggested that the people of Paris, perishing for want of bread, should buy buns.

Our Liberals and Labour men were stuffed up with the lurid stories of G. R. Sims, of sordid bedraggled women, boozing in the low public-houses of the slums, and there soaking their children with gin. Most of these stories were untrue, or such gross exaggerations as scarcely to be distinguished from lies. But even if they had been absolutely and entirely true, they must be very foolish who supposed that the evil complained of would be abolished simply by excluding the children. It will be found that either the women will go and booze without the children, leaving them to stew in the filthy slum home, or the women will have the drink in the "home," where they will drink under worse conditions and indulge in worse orgies than would be tolerated in the worst and vilest public-house in existence.

Probably that does not matter, in the opinion of the Chadbands and Stigginses who are responsible for this silly, superficial legislation. To their ostrich-like intelligences, so long as an evil is put out of sight it is as good as abolished altogether. It is a pity, however, that those who voted for the Bill cannot be compelled to go and live for a while in these slums. They would have a little more sense then.

The Board of Trade report, making a comparison between the conditions of French and English workers, as the preceding volume

on Germany did, is being made use of as a means for showing the immense advantages the workers of this country enjoy in consequence of Free Trade. All this, however, does not alter the fact that the Tariff Reform movement is growing, and that the Free Traders are having all their work cut out to defend their position. With the price of bread rising, no improvement in the general volume of trade, and the persistence of unemployment, it would be wonderful if it were otherwise. It is very significant, nevertheless, that the Free Traders should be content to stand on the defensive. Surely, if they had any faith in their own principles, they would be in favour of a reform of the tariff. Why not move for the abolition of all import duties, especially those on articles which are not produced in this country? The truth is, of course, that Free Trade is a fraud, and Protection is no better. There is reason to fear, however, that the working-class electors of this country will turn to the latter, if only by way of a change.

The war cloud in the Balkans has lifted, and, for a time, at least, peace reigns in the Near East. The Teutonic Powers have conquered, and the various small nationalities there are now under the absolute rule of Austro-Germany. That is the one outstanding serious fact of the present situation. But for that we could heartily join in the unqualified delight expressed by some of our friends that war has been averted, and British diplomacy has received a smashing defeat.

Certainly this last consideration is very diverting. All the clever kowtowing, the cousinly visiting of Edward the Peacemaker; the humiliating subservience to the blood-stained Czar, the almost equally humiliating journey to Berlin; the astute wire-pulling of the wily Sir Edward Grey—the greatest Foreign Minister of modern times, according to his admirers in the reptile press—all has been in vain; it has all egregiously failed. All this would be very amusing, and, indeed, delightful, did it not mean that this defeat of British diplomacy has been purchased at the price of Prussian domination in Europe.

It is a great thing, doubtless, that British diplomacy has been defeated. It is a still greater thing that war has been averted. But there are worse things than war. Chamberlain and the power behind him did not want war in South Africa if the Boer

Republic would only concede all that they could hope to win by war. Germany does not want war in Europe if she can get all she wants by the same means as have been so successful in the present instance. The question, therefore, for the international Social-Democracy at the present time is whether the old policy of the party in favour of the rights of the small nationalities is to be adhered to—in which case the Prussian aggression has to be met and fought—or whether that policy is to be abandoned in favour of the new imperialism and the domination of Europe by Prussia.

The 29th annual conference of the Social-Democratic Party at Bristol was one of the most successful the Party has yet held—in point of numbers, enthusiasm, and business capacity. Even the difficulties raised by a recrudescence in the body of impossibilism were met with a calmness and a tolerance which showed the strength and vitality of the Party and its determination to maintain its old sane policy of endeavouring to win the working class to Socialism. The I.L.P. Conference at Edinburgh seems to have experienced troublous times. The four members of the N.A.C. elected at the conference resigned because an expression of their hostility towards Victor Grayson contained in their report was referred back, and though the conference immediately swallowed a good deal of humble pie and rescinded their reference back, yet for some unaccountable reason of their own the four leaders insisted on their resignations.

TRUE SOCIALISM.

The following was sent to the editor of the "Catholic Times" in reply to the published report of a lecture by Father Vaughan :—

The opposition of the Catholic clergy to Socialism is to me a subject not only of regret but of wonder ; and when I ask myself, How is it that a class of men who must be presumed to have the welfare of their fellow-creatures at heart oppose so beneficent a system ? I can only answer, it is because they do not understand it. I have read your report of Father Vaughan's lecture on the subject with interest, and I propose to set forth my own views in reply.

But first I must clear the ground.

The opposition between Religion and Socialism is purely imaginary. As two rails are necessary to support the train, so Religion and Socialism are both necessary to human welfare ; but, like the rails, they are parallel forces ; the function of the one is quite different from that of the other ; they have no point of contact unless it be this—that religion tells you to do good, and Socialism explains how you can best do it. The advocacy of Socialism, therefore, is a religious duty, but it can never be a religion ; nor can either (save as aforesaid) assist or oppose the other. Religion aims at the motive, or (in popular phrase) seeks to change the heart ; consequently it acts on each individual separately. Socialism aims at the outward act. Its object is to restrain acts which would produce or increase misery in others or even in oneself. It must, therefore, act coercively and by general rules, and can affect individuals only as members of classes or nations. Socialism, therefore, will be a regenerated law.

The theological and philosophical opinions to which Father Vaughan objects are not the basis of Socialism. They are merely props which those who hold them use to give it additional support just as those of more orthodox views lay hold on the gospel precepts for the same purpose. But Socialism does not need these supports. It stands firm on its own foundation, which is that every man who works as well as he can has a right to a maintenance from his fellow-men, and, as this right does not generally lie against one more than against another, it follows that, in cases where no one is disposed to remunerate the man for his exertions, his right must lie against the public. We who believe this, and who also

believe that this right can only be enforced when real estate and gainful enterprises are vested in the public and managed by public authority for the general good, are called Socialists. I personally believe that it is also essential to this result that all incomes should be equalised, except in cases of wilful idleness or default, and that all strife having gain for its object should cease. Consequently, Socialism presents itself to me as a necessary preparation for the Messianic Age.

The argument that Socialism, though it is concerned with the welfare of future generations, is not concerned with that of the individual soul after death, is unsound; because, if we condemn Socialism for this cause, we must also condemn literature, science, art, invention, commercial and manufacturing enterprise, and most of our other activities.

The statement that there is no detailed analogy between social and biological evolution is correct; but it forms no objection against Socialism, for, though comrade Macdonald used it as a support to Socialism, Herbert Spencer used it as a support to a form of individualism so extreme that he would even have had money coined by private firms rather than by the public authorities.

The statement that it is impossible or difficult to discover the exact detail of Socialism is quite true, and the statement that Socialists sometimes make mistakes is equally so. But the suggestion that those of us who think out these problems for ourselves conceal our opinions from the crowd, and the suggestion that those who take their opinions from others and communicate them to the crowd intentionally conceal something, are quite mistaken. And the statement that there is no authoritative and accurate definition of the principles of Socialism is also mistaken. The Chicago platform for 1908 is an authoritative declaration; and I feel justified in saying that it is also accurate, for, although I had nothing to do with the framing of that platform, and neither its framers nor anyone else had anything to do with the formation of my views (which are the result of many years of independent study and thought), yet both agree. When two boys do the same sum and without collusion get the same answer the reasonable inference is that they are both right.

But on questions of detail unanimity has not yet been attained. Nor is it reasonable to expect that it should. In all sciences dispute and discussion have long prevailed. In some of them they still continue. This is due to the finite nature of the human intellect. In every branch of learning the greatest intellects have sometimes made mistakes. What social scientists are seeking for is a social organisation by which human misery shall be eliminated. We who believe that this can be done by impartially administering real estate and gainful enterprises for the benefit of the whole people are still divided as to the mode in which they can best be administered for that purpose, and it is possible that some of the points in debate between us may not be settled until after

Socialism has been established and some practical experience gained.

But the suggestion that we should ourselves establish it on a small scale as a working model cannot be complied with, because to do so we should require the legislative, judicial, executive, and administrative powers of a sovereign State.

Next: as to the theory of value proposed by Ricardo, improved by Marx, and now called the Marxian theory. Ricardo and Marx were fallible men and made some mistakes; but Socialism does not rest upon any theory of value. Let us, however, examine this theory, for it enshrines an element of truth. If everyone who desired to use the products of nature could obtain them in unlimited quantity, then the resulting wares would have no further value than labour had bestowed. But their quantity is generally limited, and if they were obtainable free some would appropriate them to the exclusion of others equally competent and willing to utilise them. It is right, therefore, that a price should be charged for the use of them, so that those who can put them to the best use may be preferred. But it is most unfair that that price should belong to the land-holder. It should belong to the public. Much of the value of land, too, is due to labour (in clearing, draining, fencing, and tilling), and it is most unfair that the increased value thereby caused should belong to the landowner. It should belong to the man who laboured, if he is known; but much of it is due to the labour of past generations who are unknown, and this should belong to the public. A higher price can be obtained for land when the means of access are improved and when people come to dwell and to carry on business there. It is most unfair that this increment should belong to the owner of the site. It should belong to the public. The profits of employers (apart from "wages of superintendence") are derived in part from the necessities of uncapitalised men and should belong to them; they are derived in part from the labours of scientists and inventors, and should, in part, be applied in compensating the displaced workman, and as to the rest should belong to the public. These values and profits constitute the natural fund for the starting of new enterprises and the enlargement of old ones and for the remuneration of those who, though their services are necessary, produce no values; such as the officers of administration and government. In a well-ordered commonwealth there would be no need for taxes.

The last objection—that Socialism is unjust as being confiscatory—is unhappily mingled by Father Vaughan with the question above discussed—what values ought to belong to the public. The one deals with what the regenerated social order should be; the other with how it should be brought about. Nearly all titles to real estate originated in confiscation and the rest in usurpation. Titles to the other forms of wealth originated in profits made possible by the wealth of land-holders and by other objectionable

means. It was as late, I think, as 1860 that the lands of Oudh were confiscated because its inhabitants had made a struggle for liberty. Still, I should be glad if Socialism should be established without injustice. But Socialism offers in its own nature a compensation to this extent, that it guarantees a good average income to every human being and to his heirs for ever. Nor could anyone fairly claim compensation for more than he, or his ancestors or testators, paid for the property. Even, however, if a full price were paid, the public would still be a great gainer; for to it all future unearned increment and future pure profit would accrue; and by a judicious improvement in the laws of inheritance the public would be heir in preference to remote kindred whose claims rest neither on justice nor on common-sense.

So much for clearing the ground. At last I have come to a point where I may discuss the substantial question at issue. My ideals are the same as Father Vaughan's. He desires that every man shall be at liberty to do whatever will not cause misery to himself or to others, and shall be checked by authority from doing whatever would have that effect. So do I. He desires that a pure and wholesome family life be maintained and prostitution eliminated. So do I. He desires that wealth shall no longer be the chief aim of mankind. So do I. The question between us is whether these objects can be more surely and fully attained under an individualist or a Socialist system.

And first as to liberty. No law forbids anyone to follow any occupation he chooses or none, to work for any other remuneration than he pleases, or to spend his time in any way he likes so long as he steers clear of the criminal law. He, therefore, seems to have absolute liberty and even too much liberty; but in reality he has but little liberty, and very often none at all, because certain social forces, which are liberated by our individualistic social system which has preceded it, press him on every side. Under Socialism his activities will be prescribed by authority, and he will therefore appear to be a slave, but he will really be free. If, indeed, the public officials are appointed by or responsible to a section of the people, they will study the interests of that section, and the result will be tyranny. But under Socialism these officials will be appointed by and responsible to the whole people, and therefore will study the welfare of the whole people, and their rule will be beneficent.

Let me exemplify this. In every man's life there is one crisis. In many men's lives there is a second.

The first crisis is the choice of an occupation. This depends upon the parents. They may, as an act of grace, permit the youth to choose for himself, but they generally insist on guiding the choice. They hold the purse-strings, and very few occupations can be entered on without cost. Upon those few it is rarely practicable to enter against the parents' opposition. Now the parents are actuated by the best motives, but they have not the necessary

knowledge. Few of them know that youths have natural aptitudes and ineptitudes—that a youth who is fitted to attain high excellence in one kind of work is often incapable of attaining even mediocrity in another. Few of them know the ratio of supply to demand in the different occupations. These essential considerations, therefore, they leave out of account. They decide according to considerations of expense, of social dignity, and of personal and other influence. But these considerations are immaterial to the public and often not very material to the youth.

The Socialist functionaries, however, will leave out of account considerations of expense, because then the cost of training will be borne by the public; they will leave out of account considerations of social dignity, because then the dignity of all occupations will be equal; they will leave out of account considerations of influence, because the public will be bound to provide employment for all, and no kind of work (diligence being equal) will be better or worse paid than another.

And here note that the kind of work for which a man has most aptitude, and by which therefore he can serve the public best, is also that which interests him most. Consequently, under Socialism work would be a pleasure. And I believe that Providence has so beneficently arranged that the number of persons who are fitted for each kind of work is about proportionate to the number required to do it, and that the higher kinds of intellectual work put too great a strain upon the brain of the average man to be desired by him, except when they bring him a higher rate of pay.

The second crisis occurs when the kind of work to which the man is accustomed ceases to be required, or comes to be required in quantity too small to provide employment for more than a percentage of those who are competent to do it. When this occurs temporarily we call it a depression (panic or crisis), but I think such could not occur under Socialism, and the question is too large to be entered upon here. But, whether it be temporary or permanent, our present system leaves the man to his fate. If he has the means to pay for a new training, or if there be a superfluity of unskilled work, he may pull along; but in other cases he becomes a burden on his relatives or on the public. But under Socialism the public would have to support him anyway, and it would be for their interest to provide work for him to do in return, and to provide him with a new training, and with maintenance during that training, if necessary.

Secondly, as to the family life. It is absurd to suppose that Socialism could unnecessarily deprive parents of their children, for most of the voters will be parents, and parents like to have their children with them. Under our present law parents are obliged to allow of the education of their children, and are deprived of the custody of them if they prove unworthy of that trust. Under Socialism, indeed, the increase of the population will be enormous, but the increase will do no harm, for under Socialism the energies

of the people will be devoted to providing sustenance for all before providing luxuries for any.

Moreover, Socialism will almost extinguish unchastity, and nothing else will. The causes of unchastity are : first, the difficulties which stand in the way of marriage, and especially of early marriage, on account of insufficiency of income, and on account of the opposition of parents to marriage with one accustomed to a lower standard of living ; and secondly, the lightness with which it is regarded generally, because it is frequently the only alternative to celibacy. Neither cause could subsist under Socialism.

Socialism, too, would take away all those temptations which are peculiar either to the rich or to the poor. (Prov., xxx., 8.)

Thirdly : As to the idealisation of worldly wealth. That is the great charge which we Socialists bring against the present system. By that system selfishness is stimulated artificially. As if we were not sufficiently selfish by nature, the social organisation is so framed that most of us are forced, like men in shipwreck, to be callous towards each other that we may keep our own heads above the waters of insolvency. Success is the prize which is dangled before our eyes in youth, and upon its achievement generally depends the respect in which we are held in our maturer age. And what is success? Is it success in the attainment of holiness, or in philanthropy, or literature, or science, or art? Oh no! Some of these may be used as means of achieving success, but success (unless some qualification is subjoined to the word) always means success in getting wealth. The real aim of this, as of every earlier age, is thus revealed by its reflection in our language. And how can we achieve it? Generally only by falsehood and callousness, aided sometimes even by violence. If you would know how the rich and great win success, read "Wealth against Commonwealth," by H. D. Lloyd, in which proofs are given. If you would know how those in humbler spheres achieve a modicum of it, it is the same. Time would fail me to tell of the instances which have come under my notice.

But Socialism would ensure an average income to every man who does his best, and (by taking away the power) would take away the temptation to exceed it.—Yours fraternally,

H. W. B. MACKAY.

THE REVIEWS.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Mr. T. Good writes the following in this month's "World's Work" :—

The recent increase of accidents in factories, the concurrent rise in cost of workmen's compensation, and the accompanying elimination of the elderly worker are subjects which, taken together, constitute a pressing industrial problem. In the last ten years, 893,000 of our workers in factories and workshops have been reported injured, and more than 10,000 were killed. In the year 1907 alone, no fewer than 133,000 suffered from industrial accidents. Within ten years the annual number killed has increased by 62 per cent., and the number injured by 115 per cent.; and Parliament has been invited to consider what is justly termed "the recent alarming increase of accidents."

Let me at once state that the blame for this deplorable condition of affairs rests in almost equal proportions with the insurance companies doing workmen's compensation business, with the employers, and with the inspectorate. On a life and death matter of this kind I need offer no apology for plain speaking. I have been behind the scenes, and I know where the responsibility rests.

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Since the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897, there has been in many of our industries a gradual elimination of the elderly workman. Since the passing of the more comprehensive Act of 1906, the elimination has been more pronounced—and more cruel. Under pressure from some of the insurance companies, many employers have discarded elderly and middle-aged men whenever and wherever they could get youths and young men. Indeed, the employers, as a class, have needed little pressure—they have readily adopted an idea against which, in their own interests, they ought to have protested. As is well-known, the excuse offered for this heartless policy has been, and is now, the greater liability to accident on the part of the elderly man compared with the younger

one. This excuse is not valid. . . . This turning adrift of the elderly workman is just as mistaken from an \pounds s. d. standpoint as it is wrong from a moral, or ethical, point of view. . . . Just as the elderly men have been discarded, so have accidents and the cost of meeting claims increased !

NOT TOO OLD AT FORTY.

I have contended all along, and I contend now, that not only is the elderly man less liable to be the victim of an accident, but that he is much less likely to be the *cause* of an accident than is the younger man. The rapid increase of accidents in those industries where the most elderly men have been turned adrift proves my contention.

Sir John Brunner, in a recent letter to the "Times," gave the following figures relating to accidents among the workmen employed by his firm :—

| Ages. | Percentage of Accidents per annum. |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| Years. | |
| 18—25 | 8.5 |
| 26—30 | 6.8 |
| 31—35 | 4.2 |
| 36—40 | 3.6 |
| 41—45 | 2.8 |
| 46—50 | 3.7 |
| 51—55 | 2.4 |
| 56 and over. | 2.4 |

These figures are eloquent enough, and significant enough, as they stand, and they show, as Sir John says, "that the proportion of accidents becomes less and less with remarkable regularity as the men advance in years, and that no employer is justified, in his own interest, in refusing to take elderly men into his service, or in dismissing them from his service, in the belief that they are more liable to accident than their younger brethren." My respects to Sir John Brunner; but, valuable as his figures are, they need supplementing. The real concern is not the man who falls victim of an accident, but the man who *causes* the accident. In a big workshop it is not so much the victim of the accident that counts in the case I am making out as the man who, through carelessness and neglect due to inexperience, is really responsible for the accident taking place.

And now I come to another point in connection with the problem of industrial accidents. It is this: Employers and managers do not encourage their workmen to suggest safety devices, or, for that matter, any kind of improvement in working conditions. The practical workman—the man who tends the machine, plies the tool, and shifts the weights—is the man who becomes aware of defects and dangers before the busy overseer or manager has any opportunity of discovering them. For this reason the workman should be encouraged to talk over shop matters in his own way. As it is, he is usually discouraged, and if he makes bold to point out danger or suggest improvement, he is unceremoniously snubbed. I have seen workmen exposed to the most glaring dangers, which a slight improvement would have removed; and I have seen man after man maimed, disfigured and killed in the workshops of this country for want of the most elementary precautions. In the same shops no ordinary workman dare suggest an improvement unless he wanted “the sack.” This stiff-necked regimentalism practised by so many of our big employers and managers is a deplorable aspect of modern industry.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP INSPECTION.

Now, a word about factory inspection. . . . I may say shortly, and am prepared to prove, if need be, that the whole system is little less than a farce. Practical men are few and far between. Inspectors are selected for their scholastic abilities rather than their knowledge of machinery and working conditions—an excellent method of finding posts for M.A.’s, B.A.’s, and other collegians, but a poor one for the protection of the soldiers of industry. Even such inspectors as we have provided by our absurd system of appointments are seldom seen in the workshops. The Home Secretary has recently admitted that 82,000 of our registered factories were never visited by an inspector last year, and that 27,000 were not visited during the whole of the two years, 1906-7. But that is not all. When the inspectors do pay visits, they frequently get no further than the manager’s office! The whole system of inspection needs radical reform.



NATIONAL AFFORESTATION.

The Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., writes on the above in the current “Nineteenth Century and After.” He says:—

They (the Government) took the somewhat unusual and puzzling course of directing the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, which issued its first report in 1907, to suspend its inquiry upon the inroads of the sea, a purely local mischief, and to apply themselves to inquiring “whether, in connection with reclaimed lands or otherwise, it is desirable to make an experiment in afforestation as a means of

increasing employment during periods of depression in the labour market, and, if so, by what authority and under what conditions such experiment should be conducted."

Great are the virtues of the phrase "or otherwise." Fortunately, Mr. Guest's colleagues have availed themselves to the full extent of its elasticity. The Report, which is signed by all the 19 Commissioners, will certainly not disappoint those persons who, for many years past, have been disquieted by the world's rapidly increasing consumption of timber, the disappearance of accessible forests, the persistent rise in prices and the equally persistent neglect of the forest resources—present and potential—of the British Isles, both by the State and by private landowners.

It is not surprising to find no reference in the Report to reclaimed land—that is, land reclaimed from the sea—such land being usually the reverse of suitable for tree planting; but under the shield of "otherwise" the Commissioners have prepared the details of a scheme of such magnitude as to raise apprehension lest it should scare away our rulers from forestry enterprise on any scale whatever. Doubtless in framing this scheme the Commissioners desired to bring forcibly to the Government and the public a knowledge of the extent of the dormant and neglected resources of the country. It would be exceedingly unfortunate if they were understood to declare that it must be the scheme, the whole scheme, and nothing but the scheme. They have prepared a plan representing the utmost—the maximum—that can be profitably undertaken, but there is nothing in their report unfavourable to State forestry being undertaken on a less ambitious scale.

The principal recommendations of the Commission may be summarised as follows: Commissioners are to be appointed, charged with the duty of carrying out a national scheme of afforestation, equipped with compulsory powers for the acquisition of such land as may be required, the owners receiving the full value in all the circumstances in each particular case. The Treasury is to grant the Commissioners an annual free loan for the necessary period, that is, until the plantations become self-supporting.

The extent of mountain and heathland, and poor tillage land that is considered more fit for silviculture than for agriculture, is estimated by the Royal Commission at 6,000,000 acres in Scotland, 2,500,000 acres in England and Wales, and 500,000 in Ireland, equal to 9,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom, leaving out of account all land exclusively devoted to sport or of a greater altitude than 1,500 feet. This area of 9,000,000 acres it is proposed that the State should acquire and plant at the rate of 150,000 acres per annum, the total estimated outlay involved amounting at the end of 80 years to upwards of £400,000,000, more than half the National Debt.

The annual deficit on the transaction rises from £90,000 in the first year to £3,131,250 in the fortieth year. In the forty-first and up to the sixtieth year the forest becomes practically self-supporting;

in the sixty-first year and subsequently an increased revenue is received, but it is not until the eighty-first year that the full results are obtained, in this year and subsequently an approximate equalised revenue of £17,411,000 per annum being realised. Further calculation shows that the value of the property would then be £562,075,000, or £106,993,000 over and above the cost of its creation.

The average annual revenue after the forest has attained maturity and is in full productive rotation represents a yield of £3 16s. 6d. on the excess of accumulated charges over receipts. The Commissioners also present an alternative scheme for dealing with only 6,000,000 acres, under which both outlay and revenue are proportionately less than in the other.

"In every detail of the forecast, your Commissioners have aimed at underestimating rather than overestimating the receipts, while the opposite course has been taken in dealing with the various items of expenditure. We have endeavoured to include all contingencies that can be reasonably anticipated, and the estimates have been based on the present prices of timber."

It will occur to anybody acquainted with Continental systems to ask why the Commissioners, in preparing a scheme for the afforestation of 9,000,000 acres on a rotation of eighty years, should recommend that 150,000 acres, or one sixtieth of the entire area, should be dealt with annually. The orthodox and preferable course, ensuring regularity of yield and revenue, would be to deal with only 112,500 acres, or one-eightieth part. The reason which led to this departure from approved practice seems inadequate, namely, "the 'unemployed' problem is so insistent on receiving public attention as to justify some departure from the theoretical ideal." The result must be a serious diminution in the revenue for 20 years after the 140th year.

It is certainly remarkable that all the nineteen gentlemen composing the Commission should have been so nearly of a mind as to sign a common Report, especially one submitting such an heroic enterprise as that which they advocate. Complete unanimity in so large a Commission is rare indeed, and requires a very strong case on the evidence to ensure it. It is true that a single note of partial dissent has been uttered by one of the Commissioners. Mr. Stanley Wilson, although signing the Report, has appended a memorandum expressing his opinion that the financial estimate is too sanguine. He considers that they have underrated the cost involved in the utilisation for forestry of unemployed labour, and the risks from fire, insects and other pests, gales, etc. On the first point it is not unlikely that he may prove to be right; I will refer to it later. As to the second, it should be remembered that there is abundant evidence, both historical and geological, to prove that 2,000 years ago the greater part of these islands below the 1,500 feet was dense forest from sea to sea, and that if gales and snowstorms are more destructive than they were of yore, that is not

owing to any change in the climate of the North Atlantic, but to the denudation of the face of the country which has been stripped of its natural protection. British woodland, such as it is, consists chiefly of belts and clumps, in which the trees have almost invariably suffered from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide branching-heads inviting wind damage. . . .

As to fires and insect pests, although the risk from them ought not to be overlooked in creating a forest, their prevalence on the Continent does not prevent forestry being a very remunerative industry. Dr. Schlich laid before the Commission the balance-sheet for 1904 of the State forests of Saxony, which extend to 429,300 acres. It showed a gross revenue of 42s. an acre, from which 12s. an acre has to be deducted for maintenance, leaving a net profit of 22s. Dr. Schlich chose Saxony as an example because, physically and economically, it resembles the United Kingdom more closely than does any other of the German States; but he might have quoted higher profits earned in Wurtemberg and some other States. The State forests of the German Empire, covering about 9,848,000 acres, yielded during the five years 1877-81 an average net income of £4,280,000, equal to 8s. 6d. per acre. . . .

The extent to which the United Kingdom has come to rely upon foreign imports of timber, and the progressive rate of our consumption during a period of twenty years, may be seen in the following table, compiled from the Statistical Abstract:—

A.—QUANTITIES OF WOOD AND TIMBER IMPORTED.

(A load of Timber—40 to 50 cubic feet—1 ton.)

| Wood and Timber. | 1886. | 1905. | Increase. | De-crease. | Per cent. |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| Hewn:— | Loads. | Loads. | Loads. | Loads. | |
| Fir | 1,338,278 | 2,596,078 | 1,207,800 | — | 86.9 |
| Oak | 95,178 | 145,663 | 50,485 | — | 53.0 |
| Teak | 40,895 | 60,976 | 20,081 | — | 49.1 |
| Unenumerated ... | 58,411 | 53,834 | — | 4,577 | 7.8 |
| Sawn or Split:— | | | | | |
| Fir | 3,554,769 | 5,797,922 | 2,243,153 | — | 63.1 |
| Unenumerated ... | 231,017 | 188,604 | — | 42,413 | 18.3 |
| Staves | 130,717 | 119,102 | — | 11,535 | 8.8 |
| Wood Pulp | 117,683 | 578,012 | 460,349 | — | 391.2 |
| Furniture Woods:— | Tons. | Tons. | Tons. | Tons. | |
| Mahogany | 48,732 | 95,548 | 46,816 | — | 96.0 |
| Unenumerated ... | 50,717 | 197,111 | 146,394 | — | 391.2 |

Dye-woods, tanning materials, wood-pulp boards and some other forest products are not included in this return.

In three classes only has there been a decrease in the quantity imported, namely, unenumerated hewn wood, 7.8 per cent., unenumerated sawn wood, 18.3 per cent., and staves 8.8 per cent., but even in these the rise of value has been enough to cause an increase in the amount paid for the diminished quantity of 17.2, 100.2, and 3.9 per cent. respectively. The returns of 1907, a year of great industrial activity, will doubtless show a considerable advance, both in quantity and value, of timber imports. The coal trade was booming in that year, and the amount of hewn fir swallowed up annually by coal mines as prop-wood is enormous. It vexes one to perceive that the British Government and land-owners have not only sacrificed by want of foresight the profit which they might have secured as producers, but have to pay more dearly as consumers in competition with other industrial communities. The two classes of timber which bulk most largely in our imports—hewn and sawn fir—are just those which all experts agree in declaring could be most readily grown in the United Kingdom.



LABOURISM VERSUS SOCIALISM.

Our comrade William English Walling writes in the Chicago "International Socialist Review" a criticism of Keir Hardie's recent speech in Carnegie Hall, New York. He says:—

Social-Democracy is the antagonist, not of the policy of "laissez faire," which was never more than a theory, but of capitalism. Mr. Keir Hardie's speech in Carnegie Hall ought, then, to make it clear that the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain is not a Socialist organisation, but purely an advocate of State Socialism. In answer to a question, Mr. Hardie put off what he called "communism" into the limbo of the distant future along with Anarchism and what not. What we are working for now, he explained, is "Collectivism or State Socialism, the next stage of evolution towards a Socialist State."

Mr. Hardie is, then, at one with a certain element of the Fabian Society, which frankly avows its intention to support State Socialism and bureaucracy.

Naturally the programme and tactics evolved by a State Socialist Party are the very opposite of those of a Social-Democracy. The German Party, for instance, has always held aloof on the question of national ownership, the Independent Labour Party puts national ownership in the foreground. The German Party has always attached a secondary importance to such labour legisla-

tion as it is possible to obtain from a capitalistic State, the Independent Labour Party bids for the Labour vote almost wholly on the basis of certain pitiable insignificant Labour laws it has obtained after many years of effort. The "Erfurter Programm" put democracy in the foreground, as does every genuine Socialist Party the world over. Keir Hardie and the Independent Labour Party have not even declared against monarchy. "Our attitude towards the monarchy," said Mr. Keir Hardie at Carnegie Hall, "is one of leaving it severely alone. The King does no harm."

Neither is Mr. Hardie, nor his party, disturbed by the fact that a third or fourth of the working class of Great Britain are disfranchised by registration laws and property qualification, nor does he attack the House of Lords as aggressively as do the mere Radicals. His party makes nothing of the Initiative and Referendum, and seems to fear rather than desire the second ballot.

The reason why the Independent Labour Party does not bother itself much about the establishment of a genuine democracy in Great Britain is clear: The party relies almost exclusively on the support of the aristocracy of Labour. It does not throw the emphasis on universal suffrage, because that element of unskilled labour which is excluded from many British trade unions would be hostile to the Independent Labour Party. It does not madly desire the second ballot because the only hope of the Independent Labour Party to do anything in the present generation is that it may be able to hold the balance of power in Parliament, as was done for a long while by the Irish Party. But the policy of advancing the cause of Labour by co-operating in Parliament first with one and then with the other of the two capitalist parties is precisely that followed by the American Federation of Labour at the present moment in the United States—only in Great Britain it is proposed to do the compromising in Parliament rather than outside of it. No Socialist Party in the world has adopted such tactics. In this matter the English Labour Party is following absolutely along the lines of the Australian Labour Party, and anyone familiar with the Socialist principles of Australia knows that there is every possible hostility between the tactics of the Labour Party there and anything that can be truly called Socialism.

Not only are the programme and tactics of the British Party as far as possible from Social-Democracy, but their goal, State Socialism, is wholly removed from genuine Socialism. There are two great measures that represent, not confessed palliatives, but the very goal of the British movement; the so-called abolition of poverty and the solution of the unemployed problem.

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We shall close with a few quotations from Mr. Hardie's address to the American people, showing clearly where he stands. He says: "Every class in the community approves and accepts

Socialism up to the point where its class interests are being served."

This is the clearest possible State Socialism. Certainly every class in the community approves and accepts State Socialism up to the point where its class interests are being served, but no class approves of Social-Democracy excepting the working class, using that expression in the larger sense of the term, including, of course, the intellectual proletariat and that part of the agricultural population which is more proletarian than capitalist as a matter of fact. Mr. Hardie uses the word Socialism in the sense of State Socialism, and nothing more.

Again he says, "Our contention has been and is that Socialism can never be fully established until the working class intelligently co-operate with the forces at work in bringing Socialism into being."

In other words, Socialism can be partly established without any activity of the working class. This again can only refer to State Socialism or the extension of the capitalist State into the field of private industry. As Kautsky says, "such an extension of the capitalist State does not necessarily mean Socialism at all."

But these last quotations are scarcely necessary when Mr. Hardie himself says that "State Socialism is the next stage of evolution," implying that this is also the goal for which the Independent Labour Party is now struggling.

Finally, let us quote Mr. Keir Hardie's answer to the most pointed question put to him at Carnegie Hall. When asked what the British Labour movement would do for India, he answered that they would "favour granting such *reasonable* reforms as were demanded by the reform party there."

Here is the rock on which the Labour Party of Great Britain is bound to be wrecked. It does not stand for the self-government of India as we stand for the self-government of the Philippines. Mr. Hardie's language, though sometimes in advance of Premier Asquith's, was in this important Carnegie Hall speech precisely that which might have been used by the Premier himself. But if India is retained as a dependency of Great Britain, without the fullest self-government, this will inevitably mean a continuation of the present special exploitation of the country by British capitalism. And it is the markets of India and Egypt that are the main objective of the envy of Germany and other Continental States, and that constitute the chief motive of modern imperialism.

In the meantime, the imperialistic sentiment limits the development, not only of Socialism, but of even Labourism and Radicalism in every class of Great Britain. As it is being allowed to go on unchecked, it will certainly lead in the near future to the most serious rebuff of all the progressive forces of that unfortunate country. We do not speak prophecy, but simply sum up the existing tendencies as shown in all recent bye-elections.

We must add a few words in reply to Mr. Keir Hardie's advice that we in America should imitate the deplorable tactics of his so-called Socialist Party. We have already shown the inconsistency of his tactics with anything resembling Socialism. Let us add only this further point, that the Socialist Party in America has already made considerable progress among the proletarian farmers and a very remarkable progress indeed among the intellectual proletariat. Certainly the majority of the voters obtained by the party in the last election were cast by these two elements.

But a Labour Party in America would be far more disastrous than it has been in Great Britain. All the political results of the past 20 years have shown that the American Federation of Labour is able to wield and control only a small part of its full voting strength. Let us concede that the American Federation of Labour in the last election was driven by the force of events to take precisely the position it did take, that it was forced into politics, and that neither the organisation nor the rank and file of the membership were ready to take a more advanced position than they took at that time. What, then, were the results of this incursion into politics?

It has been conceded by all observers that the result was neither a total failure nor a great success. Whether Mr. Gompers took away a hundred thousand votes from the Republicans and delivered them to the Democrats, or whether he took away three hundred thousand and so reduced the Republican majority by six hundred thousand votes, is a question that cannot be decided on the face of the returns. But there would be scarcely a responsible observer in the country that would estimate the success of the movement at a greater figure than the latter.

The American Federation of Labour, aware of its political weakness, is in politics at the present moment solely for the purpose of *defending* the rights of labour as they existed, or seemed to exist, fifteen or twenty years ago. Whether justifiably or unjustifiably, it is purely a defensive movement. By its political action in the recent election probably twenty or thirty Congressmen were saved for the Democratic Party that might have been lost to the Republicans. Mr. Gompers' policy did have some effect.

But if there had been a combination with the Socialists (leaving aside for the moment the losses and compromises which the Socialists would have suffered by such a transaction), what would have been the result for Labour? Possibly twenty or thirty Socialist and Labour Congressmen might have been elected, but even this could only have been accomplished where the Democrats and Republicans did not fuse against them. In other words, capitalist favour alone would have granted even this handful of victories. As the history of the American Congress has shown, a small group of Congressmen is utterly powerless and insignificant in the Congress of the United States. Limited as Congress is by the President's veto, by the Supreme

Court, by the Senate and by the powers of the separate States, it has an influence in our institutions only through a most vigorous set of "rules" by which minorities are reduced to insignificance. The powerlessness of a minority was shown at the time when the Populists had twenty or thirty Congressmen.

On the other hand, the hostility of capitalism to the Labour movement would have been greatly increased, judicial decisions would have been more despotic and brutal, and the unions would be reduced to half of their present economic power. Labour's purpose of self-defence, rather than being strengthened, would meet a crushing set-back, and the economic unions would have to wait for many years before the new political organisation could show such strength as to obtain the slightest respect from the national Government.

The Socialist and the Labour movements must ultimately grow together; but not by compromises, not by leaning together at the time of the weakness of both movements. As the Socialist Party grows and obtains a foot-hold among every element of the community except the capitalists and those whose lives are guided by the ambition of becoming capitalists or of serving them, it will find every year that it is co-operating with the Labour unions more and more on the same broad and democratic field.

Let Labour and Socialism both continue their development along the present lines. The time will undoubtedly come when they will find themselves at one without the necessity of compromise on either side. But let us hope that this day will not arrive until the majority of brain workers of the country and the majority of the workingmen farmers will also have discovered that Social-Democracy is their last and only hope.

America is too far advanced economically to give any hope to a political movement founded on the support of such a small proportion of the community as can be embraced in the ranks of organised and skilled labour. No class in the community is now, or will be, a more powerful factor for the establishment of Social-Democracy than this skilled and organised body. The Labour unions may well take the *leadership* in the movement for the establishment of a genuine Social-Democracy in this or any country. But the moment they begin to *monopolise* the movement to the *partial exclusion* or *subordination* of unskilled labour, of the brain workers and of the farmer working men, the fate of democracy is sealed.

Let us all hope that there will never arise a British Labour Party in the United States!

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THE UNEMPLOYMENT EVIL.

If the physician fails to diagnose correctly the disease from which his patient is suffering the medicines he prescribes are not likely to afford the sick man any relief, even if they do not aggravate his malady. No real remedies for unemployment will be adopted until our statesmen and politicians recognise that the unemployed are the direct and inevitable outcome of an industrial system under which "the form of production is dominated by the form of exchange"—of a system, that is to say, which limits the production of wealth to the volume of commodities for which purchasers can be found. As a result of the development of scientific agriculture, and of that industrial revolution (brought about by the introduction of the factory system and the machine industry) which substituted co-operative in place of individual production in all the great industries, the capacity of mankind to produce wealth is now practically unlimited. But the plenty-for-all which would be created if man's collective capacity to produce wealth was afforded unfettered scope is sacrificed to the exigencies of an outworn system of production for profit, which ordains that all commodities must be translated into the one commodity, gold, before they can be permitted to

enter the field of consumption, and which shuts down production directly it outstrips the purchasing power of the community. As regards the mass of the population that purchasing power is fixed by circumstances over which they have little or no control. It is unnecessary to elaborate this statement by expounding "the iron law of wages," or demonstrating that "wages tend to a bare subsistence level," for sad experience will enable nine-tenths of my readers to attest the soundness of these theories. Writing in 1807, Fourier, the French economist, predicted that the outcome of the co-operative system of production, unattended by communal enjoyment, or consumption, of the product, would be "Poverty bred of Plethora"—a prediction that has been so amply fulfilled that in our day and generation every schoolboy knows that "glut" breeds commercial crises, and that "over-production" (the production of more commodities than can be sold) is the cause of unemployment, and the most fertile source of poverty.

Recognising these two facts:—

- (1) That our collective capacity to produce wealth is practically unlimited, and
- (2) That the purchasing capacity of the huge majority of the individuals constituting the community is strictly limited,

it is not difficult to recognise that the limited production that will correspond with and exhaust that limited purchasing power cannot afford employment to more than a limited number of wage-workers, and it becomes clear that the only direction in which the labour of the superfluous army of workers of which capitalist *production for profit* has no need (save as competitors for the measure of employment it does afford, and as unconscious abettors in the conspiracy to cut down wages) lies in the organisation of their labour in *production for use*—that is to say, in the production of necessities of life to be consumed by the producers themselves and by those dependent upon them. It is not too much to affirm that any half-dozen trained organisers of labour, whose services would be cheap at a yearly

salary of £1,000 each, would succeed within two years, if not within twelve months, in organising the labour of our 800,000 unemployed on a self-supporting basis if access to the derelict and under-cultivated land that lies within the area of the British Isles was secured, and the raw material and machinery provided, thus affording the workers opportunities to build that they may inhabit; to weave and spin that they may be clothed; to plough, to sow, and to reap, that they may eat. Such labour could be made not only self-supporting but its prolific character would permit it to redeem within a reasonable period any public debt incurred to meet the initial cost of establishing this industrial army.

To organise the labour of the unemployed in the production of commodities for the market would be to patch a hole in one's coat with a piece of cloth cut from it. Private enterprise already supplies, and fully supplies, the effective demand for commodities, namely, the demands of those who have money with which to purchase them. If the State throws on the market the products of the labour it organises, it will either be beaten in the struggle for markets by private enterprise or vanquish it at the expense of displacing as much labour, now organised by private enterprise, as it employs to gain the victory.

To organise the labour of the unemployed on non-productive work would be to arouse the antagonism of everyone rated or taxed to maintain an army bigger than the one they support already for purposes of national defence, and we are not surprised that politicians protest they "do not know where the money is to come from" when they are called upon to organise schemes of afforestation, coast reclamation, harbour construction, etc., on any scale adequate to provide employment for the vast body of out-of-works. Any Government that imposed such a fiscal burden on the electorate would get short shift at the ballot-box. It would be forthwith turned out of office. Works of public utility of the kind which will enrich

posterity at the expense of the present generation must be undertaken only as part of a more comprehensive scheme which, as a whole, must be self-supporting. The section of workers employed in enterprises remotely productive must be fed, clothed and housed by the larger section whose industry must be organised so as to render it immediately productive of the necessaries of life, and organised scientifically so that it may create the abundance which only embarrasses private enterprise because it is powerless to increase consumption. That disability does not extend to the State, which is never likely to suffer from an *embarras de richesses*, no matter how rapidly riches may increase when it brings the great captainless army of Labour under due captaincy. The State alone can organise the production and consumption that will keep equal pace, because it can afford to disregard—and will enrich the community by disregarding, the axiom of commercialism that all products of labour must enter the market before they can enter the field of consumption.

The problem before us is not how "to find work" for the unemployed. As long as we entertain that foolish misconception they will be set to perform tasks the uselessness of which renders them degrading. No one wants work for work's sake. If each morning we could gather manna on our doorsteps, and it proved an excellent substitute for cereals, our fields might well be permitted to revert to beautiful wild wastes and woodlands; if coats as handsome as that of the horse grew on our backs it would be foolish to waste time spinning wool and weaving cloth. The real problem is how to increase production till the supply of the necessaries and comforts of life is adequate to the satisfaction of the wants of every citizen who is prepared to render service, each according to his capacity, to the community, and to the maintenance of those who from age or infirmity cannot maintain themselves. When the State, defined by Burke as "the community in its collective or corporate capacity," concerns itself seriously to check the present

waste of our national resources it will incidentally check the waste of human labour and human happiness, and enlist the whole army of unemployed. Scientific agriculturalists tell us that the proper cultivation of the soil of the British Isles would ensure a yield of foodstuffs sufficient to maintain a population of 100,000,000. We are not called upon to provide for half that number, but at present home-produce feeds only 10,000,000 of our people. The State has but to exercise its right of eminent domain by enforcing the proper cultivation of the land, and its tillage, the manufacture of agricultural machinery, the transport of increased agricultural produce, etc., would provide useful work for at least one-half of those who are at present unemployed. As for our out-of-work tailors, sempstresses, and shoemakers, let them be set to work to provide apparel for themselves and for other recruits to the State-organised army of Labour, for nine-tenths of them have neither clothes on their backs nor boots on their feet in which they could stand up to do a day's decent work. If they are also employed to provide shoes and clothing to be supplied gratuitously to the ragged and ill-shod children that attend our national schools, or to be given away to the unemployables who crawl about our streets in a patchwork of rags (fit fuel for the parish dust-destroyer) that scarce conceal their nakedness, such public expenditure would in the long run save the public purse, for it will preserve the health of the children, who otherwise will come upon the rates when they have to be admitted into the workhouse infirmary, and vagrants will be transformed from perambulating diffusers of disease into beings whose poverty will bear some semblance to the "respectability" so dear to Englishmen. As for our out-of-work bricklayers, masons, carpenters, and joiners, there is work enough to keep them all busy for the next four or five years if the different Acts for the better housing of the people already on the Statute Book were rendered compulsory instead of permissive, and were strictly enforced by

both urban and rural authorities. And there will be continued employment for builders in our agricultural districts as soon as the labourers return to the land, because its cultivation, when rendered obligatory upon the owners, will afford them the livelihood they cannot derive from it under existing conditions. There is a lack of housing accommodation even for the present sparse labouring population of our rural districts, and private enterprise refuses to supply the demand because the low wages of the agricultural labourer do not permit him to pay a remunerative rent. Let the public authorities put in hand at once this very necessary work and it will forthwith open an extensive field of employment. If it is objected that the rents at which comfortable and sanitary cottages can be let would be insufficient to pay even $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on capital expenditure, the reply is the loss will be counterbalanced in the national ledger when we check the drain upon the public purse for pauper relief of workers starving in compulsory idleness. It behoves every guardian of the public welfare to be constantly on the alert against the specious arguments of commercial statesmen. In the counting-houses where they gained their training they learned to buy in the cheapest market, and they imagine because it is a sound rule for the private trader it should be equally axiomatic in every department of public affairs. To instance their folly: they will purchase foreign oats for our cavalry barracks if they can buy them on the open market 10 per cent. cheaper than the price at which our unemployed workers could grow them if unprofitable pasture-land was restored to arable, indifferent to the fact that the nation is really paying 20 per cent. dearer for the imported oats if the cost of maintaining our own workers in idleness is taken into consideration.

Kit, rations, and shelter are regarded by our soldiers and sailors as part of their pay, in fact the sum they receive in cash is little more than pocket-money, and enlistments in an industrial

army will not be checked because its co-operative industry will enable it to feed, clothe and shelter its own battalions without going through the formality of paying for these products in metal tokens. This proposal may outrage our sentiments as "a nation of shopkeepers," but it is nevertheless the dictate of common sense. If it is duly weighed and considered by trade unionists, they will recognise that unless this newly organised industrial army is despoiled of the fruits of its labour its soldiery will very soon enjoy a much higher standard of life than the average worker can secure by selling his labour for wages, and the tendency of wages to sink will be checked in the same proportion as competition for employment grows less severe.

There is no rational way in which our out-of-works can be employed save in providing the means of their own support, and in helping to maintain those who cannot maintain themselves. This reads like a mere statement of the obvious, but it is an obvious truth that has been obscured by the traditions of commercialism. When it is comprehended, the unemployed will be set to work, some to grow corn, grind wheat, bake bread, in order to feed themselves and all who are hungry and penniless; some to build that they may house themselves and all who are shelterless; some to spin, to weave, to sew, and to cobble, that they may clothe themselves and all who are ill-clad and barefooted. We have not got "to find" work for the unemployed, we have to permit them to do the work which left undone condemns the people to perish because they have to-day neither money to ransom their lives nor opportunity to preserve them by the exercise of their own faculties.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

WHY I AM AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST.

I am glad Mrs. Montefiore conquered her lofty feminist disdain and stooped to "troubling to read" and even to reply to my humble statement of the reasons why I am an anti-suffragist. That she has replied I am especially glad, since she has thereby confirmed for any unbiased reader the weight of those reasons. As against my contention with regard to the systematic privileging of women by the law and its administration she has nothing to adduce beyond a flaw in the Old Age Pensions Act (there are, it is admitted, many such), an anomaly in the confused law as regards marriage with an alien, and a harshness in the Poor Law, none of which things could be twisted by any possibility into a case of male sex-privilege as such, save by a controversialist hard pressed for an argument. What I have maintained, and still maintain, is the deliberate tendency of modern legislation and of modern administration, backed by an influential public opinion to separate women as a privileged class from men. This incontrovertible statement, Mrs. Montefiore has not attempted to gainsay, but, on the contrary, her sense of fairness has got the better of her and compelled her, in her excellent remarks about prison flogging at the end of her article, to point my moral and adorn my tale.

It is true she traverses my allegations as regards the treatment of the "suffragettes" in gaol. But on this point I am prepared to prove that at least, as to treatment now and for eighteen months past, she is wrong and I am right. Mrs. Montefiore's imprison-

ment dates from the very beginning of the present agitation. If I remember rightly, she was among the very first to indulge in the demonstration of going to Holloway rather than pay a harmless and necessary fine for creating a disturbance before the House of Commons. The treatment of the suffragettes during the first week of these imprisonments was, I believe, that accorded to ordinary female offenders. But Mrs. Montefiore had scarcely been released before the treatment as second-class misdemeanants was decreed for all Suffragettes and has been maintained ever since. Not only so, but I was perfectly right in saying that the additional privileges indicated by me over and above this was given to the two Pankhursts during their last imprisonment and have, I understand, been continued in the more recent cases. Mrs. Despard, in a speech, has, in fact, acknowledged the favoured treatment accorded her and her colleagues. Will Mrs. Montefiore deny the above to be facts? Certainly no male Socialist ever had this exceptional treatment.

My opponent pleads for women to be regarded as human beings pure and simple and not as a sex. Unfortunately, this is hardly possible. Apart from the indirect sex-characteristics which, interpenetrate their whole nature and activity, it would seem as though they cannot forget their sexual organs. Thus the "Suffragettes" deliberately adopt a policy of scrimmages and rough-and-tumbles and then whimper about impossible "indecent assaults" on the part of the wicked men-stewards whose function it is to resist their efforts at disorder, attempted rapes to the accompaniment of organ-obligato in the Albert Hall, etc.! Whether these wild fictions are the result of hysterical hallucination or are lies sans phrase I will not pretend to decide, but, anyway, they tend to show the extreme difficulty of even Suffragettes forgetting their sexual side in the narrow sense of the phrase. It would seem impossible for the unhallowed hand of man to touch their sacrosanct if riotous persons without setting their sexual imaginations at work. I should not have

mentioned this but for Mrs. Montefiore's challenge as to forgetting the sexual character of women and thinking of them merely as human beings.

If Mrs. Montefiore seriously calls in question the privileged position of woman as against man in the present day, I am afraid it shows that she reads her newspaper with an eye blind to all she does not wish to find there. The law and its administration reflects an influential section of public opinion. This public opinion regards it as axiomatic that women are capable of everything men are capable of, that they ought to have full responsibility in all honourable and lucrative functions and callings. There is only one thing for which unlimited allowance ought to be made on the ground of their otherwise non-existent womanly inferiority, and that is their own criminal or tortious acts! In a word, they are not to be held responsible, in the sense that men are, for their own actions when these entail unpleasant consequences for themselves. On the contrary, the obloquy and, where possible, the penalty for the wrong-doing is to be shifted on to the nearest wretched man with whom they have consorted. I cannot quote unlimited cases, but, by way of illustration, I will mention two that occur to me on the spur of the moment. Some three years ago a woman deliberately shot at and wounded a solicitor (a married man) with whom she had had relations. The act was so pre-meditated that it came out in evidence she had been practising shooting with the revolver for days beforehand. There was, moreover, no question of a child in the case, and not even one of financial embarrassment, as she was in receipt of a quarterly allowance under a trust. Hence the case presented itself as a cold-blooded one of attempted murder without a single circumstance of attenuation. The woman was sentenced to the very lenient penalty of seven years' penal servitude. (Had a man attempted to murder in this way a jilting mistress he would have received, without doubt, twenty years at least, if not a life sentence.) Now, it seems incredible but it was a fact, that a

campaign was immediately started throughout the whole of the press, largely by "advanced" women and male feminists in favour of this dastardly female criminal, who only fell short of being a murderess by accident! The second case is that of Daisy Lord last year. To read the gush on that occasion one might have thought that the murder of new-born children represented the highest ideal of motherhood. This Daisy Lord became for the nonce a kind of pinchbeck Madonna in the eyes of the feminist public. Such women as the above ought of course to have equal voting rights with men, but equal consequences for their actions—oh, dear no! The extent to which feminist sentiment can fling justice to the winds in these days, is shown by the savage demand, in cases of infant murder, for vicarious vengeance on one who, as regards the offence in question, is wholly innocent, to wit, on that vile and obnoxious person "the man."

This feminist attitude of public opinion has been sedulously cultivated, not only by means of journalism, but in literature and art for over a generation, the aim being to portray the "man" as an ignoble, mean creature, as a foil to the courage, the resource, the gentle virtues of the woman. It is done too in a very subtle way. Who has not seen the well-known picture representing the Thames Embankment at night, and an "unfortunate" possessing an angelic face being taken from the river, with a gentleman and lady in evening dress who have just got out of a cab in the foreground, the gentleman with ostentatious callousness—brute that he is—turning away and lighting a cigarette, and the lady—gentle creature—bending over the dripping form and throwing her hands up in sympathethic horror? It is by clap-trap of this sort that sentimental feminism is evoked and nourished. Only the other day I received a provincial Socialist paper (I.L.P.) containing a *feuilleton* with the story of a woman who had killed her baby, and who died after a few weeks in prison—the moral being apparently the monstrous wickedness of im-

prisoning such women at all, rather than rewarding them with a comfortable pension for life. There are well-known writers in leading magazines who systematically take delight in painting their own sex in an abject light, by way of pandering to current feminist prejudices.

The privileged position of women is illustrated in a small way by railway compartments for "ladies only," by reserved seats in the British Museum reading-room, etc. The New York elevated railway has, I read, begun to reserve whole carriages for women from which men are rigidly excluded, no matter how full the train may be otherwise. For, be it remembered, although men are forbidden access to female reserves, women in all these cases have the run of the whole available space. There are no male reserves. This game was tried on last year in the L.C.C. tramcars from Tooting. Fortunately, one fine morning some enterprising young men were found who had the pluck to be "unmanly" and "unchivalrous" enough to fling the female crowd in all its weakness and womanhood remorselessly aside and board the trams themselves. The reserve tram, which proved to be illegal, was then dropped.

Mrs. Montefiore denies that Feminists who are also Socialists desire anything other than absolute equality. If so, I would suggest to these worthy comrades that they occasionally made their protests heard against the existing favouritism of the law and its administration as regards women—not to speak of custom and conventional sentiment—rather than concoct bogus grievances on the other side.* Mrs.

* I have just cast my eye down Lady McLaren's "Woman's Charter" given in to-day's paper. One of the demands is, I see, that "no married woman should be bound to accept a foreign domicile." This is delightful! A poor man cannot get work in this country and has to take a position abroad. At her sweet whim his wife may live apart from him as a single woman and compel him to keep her all the same! Here we have a splendid example of "woman's right" to treat man as a slave!

Montefiore quotes with approval the saying of Mrs. Lida Parce that "woman" needs the ballot to "enable her to remove those special and artificial disabilities which have been placed upon her by male legislation." Now, I must again insist that Mrs. Montefiore should know as well as I do that at the present time in this country no such disabilities exist—any apparent grievance being invariably traceable as necessary corollary to the obligation of the husband to maintain his wife. Should any collateral consequence of this vassalage of the husband involve some slight inconvenience to the wife, the Feminists pounce upon it and begin to shriek for all they are worth! (The cases adduced by Mrs. Montefiore are themselves mainly connected with the husband's compulsion to keep his wife.)

If Mrs. Montefiore is right in asserting that our Socialist votaries of the Feminist cult only claim equality, I can only say that others (including some of those with whom Mrs. Montefiore herself has erstwhile consorted) have distinctly expressed the intention of themselves and their adherents to use the vote to legislate against men. Moreover this tendency has shown itself already, I believe, in some of the puritanical legislation of Australia. With the sex-bias as manifest as it is in the average Woman's Righter, it could hardly be otherwise. Women form nowadays a powerful sex-trust. Men do not. On the contrary, they use their political power to confer privileges on the opposite sex, which they seem always to prefer before their own.

One word in conclusion. Mrs. Montefiore rashly takes for granted that the men I referred to as somewhat unwillingly giving their assent to Female Suffrage and in secret preferring Manhood Suffrage are not Socialists. *They are Socialists.* If they were not Socialists there would obviously be no reason for reticence or secrecy as to their real inclinations or convictions. The Socialist Party has been rushed into an official acceptance of the Feminist dogma, but this

does not necessarily mean that all Socialists accept it precisely with enthusiasm, although from want of courage, or perhaps from (what I should deem) a mistaken view of policy, they may choose in public to keep their own counsel.

E. BELFORT BAX.



"I WAS so much influenced by the individualist teachings of Mill and Spencer, and the loudly proclaimed dogma that without the constant spur of individual competition men would inevitably become idle and fall back into universal poverty, that I did not bestow much attention upon Socialism, having, in fact, as much literary work on hand as I could manage. But at length, in 1889, my views were changed once for all, and I have ever since been absolutely convinced, not only that Socialism is thoroughly practicable, but that it is the only form of society worthy of civilised beings, and that it alone can secure for mankind continuous mental and moral advancement, together with that true happiness which arises from the full exercise of all their faculties for the purpose of satisfying all their rational needs, desires and aspirations."—Alfred Russel Wallace.

BUT if Mr. Balfour shows himself at his very worst in trying to get up a scare where there is no need of fear, Mr. Asquith is at his very worst when he talks of economics. The other day he said, "Free Trade has given us a higher standard with regard to wages and hours of labour." Now, Mr. Asquith ought to leave such absurd mis-statements to the uneducated. Everyone knows how the Free Trade employers of Lancashire got little children from all parts of the country into their factories and worked them to death! We know how they housed their workers in sheds among the looms, fed them on "truck" porridge, and worked them from daylight to dark. Why were the Truck Acts brought in, Mr. Asquith, under Free Trade? and why were the Factory Acts instituted if it was not to restrain that enslavement of the many which resulted from Free Trade greed? Mr. Asquith ought really to think over his subject before he talks nonsense about it. The economic redemption of the British workmen began when Free Trade was restrained by the first effective Factory Act in 1833, and that Factory Act was due to the Conservatives, and more than anyone to the man whom Carlyle called "the noble Ashley," afterwards Lord Shaftesbury.—"Vanity Fair,"

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

A REPLY.

"Let us have the truth though the Heavens fall."—Wise saying.

There are many questions which have perplexed the mind of man for generations, as :—

- (1) Perpetual motion.
- (2) Is mind independent of matter ?
- (3) Is alcohol of any service or benefit to mankind ?

(1) After being under discussion for upwards of 2,000 years was settled in the last century by scientists thus: To have perpetual motion we should have to abolish friction, which is a physical impossibility.

(2) Since mind is the sum total of one's senses (sight, feeling, touch, etc.) it cannot exist apart from matter.

(3) The one under discussion. The benefit or injury from the use of alcohol we may state has practically been settled within two generations in favour of its service to man, in spite of Mr. Hobart's assumption to the contrary. When I wrote the article which appeared in the "Social-Democrat" of August, 1908, it was with the view to trying to focus the truth of our scientific knowledge regarding this most important question, which is a very different thing from trying to convince temperance reformers as Mr. Hobart wants us to do. He commences his second article by saying he hopes he will not show any bigotry. I never knew a temperance reformer who did not. They are prejudice first, last, and all the time, and seem to be incapable of making an impartial

inquiry. Mr. Hobart is no exception to the rule. This is clearly seen by the table of food constituents which appears in his article (February number), and which he says is chiefly compiled from Parke's tables and appears on page 242 of "Elementary Biology." In quoting Dr. Parke he evidently intends his readers to think that Parke supports his contentions. Now, if there is any one man who has refuted the theory that alcohol has none but injurious effects it is Dr. Parke, yet total prohibitionists are always distorting his writings and conclusions. In his "Personal Care of Health" appears the following: "I think some active teetotalers are making a mistake in trying to stop the use of alcohol in disease before there is sufficient evidence to prove their case. Alcohol evidently has actions which may be useful in disease, and whether they are so must be decided by the only certain method, viz., observation in cases of disease."

In another work he says:—

"The dietetic value of alcohol has been much overrated. It does not appear to me possible at the present to condemn altogether alcohol as an article of diet in health, or to prove that it is invariably hurtful as some have attempted to do. It produces effects which are often useful in disease, and sometimes desirable in health, but in health it is certainly not a necessity, and many persons are much better without it."

What he condemns is its abuse, which no sane person would defend. The moral side of the question cannot be denied, but that is not the point under discussion. It is nearly 40 years since Dr. Parke wrote on the question, and we have gained a little more knowledge since then, though in the main the conclusions he arrives at are accepted to-day. When I pointed out that experiments on dogs by Dr. Goddard proved that when alcohol was given in small quantities 95 per cent. was acted on in the body, Mr. Hobart replies, "This is hardly flattering to the lord of creation, unless Mr. Rhind means to say that what is good

enough for a dog is good enough for a man," etc. Fine argument, this! Yet he does not scruple to introduce the calf when it suits his purpose, as in the "bottle trick" by Dr. Munroe, to which I will refer later. In fact, in his last article he introduces an entire menagerie: dog, leeches, frogs, turtles, fish, rabbits, and even mustard and cress.

Dr. G. W. Keith, in his work "Fads of an Old Physician" (1891), says his temperance friends often ask him to write against the use of alcohol, but he declines, believing it is useful to man. Comment is superfluous!

Having thus cleared the ground, we will now get to close quarters. Mr. Hobart's case is—(1) Alcohol is not a food; (2) it is a poison. Neither of these contentions are to the point. With regard to the first, my reply is: I am not discussing dietetics, but am prepared to do so at the proper time. Still, seeing that I mentioned food (incidentally), I shall have to make some reference to this point. Well, how do matters stand in this respect? Professor Gillespie's "Natural History of Digestion," page 341, says: "One of the questions which have been discussed for ages, and which will probably remain a subject of contention, Is alcohol a food or a poison? has been satisfactorily answered by physiologists during the last few years. But calm and dry statements of fact by scientists rarely carry conviction to the public, who are too often misled by *deluded fanatics and their theatrical and biased harangues*. As in most cases, the truth lies between the two extremes. Alcohol is a food under many and varied circumstances, a poison under others, and it serves as a valuable stimulant in many cases where its use, without the least doubt, materially contributes to save life. A poison, if taken in too large an amount at one time, or in smaller quantities if taken too frequently; a food when the diet taken contains too small a proportion of the elements required to equalise the waste of bodily metabolism; it is invaluable as a restorative on such occasions as the crisis of a fever

or the shock which follows an accident or an operation."

The effects ascribed to alcohol by mankind are protean. It is drunk in the tropics to cool the body, in the cold of a northern winter for the sake of warmth; it is taken to drive away muscular fatigue or to rouse the flagging brain, to steady the trembling hand or to drown the memory of misfortune. Many of these effects appear to be contradictory and impossible, but they are all in a sense founded on physiological actions. This is not the only paradox regarding the well-being of man. As, for instance, the two inflammable gases, oxygen and hydrogen, which when combined in water extinguish fire; or flannel being the best covering for men in winter, and also the best substance for wrapping round ice in summer. In the former case because the heat being within, it prevents its escape and so contributes to warmth, in the latter because the source of heat being without, and flannel being a bad conductor prevents the passage of heat into the ice. It is for similar reasons that light-coloured clothing is the best for protection against either the heat of summer or the cold of winter.

A writer in the "Hospital" states that alcohol, owing to its fairly complete oxidation, is in a certain sense a food, and stimulates gastric secretion, which places it on a sound physiological basis. It may be given with advantage in syncope or cardiac failure as a reflex stimulant. As a stomachic, in cases where the gastric secretion is diminished, it will also be of use. As it is a food, albeit to a comparatively small extent, alcohol may be given in such disorders as diabetes, where there is necessarily much restriction in a particular class of foodstuffs.

Samuel Wilks, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., writing on the question some years ago, said, "I believe alcohol soothes a worried nervous system and, by preventing wear and tear, actually supports the frame." Hammond settled the question of the oxidation of alcohol in the body by showing that the addition of

alcohol to a diet insufficient to maintain the body-weight, not only prevented loss, but converted it into a gain (Gillespie).

In Cassell's "Concise Cyclopædia" the article on alcohol says: "The physiological effects of alcohol when taken internally in the form of one or other of the various alcoholic beverages, is to quicken the circulation and increase the nervous sensibility, it is useful taken medicinally, in languid, or enfeebled condition of body and mind, of course, condemning its excessive use."

Robert Hutchison, M.D., F.R.C.P., in "Principles of Dietetics" (1906), treating the question says: "When one weighs the very slight retarding influence of alcohol on the chemical part of digestion against its power of promoting the stomach movements and the flow of gastric juice, one finds that the balance is favourable to digestion, and alcohol must, therefore, be regarded as a digestive stimulant. In accordance with this, direct experiment on the human subject has shown that alcohol in dietetic quantities, e.g., 30 to 40 grammes of brandy (about two tablespoonsful) taken before or during a meal, actually shortens the time required for the digestion of a meal by about half an hour."—(Penzoldt and Wolffhardt). Again, "Alcohol then, certainly spares fats, sometimes carbohydrates, but in doing so it is itself consumed, and yields heat and energy to the body. Of this fact, once much disputed, there is no longer any doubt, it at once entitles alcohol to rank as a food. Chemical observation has shown that it is only imperatively demanded when the following indications are present: (1) Failing circulations, as exhibited (1) in a persistently rapid pulse (120 or more) or if it be weak, irregular or dierotic; (2) by a faint or inaudible first sound of the heart. (2) Nervous exhaustion, as manifested by sleeplessness, low delirium and tremors. (3) Failure of digestive powers, as indicated by inability to take food, diarrhœa, and dryness of the tongue. (4) High temperature, especially if persistent. (5) A bad general condition—in feeble, exhausted, elderly, or alcoholic subjects."

With regard to the statement that alcohol reduces the temperature of the body, this is readily admitted. But, instead of being an injury, it is actually a service, being administered in the case of typhoid and other fevers to lower the dangerously high temperatures. I have not advanced one tithe of the evidence that can be brought forward from a strictly scientific standpoint to prove the case for the use of alcohol; but enough has, I think, been presented to convince any unprejudiced person.

Who are the authorities Mr. Hobart quotes in support of his case? They are men who, with one or two exceptions, have been dead for a generation. This is a very important consideration when we remember that medicine in its various branches has only had a scientific basis since about 1880 (Trail's "Social England") and bacteriology since 1890 (W. H. Conn); and, further, they are, in the main, biased in favour of temperance. This is seen by the books he recommends. Take Dr. Hargreaves. Who was he? How came his book into existence? The Natural Temperance Society and Publication House of New York, at its seventh annual conference in 1873 (40 years ago), offered \$500 for the best M.S. on "Science and Temperance," which resulted in Dr. Hargreaves winning the prize. Now, it is certain he would, under the circumstances, write not so much from a strictly scientific standpoint as with a view to meet the wishes of those who offered the prize. Consequently, he would select all passages, sentences, and experiments as suited his purpose. Therefore, a work written under such conditions becomes absolutely worthless as a work on science. In fact, none of the books Hobart recommends can be called works on science, but on temperance.

Let us now inquire what this pseudo-scientific experiment (performed about half a century ago) of Dr. Munroe amounts to. We are told he got three bottles into which he put mince-meat and gastric juice from the stomach of a calf, then added water, alcohol,

and pale ale respectively, and after shaking them at intervals, in imitation of the movements of the stomach, for some ten hours, the contents of bottle No. 1 was thoroughly digested, those of Nos. 2 and 3 became solid on cooling. There is as much science and analogy about this experiment as there is between the theory of the "Astral Plane" and the Science of Astronomy. As a matter of fact, digestion does not take place in the stomach, but only the first stage in the process. A far more important part takes place in the small intestines, where other secretions do their part in food digestion. In fact, when the stomach is taken away (this operation has been successfully performed) it is found the small intestines are capable of carrying on the work of digestion, and, further, the final stage of digestion takes place in the lungs, which is far removed from the stomach. For food is not digested until it is converted into blood, and oxygen is necessary for this. The principal reason why those unfortunate persons who have pulmonary complaints suffer so much is because they cannot sufficiently fill their lungs, and so cannot thoroughly oxidise the life-giving stream, with its consequent malnutrition. This in turn lays them open to the attack of germs. If the same result occurred in the stomach as in this bottle trick, no man could possibly live a week. Let me further add that the process of digestion is so complicated that no medical man alive understands it in all its details. This experiment then may be very entertaining and suit a Band of Hope, but in the name of Heaven let it not be advanced as science!

As to Liebig, he was certainly one of the greatest scientists of his day and greatly contributed to its advance, yet he knew as much about pathology as Dr. Munroe (whoever he was) knew about digestion. Liebig was the greatest opponent Pasteur had to contend with in establishing his germ theory of fermentation, which revolutionised the sciences of pathology and therapeutics and led up to the science of bacteriology.

The reader may think I am leaving the subject in paraphrasing so much, but that is not so; besides, I am compelled to take this course owing to the manner in which my opponent has treated the question. Still, since it is a matter of such vital importance, and above all a great social question, it ought to be thoroughly investigated. There is one person to whom Mr. Hobart refers whose opinion we must and do respect, viz., Sir Frederick Treves, who, he says, classes alcohol as a poison. Well, that proves nothing. Sir Frederick is one of the leading surgeons in the world. The question then, is, has he been, is he now—or any other physician with a reputation to lose—prepared to stand by the statement that alcohol is of no benefit or service to man in health or disease? Let Mr. Hobart get an answer to this question before he quotes him again.

Re Professor Atwater's experiment not being satisfactory—to the temperance reformer. How could it be so? Yet Professor Atwater is the chief of Nutrition Investigators of the United States Department of Agriculture, one of the world's leading scientists. One of the experiments he superintended demonstrated that the law of the conservation of energy obtains in the living body. Having been somewhat of a physical wreck all my life, I have had great experience among medical men and public institutions. No later than last year I was for three months a private patient in the Crossley Sanatorium.* Whilst there, and in the presence of other patients, I asked the assistant physician whether alcohol would be of any benefit to me. He replied, "Yes, if you take a

* On which an article of interest to Socialists could be written, especially in regard to the class distinction which exists between the private and public patients and is so humiliating to a sensitive nature. It also tends to lessen the chance of recovery of the public patients as compared with the private; thus proving the case for national or municipal ownership of sanatoria. I think I could also point out to medical men where there is a defect in the open-air treatment as carried out to-day.

little whisky on retiring at night, especially in winter, it will be of service for your bronchitis." On repeating "Is that so," he said, "Undoubtedly, as it will assist your breathing." My family doctor had previously ordered me to take whiskey and milk, the latter as food and the former to stimulate the sluggish circulation, although he himself is a life-long abstainer (for medical purposes excepted). Other doctors have advised me in the same manner. If the inferences of the experiments Mr. Hobart advances were true, there would, within the space of twelve months, be no place on this planet for any man unless he was a total abstainer.

The following important pronouncement on the alcohol question appeared in the "Lancet" in 1907:—

"In view of the statements frequently made as to the present medical opinion regarding alcohol and alcoholic beverages, we, the undersigned, think it is desirable to issue the following short statement on the subject—a statement which we believe represents the opinion of the leading clinical teachers, as well as of the great majority of medical practitioners. Recognising that in prescribing alcohol the requirements of the individual must be the governing rule, we are convinced of the correctness of the opinion, so long and generally held, that in disease alcohol is a rapid and trustworthy restorative. In many cases it may be truly described as life preserving, owing to its power to sustain cardiac and nervous energy, while protecting the wasting nitrogenous tissues. As an article of diet we hold that the universal belief of civilised mankind that the moderate use of alcoholic beverages is for adults usually beneficial is amply justified. We deplore the evils arising from the abuse of alcoholic beverages. But it is obvious that there is nothing, however beneficial, which does not become by excess injurious.

"T. M'CALL ANDERSON, M.D., Regius Professor
of Medicine, University of Glasgow.

"ALFRED G. BAIRS.

"WILLIAM H. BENNETT, K.C.V.O., F.R.C.S.

- " JAMES CRICHTON BROWNE.
 " W. E. DIXON.
 " DYCE DUCKWORTH, M.D., L.L.D.
 " THOMAS R. FRASER, M.D., F.R.S.
 " T. R. GLYM.
 " W. R. GOWERS, M.D., F.R.S.
 " W. D. HALLIBURTON, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.C.P.,
 F.R.S., Professor of Physiology, King's
 College, London.
 " JONATHAN HUTCHINSON.
 " ROBERT HUTCHINSON.
 " EDMUND OWEN, M.D., F.R.C.S.
 " H. PYE SMITH.
 " FRED. T. ROBERTS, M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.P.
 " EDGCOMBE VENNING, F.R.C.S."

This manifesto ought to be sufficient to convince the most bigoted temperance reformer, if he is open to conviction. It is true there were one or two who protested against this manifesto, but they were purely negative, which is a tacit acknowledgment that from a scientific standpoint they have no case.

In conclusion, I would advise Mr. Hobart to scrap his antediluvian quasi-scientific-cum-temperance reform literature and replace it with something more modern and truly scientific. Then I think he would alter his opinion on the question, and probably be inclined to present those "bottles" of Dr. Munroe to the British Museum as relics of primitive man's research after truth.

This, then, is my case, and like Mr. Hobart I leave it to the readers to judge between us.

JNO. RHIND.

The "Hospital" recently published a defence of beer, in the form of a report of its special commission, which has been sitting for nearly a year. The commission decides that malt liquors are far better suited to the climate and the physical well-being of the

British people than light wines or spirits. A striking comparison is given between beer, tea, and home-made beef tea, which is shown in the following tables :—

BEER (GLASS).

| | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|
| Water | ... | ... | ... | ... | 89 to 94 per cent. |
| Alcohol | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 to 6 „ |
| Maltose | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 to 5 „ |
| Dextrin | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 to 3 „ |
| Proteid | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.5 „ |

TEA (CUP).

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|
| Water | ... | ... | ... | ... | 99 per cent. |
| Caffein, tannin, and volatile oil | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 „ |

BEEF TEA (PINT).

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|
| Water | ... | ... | ... | ... | 96 per cent. |
| Nutritive material (about) | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 „ |

“ It would be difficult,” the report says, “ to find a meal at once simpler and more nutritive than a crust of bread and cheese, or bread and butter, or both, and beer.”

STUDIES IN HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY.

CHAPTER III.—(*Concluded.*)

Evidence of a more conclusive nature of the prevalence of communistic views and tendencies in the last century B.C. is furnished by Josephus, Philo and Pliny in their accounts of the Essenes. Unlike the Sadducees and Pharisees, who were active national parties with special political and religious doctrines based on social classes, the Essenes were a sect strictly organised in communistic colonies. Their chief occupation was agriculture. The soil, the tools, the cattle were common property, likewise the buildings and houses, even their clothing belonged to the community as a whole, so that their production, distribution and consumption were put on a communistic basis. Their purely religious conceptions were Pharisaic; they submitted scrupulously to the yoke of the Law of Moses, with all its interpretations of the scribes and Pharisees. Only in one or two points they differed from their religious teachers; they rejected animal sacrifices, and they did not marry but lived in celibacy. All killing and fighting was repugnant to their views and sentiments. A spirit of peace, brotherhood, and piety pervaded the Essenic communities.

There exists a large literature on the Essenes, written by Christian and Jewish theologians who attempted to explain the origin and rise of this peculiar sect. All those attempts have so far failed. Communism among the Jewry of Palestine appeared to

them as a strange phenomenon and as an alien element.

Yet it was a rational experiment of a section of Jews to find an exit from the maze of contradictions in which the nation found itself in the age of Christ.

Among the masses of post-exilic Jewry, the middle and lower classes, we have found two broad currents of thought and sentiment—Pharisaic law and prophetic morality. Owing to the political and economic conditions of Palestine of those times, neither of those currents could find its realisation. Even the Pharisees themselves felt that law by itself was not a satisfactory solution of the religious problems confronting them, or as the "Sayings of the Fathers" have it, "Law without moral action is like to a tree rich in foliage, but without roots," and the economic conditions did not permit the tree of life to strike roots. And the lower classes, to whom legalism did not appeal, were deprived of the means of production, and, therefore, of all possibilities of arranging life according to their sentiments.

Only a comparatively small number of people could hope to escape from the contradictions of Jewish society in the last century B.C., and arrange their lives according to the highest ideals that prevailed in that period. And these were the Essenes. In their organisations they combined all that was best in the Pharisaic and proletarian thought and sentiment—Law and Communism, piety and goodness, service of God and of Man. But it was not life; it was an escape from life. The Essenes had no influence on the course of history, for sects never have. It is only large mental movements, based on social classes, that shape the development of mankind. Also the Sadducees dwindled to a sect in the same measure as the Jewish aristocracy was destroyed in the civil and Roman wars. Only the Pharisees and the lower classes remained.

Still, the Essenic experiment, related by contemporary writers, is pregnant with meaning. It bears evidence of the deep moral fermentation that stirred the Jewry in the age of Christ. Communistic experi-

ments and the writing of Utopias are always symptoms of an age of revolution, of the breaking up of the old and the germination of the new. And the age of the rise and spread of Christianity was in Palestine a period of revolution and insurrection. New prophets, miracle-workers, insurrectionary leaders appeared who led or misled the masses into new theories and new hopes, or to heroic fights against the Roman Empire. The pages in Josephus dealing with that period, though written in sober prose, are full of appalling tragedy and dissolution. It was the end of a numerically small, but mentally great nation.

The component elements of the Jewry, the Pharisees and the proletariat, separated and formed two schools of thought. The first laid the foundation of Judaism with its rabbis and Talmudic literature. The proletarians and the dissatisfied Pharisees laid the foundation of Christianity with its Gospel and patristic literature.

The messages of both classes were borne by men of great intellect and character. They gave coherent expression and palpable reality to the floating sentiments and views of their respective classes as they had developed in the long centuries of struggle, suffering, and thinking of the Jewry.

And the rôle of the great personality in history consists not in creating new ideas and making new periods, but in expressing, co-ordinating, and realising the longings and tendencies of its time. The great man is an elemental force, directed by the conditions and equipped with the instruments of his time. He is the mouthpiece of the more or less inarticulate desires of his people. The conditions and exigencies in the midst of which he lives furnish him the material to work upon.

It has taken humanity a long time to grasp the nature of the hero in history. And even to-day his rôle is not everywhere understood. Its understanding depends on the view we take of history. From an individualistic, aristocratic, and artistic point of view

the hero is regarded as the creator of history. From a collectivist, democratic, and scientific point of view the hero is but an instrument of history, conditioned by environment and time, and standing on the accumulated labours of past generations.

An Alexander the Great born in our time would have been a great Macedonian brigand or comitaji. Without the French Revolution, Napoleon and Wellington would have remained simply generals. Territorial nations could not have a Nelson. Agricultural nations produce no inventors. Every healthy nation with a healthy development begets, from time to time, men of great abilities and energies. With what ideas and motives those men are filled, and on what material they work, depends upon the conditions in which they are brought up and live.

The Pharisees produced a Hillel, a Johanan ben Zakkai, an Akiba—men of great intellectual and moral abilities, but still Pharisees, with conservative religious conceptions, attached to the law and clinging to the hope of divine interference through a saviour or messiah to redeem His chosen people. The Jewish proletarians produced a Jesus and a James, men of high moral courage and clearness of vision, full of prophetic teaching, opposed to the rich and the legalists, and therefore revolutionary in their activities. Jesus took up the thread of ethical teaching where Isaiah the Second had left it. All the reports of the miracles performed by him need not detain us for a single moment. Similar miracles are reported of every great rabbi, and the longer those rabbis have been dead the greater the number of the miracles performed by them. Jews, with all their shrewdness, are curiously credulous in matters of religion. And the people to whom Jesus preached were illiterate, uncritical, and with a strong will to believe. The hope for a messiah was universal in Palestine, and a messiah sent by God, must needs have been a miracle worker. Besides, there is probably not a single great man in history whose life has been handed down to us in an exact

manner. The art of seeing things and persons as they are, the search for exact truth, are quite modern acquisitions. We owe them to inductive logic and applied science. The ancient and mediæval historians, with very rare exceptions, did not see reality; still less the masses of people. Lack of understanding, the legendary and romantic bent, admiration and hatred, have woven round all the heroes of history a whole wreath of fantastic details; they were transfigured by popular imagination, desires and ideals. An historic hero is more characteristic of the thoughts and sentiments of the people among whom he lived than of real history. From the picture handed down of him we can judge what views and longings stirred his age. And as those views and longings were the products of social conditions, the task of the modern historian who desires to understand the past is to study the basis of history and to reconstruct the personal forces through which history has worked.

In that light we see Jesus as a man who expressed in word and deed in the most adequate manner the proletarian feeling of his generation as based on the prophetic and communistic tendencies. But Jesus was not the only founder of Christianity. St. Paul was its co-founder. He came from another stratum of Jewish society; he was a Pharisee. From his letters we may see how the psychology of a dissatisfied Pharisee worked. He did not abandon Judaism from the same motives as Jesus, and did not follow him from the same motives as James. In Jesus and James we see the proletarian opposition to the Pharisaic class. With St. Paul it was different. He felt no class antagonism. As the son of middle-class people he had no proletarian feeling which made rich and wicked convertible terms. He came to Jesus because of spiritual anguish. Idealistic, fiery, longing for salvation, he strove with might and main to fulfil the law. Man was naturally bad and wicked; therefore God gave him the law as a guide. This was good Pharisaic teaching. But the Jewish law, with its

multitudinous and minute interpretations, proved not a guide, but a tyrannical taskmaster, bent on making man sinful. Paul was not the first or the last Jew who went through the same mental experience and agonies. He finally despaired of the ability of man to enter into communication with God through the gate of legalism. And yet what is man without the help of God? What is man to do to be saved? It is psychologically quite probable that in the first stages of his inner crisis he persecuted the first Christians with all the greater zeal. But he felt heartbroken. It was no use kicking against the pricks. Man could not rely for salvation on his own doings. However, if the law was impossible there was faith by which "the righteous shall live," and there was grace. In this mental crisis he found his Damascus. He definitely rejected the law and took refuge in faith. He became the apostle of the heathen, but he impressed the Christian doctrine with Pharisaic mentality.

The great opposition between works and faith, of which we read in James, is the opposition between the proletarian and Pharisaic elements, which went to form the Christian Church.

In concluding my sketches on certain phases of Jewish history I venture to recommend Kautsky's "*Ursprung des Christentums*" (Stuttgart, 1908) to all readers who desire to follow up this subject, and to enter more fully into the question of the rise and organisation of primitive Christianity, as well as into the economics and philosophy of the age of Christ in the Roman Empire.

M. BEER.

THE MONTH.

The chief political event of the month has been the presentation of the Budget by Mr. Lloyd George. This has been hailed by Labour Leaders and Socialists as a "Great democratic Budget," and representatives of the capitalist class have howled in chorus. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues must have smiled alike at the cheers and the howls. There is nothing in the Budget to evoke the indignation of the classes or the enthusiasm of the masses.

Mr. Lloyd George had to meet a deficit of over sixteen millions, and he has done it by putting still heavier burdens on the brewing and distilling trades, burdens which will eventually fall on the petty luxuries of the working-class, and will tend to strengthen the monopoly of the rich.

The Budget is essentially a bourgeois Budget ; but then nothing but a bourgeois Budget could have been expected from a capitalist Government, and the expressed indignation of some of the plutocrats is no more justified than the eulogy of the Socialists, and is much more hypocritical. The Budget will not hurt them.

The approbation which the Labour Party has bestowed on the Liberal Budget, after the strenuous support it has given to all the puritanical legislation of the Government, gives special significance to the suggestion, put at last in definite shape by Mr. George Lansbury, of a Labour-Liberal alliance. We have always known that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald contemplated such a coalition, and the affiliation of the Miners to the Labour Party would undoubtedly strengthen the tendency in a Liberal direction. The Labour Party, as we have frequently pointed out, was bound to go in one direction or the other—either to Socialism, or over to Liberalism. The "pull"

towards Liberalism inside the Labour Party was too strong for us, helped as it has been by the leaders of the I.L.P., and so either a coalition or amalgamation with the Liberals was inevitable. We must confess to some surprise, however, that Mr. George Lansbury should have been the man to publicly champion the idea.

There is little doubt that the practical adoption of the MacDonald policy had much to do with the resignation of Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and Glasier from the National Council of the I.L.P. That resignation will give them a freer hand while strengthening their influence with their followers. The disaffected alone will be alienated, and their defection will remove a source of weakness, and will operate for the success of the Liberal alliance.

It is generally understood that Hardie has always been opposed to any dealings with the Liberals, but he has frequently sacrificed his own personal opinions for the unity of the Party, and his resignation with MacDonald, Snowden and Glasier suggests that he will not hesitate to do so in the present instance.

Opposition to the Liberal alliance is much more likely to come from the rank and file of the trade unions. Socialism has made enormous progress among trade unionists, and above all, the unions prize the political independence which they asserted when they formed the L.R.C. That body was not the creation of leaders, but of the rank and file; a fact which many critics of the Labour Party do not fully appreciate—and it is quite conceivable that an attempt at coalition or alliance with the Liberal Party will result in a revolt of a much more serious character than that against paying the Parliamentary levy.

The fatuous folly of British diplomacy has once more been manifested by recent occurrences in Persia. In the agreement with Russia, as we pointed out at the time, England got by far the worst of the bargain. But that was considered a small price to pay for immunity from Russian aggression in India, and the acceptance of the principle of non-intervention in regard to Persia. Now, however, we see all undertakings as to non-intervention set aside, and Russia actively engaged in helping the Shah—as, indeed, she has been from the beginning, against the Constitu-

tionalists. Cossacks have been constantly engaged in the work of repression, and we may expect to see the fate of Egypt repeated in the case of Persia, but with Russia as the dominant power.

British diplomacy which has so egregiously failed in Asia and Eastern Europe, has been no more successful nearer home. The foolish and mischievous alliance with Russia, with its consequent humiliation and the triumph of the Teutonic Powers in the Near East, has immensely increased the power and influence of Germany in Europe, while it has strengthened the chauvinistic feeling in Germany, stimulated by the idea of a Franco-Anglo-Russian combination against her. That, as the outcome of all this, Germany is not only a menace to the peace of Europe, but is actively preparing for an attack upon this country, we have no doubt whatever. But, although we know this, it is treason to our Socialist principles, it appears, to say so. The proper thing to do, according to our pacifist friends and the Labour Party, is to shut our eyes to ugly facts and shout for peace.

"We don't want to fight, and we'll be jingoad if we do!" is the latest rendering of the old music-hall jingle. That's all right. Force no longer rules the world, and the Millennium, with universal peace and brotherhood, if we will only possess our souls in patience, will be ushered in with a plentiful outflow of Parliamentary palaver. Meantime, the great Powers continue to build big and still bigger battleships, and to enrol millions of men in their armies. All with the most peaceable intentions, of course. We can always reason them out of using these engines of destruction, and vote them out of power. That was what the Young Turks found. A peaceful revolution was as easy and simple as shelling peas, but it was the march of armed men from Salonika, and the persuasive force of rifles and machine guns at Constantinople which deposed Abdul and prevented the ultimate triumph of reaction.

The use of force in order to secure political liberty is, of course, justifiable in Russia or Turkey; but it would be very wrong to use force to defend the same political liberty in this country.

As a further demonstration of our love of peace—the peace of despots and butchers, we are to be called upon to welcome the Czar

—the Lord High Executioner of the liberties of the Russian people ; the organiser of pogroms and the torturer of men, women and children. It is well. Our masters have fine taste in selecting the men whom the people here should delight to honour.

Mr. Patten's wheat corner did not turn out such a big coup for himself as he anticipated. Nevertheless, the rise in the price of bread which he helped to bring about, and the panic the "corner" created, serve to show the parlous position in which we as a nation stand in consequence of our dependence on foreign sources for our food, and subject at any time to the machinations of gamblers of the Patten type.

The French postal employees are to be congratulated on the success of their strike. It was not only a magnificent demonstration of the power of organised Labour, even in Government employment, to obtain a redress of grievances, but it also showed, as our friend and comrade Vaillant has pointed out, the power which these employees may be able to exercise in the cause of peace and of revolution. But that power is not yet irresistible ; to become so perfect organisation and discipline are required, as well as solidarity with the general body of the proletariat.

As one result of the wonderful Budget, we are told, Tariff Reform is dead. We see no evidence of that, and certainly that conclusion is not borne out by the bye-elections at Attercliffe and Stratford. In the former contest we are able to rejoice in the return of a Labour candidate who is a pronounced Socialist. But it is quite clear that but for the split in the Tory ranks the Tariff Reform candidate would have been elected, even if no Labour candidate had been in the field. At Stratford, where the resignation of Captain Kincaid-Smith, and his appearance as an independent candidate, might have certainly been expected to tell against the Unionist, the latter was returned with a nearly two-to-one majority.

SOCIALISM WILL DRIVE CAPITAL FROM THE COUNTRY.

The Capitalist
Owned everything,
His greedy fist
Gripped all, as King
And Lord he ruled Earth, Sea and Man,
None knew where his power stopped and God's began.

At last all joined
Their heads, and wrought
A plan designed
To bring to nought
The Tyrant's tyranny, and this was how
They vanquished him, and laid him limp and low.

They said as one
"For you we'll work
"No more. We've done."
He drew his dirk
As 'twere and said, "My power shall strike ye down
"Ye madmen." He fixed them with a frown.

"I'll take myself
"To a new land,
"With all my pelf,
"That'll understand
"My greatness, and welcome one of my worth.
"Then will dawn a day of dearth for Earth.

"Ye fools, ye can't
"Live without me,
"Ye will soon want.
"Bread will soon be
"Diamond-dear. Everything will drop
"Into decay. Why, the world's wheels will stop."

To his surprise
The Lab'ers laughed
With lips and eyes
Scorning the shaft
He thought would make them tremble; then one flung
Him forward, and fired this from his tongue.

- "What, your *gold* feeds
"Us? Say, who wields
"Your ploughs? Who seeds
"Your corn-crowned fields
"That else were bare and barren as sea-spray?
"Without us wouldn't all wither in a day?

"Thou canst not stick
"The Universe
"Or even a brick
"Into thy purse.
"Thou canst take nothing but thyself from us,
"And that will be a gain, and not a loss?

"Since thou canst do
"Nothing save squat
"Still the day through
"And receive what
"Better men earn for thee, thou art nought
"In Earth's Arithmetic, thou giv'st nor toil nor thought.

"From cot to grave
"We've got the land
"And what's on't. Rave
"As you will, brand
"Us as robbers, you cannot take a leaf's worth when you leave;
"Hence we will glory in your going, Fool, not grieve."

NIHILISTS I HAVE MET.

HOW A GOVERNOR WAS SHOT.

Sergius Stepniak, with whom I had several interviews, was talking to me shortly before his tragic death at Chiswick about the Russian exile system, and referred to scenes he had described in his books and contributions to the newspapers. He assured me, quite unnecessarily so far as I was concerned, that the scenes he had described were being continually repeated in Siberia and the northern towns, which the Government had transformed into veritable prisons. Even worse things than he had written about had come to pass.

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THE EFFECT OF ADMINISTRATIVE EXILE.

On this point the story of Mme. M. is instructive. She told it to me after escaping from exile after experiences which few could have survived. She was sent as an exile to Kara, one of the most northerly provinces. Soon after her arrival there, a number of prisoners planned an escape, and some of them got away successfully. Those who were recaptured were brought back to one of the Kara prisons, and some of them were flogged and otherwise maltreated.

It is fondly supposed by some ill-informed people that the dreaded "knout" has been abolished in Russia. So long ago as 1894 Mr. Harry de Windt stated that the "knout" had been wholly superseded in Siberia by the birch. Mr. George Kennan was able to disprove this, and since then many eye-witnesses have been able to support Mr. Kennan's assertions.

At any rate, the Kara prisoners, as I say, were flogged, and then all the prisoners, even those who could prove that they knew nothing of the intended escapes, were subjected to extra punishments and unheard-of brutalities at the hands of the warders and soldiers.

Some of the exiles naturally rebelled, and the Governor retaliated by ordering his Cossacks to force them on with blows with the butt-end of their guns. Similar scenes were occurring at two other prisons, where escapes had taken place simultaneously.

Three men were chained to heavy wheel-barrows, which they had to drag with them everywhere.

Then the prisoners resolved to resort to the hunger protest, i.e., they resolved to refuse all food until the Governor of the province ordered the prison officials to change their tactics, and at length, when many of the victims were on the point of death, the Governor became alarmed, and promised to consider the matter.

And this is how he kept his promise. He sent several gangs of the prisoners as "colonists" to villages in the far north, the region of polar night, among the savage Yakutes, where life is, if possible, even harder than in the prisons.

Among the "colonists" was Mme. M. She was young, and naturally was filled with righteous indignation, not so much on her own behalf, but at the treatment meted out to the other unfortunates. Nevertheless, she had just cause for her indignation, for she had known nothing of the escapes, and had held no communication with those who were implicated.

This young lady resolved to avenge the outrages inflicted on the innocent prisoners, and after obtaining a revolver she started secretly for the chief town to seek out the Governor.

Arrested as a fugitive, she was carted away to the town—the very place she wished to reach. On arrival she asked to see the Governor at once, saying that she wished to explain to him personally why she had tried to escape.

Much to her surprise the General ordered her to be brought straight to his residence, known as the gubernatorial palace. She was not even told to take off her prison cloak, but was quickly ushered into the audience chamber.

A minute later the General entered. As soon as he appeared Mme. M. drew her revolver, and exclaiming, "This is our answer to your infamous cruelties," fired at him point blank. The bullet struck the General in the chest, and he fell badly wounded to the floor.

Of course, the young girl was immediately arrested, and hurried into the prison to await her trial.

The following day she was condemned to death.

The Government, however, deemed it expedient to commute the sentence to one of hard labour for life. The indomitable young lady served only about four years of her sentence, and then successfully planned and executed her escape.

At Geneva she was married to a fellow-exile, who had escaped from another part of Siberia, and now she is an active member of the Terrorist party.

E. C. FROMM, in "Vanity Fair."

THE REVIEWS.

THE CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

DEFECTS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

H. Stanley Jevons writes on the above in the May "Contemporary Review." His is the typical capitalist view point. He says:—

Amongst much literature on the subject of unemployment there is little which lays any claim to have investigated the ultimate cause of this social malady with the help of modern developments of economic theory and other sciences. As an attempt in this direction the present article, and two others which follow, may be, perhaps, not unacceptable, in spite of the many imperfections in them, caused by the extreme difficulty of correlating theory with actual facts. They make no approach, of course, to a complete treatment of so large a question, but may, perhaps, help to explain the action of certain causes of unemployment—of those which, after much consideration, appear to me to be the most serious in their results.

My conclusions are briefly these: That the immediate cause of much unemployment is the false pride of men, who prefer idleness to accepting a low wage, although it is as much as their work is worth; and that the more deep-seated causes are (1) the direct effect of faulty education in permitting so many boys to grow into men unable to earn the customary minimum wage; (2) the action of powerful trade unions in forcing up and maintaining high wages when not justified by the conditions of trade, which prevents the natural expansion with population of the numbers employed in an industry, and actually throws men out of work in periods of depression; (3) the indirect effect of the inefficiency of our elementary education in its failure to raise children of the labouring classes to a standard of living higher than their parents, thereby allowing the most rapid increase of population—and thus of the supply of labour—to take place in the very class in which wages are already lowest; and (4) the want of sufficiently rapid progress in the organisation and methods of industry in comparison with competing countries, which is partly due to the comparatively meagre supply of highly trained and enterprising young men available for directing the

business of this country. The recurrence of times of severe unemployment is due to the alternation of periods of prosperity and depression of trade; and I hope to give some new facts sufficient to prove that these far-reaching fluctuations of trade are in all probability connected ultimately with variations in the sun's heat, which affects more or less the climate, and harvests, of all countries at the same time, in a cycle three or four years in length. The harvests throughout the world varying nearly simultaneously in short periods, it is an easy matter to trace their effects in stimulating industry and commerce and cutting short a boom. The trade cycle, which must fulfil certain economic conditions, usually lasts either seven, or ten to eleven years—that is to say, for either two or three of the three and a-half year solar periods.

The distinction now so frequently made in current literature between the genuine unemployed worker and the "unemployable" expresses a partial truth, but should not be pushed too far. There is no sharp line between them. Every man, woman or child, not imbecile or completely crippled, is employable to a certain rate of wage depending on his efficiency, but sometimes at a rate so low that he prefers not to work. The term "unemployable" is applicable in the scientific sense to a person only in regard to a particular rate of wage for a particular kind of work at a given time or place.

We may now proceed to inquire what are the most important of the causes which have led to the existence of this large body of unemployable men, who for various reasons are unable to produce social utility, or its measure in value, at a rate equal to the rate of wages which they or custom demand. Perhaps the most obvious primary cause is the unsatisfactory character of our national system of elementary education, which is responsible for the existence of a body of men who grow up without the power of doing the roughest work well, and are incapable of keeping steadily to any kind of labour, being wholly deficient in perseverance, ambition, initiative and thinking power. A few boys leave school hardly able to read and write, many without having had their powers of thought developed in the least, and without any kind of technical knowledge of the simplest description which could be of use to them in any trade. Most of our boys leave the primary schools without having had aroused in them a wholesome ambition and a power of anticipation of their probable future wants (which should be taught by stimulating the imagination), and without any knowledge of the nature of the employments open to them in different trades. No doubt many boys and girls leave our elementary schools intellectually fairly well trained, but a great number slip through the educational net without having been developed at all in any of

the very necessary ways just mentioned, as I have found from experience of boys in the University Settlement Boys' Clubs in London and Cardiff.

The remedy for the prevailing ineffectiveness of the school teaching is not far to seek, although it involves a new ideal as to the object of elementary education and its methods. Not only have we to deplore the complete ignorance and incapacity in which a few boys grow up: the great majority of children could be trained so as to become far more efficient workers, and better men and women than under the present régime, if a more rational system of elementary education were adopted. I make these statements on excellent authority, for they are in effect the conclusions of a Committee of the British Association . . . and Sir Philip Magnus, in his presidential address to the Educational Section of the Association at Leicester in 1907, emphasised the main features of the Committee's report, and gave a lucid review of the whole position.



MALLOCK ON MARX.

Writing in the "Open Review" on "Mr. Mallock on Karl Marx" Mr. Arthur Kitson, the Editor, says:—

Mr. Mallock asserts that wealth accumulates in the hands of a minority because this minority have really earned it by furnishing methods and inventions which comprise the efficiencies of production. He also gives us a repetition of the old doctrine that labour is employed by and is dependent upon capital. As to this, it need only be remarked that if labour is dependent upon capital, capital is equally dependent upon labour; and the question as to which takes precedence of the other is very much like the conundrum, "Which came first, the hen or the egg?"

Now, there can be no question that the enormous growth of wealth during the past century, and particularly the last half-century, is due primarily to labour-saving machines, as well as to the organisation and specialisation of industry. But here we may ask, "What is there in the nature of these efficiencies to give to their owners power to absorb so large a proportion of the wealth created?"

It will be apparent to the most casual reader that there is something incomplete in Mr. Mallock's conclusions. Granted that the growth of wealth is due to modern efficiencies—such as inventions, etc.—it has still to be shown what there is in the nature of these efficiencies to absorb so much wealth. Mr. Mallock is mixing up two questions, one connected with the production, and the other with the distribution of wealth. A discoverer may point out how by the use of some new process two blades of grass can be made to

grow in place of one, but this discovery only tends to increase production. It does not explain why he is able to take from the producer all this extra wealth which his discovery leads to. Marx says that all wealth is produced by labour, but the labourers *do not* get it. Mallock says that the great increase of wealth is due to the capitalist class, and that, therefore, they *do* get it. What power, then, does this minority representing the capitalist class possess, in addition to their representing the efficiencies of production, which enables them to take the wealth as it is produced? The answer is "political power," and it is this power which largely determines the division of wealth through the special legal enactments backed by the power of the State. It therefore comes to this, that it is not the mere representation of the efficiencies of production which enables the minority to absorb the bulk of the wealth. This may be the excuse for their exercising the power which the State has conferred upon them.

Suppose, for instance, a man makes a machine by which he can produce the same results as 50 men in a given time, and at no greater expense than the wages demanded by one man. What is to prevent another man, and in fact hundreds of other men, making the same type of machine? One of the impediments to this has been the Patent Laws, which were supposed to be for the protection of the inventor, and which gave him a monopoly of the invention for a term of 14 or more years.

The next point is whether this legalised protection has been sufficient to give the inventors and discoverers the surplus wealth which their discoveries have created. In other words, does the capitalistic class comprise exclusively those who have created the efficiencies of production?

One has only to glance at the names of this minority to see how absolutely ridiculous Mr. Mallock's statement is. Let us take the United States, for instance. The greatest fortunes there are owned by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Mr. William Rockefeller, Mr. H. H. Rogers, Mr. Harriman, the Vanderbilts, Mr. George Gould, Mr. Weidner, the Astor family, Mr. James Hill, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Jacob Schiff, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Thomas Dolan, Mr. Duke, Mr. Carnegie, Mrs. Hetty Green, and the Trustees of Trinity Church, New York. These, of course, are only a few of the most prominent men who are known to possess the largest fortunes in the world. Is there in all this list of names one well-known inventor, or, excepting Mr. Carnegie, a single person who has done more than manipulate the stocks and shares and finances of the great corporations they control? . . .

Several of the above-named gentlemen have been under investigation by judicial and congressional committees, before whom they have been charged with obtaining their wealth by sheer plunder. . . .

The same is true of this country. Take the Rothschilds, Beit, Barnato, the Dukes of Westminster, Bedford, Portland, Devonshire, etc. What efficiencies have they ever created?

In almost every instance it may be shown that the great fortunes of the world have been built up under legalised monopolies, such as mining and land, banking, transportation, the tariff system, or by sheer speculation, generally of a very unscrupulous character.

Far from representing the "efficiencies which are essential to the welfare and existence of the community," the minority represent to a large extent taxation, pillage, and extravagance. Where are the names of the great inventors or discoverers and their descendants in the list of wealthy families? Where are the descendants of James Watt, Michael Faraday, Humphry Davy, Arkwright, Crompton, John Fulton, Tyndall, and hundreds of similar inventors and discoverers? Mr. Edison is probably the best-known and most prolific inventor of his time, but his name will not be found in the list of those possessing great wealth. . . .

These are not isolated cases, but the general rule; namely, that the inventors and creators of the efficiencies of production have not benefited to any great degree from their discoveries, and that their inventions have passed into the control of men who, owing to their control of finance, have the power of forcing the industrial world to part with the bulk of the wealth created, and without any adequate return.

Wealth has accumulated in the hands of the minority entirely under laws giving them special privileges. Mr. Rockefeller is said to control no less than seven banks in New York City, and has trebled the wealth he derived from the oil monopoly by the manipulation of money. The wealth which Mr. Rogers and his associates drew from the pockets of the public during the early days of amalgamated copper, and which has been fully exposed by Mr. Lawson in his "Frenzied Finance," was due to their control of the City National Bank of New York.

If anyone will look up the names of the great capitalists of any single country he will find them to comprise almost entirely promoters, bankers, money-lenders, brokers, and men connected partially, or entirely, with finance. These constitute the minority who control all the efficiencies of production which have been taken from the creators without any adequate compensation.

So much for Mr. Mallock's answers to his own questions. Mr. Mallock proceeds to investigate the question as to labour being the sole source of wealth, and there is no doubt that Karl Marx laid too much stress upon this point; in fact, his error was in not extending the word labour to include all forms of mental ability. After all, the word does necessarily include this. Even the most primitive labour requires a certain amount of intelligence. There are a right way and a wrong way to do everything, and so long as this is the case labour must be guided by intelligence. We speak of the "product" or "produce" of a machine, we do not speak of its labour. A machine does not labour, because there is no intelligence and no effort on the part of the machine. If we, there-

fore, include mental powers under the head of labour, the objection which Mr. Mallock raises is met. Mr. Mallock endeavours to draw a distinction between labour and effort. He assures us that the mind of Columbus was of a totally different character from that of the mind of any of his crew and associates. The fact is, the mind rises by gradations, and the highest intellect has had to borrow something from the lowest. To say that Columbus possessed a mind wholly different in quality from the officers and men under him is absurd. History has not furnished us with sufficient knowledge to say whether Columbus was assisted in the direction he took in discovering America by the men under him or not, but it is quite certain that without them he would have achieved nothing. Neither does it follow that if Columbus had not existed other minds would not have accomplished the same thing. Indeed, as a matter of history, other navigators did accomplish similar results. Every inventor depends upon the knowledge he has obtained from other inventors in the same line, and all that the human mind has accomplished in the last few years in the realm of discoveries and inventions has been merely a development of those of the ages preceding it. The mind of an inventor differs only from the ordinary mind in degree.

One of the chief sources of error in the teachings of Marx, and one which is not pointed out by Mr. Mallock, is his crude idea of justice. In order to assert the right of every workman, of every producer, to his share of the wealth produced, Marx claims that all wealth should belong exclusively to the producers. I fail to see the justice of this. The whole question regarding the distribution of wealth should be decided upon a very much broader consideration, namely, what is the best system for achieving the highest possible results for society? It may be quite possible that the existence of a man or a class of men, who take no part in production—such as the clergy, for example—is of the greatest possible value to the existence and to the progress of the world; and if so, they are as much entitled to share in the wealth produced as the actual creators themselves.

The economics of Marx and of State Socialism is mainly defective because it is based upon a kind of slave theory, upon the idea that every man must be a toiler, and labour becomes the end of life instead of the means. Supposing that in the future some genius should be able to construct an automaton which would do any kind of manual labour, so that the creation of the wealth of the world could be left entirely to machinery. Are we to say that as all manual labour becomes displaced by such an invention the masses shall have no share in the produce? Are human beings to be considered of no more use or value than machines? And yet if we accept the Karl Marxian and State Socialistic theory, we shall have to conclude that this is so. The ideal of invention is an entire displacement of manual labour, but such invention instead of lowering the scale of life, ought, on the contrary, to augment it,

so that all should have an abundance of the good things of life without having to toil.

There never was a more absurd plea than the right to work. Who questions it? Where is the hindrance to a man working if he wishes to do so? But this is not the trouble. It is the right to compensation, the right to receive so much money per week, that is really demanded.

The claim of the poorer classes to a share of wealth will have to be admitted on the ground of mere social welfare, or else the alternative position will have to be recognised, viz., that the introduction of labour-saving inventions is a system of wholesale murder and should be prohibited.



THE ORIGIN OF THE REVOLT IN TURKEY.

Halil Halid Bey writes on the above in the current issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After." He says:—

To be sceptical as to the existence in future of the constitutional régime in Turkey, is to entertain doubts as to the continuation of the Ottoman Empire as an independent State. A return to the former despotism is sure to lead to such internal commotions as would shake the integrity of that Empire to its very foundations. The integrity of the Turkey of the past was guaranteed by powerful States. This guarantee from without was more fictitious than real, and it did not save her from partial dismemberment. The integrity of the constitutional Turkey of to-day will, however, be guarded against disruption by a new factor—that is, by the people of the Ottoman Empire, who are earnestly enthusiastic over the fact that they have now a voice in the management of the affairs of their own country.

There is another and more important factor to be considered in this connection, and that is the attitude of the Ottoman Army, whose reputation as an excellent defensive force hardly requires to be mentioned here. It was the army, as it is scarcely necessary to state, which secured to the people of the Ottoman Empire the constitutional régime which they now enjoy. Officers and men in various army corps have sworn fidelity to the Constitution, and they will certainly defend the rights of constitutional Turkey against all violations, whether such violations come from within or from without.

It is a gross mistake to characterise the forces upholding the cause of the Constitution as the "army of the Committee of Union and Progress." . . . It is true that the Committee counts many military men among its members, and as far as my observation goes, when these really unselfish and patriotic men left the seat of the

Committee to attend to their military duties, some of the civilian members, forgetting that the Committee had assumed a national character since the establishment of the Constitution, began to act as they acted when the Committee of Union and Progress was a revolutionary society years ago. Where a tactful and conciliatory attitude was essential, passionate recriminations prevailed. Retorts with violent personalities were the result, and, consequently, the prestige of the Committee suffered in the capital through the tactlessness of a few of its leaders. After the inauguration of the Constitution, the people, whether reasonably or unreasonably, expected redress of their grievances from the Committee as an advisory body assisting the executive, who were necessarily officials trained under the autocratic régime. The Young Turks, returned from their places of exile abroad, were considered either too young or too inexperienced to take the responsibilities of high office, and although they received useful hints and a good deal of active support from the Committee, the high officials of the executive could not work wonders in attending to public affairs. Hence there began to grow up a disappointed section who expected satisfaction for their personal hopes and desires from a body which had overthrown the rule of a powerful autocracy. This discontent furnished an opportunity of preparing their revenge to the reactionaries, who were silently watching the march of events from their hidden quarters.

The growth of an Anti-Committee movement could, however, gain no influence among the population of the Turkish capital until a group of men of some French education and, in the case of some of them, of unscrupulous political principles formed themselves into a political party. The prime mover of this opposition party was Prince Sabaheddin, who is related to the Sultan on his mother's side. This prince resided in France several years as an exile, during which time he never ceased to agitate against the Hamidian autocracy. He would not work for the salvation of his country as an ordinary member of the Ottoman Reform Committee, the headquarters of which were in Paris. Having been brought up in the autocratic atmosphere of a princely palace, he desired to be the sole leader of the reform movement carried on outside the Sultan's dominions. But neither his age nor his knowledge of affairs could secure him a commanding position in the ranks of the Turkish reformers. Prince Sabaheddin was however, in a more fortunate position than other reform agitators for finding sufficient money from time to time to carry on a propaganda of his own against the Sultan's autocracy. He succeeded in inducing a number of Young Turk exiles to follow his lead, and several Armenian and Greek politicians with separatist tendencies were attracted by his promises of securing autonomous concessions when he should come into power after the downfall of the Hamidian régime.

The reform propaganda of Prince Sabaheddin could have but little effect in Turkey, and as a matter of fact the Committee of

Union and Progress, which carried on its reform agitation on the lines of the integrity and unity of the Ottoman Empire, brought about the downfall of the Palace tyranny after years of struggle.

Of course the organs of the Committee of Union and Progress have violently defended the Committee and the Government against the abusive attacks of the opposition. But impartial observers have seen that a catastrophe for Turkey was lurking behind such internal dissensions. I honestly believe that without the direct and indirect influence of the so-called "Liberal Union Party" the reactionaries would never have been able to bring about the recent coup. Political parties are said to be essential to the free working of the constitutional régime; but I doubt whether a party which has come into existence with the rapidity of mushroom growth, and has pursued the line of conduct adopted by the Liberal Union of Constantinople, could ever be productive of good. Had the authority of the Turkish Government, under Hilmi Pasha, not been undermined by the Liberal Union agitators, I am firmly convinced that the unfortunate attacks on Armenians, the most useful and after the true Turks, the most patriotic community of the Ottoman Empire, could not have been carried out in the distant provinces of Asiatic Turkey.

The victory of the Constitutionalists in the capital has already produced a great result, namely, the root of reaction has been destroyed. The lesson taught in Constantinople to those who attempted to deal a blow at the Constitution will undoubtedly produce a salutary effect on the minds of those ignorant people in the distant provinces of Asiatic Turkey, who have been lending a ready ear to the instigation of the reactionaries. In future no Ottoman Sovereign could dream of inspiring respect for his authority by following the line of policy which was invariably followed by the Hamidian autocracy; while the influence of a Sultan who rules constitutionally is certain to ensure peace and good relations between Moslem and non-Moslem peoples, who are subject to the Porte.

No. 2

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ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS AND THE DUTY OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.

We are assured in several quarters that the German war scare has now died down, that having served its purpose in forcing the Government to incur greater naval expenditure and to lay down more Dreadnoughts it is now discarded, as the empty cry it was. This is excellent hearing; it affords us the opportunity of calmly and dispassionately reviewing the situation and of considering the grounds upon which some of us, at least, based our apprehensions and uttered our warnings, and of doing this without being suspected or accused of joining with the jingoes in stirring up a war fever, or of being animated by unreasoning hatred of the German people.

It is on that ground alone that we rejoice at these assurances of the disappearance of the scare, because we believe that the ground for apprehension still exists, just as we have all along believed in the reality of the danger.

We believe that there is danger of war; because there is always danger of war under capitalism; since the capitalist system is based upon a whole category of antagonisms which involve perennial war and conflict, latent or active; and we believe the danger of

war between Germany and England to have become acute during the past few years, for a number of reasons.

Upon whose shoulders the responsibility for the existence of that danger—if danger there be—rests, is a question that is worth inquiring into. The first question, however, is, Does that danger really exist? We have no hesitation in saying that the evidences of its existence are obvious and overwhelming. Yet we are assured by our pacifist friends that there is no ground for such a conclusion, except in our own imagination. If they were right it should be easy for them to show that the German naval programme is a figment of our fevered brains, that Germany is not building warships, which are useless for their alleged purpose of protecting trading vessels and can have no other object than an attack on Great Britain.

Instead of thus finally disposing of the "scare," they, immediately they are confronted with the facts, finding these too strong for them, abandon their first line of defence and content themselves with asserting, with constant reiteration, that England has provoked this warlike naval policy of Germany; that the latter is entitled to that "place in the sun" the attainment of which the Kaiser has declared to be the object of her ambition, and that this object can only be realised at the expense of Great Britain. The responsibility for this state of things, however, they maintain, rests with Great Britain—which is much more to blame than Germany; is much more aggressive in her policy, has proclaimed herself mistress of the sea, and churlishly bars the way of Germany to colonial expansion and development. All this may be perfectly true; but is quite beside the immediate question at issue; and our friends forget that, in making these admissions, they are also admitting the actuality of the danger to which we first called attention and the existence of which they at first denied.

We are not concerned at all with defending the position of England as a world Power at the present

time, any more than we are concerned with defending her policy in the past. We are quite willing to concede that she has been the most piratical Power of modern times; that her Empire is ill-gotten booty the possession of which could not be defended for a moment on ethical grounds; and that it might be to the advantage of humanity if she were forced to disgorge some of this booty. But all this, once more, is beside the point. The question is not one, primarily, of ethics. The point is that, rightly or wrongly, England is in possession of this booty; that, in consequence, she is regarded as an object of envy by Germany; and that, therefore, she has much more reason, in the nature of things, to fear attack from the latter than Germany has to anticipate attack from her; and that, as a matter of fact, Germany is actually preparing, as rapidly, persistently, strenuously, and scientifically as possible, to make that attack. That we believe to be the actual situation.

As "Vorwärts" observed, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman suggested a reduction of armaments, Great Britain could quite reasonably and honestly make such a proposal. Like a gamester who had won all that he could possibly hope to win at the gaming tables, and therefore had no wish to continue playing, but only desired to depart peaceably with his winnings, Great Britain, having gained all she could possibly hope to gain, had no desire to continue the war game, no wish to carry any further the competition in armaments; she had no desire to make war on any of her neighbours, and none of them therefore needed to arm in defence against her, while she had every reason to fear being attacked. Great Britain, therefore, might well wish to call a halt, to limit armaments and to content herself with acting purely on the defensive.

That we believe to be the actual situation; and for that reason we believe that the source of the danger of war lies in Germany and not in England, and we

view with grave apprehension the rapid development of Germany's naval power.

As our comrade Hyndman has more than once observed, a strong navy is a necessity for Great Britain, it is a luxury for Germany. Germany is in no danger of attack from Great Britain. That would be as impossible as for a whale to attack an elephant. On the other hand, it is urged that the German navy is intended for the protection of German merchant vessels, and that the *raison d'être* of that navy would be removed if the Powers, and England above all, would agree to surrender the right of capture of merchant vessels in time of war.

There is a very great deal, no doubt, to be said in favour of this last proposition; but there is also very much to be said against it. In the first place, her oversea commerce is the only point at which Germany is vulnerable to the attack of Great Britain in the event of war between the two countries; and, secondly, it is questionable wisdom to do more in the direction of professionalising war, so to speak, of making it the affair simply of professional sections of the nations engaged, than has been done already. The knowledge that war is a national affair in which all will suffer, and not merely the professional fighter, is much more likely to give nations pause before engaging in war than would be the assurance that only the paid professional fighters would be affected, and the rest of the nation would be immune from any of the penalties of war beyond that of finding the pay for the mercenaries. On the other hand, it is generally admitted that the effective protection of her mercantile marine would be out of the question, even if Germany had an infinitely stronger navy than she contemplates or could ever hope to build, and therefore this pretext for her ambitious naval programme remains merely a pretext, and has no foundation in reality.

The whole of the facts of the situation, therefore, point to the conclusion that Germany is preparing a fleet for aggressive purposes; that the object of that

aggression can only be Great Britain, and that, consequently, there is a danger, in the immediate future, of war between the two countries—war in which Germany would, necessarily, be the aggressor.

In the light of these facts the question arises, What is our duty as Social-Democrats? And to that question there are many and various answers.

There are those who contend that, assuming the situation to be as stated, it is no concern of ours. The governing classes of all countries are our common enemy in all countries. Consequently, it is urged, the wars and conflicts which result from the squabbles and quarrels between the national sections of the dominant class are matters of absolute indifference to Social-Democrats, and to the working-class generally, and do not concern them in the remotest degree; that if the rulers of two countries fall out it does not greatly concern us, but that we should look on and say with Iago, "Now whether he kill Cassio, or Cassio him, or each do kill the other, whichever way fall out will work my gain."

We could sincerely wish that this were the case, but unfortunately it is not so. The workers are only too intimately concerned with the squabbles between the ruling classes and the wars they make. Patriotism is undoubtedly very ridiculous, especially for propertyless proletarians; but, unfortunately for themselves, the lives of the latter are irrevocably bound up with the nation in which they find themselves. The very propertylessness which divorces them from the land of their birth, and renders them a plastic and mobile instrument in the hands of the capitalists, deprives them of all mobility on their own volition. In the event of war—a war which would condemn them by tens of thousands to privation and sheer starvation—the workers would be unable to get away; they would be condemned to stay here and starve, caught like rats in a sewer. The loud-mouthed propertied patriots, on the other hand, with their great possessions and their foreign investments, could scuttle with compara-

tive ease, and live well, in peace and comfort, in some other land until the storm they had helped to brew had blown over. Oh, no, it is idle to pretend that war is a matter of sheer indifference to the workers, or that the danger of the invasion of this country is one which we could contemplate with unconcern.

What, then, is to be done? We are sometimes told that it would not greatly matter, whether the people of this country were ruled from Berlin or retained their own Government in London; that as there is nothing for the proletarian to choose between the British and the German capitalist, and he has to work for a subsistence wage in any case, the question of national liberty, of political rights, of free political institutions, is of no moment whatever. The answer to that is that Social-Democrats have always held, on the contrary, that these matters are of the first importance, and that the conquest of political power is essential to the conquest of economic emancipation.

In this country the people have a considerable modicum of political power. If they do not use it, or use it improperly, that is no reason for surrendering it, without a struggle, as useless. To admit that would be to emphatically condemn the heroic struggles of our Russian and Polish comrades for such political liberty, and would be to express the strongest approbation of imperialism that could possibly be uttered.

Social-Democracy is anti-imperialist. It stands for internationalism, not anti-nationalism. Social-Democracy does not stand for making a mish-mash, world-wide Empire, any more than it stands for the crushing out of individuality. It stands for the autonomy of the nation in things national, just as it stands for the fullest individual liberty in things individual. It is for every nation to work out its own economic salvation, and foreign domination would have, as it has always had, the effect of encouraging, developing and consolidating a nationalist movement to the exclusion or obscuring of the class movement.

No one could doubt, we should imagine, that the supremacy of Prussia in Europe would mean a set-back for the whole revolutionary movement and would be a great misfortune for European democracy. The supremacy of any great power would be bad, but none save Russian supremacy could be so bad as that of Prussia.

Apart from all these considerations, however, it will be generally admitted that even if we have no interest in opposing German aggression, we have some interest in preserving the peace. The question therefore arises, What can we do in this direction; what is the immediate duty of Social-Democrats in the interests of peace? Surely our first duty is to get a full knowledge of the facts of the case; to clearly ascertain what are the forces and influences making for war; and then to use all the means at our disposal to eliminate these.

We are pledged to the resolution of the International Congresses against war and militarism, and in favour of the limitation of armaments. According to that resolution it is the duty of the Socialist Parliamentary Party in every country to vote against any military or naval expenditure. But the resolution also recognises the right of national defence, and the need for the organisation of a national citizen force in every country for this purpose. Now, it is contended that this latter has no significance for this country, because Britain is a sea power and therefore does not need a strong efficient land force. That being so, it must be admitted that the British Navy stands by itself, as a necessary means of defence; is essential for our national existence, and for the maintenance of our national liberty and free institutions. That is not a reason for supporting *any* proposals that may be made for the increase of the navy; it is, however, a reason for giving careful consideration to any such proposals before opposing them, and for conceding the necessity of keeping the navy in a state of efficiency. There is, also, this always to be borne in mind, that

the navy, unlike the army, is not and cannot be, an instrument of domestic despotism.

Admitting the need for the maintenance of an efficient navy, however, it is our duty to oppose any such enlargement of the navy as would constitute it an instrument of aggression. In the first place, therefore, we should have a full knowledge of the needs of the situation. Then we should actively oppose any extension of British imperialism; and, further, we should vigorously and strenuously oppose, as indeed we have always done, any kind of provocative policy, or any policy of treaties and alliances which may be construed as a provocative one.

In that connection, we cannot but regard the alliance with Russia as entirely harmful and mischievous. Already it has been productive of much mischief. It has not only strengthened the feeling in Germany that Great Britain is a party to a policy of isolation against that country, but it has reimposed the yoke of despotism upon the necks of the Russian people, it has reconstituted the power of Russia as an evil influence in the East of Europe, and it has practically committed us to backing up the despotism and reaction in Persia.

And, above all, it has been so futile! Russia as a power is stronger, but England is weaker, for the alliance, and democracy has been the loser by it. The Russian despotism is the natural enemy of free peoples and of free institutions. Her natural allies are the great military powers of Europe, and, at the very moment when by this alliance our diplomats and statesmen fondly imagined that they had scored a point against Germany, we see the Czar making friends with the Kaiser, with a view, doubtless, to throwing this country over at the first favourable opportunity, and strengthening the powers of reaction and despotism the world over.

All such alliances and the secret diplomacy in which they are hatched should be strenuously opposed by Social-Democrats. On the other hand we should

favour an undertaking against any further extension of armaments—if only such an undertaking would be observed!

To recapitulate; the essential question is a simple one and admits of a plain answer:—Is Germany preparing for an attack upon this country? Admitting this to be the case, there are the proverbial three courses open to the British Government—(1) to continue the present mad war of armaments; allowing Germany to dictate our naval programme, while we do the like for her; (2) To firmly intimate that any further increase of naval armaments would be regarded as an unfriendly act; which would precipitate a conflict, or (3) To enter upon immediate negotiations with a view to the limitation of armaments and the amicable settlement of points of difference. Any one of these is open to the Government, but the last is the one we should support.

Above all, the circumstances of the present time surely offer the occasion for calling together the International Bureau for the consideration of definite steps to be taken in all countries for the prevention of war. General formal resolutions have served their turn. What is needed now is a definite plan for an active campaign against war. Verbal peaceful protests have had their day. The active preparations which are now being carried on by the powers for waging war should be the occasion for active organisation for the Social Revolution.

H. QUELCH.

SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE.

On the question of Woman Suffrage I partially sympathise with both Mrs. Montefiore and Mr. Belfort Bax, and I partially differ from both; and, while I support complete Woman Suffrage (complete Adult Suffrage), I am not satisfied with Mrs. Montefiore's presentation of the case for the women. Perhaps, on these grounds, a statement of my views may introduce a little novelty into the discussion.

It is usually, and I think correctly, claimed by women that they take a distinct estimate from men of many of the issues and affairs of domestic and civic life. It is also frequently, and I think correctly, urged that women take a more humane and sympathetic view of certain situations than men do. It is also generally acknowledged that their capacity for dealing with some kinds of household and social requirements is superior to that of men; and it would naturally follow from this fact that their capacity is inferior in other directions, otherwise they must maintain the remarkable argument that they are at least equal to men in all things, and superior in some. If these three points hold good, one feels obliged to conclude that the term "equality" is a confusing and useless one, except as a purely legal term. In fact, "equality" is one of the awkward metaphysical terms bequeathed to us from the politics of the eighteenth century. When I call it metaphysical I mean that we are apt to employ it to solve social problems, whereas we ought to let the facts of social experience themselves lead us to a practical method of dealing with the problems. And, in the

present instance, the facts of masculine and feminine experience do not appear to suggest any conception of equality at all. The numerous celibacies and virginities of history cannot alter the plain truth that the average man is endowed with a procreative function which not only does not tax his muscular or intellectual power but lends it specific stimulus, and that the average woman is constructed for a child-bearing function which makes peculiar demands upon her physique and lessens her ability for muscular or intellectual achievement. Otherwise, woman would be equal or superior to man all round, that is, equal or superior in reproductive, muscular and intellectual achievements; and nobody, I believe, advances so extravagant a claim. As to intellectual power, both men and women are inclined to overrate the value of reason pure and simple. Unless the teachings of evolution, poetry and daily experience are misleading, the great affections—friendship, reverence, sympathy—surpass the intellectual faculties in social worth; and I consider those women very much mistaken who prize mental gifts and conquests above the moral. "The intellect," says Comte, "should always be the servant of the heart," though he adds—"never its slave." From the standpoint of sociology, it is entirely foolish for either women or men to value university degrees, etc., as evidences of sex superiority. And in face of all these complexities in the structure of male or female, it is a most regrettable waste of time (except with reference to legal position) to talk of the "equality" of the sexes.

Mrs. Montefiore justly pleads that, in Socialist politics, woman should be regarded "first as a human being, and only secondarily as a creature of sex; that is to say, that, as a human being, her first natural instinct and function is nutrition, or the obtaining for herself of food, clothing and shelter." On that basis, it seems to me that women, like men, married or single, more respectable or less respectable, tax-paying or non-tax-paying—are entitled to the complete armour

of the vote, municipal or Parliamentary. At this stage, when the nutrition-need is primary, and sex is, by a law of human nature, a secondary instinct, neither property qualification nor the question of sex superiorities and inferiorities should intervene. It follows that the demand for Limited Suffrage ("on the same terms as men" now possess) is ethically valueless, and it also follows that Mrs. Montefiore must be allowed judgment as against Mr. Bax.

But it must be confessed that Mrs. Montefiore has obtained the vote for her clients, so to speak, on terms that are comparatively ignoble, though necessary. To count man as a merely economic person is depressing enough: still more depressing is it to count woman as a merely economic person. But I am prepared to do it for the sake of political peace; and, consequently, I would throw open to woman all trades and professions whatsoever, except certain (such as the army) as to which both sexes display universal objection to her entry.

Thus far, my friend Bax will recognise that I have done little else but parley with the opposition, and even capitulate! Nevertheless, the case is not ended. When Mrs. Montefiore affirms, "A fair field and no favour, that is, in effect, what Socialist women are demanding in every country in the world," I make courteous demur. I have already declined to discuss the problem on the metaphysical principle of sex equality. I have, indeed, conceded equality on the ground of nutrition-needs, and therefore I have decided for female suffrage. But (if the simplicity of the remark may be pardoned) the suffrage does not cancel sex. The average man and the average woman are equally capable of making crosses on ballot-papers, but as soon as the papers are dropped into the box, the complex life of superiorities and inferiorities is resumed. We at once confront a paradox. On the economic plane, or nutrition plane, or mere human-being plane, we have agreed to woman suffrage. But on that very plane woman, as a sex, is inferior to man. I mean that

in the primary maintenance of our race on the planet, in the struggle with external nature, in the conflict with beasts, in timber felling, mineral getting, corn growing, fisheries, cattle raising, building, road making, etc., man supports woman. This fundamental fact is disguised by cases of feminine wage-earning in the employments of typist, teacher, nurse, journalist, textile operatives, etc., just as in the cases of the male clerk, teacher, intellectual, etc., the fact is disguised that the manual labourer supports the so-called brain-worker. The economic foundation of society is, and always will be, male. It will probably become more so in the future, for all over the world women will be withdrawn from the severer field labour, and, in all likelihood, from many heavy forms of factory work in which they are engaged under capitalism. This economic principle decides the relation for the sexes as wholes. Some women may be excellent farmers, and some men incapable of physical labour, but a healthy social instinct debars us from letting these exceptions interfere with the general rule that, in effect and on the average, man should support woman in things material.

Where are we now? We have (as I assum) given the suffrage to women on the basis of a common need of nutrition; yet we recognise that, for the supply of that need, woman is substantially dependent upon man. And why is she? Because her sexual physique diverts her energy into offices of reproduction. But physical force, necessary for economic labours, is also the foundation of government. The male sex, having admitted the female sex to co-partnership in the suffrage, discovers (if one may so put it) that its new associate is inferior in the essential preliminary to political existence, namely, force. As a matter of notorious fact, women do receive preferential treatment in very many spheres. Mr. Bax often enough cites examples from law courts, prison regulations, social customs, etc., and in that field of debate it is ridiculous to contend with him. Mrs. Montefiore may say women demand "a fair field and no favour." Perhaps

they do, and perhaps they do not ; but they will never get the fair field, because they will always get the favour ; it being understood that we are speaking in broad common-sense averages, and not diverting attention to niggling exceptions. It is true that women bear their cruellest wrongs in connection with sex. But, in the first place, it has to be said that men also suffer, in ways often obscured from feminine view, from sexual difficulties ; and, in the second place, that the evident liability of women to profounder trouble on this side of life is the root reason for such deference and courtesy as civilisation has increasingly evolved in the behaviour of men towards women. In this sense, Mr. Bax is right in asserting that women hold a privileged position. The existence of prostitution does not weaken this general truth, for that social evil is counter-weighted by the existence of desperate penury and misery among the lower classes of proletarian men.

The paradox of adult suffrage, then, is this : That the co-partners in the vote start out with an equality of need of nutrition, and on that score we have (in supposition) granted the suffrage to women ; but that, as soon as we rise above this lowest plane, complex differences of nature in men and women create doubts as to how the civic "equality" of the vote can be applied to relations that defy classification in terms of equality of function and temperament. Mr. Bax meets the riddle by denying the suffrage. I should meet it by granting the suffrage. But I should take leave to point out certain considerations for the benefit of all parties to the transaction. For clearness sake, and in spite of the formality of the method, I will express myself in numbered conclusions :—

1. The feminine sex, when enfranchised, will have the common sense to remember that, as the child-bearing sex, it is characterised by certain physical and intellectual limitations.

2. It will tend instinctively, and without either the

deterrence or suasion of the law, to concentrate its activities on reproduction and nurture.

3. It will, by its own consent and the consent of the companion sex, receive special treatment (protective treatment in the best sense of the word)—more generous material support—in return for a larger fulfilment of feminine duties than is possible to the mass of women under present social conditions.

4. The feminine note in human life and civics, so far from losing its quality, will probably be made more intense in the family (one has to think of a regenerate world-proletariat), in education, and in the more distinctively human departments of public administration, as well as in art and literature.

5. The metaphysical notion of sex equality will be gradually abandoned, and, so far as voting avails to that end, the suffrage will be used to assist in creating free scope for healthy sex divergencies rather than approximations. The "equal pay for equal work" will be less and less applicable, for the simple reason that the sexes will increase their differentiations, and thereby find happier co-operation possible.

6. The suffrage will exhaust its main office in the establishment, by inevitable degrees, of collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

7. The masculine sex will be the chief minister of this ownership. The feminine sex, pursuing the line of evolution already indicated by the woman movement, will assume the moral leadership of social existence, dispensing more and more with the electoral system of politics, supported by the acutest powers of masculine intellect (not forgetting Nietzsche's "Superman"!), and illumined by the Religion of Humanity.

F. J. GOULD.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

When I set out to write my articles on the physiological aspect of alcohol, I tried to be as temperate and unassuming as I possibly could. I had no desire, as I stated in my first instalment, to say, or even imply, anything that would stir up a bitter feeling on the part of those who do not think as I do. Judging from Mr. Percy Scott's contribution in the April issue of the "Social Democrat," I have failed in this endeavour, for he has poured out the vials of his wrath on my unfortunate head with a vengeance. But withal it reads to me very like a carping criticism, else why does he start with such a sentence as the following: "Indeed, it would seem that the immense importance of this question bade fair to overshadow that of Socialism altogether." This one sentence is a real index of the style of criticism Mr. Percy Scott has indulged in throughout. His article is clever and catchy; but it is full of startling insinuations, unnecessary misrepresentations, and somewhat irrelevant utterances. The very title of his article, "Alcoholophobia," suggests animus, and he follows this up by saying: "Mr. Hobart, however, sets out to show, *with all the fanaticism of the total abstainer and abolitionist* (italics mine) that temperance or moderation in the use of alcohol is impossible."

This is an absolute inexactitude, without even the qualifying parliamentary adjective of terminological. I even went so far as to say, at the outset: "I am fully aware that there is a difference of opinion amongst eminent scientific men as to the actual effects of

alcohol on the human system, and I am quite ready to leave the matter entirely with my readers as to whom they are prepared to believe."

Does that read like the words of a fanatic ?

In my next paragraph I said : " I trust I shall not show any bigotry in the matter either, for, although a life-long abstainer, I hope I am sufficiently reasonable to allow of any difference of opinion without prejudice."

Not much fanaticism there.

In the third paragraph I said : " If, of course, my conclusions and deductions are wrongly based I shall expect toleration from any who may disagree with me."

You may judge of the toleration meted out to me by reading Mr. Percy Scott's article.

So much for my fanaticism.

Next Mr. Percy Scott says I set out to show that temperance or moderation in the use of alcohol is impossible.

I did nothing of the kind. I only endeavoured, in my elementary way, to place before the readers of the " Social-Democrat " the scientific or physiological aspect of the alcohol question. And this I have done, Mr. Percy Scott notwithstanding.

He next says : " He begins by declaring alcohol to be a poison ; then goes on to endeavour to show it is not a food, and then returns to the poison charge."

This is also an inexactitude.

My first article was devoted to a description of alcohol, its chemical composition, and how it became manifest in certain liquors, and the word poison only occurs twice in the whole of the article, and the second reference is to malarial poison, not to alcohol.

My second article was written to show that there is no food in alcohol, and very little in alcoholic drinks.

And how does Mr. Percy Scott refute my contention ?

He says : " I do not think very much of the food argument. Man is not a tree or a cabbage, nor does

he live by bread alone. . . . He is possessed of an æsthetic sense. . . . that sense has to be taken into consideration."

Just so. But is it impossible to consider the æsthetic sense and to take nourishing food at the same time? Or rather, is it wise to incur the risk of bodily injury to please the palate? If Mr. Percy Scott thinks it is, he is welcome to his views. I think otherwise.

In my last article I essay to show, from numerous authorities, that alcohol is a poison. I have given the names of the authorities, and suggested certain books that might be read with advantage—even by Mr. Percy Scott.

In this article occurs the quotation which Mr. Percy Scott makes so much of. It is from Professor Duglaux, and is given to show that I have paid a little attention to the views of my opponents—a compliment which I can hardly pay to Mr. Percy Scott.

He has very cunningly twisted this quotation to his own purpose, but he has omitted to do what I enjoined, that is: "Read carefully, in conjunction with the tables I have given." Why has he not done this? Because he saw the chance of a little flippant fooling, and he could not lose the opportunity of having another "dig" at the fanatic teetotaler.

But the quotation is quite clear. Professor Duglaux was speaking of alcohol "as an alimentary substance," and himself says that "carbonic acid provides neither heat nor *nutriment*." And I have shown that alcohol provides neither heat nor nutriment. So, if neither of the two constituents of the 100 grammes of sugar—carbonic acid and alcohol—contain any alimentary substance, I am perfectly right in saying there is "nothing left; and twice the weight of nothing is nil."

Mr. Percy Scott, in dealing with that portion of my article in reference to nursing mothers, says I have given no comparison. Well, let us see whether Mr. Scott is correct. In my second contribution I give the

formula of alcohol— $C_2 H_6 O_1$ —and in the table quoted from Dr. Parke there are the whole of the elements of milk which, in themselves, comprise all the food elements. Is this a comparison or not?

But what is the use of trying to argue against such slipshod reasoning as that presented by Mr. Percy Scott. Not in a single instance has he seriously attempted to confute my statements or attack my position. If, of course, the anecdote of the man swallowing the herring, the presence of poison in fruits, and the bite of the rattlesnake, are intended as arguments—serious, sober-minded arguments—then I will give up all attempts at replying to them.

It does appear to me that Mr. Percy Scott has only given a cursory glance at my articles, and because they are dealing with alcohol he has dashed off his article in reply, and must perforce gird at my habits. I am not pretending to defend smoking, or tea, or coffee, or temperance drinks. I do not attempt to defend anything that is injurious to the system, even at the expense of an æsthetic taste. I was exposing alcohol as a poison, and I was dealing with alcohol specifically. I was not “generalising” on poisons. I did not give “my own experience, extending over half a century,” but I quoted from reliable authorities, and I did not say anything that I am sorry for having said.

Mr. Percy Scott’s last sentence is not the least impracticable utterance he has made. “Temperate in all things.” What! Temperate in injuring one’s system! Temperate in burning one’s house down! Temperate in cutting one’s throat! Temperate in sweating! Temperate in robbery! Temperate in exploitation! Temperate in capitalism! Temperate in all things! No. It won’t do. “Avoid the least appearance of evil.” “Cleave to that which is good.”

I am better pleased with Mr. Jno. Rhind’s criticism in the May issue, for he has dealt with the matter in a serious and reasoning spirit. He, however, is mostly on a wrong scent, and argues as though I had stated that alcohol was of no service or benefit to mankind. I have

not made such a statement, and do not intend to, for it is absolutely impossible for me to know every use that every article of commerce may be put to. I have been told that alcohol is a very good furniture polish, and Mr. Rhind takes great pains to show that in certain extreme cases it may be used as a beneficent medicine. I do know that it possesses certain sticky qualities, and the drainings of beer cans have been frequently used in printing offices under certain conditions. But all this is beside the question. In that portion of this present article devoted to Mr. Percy Scott I have outlined the purport of the three articles I wrote. There is not a word in either of them which denies that alcohol has been used by certain medical men under certain conditions with varying results. This is true also of many poisons. Arsenic, aconite, belladonna, mercury, and a legion of others are all to be found in the *materia medica*; but I do not know of one of them that is used in the same way as alcohol is used, or is advocated as a food.

Mr. Rhind's quotations from various authorities are very interesting, and I am much obliged to him for them. Most of them contain certain passages which would serve me equally as well as some I have used. But why is it wrong for me to give Dr. Parke's table on food constituents (not because he supports my contentions, but because I consider him a reliable authority) and yet right for Mr. Rhind to quote from two of Dr. Parke's books?

Then Mr. Rhind, very ungenerously, it seems to me, says the authorities I have quoted from have, with one or two exceptions, been dead for a generation. Well, that may be true; but an authority is an authority, whether dead or alive. Isaac Newton is dead, Michael Faraday is dead, John Stuart Mill is dead, Ruskin is dead, Marx is dead, but they are still quoted as authorities on their respective theories.

Then comes his satirical contempt for Dr. Munroe and his "pseudo-scientific experiments." I am surprised that Mr. Rhind should make such a wry face

when a little gruel is given him. I should have thought, having such an excellent case as he claims to have, that he would have been satisfied with smashing my position without abusing the unfortunate men I have elevated to the rank of authorities.

I am very much obliged to Mr. Rhind, of course, for his information "that digestion does not take place in the stomach, but only *the first stage in the process*." This is very useful, of course, because it is essentially necessary that one should be very precise in these details. I have hitherto been under the impression that in digestion "*the first stage in the process*" was mastication. But I am evidently wrong; so I may be with my idea of the service of the alimentary canal and the pancreatic juice—which I thought had something to do with digestion. Still, in my simplicity, I thought if a poison in the stomach rendered food hard, and the absence of that poison left it soft, that in the latter case it should be more easy of digestion—and I still think so.

Now Mr. Rhind gives me some gratuitous advice: to scrap my "antediluvian quasi-scientific-cum-temperance reform literature, and replace it with some more modern and truly scientific." Thanks.

In conclusion, I have no objection to the wind-up quotation from the "Hospital" except to say that it does not agree with the statements of hundreds of other men. What becomes of meat, vegetables, milk, fruit and fish? All to be surrendered to beer, bread and cheese?

No, sir, it is not satisfactory. And I do hope that if anything more is said on this matter that someone will answer my questions—Is alcohol a food? That is, does it possess a proper quantity of the essential constituents of food? Is alcohol a poison? That is, is it as determinate in its action, whether in small or large quantities, as fire is, in large or small quantities?

H. W. HOBART.

A BALLADE OF NAMED AND NAMELESS.

Let us sing of the Brave who fought and fell,
All the long years from years long ago;
Some few we have known and loved so well,
So many more we never could know.
Fame's shrill trumpet may blare and blow
In praise or blame, but cannot revoke
The words, and deeds, that gather and grow,
Of Men and Women who stood for the Folk.
They had no secrets to hearken or tell,
Like dangling dupes for a wily foe:
The Faith that tyrants can *never* quell,
That looked upon Tyranny's overthrow
In the hour of its power that brought them woe—
Such Faith was theirs. Save desperate stroke
For your proud heart's choice, was *nothing* to show
You Men and Women who stood for the Folk?
“*Nothing? Let sly politicians go sell
Their souls for place, and v-er to and fro:
Let state-craft purchase a peace in hell,
And whitewash the devils that prowl below;
But we look to the End, and to That we go,
In War for the ridding of all our yoke—
Cry, ‘All for the Cause.’”* Amen, be it so,
Dear Men and Women who stood for the Folk

(L'ENVOI.)

Named and Nameless! In us ye dwell,
Leading us yet to the Day we invoke;
Our “Army with Banners” unconquerable,
Our Men and Women who stood for the Folk!

G. W. S.

THE MONTH.

Last month we wrote that the "fatuous folly of British diplomacy has once more been manifested by recent occurrences in Persia." Still more recent events have more completely demonstrated the truth of that statement, and the mischievous folly of the agreement with Russia. It is quite clear that Persia is to be subjected to Russian domination with the connivance and assistance of Great Britain. Another illustration of the evil of secret diplomacy, and of the fact to which we have so often called attention, that the people of this country have absolutely no voice in the conduct of foreign affairs, which, however, may and do involve them in the most serious responsibilities.

Another result of the Anglo-Russian Alliance, it appears, is likely to be the revocation of the treaty with Japan. The people here had no voice in the framing of that treaty, which committed us to undertakings that, under certain circumstances, might have been of the most serious character, and there was much in it of which we disapproved; nevertheless, a good understanding with Japan was certainly desirable, and if a breach with the power of the Rising Sun is to be one of the consequences of the alliance with Russia, the latter may yet prove a very costly contract, especially for the ruling classes of this country.

The mountain in labour has brought forth the traditional mouse, and the great social scheme of the greatest Ministry of modern times has been outlined for a delighted world by the pride of all the Churchills. The sum allocated for social "development" is, it appears, to be absorbed by the establishment of "Labour Exchanges." Another piece of more or less useless machinery. These Labour Exchanges will afford the unemployed a further opportunity of registering themselves and of informing the

capitalist class of the great competition for work in the Labour market. They will also provide a bottle of ginger beer for the unemployed man who has the penny to pay for it ; but they will not provide a job for any single individual of the many thousands who are vainly seeking for work.

The difficulty with all the machinery that has been set up to deal with the question of the unemployed so far, has been that it has provided ample opportunity for the unemployed to make their wants known but very little means for supplying those wants. Thousands of men have inscribed their names on the registers of the various unemployed agencies, while only hundreds have been found employment. The whole thing has been such a hopeless, heartless mockery of hungry workless men, that very few of the better class of workers among the unemployed thought it worth while to register at all.

It is scarcely likely that the new Governmental Exchanges, to the establishment of which is to be devoted the £200,000 promised to Labour out of the great Democratic Budget, to which the workers are to contribute an additional five millions, will prove any more successful than any other establishments of the same kind have been. Yet the promise of this "mustard without beef" sort of measure has been hailed with the most exuberant expressions of delight by our easily satisfied Labour Party.

It is true that the promise of Labour Exchanges has been accompanied by a suggestion of some scheme of insurance against unemployment. We have not yet been presented with the details of this scheme, but it is quite certain that when these details are forthcoming the measure will be nothing more than one for providing, in a roundabout way, for those in work to maintain those who are out, for a while, until their services may be required by some enterprising capitalist. Even if the whole cost of this insurance against unemployment were to be borne by the State, or by the State and the employers conjointly, it would be no great thing. When, however, it is understood that at least a proportion of the cost will have to be met by the workers it will be seen how great a humbug the whole thing is. It is another instance of feeding the dog off his own tail. The trade unions already provide unemployed insurance for their own members in many instances ; and the

proper course for the Government to have adopted in this connection would be to make a grant to the trade unions in proportion to the percentage of members out of employment. That would have been of some material assistance to the unions and would have strengthened the organisation of the working class. As it is, a Governmental scheme of insurance is much more likely to injure that organisation; while the Labour Exchanges may easily prove agencies for the supply of blacklegs. In any case, neither Labour Exchanges nor insurance will add to the volume of employment on the one hand or reduce the overwork—which is the chief cause of unemployment—on the other.

With ever-increasing production and productivity the only effective method of dealing with unemployment is to systematically reduce the hours of labour to keep pace with the improvements in mechanical appliances, and to set on foot a national system of organisation of industry on a self-supporting basis, as outlined by our comrade Hunter Watts in our last month's issue.

The projected Liberal-Labour alliance, to which we called attention last month, should be materially helped forward by the latest move of the Parliamentary Labour Group. These estimable persons have arranged a nice little holiday jaunt for themselves to Germany. No one can possibly object to that, seeing that they are paying their own expenses out of their own pockets. They go, too, with a most admirable object, that of carrying a message of peace and goodwill to the working people of Germany. Nothing to object to in that. Quite the contrary. It is an object that everybody will applaud. But they go under very peculiar auspices. Claiming to represent the working-class movement in this country, and, on behalf of that movement, carrying a message of fraternity to the working class of Germany, they have carefully avoided any contact with the working-class movement of the Fatherland, have flouted the invitation of the Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic trade unions, and have been the guests of the official governing class, the worst enemies of the organised working-class movement, and also the enemies of international peace.

All this, of course, is delightful for our Liberals, with whom the Labour Party appear to be so anxious to curry favour that they will make any sacrifice of principle to that end. But it is a gross

insult to the whole international working-class movement, and fully justifies our objection to the modification of the basis of the International in order to admit a body with so little sense of the international solidarity of Labour or of the mission of the proletarian movement.

We do not pretend to know the genesis of this trip, nor do we say, as has been rumoured, that it has been undertaken more in the interests, and at the instigation, of Liberal Free Traders than in those of Labour. We do know, however, that some time ago an invitation was sent from the headquarters of the German Social-Democratic Party to the British Committee of the International, inviting the bodies affiliated to that Committee to send a representative deputation on a fraternal visit to Germany, and that all the bodies affiliated to that Committee declined the invitation, with the exception of the S.D.P. It is as well that this should be known, and that comrades in Germany as well as here should understand that we of the Social-Democratic Party have always been willing, and indeed anxious, to maintain the most friendly relations with our comrades of Germany, and to meet them in fraternal intercourse on every possible occasion. We cordially welcomed their invitation, and should have been pleased to have participated in the joint visit which they suggested. The Parliamentary Labour Group, however, had quite a different conception of what was due to our German comrades, and, as we have said, flouted their invitation in order to hob-nob with their enemies.

Very different was the conduct of those German comrades who formed part of the deputation of German municipal councillors to this country. They abstained from the bourgeois junketings in which their colleagues participated, and visited the comrades of the various sections of the Socialist movement here; and it must be matter of regret to all of us not to have had the opportunity to organise as good a reception for them here as the Berlin comrades offered to organise for the Labour Party, but which the latter declined.

The defeat of the French postal employees, after the brilliant victory which we were able to record last month, gives point to the conclusion of our congratulations to them. As we then pointed out, to ensure the successful application of the power to strike, "perfect organisation and discipline are required, as well as

solidarity with the general body of the proletariat." It is, of course, easy to be wise after the event, but it did seem to us that the obduracy of Clemenceau and his refusal to carry out his promises should have warned the employees that it would be a mistake to put the issue to the test of another strike just then.

Ever optimistic, Mr. John Burns tells us that trade is reviving and the number of paupers is on the decrease. That is good hearing, but will certainly be news to most people. We do not see any of the signs of reviving trade at present, and the slight diminution in the number of paupers would easily be accounted for by the improved weather. On the other hand, the number and proportion of paupers in April was the largest on record since 1872. So that the reduction last month, over which Mr. Burns so blithely rejoices, leaves us pretty much where we were.

As a set-off to Mr. Burns's optimism it may be noted that prices are rising, while trouble is brewing in more than one branch of industry. The coal-owners intend to reduce wages in order to compensate themselves for the alleged reduced output caused by the new Mines Act. Although some sections of the miners have accepted the reduction, others are determined to resist, and we are threatened with another acute manifestation of the class war in the coal-fields, unless the masters prove more reasonable than they have hitherto done.

THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

I.—THE PROBLEM.

On January 2 the "Leipziger Volkszeitung" published an article by its Belgian correspondent entitled, "Unity in Confusion," in which the writer expresses his ideas concerning the tactics of Social-Democrats towards the labouring masses who, without being socialistic, are creating various organisations independent of the bourgeoisie. In his opinion it is most practical, in such situations, where as yet no unified Social-Democratic Party exists, to unite all such organisations into one Labour Party, and he regards it as the duty of the Marxists, not to found an independent Social-Democratic Party, but to enter the ranks of the general Labour Party. If thereby clearness of principle has to be sacrificed by the Social-Democrats this will be made up for by the fact of the masses being roused to independent political action; the experience they gain by such action will lead them to Socialism.

In "Vorwaerts" comrade M. Beer, in his discussion with our English comrade Askew (December 30, 1908, "The British Labour Party and Socialism") expresses the same thought still more forcibly as follows: "The unity of the working class seems to me the most important condition on which the victory of Socialism depends. And if I had to choose between a small and efficient Socialist Party and a large non-Socialist, but politically and economically independent working class, I should decide, without hesitation in favour of the latter."

The Belgian comrade prophesies that any other way than the one he recommends must lead to the formation of an orthodox sect. This opinion is shared by comrade Beer; although he describes the sect euphemistically as a "small but efficient Social-Democratic Party," the efficiency could surely, according to his opinion, only consist in its theoretic principles, it would obviously bring forth many words, but no deeds.

The problem brought forward by both comrades is of great practical weight for the international Labour movement. It faces the American Social-Democrats; it has already faced the English Socialists for more than two decades; it plays a great part in the vexed question of the relations of the French Socialist Party to the trade union movement; it is the basis upon which the controversy

about the neutrality of the trade unions in Germany can theoretically be fought out ; it may, in the near future, be of importance for the Social-Democrats of Russia, and was already touched upon there two years ago in the discussion regarding the convening of a " General Workers' Congress."

It is, therefore, of importance to approach this weighty problem. Though it is impossible for me now to go into all its theoretical depth, with reference to the most varied historic situations in which it has faced the leaders of the working class, I nevertheless think that even these brief remarks are not out of place, all the more so as, according to my opinion, not only the two comrades alluded to, but many well-known German Social-Democrats, when it is a question of the unity of the Labour movement in England, express opinions and defend tactics the ideas underlying which they would not listen to if practical questions concerning the German Labour movement were involved.

The English and Belgian conditions dealt with here are only given in order to illustrate the general observations.

II.—THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The question we must first answer is, Is a united Labour Party—which is not Socialist—possible ? We say, No. Without Socialism the working class is a heterogeneous mixture of different categories, some of which have independent, varying interests, sometimes opposed to each other. Between the various categories the uniting bond of Socialism is wanting ; it is not until it is present that the unity of their interests becomes apparent, and that they realise that they are sacrificing their permanent interests if they let the momentary differences—which are bound to disappear under the equalising influence of social development—prevent their uniting. The as yet non-Socialist mass of workers found economic and political organisations—the trade unions and the Labour parties ; but neither the unions nor the political Labour parties, as long as they hold aloof from Socialism, constitute an abiding organisation of the class. In the unions the workers organised divide up into the groups of the trades to which they belong. Their class solidarity is not expressed at all in these organisations if they are not permeated with the spirit of Socialism, and the trade unions may—as the history of their development in England shows—exist for decades without uniting the working class as a whole. Political Labour parties, if they do not have Socialism for their starting-point, only arise in order to reach a concrete goal. No permanent general interests unite the workers who belong to those parties in the political struggle, for these interests do not exist in the consciousness of the masses as long as they are not Socialist ; once, therefore, the concrete object is attained for which the party was constituted the uniting bond disappears, and with it the party itself. This was, for instance, the reason why none of the attempts to found a Labour Party in England after the bankruptcy of

Chartism, until the constitution of the Social-Democratic Federation, led to any result. The attempts to unite the working classes were always based upon concrete causes; when the objects were obtained, or the workers divided by the realisation of a part of their demands, the organisation simply disappeared. I do not, of course, mean to say that if a Socialist Party had been constituted in England at the time of the "International" a mighty mass of workers would at once have united under its banner; several objective circumstances would have prevented this, but there is no doubt that such a party would have formed the rallying point for all more conscious elements, which would thus have formed for the English Labour movement the Socialist nucleus round which the rest could crystallise.

Some one may argue: It may indeed be impossible to attain a permanent union of the mass of the workers without Socialism. But the masses which have joined a Labour Party in order to attain certain concrete demands become permeated, thanks to the experience gained in the struggle, by the thought of the solidarity of their interests, and this accelerates their development in the direction of Socialism. "Such masses," writes comrade Beer, "can only be convinced of the correctness of the Labour Party idea by legislative successes and electoral victories." This thought is false in this abstract form, although it contains a grain of truth. Bebel put this grain into the right shape when he once said: "The confidence of the people is only to be won by means of practical work, solid and hard work, through the aspiration to seize every advantage for the benefit of the workers." That is, that the Social-Democracy will not win over the masses of workers by mere abstract propaganda of their principles; they must take part in the political and economic struggle of the working class for the raising of its position. But Bebel was certainly not of opinion that this "practical" work, without the illumination of the real value of the gains, of the causes of our victories and defeats, will bring us to Socialism sooner than the activity to which he has devoted his whole life. Legislative successes may, under certain circumstances, prove to be the mess of pottage for which the working class at times may have to pay, not only with its aspiration towards Socialism, but even with the existence of its independent political organisation. These circumstances are as follows: When, thanks to some special contingency, the bourgeoisie is in a position to be able to satisfy the most pressing needs of some categories of workers—as it happened in England for a time in the last century—and when, thanks to the social-political conditions the class contrasts are not reflected in the consciousness of the workers. But if the conditions are such that the bourgeoisie, from its own point of view, is obliged to adopt a stern and antagonistic position towards the workers, if it does not grant the reforms willingly and these have to be wrenched from it inch by inch in a bitter struggle, if it cannot be sufficiently magnanimous to content the working class

and put it to sleep, then it is self-evident that the successes attained in the struggle strengthen the self-confidence of the workers and help to win them over to independent Labour policy; but it is also comprehensible that in such a situation the failures which follow make the working class inclined to realise the insufficiency of the reforms, and the limits of all reform in a capitalist State. And here we reach the most important point in judging the question.

It is clear that in a situation such as that last mentioned, the ground is very favourable to the rapid growth of the Social-Democracy. Life provides material for its agitation which makes its general views comprehensible to the masses. In such a situation every economic struggle, even the smallest, becomes a school for the class struggle, if the party consistently illumines all its incidents from one point of view, if it flies its flag openly in the air. Then greater masses will rally each day round the Social-Democracy, and it becomes a political factor in public life, which the bourgeoisie and the Government have to take into account. But this growth cannot all at once get rid of the effects of previous development. If a Labour movement, on a bourgeois basis, has hitherto existed in the country where the new movement is awakening it will certainly not disappear all at once. Every social organisation which is rooted in life still lasts a long time, even after the conditions from which it drew its strength have changed in a manner unfavourable to it. And (this point we will return to) a bourgeois Labour movement is brought into existence by lasting, not passing, conditions. How is this movement influenced by the presence of a consistent Social-Democratic Party? The political action of the Social-Democracy, its criticism of the bourgeoisie and the Government and their allies in the working class, constitute, on the one hand, an element of disintegration for the bourgeois Labour movement, and, in the second place, urges the latter on the road of the struggle against capital, though, it must be noted, that struggle remains hesitating and full of contradictions. If there is one thing which renders it possible to strengthen the class-war element in the bourgeois Labour movement, and to embody parts of it in the Socialist movement, it is the ceaseless war against that movement. This applies, not only to various organisations founded by the bourgeois parties—for instance, in Germany to the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker trade unions—not only to those which are, like the trade unions in England, independent, but also to all those which appear in Socialist clothing, but are of bourgeois origin. This policy, which momentarily divides the proletariat, prepares for its subsequent unity under the banner of Social-Democracy, as the only lasting organisation.

But what are the results of the tactics which are represented by our Belgian comrade and comrade Beer as the only right way? Let us first consider the question from the general point of view. Supposing the Socialists join this mixed party. They have the

best will in the world to agitate and propagate their point of view in that sphere. But the consequences of their entry soon begin to show themselves. They do not wish to frighten away those elements which are opposed to Socialism; they did not enter the party with that intention. Therefore, by fearing to make bad blood, they "sacrifice their clearness of principle to the unity of action of the awakening working class"—to use the words of our Belgian comrade. Instead of the Social Revolution, they agitate for the vague "workers' cause." But—to quote comrade Beer—what are words? They believe in deeds! A Labour party is not a debating club, it is a party of action. The uncertainty of its theories does not, of course, fail to influence its attitude towards political questions. The enmity of such a party towards Socialism does not mean that the members are only prejudiced against it because they do not know it; it means that they are possessed of bourgeois ideas, and wish to determine their policy accordingly. And the leaders of such a mass—as the Shackletons and Crooks's—are not little lambs whom a Keir Hardie can lead by a string. They let themselves be led indeed, but only by the bourgeoisie, for this is in accordance with their views. Thus in such a Labour Party there can be no question of independent policy. It begins to practise opportunism, and turns now to the right, now to the left. It goes without saying that the Social-Democrats who have sacrificed their clearness of principle cannot afterwards paralyse all action by a breach of discipline, and so they have to take part in the St. Vitus's dance.

How does this affect the Labour movement? The mass of workers, as yet non-Socialist, is retarded in its development towards Socialism. The Social-Democrats who join such a party in order to make way for the objective tendencies which are likely to lead the masses to the Social-Democratic standpoint, and to give free action to the movement, are paralysing another tendency which is of great importance for the object they are seeking to reach, namely, the conscious Socialist agitation. Instead, therefore, of accelerating the development of the whole mass in the direction of Socialism, they are retarding it.

And what is the effect of such a policy upon the Social-Democratic elements? The leaders become demoralised, the policy of compromise cuts away every solid foundation from under their feet, for such a foundation can only be formed by a principle; they become confused; that which was to be a clever trick in order to accelerate events, becomes their real point of view. And those of the workers who had already become Socialists sink back from the heights they have reached into the morass of "Labour politics." The Social-Democratic conviction for the mass of workers is not a sword that one can hang on a nail when it is not wanted and take down again later when the whole masses are "ripe," for the sword will have become blunt and rusty. The conviction of the working class depends on its daily struggle,

and the Social-Democratic workers cannot wander through the morass with the others without losing their convictions.

Here are a few illustrations to the above :—

Our Belgian comrade himself, in his article, gives examples of the effects of the "collective" policy in which the Belgian Social-Democrats took part in 1885. They did not even attain to unity of action. He informs us, "that no Labour movement presents a greater diversity and splitting up of tendencies than that of Belgium in every question of practical policy there have, therefore, hitherto been deeply rooted differences of opinion, which gave rise to repeated conflicts." Thus the unity was only apparent—says the writer of the article—but the confusion was real. "The theoretic confusion in its interior (the Belgian Labour Party which consisted of Social-Democrats, Proudhonists, Co-operative Associations and bourgeois quacks) is hardly less, in fact, it seems almost to have become more diversified. . . . Many comrades who understand enough of scientific Socialism to be convinced of the need for an intense permeation of the Belgian Labour movement with the spirit of modern Social-Democracy, that is, of Marxism, have in the spirit of the Congress of 1885, thoroughly sacrificed clearness of principle in theory to the unity of action, or, more correctly, to the appearance of that unity." And the final result: "The struggle of tendencies always went to aggravate the piece-meal character of action in practice, but hardly ever to increase the insight of the comrades into the theoretic basis of the struggle of opinions."

Of course, I cannot here examine as to whether the entrance of the Marxists into the Belgian Labour Party was influenced by the absence of any Marxist organisation, nor whether it would do to come out of it now. The English experiences are still worse. To the facts published by the London correspondent of the "*Liepziger Volkszeitung*" in his article on January 4, 1909 ("*Die Ausartung der englischen Arbeiterpartei*"), I should like to add two quotations from the "*New Age*" which comrade Th. Rothstein includes in his most remarkable article "*Englische Wandlungen*" ("*Neue Zeit*," October 2, 1908).

"I think," writes comrade Hobson, a well-known member of the Fabian Society and I.L.P., in this young Fabian weekly, "no observant looker-on will be able to deny the fact that the Labour Party becomes more moderate and reactionary every week." There is no question that this is caused by the absence of a consistent line of action in opposition to it on the part of the Socialist Parties. But what does Hobson say about the results of this policy of the diplomatists of the Socialist I.L.P. going hand-in-hand with the Labour Party? ". . . They expected to control the trade unionists, but their expectations have not been fulfilled. . . . They preach Socialism in public meetings, but in Parliament they may not speak freely." The effects of this policy on the views of the members of the Socialist Independent Labour Party are, indeed, not yet apparent, as the Labour Party is still young and is hardly more than

a gathering together of the heads of independent organisations, which fact weakens the effect; and, one must add, the I.L.P. has not much to lose, because . . . it has itself some very twisted ideas. This, then, is the result of the attempt (in the words of comrade Beer) "to unite the workers in one whole before winning them for conceptions which are still in advance of their intelligence."

III.—THE SECT.

Our Belgian comrade puts the question like this: The Social-Democrats either follow the path the mistakenness of which we think we have proved above, or they must "turn their back upon it (the Labour movement), and limit themselves, as a strictly orthodox sect, to make propaganda from outside for their ideas." This is clearly not the case.

In what does a sect consist? In considering its belief and views as the last word of wisdom, and trying to force them on to people by means of propaganda, without giving an answer to the questions put by life. What Marxist has ever preached such tactics? What Marxist ever advocated holding aloof from the Labour movement? Above all, the sectarian character of the English Social-Democracy, of the French Guesdists, and of the Russian Social-Democracy has been cited. It will suffice for me to deal with the first example, the English Social-Democracy, against whom this reproach was levelled by no less a person than Friedrich Engels: "The Social-Democratic Federation," he wrote in 1893 to Sorge, "shares with the German-American Socialists the distinction of being the only parties which have managed to reduce the Marxian theory of development to a strict orthodoxy, to which the proletarians are not to work themselves up by means of their own class feeling, but which they are to swallow at once and without development as an article of faith." I cannot in this article go into the question as to what circumstances gave rise to such a judgment on the part of Engels, but I think he was wrong. It is also unnecessary to prove that the English Social-Democracy had no such ideas, for the best proof of that is its deeds.

The Social-Democratic Federation took part in all the political and economic struggles of the English working class; it took pains to bring Socialist views home to them, not only through agitation and propaganda, but also by actions. The part it took in Parliamentary and municipal elections, in the unemployed movement, etc., shows that there was no idea of a turning away from the Labour movement. That is not to say that we agree with all its tactics (for instance, towards the trade unions, the Conservatives, etc.). But let us hear what is said by an opponent of the Federation, comrade William Sanders, a member of the I.L.P., in a lecture upon "The Present Position of the Socialist Movement in England," which he gave at Fürth on September 18, 1908, and which was published in Nos. 230—236 of the "Fränkische Tagespost," of last year.

"The Social-Democratic Federation, or Party, is the pioneer of modern Socialism among the English workers. It stands on a strictly Marxist foundation and its policy makes for the realisation of Socialism. In many ways it has done great service to the workers' cause. Although it always lays great stress on its revolutionary character, it has always entered the field for the so-called palliatives and contributed a great deal towards attaining them.

"It was, for instance, the Social-Democratic Federation, which first raised the question of meals for children at the public cost; they pressed this demand all over the country, till at last the Government which is now in power passed a law giving the school authorities the right of introducing free feeding where it is necessary. Other measures, as, for instance, the legal enactment of the Eight Hours Day, were in former times first brought forward by the S.D.F. and the Eight Hours Bill for miners which has been introduced by the present Government and is now before Parliament is doubtless due to a great extent to the energetic agitation of the Socialist Party. It is just on the field of agitation that the S.D.F. has done its best work. In the eighties and early nineties of last century, its influence was much greater than its numbers, which, at that time, were very small and have remained so till the present day. Without the keen, indeed fanatical, agitation of the S.D.F. the ground would not have been ploughed in which is sown the seed of the Socialist movement in England."

That the Social-Democratic Federation has not developed into a mighty labour party is due, not to its defective tactics, but to the fact that in England, owing to the special economic and political conditions often alluded to in Marxian literature, it was impossible even for a labour movement, politically and economically independent of the bourgeoisie, let alone a Socialist Labour movement, to arise. The best proof of this is given by that Independent Labour Party, so greatly praised by Engels, which has followed the tactics approved by him, and which is in agreement with the views of our Belgian comrade. The I.L.P. cannot point to any great successes resulting from its 15 years' work. At the end of last century the S.D.P. numbered 5,000 to 6,000 members, and the I.L.P. 10,000 to 12,000; last year the Social-Democracy had 13,000, and the I.L.P. 20,000 members. The good tactics have not brought the large-hearted Socialists any great advance over the "sect" of Social-Democracy.

If the S.D.F. did show signs of sectarianism, it would be easily explained by the English conditions, which retarded the rise of a broad Labour movement, thereby forcing a sectarian character on the work of the Federation, which was limited to small groups, and calling forth sectarian views in some of its members. In general, if signs of sectarianism do appear in a Socialist Party, these are only the products of the absence of a broad Labour movement in the country. There is no antagonism—here broad Labour movement, there Marxist sect—but where a "broad" Labour Party

is possible, there a consistent Marxian mass-party can arise. And we think we are not mistaken in prophesying that the Social-Democratic Party of England is progressing towards a healthy development, if it continues its energetic, consistent, Social-Democratic policy, without letting itself in for the policy of alliances.

IV.—THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND SOCIALISM.

Comrade Beer writes: "The unity of the working class appears to me to be the most important condition for Socialism. . . . What is the real hindrance to the German Social-Democracy? Is it the Prussian-German constitution? Is it the 'Junkers'? Is it, as the Revisionists say, Marxism, or, as the Marxists say, revisionism?*" No. None of all these. It is the separation of the working class into 'Zentrums'† workers, Liberal workers, indifferent workers, that constitutes the real hindrance to the progress of the German Social-Democracy. Were they to form one single modern army of workers we should speedily overcome all the other hindrances. We should ride upon the whirlwind and rule the storm. It is the same in France, Italy, etc." And Beer draws the conclusions from his view, and recommends to the German Social-Democracy tactics the incorrectness of which it is not necessary to prove here: "If I could influence the tactics of the German Social-Democracy," he writes in the "Fränkische Tagespost," of February 1, 1909, "I would influence them in the following direction: Friendly or antagonistic independence towards the bourgeois parties and elements, according to their attitude towards progress and democracy, but charitable tolerance and temporary and local agreements with the honest non-Socialist working-class organisations according to the degree of their proletarian feeling."

From his first remarks he seems to be of opinion that the disappearance of the whole bourgeois labour movement would be possible before the social revolution. Even if this were the case it would not yet prove that the heterogeneous policy which Beer desires would be the best means of accelerating that process. But we, in any case, deny this possibility.

Two circumstances principally determine the rise of the bourgeois labour movement: on the one hand the bourgeoisie proceeds to found labour organisations as ramparts to protect themselves against the Socialist labour movement; on the other hand, there awakens in the breasts of those parts of the working class consisting of newly proletarianised categories or such as have

* It is hardly necessary to say that the Marxists have not been guilty of such an assertion. Perhaps comrade Beer will lay a specimen on the table of a miserable Marxist whose intellectual property such views might be. Still, we would refrain from reproaching comrade Beer—as he does comrade Askew—with not yet being sufficiently advanced to give an inclusive and far-seeing judgment on the state of the international Socialist Labour movement.

† Catholic Clerical Party.

just come from the country, an instinct towards organisation for the purpose of improving their condition. These two circumstances are for ever crossing each other and influencing each other ; on the one side the aspirations of the bourgeoisie awaken many still sleeping categories of workers, while, on the other side, the instinct of the awakening workers towards organisation forces the bourgeoisie to get the rising organisations into their hands, in order that they should not come under the influence of the Social-Democrats. This process will last as long as the process of proletarianisation lasts. And as we are not of the dogmatic opinion that the hour of the social revolution will only strike when the last petty bourgeois wanders into the factory, we believe that the welding together of the whole working class into one labour army will only take place in the days of the Social Revolution itself, if, indeed, it precedes Socialism at all.

From this point of view comrade Beer's opinion as to the divisions in the working class being the real hindrance to Social-Democracy in Germany, France, Italy, etc., would mean—the true hindrance to the International Social-Democracy is that we are not yet standing in the midst of the Social Revolution ! If that is what comrade Beer meant to say, then we thoroughly agree with him.*

Finally, a qualification. These remarks are not intended to convey the impression that we under-estimate the importance of the unity of the working class. We only wished, in the first place, to examine the methods of its partial attainment, and, in the second, to emphasise the impossibility of its completion in existing conditions.

As regards the first question, we consider the method of uniting-policy, "collecting-policy," to be unsuitable, and to be dangerous to the Social-Democracy ; as regards the second, we believe that whoever lets himself be taken captive by illusions on this point is riding, not the storm-wind, but the clouds, from which he might easily fall down into the current of a feeble opportunism.

KARL RADEK, in the "Neue Zeit," March 12.

* I can, of course, spare myself entering into the question of what the "hindrance" of the German Social-Democracy is, for after the well-known expression about the "impotence" of the German Social-Democracy was coined by Jaurès at the Amsterdam Congress it was thoroughly discussed in the Radical portion of the party press.

THE REVIEWS.

THE WHEAT FAMINE OF 1915.

A PICTURE OF WHAT MIGHT OCCUR.

Mr. John S. Purcell has the following under the above heading in the current "World's Work":—

The anniversary of Waterloo was approaching, and the descendants of those who took part in that great struggle were preparing to celebrate it; each nation after a fashion of its own, all more or less lacking in enthusiasm, displaying in their attitudes a range of feeling which varied between quiet self-satisfaction on the part of England and speculative indifference on the side of Germany. The course of events in France had so influenced the national outlook that the fall of Napoleon had come to be regarded as a triumph of democracy, which, in spite of the Bourbons and the other Napoleon, had ultimately brought more benefits to the defeated than to the victors; and if France had made no arrangements for a display of fireworks on her own part, she was quite ready to look on and smile whilst her neighbours were diverting themselves. But not all the Germans were indifferent. Owing to the increase of armaments, the burden of taxation had fallen so heavily on the shoulders of the working classes that a threatened revolt had only been averted by an extension of the suffrage. This in turn had resulted in the return to the Reichstag of a largely increased number of Socialists, who looked upon the combat of Waterloo much as Mercutio looked upon the quarrel of the Montagues and Capulets; whilst as a contrast and consequence of this—taken in connection with recent developments in Russia—the Imperialistic party could summon no enthusiasm towards the celebration of an event that had come to be considered by the evolutionists of history as the beginning of the end of autocratic power, not only in Europe but in the world.

Germany was divided into camps, more or less equal in power, if very little so in the point of numbers; the majority wondering openly why they should be expected to rejoice at the death of their brothers, the minority resentful of this attitude and wishing for the return of the time when men died unquestioning in any cause, whether right or wrong, so long as it had the approval of their brothers.

But just before the preparations for the celebration of the anniversary of Waterloo had taken definite shape men's thoughts were suddenly called back from the contemplation of past dangers and glories to still greater dangers which began to threaten the present. The first hint of the calamity came in the shape of an innocent-looking paragraph in the daily papers, which told how a plague of locusts was sweeping across the northern provinces of Argentina and doing much damage to the crops. At the foot of the paragraph was an announcement that the message had been delayed in transmission; for what particular cause was not stated. Next day, however, came a startling explanation; the cable had been cut or otherwise put out of order, and in the meanwhile a syndicate in Buenos Ayres had bought up the entire stock of wheat in the country, and entered into such arrangements as made them masters of the next season's crop. This at the best would show an immense falling off from the yield of the previous year. From 1907, when the wheat crop had reached 153,999,300 bushels, the yield had gone on steadily increasing until it had equalled that of Austria-Hungary, but now, as would appear, the locusts had devastated the most productive parts of the fertile provinces, and not more than half of the quantity calculated on had been realised. For some time, too, the export of wheat from the United States, owing to the demands of that country itself, had begun to fall short of the demands of the growing population of Europe, whilst the development of the revolutionary movement in Russia had greatly interfered with the export of grain from that country. To add to the seriousness of the crisis, a threatened rupture between Austria and Hungary supplied a motive for the storing of large quantities of wheat in those countries, so that a veritable wheat famine had suddenly set in. The comparative extent to which the scarcity affected the various nations may be judged from the figures of the 1906 imports. Here is the list, leaving out the minor countries :—

| | | | | | Bushels. |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| Belgium | ... | ... | ... | ... | 67,928,168 |
| Germany | ... | ... | ... | ... | 73,784,363 |
| Italy | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50,473,976 |
| Netherlands | ... | ... | ... | ... | 44,506,710 |
| Switzerland | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16,196,009 |
| United Kingdom | ... | ... | ... | ... | 172,808,563 |

The imports of flour into these countries would add about 17 per cent. to the totals. France, whose crop in 1908 had reached the fine total of 369,970,000 bushels, was the only European country of any importance able to cope with the situation, and only then after Parliament had rushed through a hasty measure forbidding the export of all kinds of grain, and fixing the price of bread at a figure which should not go above 25 per cent. beyond

the normal. France, as far as essentials were concerned, was self-supporting, and had every reason to congratulate herself on the fact that for long years the area of land devoted to wheat had kept pace with the national needs.

But, in order to better understand the situation, it will be well to give here some figures in regard to the wheat supply of the world issued by the Board of Agriculture in 1908. The figures apply to the previous year, i.e., 1907.

WORLD'S WHEAT PRODUCTION.

| | | | | Bushels. |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| United States | ... | ... | ... | 634,087,000 |
| Canada | ... | ... | ... | 96,606,000 |
| Mexico | ... | ... | ... | 10,000,000 |
| Total, North America | | | | 740,693,000 |
| Argentina | ... | ... | ... | 153,993,000 |
| Chile | ... | ... | ... | 15,776,000 |
| Uruguay | ... | ... | ... | 6,867,000 |
| Approximate total, S. America | | | | 176,636,000 |
| Austria-Hungary | ... | ... | ... | 185,059,000 |
| Belgium | ... | ... | ... | 12,000,000 |
| Bulgaria | ... | ... | ... | 35,000,000 |
| Denmark | ... | ... | ... | 4,000,000 |
| France | ... | ... | ... | 369,970,000 |
| Germany | ... | ... | ... | 127,843,000 |
| Greece | ... | ... | ... | 8,000,000 |
| Italy | ... | ... | ... | 177,543,000 |
| Montenegro | ... | ... | ... | 200,000 |
| Netherlands | ... | ... | ... | 5,000,000 |
| Norway | ... | ... | ... | 200,000 |
| Portugal | ... | ... | ... | 6,000,000 |
| Roumania | ... | ... | ... | 42,237,000 |
| Russia (Europe) | ... | ... | ... | 455,100,000 |
| „ (Asia) | ... | ... | ... | 56,000,000 |
| Servia | ... | ... | ... | 8,375,000 |
| Spain | ... | ... | ... | 100,331,000 |
| Sweden | ... | ... | ... | 5,953,000 |
| Switzerland | ... | ... | ... | 4,000,000 |
| Turkey (Europe) | ... | ... | ... | 16,000,000 |
| „ (Asia) | ... | ... | ... | 35,000,000 |
| United Kingdom | ... | ... | ... | 58,275,000 |
| Total Europe | | | | 1,616,086,000 |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| India | ... | ... | ... | ... | 315,386,000 |
| Cyprus | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,000,000 |
| Japan | ... | ... | ... | ... | 23,132,000 |
| Persia | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16,000,000 |
| Total, Asia, including Russia and Turkey | | | | | 447,518,000 |
| Algeria | ... | ... | ... | ... | 31,120,000 |
| Cape Colony | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2,000,000 |
| Egypt | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12,000,000 |
| Natal | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,000 |
| Soudan | ... | ... | ... | ... | 800,000 |
| Tunis | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6,000,000 |
| Total, Africa | | | | | 51,926,000 |
| Australia | ... | ... | ... | ... | 68,185,000 |
| New Zealand | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5,782,000 |
| World's Total | | | | | 3,108,526,000 |

Owing to some recent legislation in the United States, occasioned by many more or less successful efforts in the same direction, the operation of cornering the wheat market took longer than in the Argentine, but in this case the plea put forward by Mr. Patten in 1909 was accepted as meeting the case.

Great Britain, which for many years had been importing four-fifths of her bread-stuffs, was in a more hapless plight than any other country. She still owned the lion's share of the shipping of the world, but she had no power to compel the foreigner to supply her with the needful cargoes. In this emergency she turned to her colonies and to India for assistance, only, however, to find that the stock of wheat, inadequate at the best, was in the hands of trusts and syndicates, who recognised no call but that of hard cash, and would as soon sell to the Mad Mullah as to the Prime Minister of Great Britain. In a short while the price of the four-pound loaf rose as high as a shilling, and what had been regarded as the commonest of all food began to take on the aspect of a luxury. As was to be expected, the prices of other foods rose in proportion; potatoes were 1s. 6d. a stone, oatmeal 5d. a pound, the commonest rice 4d. Though trade had been in a flourishing condition for three or four years, the savings of the working classes were inadequate to meet the new demands, whilst that considerable portion of the population who at the best of times live only from "hand to mouth" were everywhere starving. The newspapers were crammed with accounts of the distress in the various centres

of population, and all of them, irrespective of party, called out for such legislative measures as would for ever prevent the recurrence of such a calamity.



THE STATE OF FRANCE.

In its "Review of Events" the "Fortnightly Review" has the following :—

Although there is little to fear of the issue so far as the next few years are concerned, the third Republic is passing through a very critical phase. The Morocco crisis held the spirit of the social revolution in check. A settlement with Germany was no sooner reached than the incalculable France, which gave so remarkable an example of national discipline at the time of the Casablanca incident, showed signs of political disorganisation. The causes were complex. Discontent seethes among the proletariat. The Socialist movement in French towns has by no means made all the progress hoped for in the crisis of the Dreyfus affair, when it expected in a few years to become triumphant. But the advance has been serious. Anti-Militarism threatened to become a political form of malignant growth, local in appearance, but not the less cancerous in nature. With this went the development of trade unionism in an aggressive and even insurrectionary temper. Two years ago "King" Pataud, who plays principal demagogue to the electricians, acquired his sovereignty by plunging Paris into darkness. He said, "Let there be no light," and there was none. Last year the Draveil riots showed the increasing assurance of strikers. The General Confederation of Labour began to talk of a general strike as within the range of practical politics. Parallel with this movement was the revolt of the functionaries. Schoolmasters and other public servants claimed full trade union privileges, including the right to strike against their employers, the State. A few months ago discontent became acute in the postal service, and by the recent strike the electric wires and mails were stopped as suddenly as the capital had been eclipsed by Pataud. M. Clemenceau, whose Government was more divided than usual, showed less vigour than France had learned to expect from him in a crisis. The strikers returned to work, believing that they had won a complete victory, and inclined to presume on it. They expected the Cabinet to remove M. Simyan from the control of the postal department. They were disappointed and threatened another revolt. This was too much; and M. Clemenceau made every preparation to crush the bureaucratic mutiny.

KING PATAUD AND THE POSTIERS.

What alarmed Paris was the threat of a general strike, with Labour at large standing by the postiers. The general strike

was, as a matter of fact, proclaimed. The sequel was a fiasco. There was no interruption in the postal service, where the employees, in serious fear for their future, were overawed by the resolute attitude of the Ministry. Among the trade unionists called out only a few hundred navvies obeyed. The victory of the Cabinet in this struggle against intimidation had been preceded by a triumph in the Chamber, when, in the customary duel between M. Clemenceau and M. Jaurès, the eloquence of the latter was deflated by a master of ridicule. In a scene of extraordinary excitement, however, the Socialists sang the "Internationale," and were answered by the "Marseillaise." Before the fiasco, while the more extreme demagogues cried "Forward," M. Niel, the General Secretary of the Labour Federation, cried "Back," and though he allowed himself to be overborne, he is as far from pardoning those who brought him to a weaker frame of mind as are they from forgiving him for his original prudence. The Labour leaders are at present engaged in loading each other with opprobrium, and within the organisation an internecine struggle rages between the opportunists and the extremists of the movement. . . . Complacency now may easily be as exaggerated as was the apprehension of a few weeks since. Then Paris was full of pessimism, and even the coolest heads among the foreign observers long acquainted with France thought that Pataud might prove to be at the least a Boulanger of Labour capable of arousing a formidable agitation, and likely to prove a greater peril than his prototype. It was thought that trouble might break out on May 1. Troops were poured into the city, and the firmness with which order was maintained was the prelude to the later success we have described. Between the civil servants and the working classes a certain incompatibility of temper hinders efficient conspiracy in common. The question of the functionaries is not settled. It is impossible to recognise their right to strike, but a Bill such as suggested itself to the sagacious mind of M. Waldeck-Rousseau will be brought in to confer upon State employees the right to organise for purposes of collective bargaining.

FUNCTIONARIES AND DEPUTIES.

The multiplication of functionaries is one of the grave weaknesses of modern France. They swarm in incredible numbers, and the universal ambition to obtain State employment tends to destroy personal vigour and initiative, and to kill the spirit of enterprise. It is the tamest form of playing for safety, and it makes discontent with conditions of work, pay, and promotion a direct and most dangerous influence upon national politics. The zeal of the revolutionary Socialists in the cause of the postmen is easily explained. If public employees could be captured, then the signal for a general strike might stop all the machinery of State, and bring about the overturn of capitalistic society. If Paris were once more plunged

in darkness, if the mail service were suspended, if telegraphs were interrupted and telephones silenced, as in St. Petersburg during the struggle for the October Constitution, if the railway workers came out and stopped passenger and freight traffic, and if the Army were corrupted by Anti-Militarism, would not the success of the new revolution be more swift and sweeping than that of 1789? There is a fear that something like this may happen in the long run unless French Governments are ready to rule with a hand of iron. Precisely as might be expected, this situation has brought about a distinct revival of reactionary ideas. Royalist agitation shows remarkable audacity. Though M. Clemenceau always shows his characteristic decision and nerve at the height of a crisis, his energy becomes more intermittent. If he copes brilliantly with the crises when they arise, he allows them to occur too frequently. Members of the House of Commons are rendered weak by dread of losing their seats, but deputies in France are under the additional fear of losing their salaries. The Chamber has sunk of late years in public respect. The Presidency, contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, is a passive office, neutralised for all but honorific purposes. For a generation, politicians carrying mechanical Anti-Clericalism to extremes that Gambetta would have deplored, have devoted themselves to pulling down the Church instead of elevating the people. If the industrial masses are sceptical, cynical, and menacing, the more comfortable classes are alarmed by the severity of the income-tax and the prospect of a new era in which financial pressure and economic insecurity will increase together.

THE VOLCANIC VENT.

There are here all the elements of trouble, and nothing is more likely than that with ensuing years, if international peace is preserved, a convulsive social struggle will be seen in France. It is, of course, almost certain that the real France, which tills the soil, would once more crush the Reds as the Army of Versailles crushed the Commune. The interesting thing is that it is the old pot which is beginning unmistakably to bubble—or shall we say, the old crater which shows signs of eruption? While Social-Democracy is thoroughly under the control of the German National Organisation, it seems possible that Paris may prove to be the volcanic vent of the new revolution; and the world will do well to give closer heed to internal affairs in France.



DEATH IN DUSTY TRADES.

That 22,000 lives would be saved annually in the United States alone, if we could eliminate deaths from lack of ventilation in factories where certain dust-producing operations are going on, is

averred in Bulletin No. 79 of the United States Bureau of Labour (Washington, 1908). The same intelligent ventilation, resulting in proper dust-removal, would lower the death-rate from tuberculosis from 2.2 to 1.5 per thousand, or about one-third. Taking this disease alone, it is found that while 4.8 per cent. of deaths from all causes among males over fifteen years of age in the United States are due to it, the death-rate from the same disease in dusty occupations ranges from 24.8 per cent. for vegetable-fibre dust to 36.9 per cent. for metallic dust. The highest mortality from this cause is that of grinders, among whom 49.2 per cent. of all deaths are from tuberculosis. While the death-rate from consumption for males between the ages of 25 and 34 was 31.3 per cent. of the total, it was 47.6 per cent. among men exposed to mineral dust, 57.2 per cent. among those exposed to metallic dust, and 53.3 per cent. among those exposed to animal and mixed fibre dust. Says Frederick L. Hoffman, in his general introduction to the Bulletin :

"It requires no extended consideration to prove that human health is much influenced by the character of the air breathed, and that its purity is a matter of very considerable sanitary and economic importance. Aside from the risk of exposure to so-called air-borne diseases, the pollution of the atmosphere by organic and inorganic dust is unquestionably the cause of a vast amount of ill-health and premature mortality, but chiefly among men and women engaged in the many indispensable trades and occupations that minister to human needs.

"The sanitary dangers of air contaminated by disease-breeding germs are probably not so serious as generally assumed, while the destructive effects of the dust-laden atmosphere of factories and workshops are a decidedly serious menace to health and life. While the investigations of Dr. McFadden and Mr. Lunt seem to prove the paucity of bacteria in very dusty air, the evidence otherwise available is entirely conclusive that the risk of disease-infection is much greater indoors than out in the open, where sunlight, rain, and wind in combination go far to purify the atmosphere by destroying the bacterial life contained in minute particles of suspended matter. Apart, however, from the transmission of disease through a dust-contaminated atmosphere, dust in any form, when inhaled continuously and in considerable quantities, is prejudicial to health because of its inherent mechanical properties, destructive to the delicate membrane of the respiratory passages and the lungs.

"It has long been known that those who live most of their time out of doors have a decided advantage over those who, because of their employment, are compelled to spend their working-hours inside the home, the office, the factory, or the workshop, and it is an accepted axiom of modern sanitary science that measures and methods for the prevention of dust are a first and preliminary essential consideration in rational methods of sanitary reform. All that sanitary science can suggest or that sanitary legislation can

regulate and change should be done, for humane reasons and as a matter of governmental concern, to mitigate the needless hardships of those who suffer in health and life as the result of conditions over which they themselves have but a very limited control."

The term "dust," as here used, is of somewhat wide application, including, to quote a lecture by Dr. B. W. Richardson, all fine solid particles thrown off in the manufacture or treatment of such articles as earthenware utensils, knives, needles; mechanical instruments, like files or saws; ornaments of pearl, ivory, and turned wood; wearing-apparel of silk, cotton, hemp, fur; foodstuffs, such as flour; fuels, such as coal; or luxuries like tobacco and snuff. His classification is as follows:

"(a) Cutting dusts, formed of minute hard, crystallised particles which have sharp, cutting, and pointed edges. These dusts are composed of iron or steel, of stone, of sand or glass, of dried silicates in earthenware, of lime, of pearl.

"(b) Irritant dusts, derived from woods, from ivory, from textile fabrics, fluffs of wool, of silk, of cotton, of flax, and of hemp, from hair, from clay.

"(c) Inorganic poisonous dusts, derived from some poisonous chemical compounds used for colouring artistic products, or for preserving organic substances, such as furs. These dusts are charged with arsenical salts.

"(d) Soluble saline dusts, derived from soluble crystalline substances used for dyeing purposes. The sulphate of iron, copperas, yields a dust of this class.

"(e) Organic poisonous dusts, which are thrown off during the making up of tobacco into cigars and snuff. These dusts carry with them particles of the dried tobacco-plant.

"(f) Obstructive and irritating dusts composed of carbon, of fine particles of coal dust, of scrapings of carbon or of soot, of dust of rouge, and of flour.

"Whatever may be the kind of dust to which the workman is subjected, to whichever of the above named he may be exposed, the primary cause of danger lies in the circumstance that the fine particles are borne by the air into the lungs. They pass, wafted by the air, through the mouth and nostrils into the windpipe; they pass along the bronchial tubes; in some instances they reach and traverse the bronchial passages which lie between the larger bronchial tubes and the minute air-vesicles, or they even reach the air-vesicles themselves."

The remedy lies in removing the cause; in other words, every kind of dust produced in manufacturing process ought, as far as practicable, to be removed from the atmosphere in which the work-people are present, no matter whether it is known to be dangerous or not. To quote from a lecture by Dr. J. S. Haldane, F.R.S., cited in the Bulletin:

"The reason for this is not only that dusty air is, at the best, unpleasant to breathe, but that when dust is present the clothes,

skin, and hair become dirty, untidy and uncomfortable. This inevitably tends to lower the social status and self-respect of work-people if, at any rate, they have to go back to their homes in the same untidy condition. Where dust and dirt cannot be avoided, the provision of overalls, or of means of washing and changing clothes on leaving work, is extremely desirable. . . .

"In many cases the best way of dealing with dust is to prevent its formation altogether. This can be effected by substituting wet for dry processes, and, fortunately, much of the most dangerous dust can be dealt with in this way—in particular the dust from disintegration of hard stone or steel. . . .

"When dust formation cannot be avoided, its escape can sometimes be prevented by entirely boxing in the dusty process. Where the dust is itself the product of the process, as in the grinding or breaking-up of material, efficient boxing in is an advantage to the process itself as well as to the persons employed in it.

"In most cases it is, unfortunately, not possible either to prevent the formation of dust or to box in the dusty process completely, and the only method available is to draw the dust by means of an air-current."—The "Literary Digest," New York.



JAPAN TO DISSOLVE THE ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance was made for only ten years from 1905 and was to be dissolvable on a year's notice. Now, according to the Vienna and Berlin papers, Japan is seriously inclined to put an end to the compact. While no public announcement of this diplomatic move has been as yet made, says the "Hamburger Nachrichten," it is natural to expect that it is seriously contemplated. This has not been denied at Tokyo, and there are certainly many reasons to think that Japan has ample grounds for dissolving partnership. It was quite a one-sided affair, says this German journal. Japan gave everything and England took everything, for England was enabled by it to leave the protection of her Pacific possessions to her Asiatic ally. The writer thus continues:—

"Japan's wish to dissolve the treaty is said to have been caused in the first place by England's growing inconsiderateness in her commercial competition with Japan, and in the second place by Japan's jealousy as she has seen England draw closer and closer to Russia and the United States. There is considerable plausibility in such allegations. It is quite conceivable that Japan would consider it irreconcilable with her own vital interests that her only ally should appear to have formed close relations with both of her avowed rivals, Russia and America. If Japan's hope of defending herself against Russia and the United States, through the help she

received from England, proves illusory, the treaty between England and Japan would be practically worthless and less a help than a hindrance in protecting Japanese interests.

"Besides all this, it is conceivable that Japan wishes to have a free hand for an eventuality which may any day happen, that is, an Indian uprising and the appearance of a Pan-Asiatic movement. In this case Japan would find herself seriously hampered by an English alliance in fulfilling what she holds to be her Asiatic 'mission.'"

Still further reasons are stated by the "Vossische Zeitung" (Berlin), which professes to have derived information from a high source in Vienna that Japan has already confidentially informed the Powers of her intention. In this important Liberal organ we are told:—

"Japan has long thought her rights were injured by England's attitude at the Portsmouth Conference. . . . The Japanese Government at the present moment believes that the policy of England threatens to destroy the balance of power in the Pacific. Japan has, in fact, come to see that King Edward's policy of ententes, which began with the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, is bound to end in a treaty with the United States. This treaty, ostensibly aimed at Germany, would cause great alarm in Japan, which looks upon the United States as her most powerful antagonist in the Pacific. By her treaty with England Japan guaranteed to that nation her colonial possessions in Asia. If the treaty should cease, England would have to gather a new fleet in the Far East, for since her treaty with Japan she has withdrawn her ships from that region. But such a thing she could not do without lowering the strength of her naval forces in the North Sea, and this is the point which makes the possible rupture of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of so much importance to the whole of Europe."—The "Literary Digest," New York.

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AGAINST CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.

Scotland has suffered, and still suffers, from an intellectual blight of bigoted and sour Calvinism arising from its attachment to the Confession of Faith. Calvinism, in its dogmas of Predestination, Foreordination, and the Elect, has dwarfed the people's conceptions, and confined their ideas within the narrow groove of individualistic salvation, both in spiritual and economic affairs. Through material necessity this rigid Calvinism has been borne down gradually, and a broader spirit has been shown in religious tenets and social and political ideas in recent years. But still the lingering effects of pre-enlightened times tends to shape the characteristics of the people, keeping alive exploded figments, and making them trust in that "which is not seen" instead of the evidence of their own senses.

The latest in this direction is Mr. Keir Hardie's pamphlet, "My Confession of Faith in the Labour Alliance," in which he seeks to import the faith idea of Scottish Presbyterianism into that of politics. He says :—

"To have over 30 members in the House of Commons organised as a separate party, independent

of both Liberal and Conservative, standing out as a distinct entity, is a standing testimony, which cannot be gainsaid, to the success which has crowned our efforts. . . . We no longer come as missionaries to the trade unionist with the suspicion lurking in his mind that we are trying to pervert him from the true political faith and convert him to some heterodox belief of our own. We come to him as a part of his own movement, proclaiming his own gospel, *and it is this which accounts for the extraordinary growth of Socialism throughout the ranks of the entire working class.* (Italics mine.) From every point of view, therefore, from that of expediency in getting members elected, from that of hastening the advent of Socialism by spreading its doctrines far and wide . . . the alliance more than justifies itself."

These are brave words, my comrades, but, as the Yankee says, "they don't cut ice." There is something paradoxical in talking of the growth of Socialism in connection with the success of the Labour Party, a party that has all along refused to recognise the principles of Socialism. The great difficulty is to treat of the subject so as to prevent confusion in the minds of the initiated when speaking of the Labour Party, as their success in politics is liable to be construed as the success of the I.L.P., a Socialist body. It would be better if the air were cleared by a frank avowal on the part of those responsible for the alliance that "the greater body contains the lesser"; that, in fact, since the I.L.P. have become allied to the Labour Party, they have ceased politically to be a Socialist organisation. For all definite purposes of Socialism through political means the I.L.P. has ceased to function. They have accepted a position that debars them running as Socialist candidates. They must run as Labour candidates. They have now a rule preventing members assisting the candidatures of other Socialist bodies not affiliated to the Labour Party. And yet, Hardie in his confession asserts that "the Labour Party is the

only expression of orthodox Marxian Socialism in Great Britain." Fancy an orthodox expression of Socialism being a refusal to support Socialism. It is simply ridiculous.

One feature I would draw attention to, in order to test the validity of Hardie's conclusions. The I.L.P. members who ran as Labour candidates at the last General Election, and who at the next may adopt similar tactics, or even worse, are but subverting their principles for a questionable political success. It cannot be said that a success gained at the polls by the burial of Socialist principles can be taken as evidence of the growth of Socialism. Far from it. It is merely an indication that the mass of the people are desirous of a change from the orthodox parties that have made such a mess of government, and, incidentally, of their economic welfare. How can it be regarded as the hastening of the advent of Socialism when Socialism was carefully eliminated from the issues? There is this danger to fear in the construction of a political party independent of all other parties, having no distinctive economic basis justifying its existence, that any move on its part for constructive legislation on Socialistic lines might cause a reaction against it. Constituencies would be justified in saying, "We did not elect you for that purpose. We elected you to get more money for the unemployed," or something to that effect. Justification from the standpoint of expediency is an unreliable thing. It is a way to success which when once taken leads sometimes downwards to strange associates. To the Liberal Unionists it was expedient to ally themselves with Conservatism against Gladstone's Home Rule proposals. It has ended in absorption. John Burns thought Socialism would come quickest through municipal reform, and that it was expedient to court Liberalism. Poor John! And who knows but it may be found expedient for the Labour Party to have an alliance with those same Liberals. There is no fundamental difference to prevent it, if it is expedient. We would then see the process of absorp-

tion continued, and the political reorganisation of the masses starting afresh, showing the same law in operation in the political field as obtains in the economic—the big, strong concerns swallowing up the smaller and weaker.

After all, what is the value of this much-vaunted success at elections to Socialism? Are we to believe that political success is absolutely essential to the spread of socialistic thought, upon which the ultimate success of Socialism depends?

Science has far outstripped the tenets of the utilitarian school of Jeremy Bentham, which placed the political situation first and the economic after. Even the philosophic Radicals, of which J. S. Mill was the head, discovered that the reverse was the truth. Mill grasped that to which all his leaders had been blind—viz., that the political is conditioned by the economic evolution.

“Socialism,” as A. M. Simons says, “is the philosophy of social development that treats of the great economic laws, according to the working of which each of these stages of society must naturally be a development from its predecessor. There is no common ground between Socialism and any scheme or plan for the improvement of society. . . . The basis of Socialism is found in the Materialistic Conception of History or Economic Determinism. The formulation of this conception is stated in the preface to the 1888 edition of the famous ‘Communist Manifesto’ issued by Karl Marx and F. Engels in 1848.”

As it is this same “Manifesto” which lays down the line of policy Communists should adopt towards other working-class organisations, it is well we should study its central proposition to see how far it bears upon the conceptions of the expediency of getting members elected by the efforts of a non-Socialist body, and aided by Liberal votes. It says:—

“In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the

basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Consequently, the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes. "The history of these class struggles forms a series of revolutions, in which nowadays a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once for all, emancipating society at large, from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction and class struggles."

If, therefore, Hardie accepts the true Marxian proposition and claims that the Labour Party practises the Marxian policy of the class struggle (see p. 13 of pamphlet) what becomes of his tirades against the S.D.P. and his jibes against the "New Age" for trying to form a Socialist Representation Committee? As the methods of production are changing with greater rapidity than ever, and the method of distribution remains the same as it has been through the ages of class struggles, surely it will be evident to his mind's eye, as it is painfully evident in the experience of the unemployed, that mere sectional representation of Labour with a paltry reform policy is totally inadequate to cope with the changing conditions. A spiritless policy of Temperance Reform, or even the academic discussion of a Right to Work Bill, is hardly calculated to satisfy the growing desire of a people for entire emancipation from economic thralldom. The people do not want the domination of the party leaders in Parliament, of either the exploiting class or the working class; what they want is *Economic Freedom*, a different thing altogether from the setting up of a party to attempt the impossible task of securing by legislative reforms a condition of things that would make life a little

more tolerable under capitalism and landlordism. From a Socialist standpoint, the worker has no interest in maintaining a party that does not recognise the historical mission of its class to destroy as rapidly as possible a system that is eating away its vitality. The struggle for existence, which characterises the lower form of animal and vegetable life, and which was once the struggle of individual man, has been raised to the higher plane of a political class struggle on the basis of emancipating society at large. Instead, therefore, of spurning the assistance of those so-called "intellectuals" (who, accepting the Marxian proposition, are ready to sacrifice whatever benefits they may receive through their superior fitness in a society specially adapted for their abilities), and beguiling the working classes with the idea of the efficiency of mediocrity, we should welcome their advent in the great struggle. Remember, all classes must be emancipated from the sway of the exploiting and ruling classes. We have not, as was once said by an I.L.P. member, to realise Socialism in the midst of existing society, through a pottering system of palliative legislation, but to guide the nations of the earth by a recognition of the inevitable laws of economic change towards the Social Revolution.

J. ADDISON.

ALCOHOLOPHOBIA.

If I achieved nothing else by my previous contribution on this question, I at any rate did this service to the teetotal cause, that I succeeded in getting friend Hobart to demonstrate that it is possible to get up a great deal of heat without any alcoholic stimulant.

Hobart says that I have "poured out the vials of my wrath" on his head. He is mistaken. I felt no wrath on the subject, and was just poking fun at him. Wrath, indeed! Let him wait till he sees me angry, and then he will know the difference. Why should I be angry in this connection? I saw no occasion for anger. I was simply amused at the very funny—really funny—style of reasoning adopted by my respected antagonist.

Mr. Hobart objects to my charge of fanaticism, and tells us that, so far from being a fanatic, he was quite ready to leave the matter to his readers, and expressed the determination not to show "any bigotry in the matter." It is perfectly true that he so expressed himself. That was one of the funniest things in his three articles. I willingly absolve him from any desire to be bigoted or fanatical. But that does not alter the fact that his articles were a display of bigotry and fanaticism. It only shows that the teetotaller, obsessed with his fixed idea, cannot help being bigoted and fanatical. I do not blame him for that. I admire your fanatic and your bigot. It is only the bigots and fanatics who ever do anything. A man who can properly claim to be quite impartial on any question may be very useful as a judge or an umpire, but is of precious little use as a propagandist. Mr.

Hobart is a propagandist, and for him to pretend to be an impartial judge on an issue on which he has definitely taken sides is absurd, and, as I have said, was one of the funniest things in his three articles.

He reminds me of the man who, while he is breaking up the household furniture, and in his rage destroying and smashing everything he can lay hands on, keeps declaring, "I will be calm, I will be calm; nobody shall be able to say that I lost my temper."

Here is a mild specimen of Mr. Hobart's impartial, unfanatical, and unprejudiced "reasoning": "Alcohol, in brief, has the same origin as the malignant and fatal exhalations of the pestilence—the death and putrefaction of organic matter—and is on a parallel with the malarial poison."

The first might be said, with equal truth, of every fruit and vegetable we eat; but we should not, therefore, draw the conclusion that every one of these was a poison.

That quotation is taken from Mr. Hobart's first article; yet he demurs to my statement that he "begins by declaring alcohol to be a poison." He concludes that article by describing alcohol as the "twin brother" of "malarial poison." I thought that was tantamount to declaring alcohol to be a poison, but it appears I was mistaken; that Mr. Hobart had no such intention; that he did not mean to show that it was a poison at all, and that he attaches some hidden meaning to the King's English, unknown or unappreciated by the ordinary reader.

It seemed to me that the whole point of his articles was to show that alcohol is not a food, but is a poison. To dispute my assertion of that point is to quibble. And this he shows by saying, "In my last article I essay to show, from numerous authorities, that alcohol is a poison."

But Mr. Hobart does not merely essay to show that in his last article. That is what he essays to show from the very beginning. And he does this with so much success that I do not even attempt to dispute

the point. I do no more than suggest that he makes his points very badly, and displays "*trop de zèle*." A common mistake enough with the fanatic. He tries to prove too much; and does not recognise the indubitable fact, that all foods contain poison, and their use beyond a certain point is poisonous and harmful. It is that fact which justifies the admonition to be temperate in all things; the admonition which Mr. Hobart so unmercifully ridicules—with all the hyperbole of the fanatic—in his somewhat frenetic reply. Who, for instance, ever heard of being "temperate" in murder, suicide or arson, as Mr. Hobart suggests? "All things" in the quotation in question obviously means those things which, indulged in in moderation, are beneficial and pleasurable, but the excessive indulgence in which is harmful. That is true of the most necessary and useful things—food, drink, exercise, sports, etc. Mr. Hobart's point, of course, is that alcohol is a poison, is not a food, and is necessarily harmful and mischievous in its effects even when taken in the smallest possible quantities.

But that is just the question at issue—the question upon which there is a very wide difference and a very considerable conflict of opinion.

Mr. Hobart says: "I have shown that alcohol provides neither heat nor nutriment." But that is just what he has not done. He has asserted that over and over again, but stoutness of assertion is not proof. In the quotation he gives from Professor Duglaux, the Professor says: "When 100 grammes of sugar ferment they yield (in round numbers) 50 grammes of alcohol and 50 grammes of carbonic acid. The latter evaporates, and is lost in the atmosphere, but in thus disappearing it does not carry away any force. The carbonic acid provides neither heat nor nutriment. The sugar, transformed into alcohol, has lost half its weight, but has retained all its properties, and, therefore, as an alimentary substance, alcohol, for giving nutriment and warmth, is worth twice its weight in sugar."

That is perfectly plain, and means, if it means anything at all, that the 100 grammes of sugar have been reduced in weight by exactly one-half, one-half having evaporated. But, says the Professor, the half which is left "transformed into alcohol," "has retained all its properties"—i.e., all the properties, nutritive and heating, of the 100 grammes of sugar—"and therefore," concludes the Professor, "as an alimentary substance, alcohol, for giving nutriment and warmth, is worth twice its weight in sugar."

I am in no wise responsible for this opinion, but if words have any meaning the conclusion arrived at by Professor Duglaux is directly contrary to that asserted with so much emphasis by Mr. Hobart.

Mr. Hobart, I know, asserts that when the 100 grammes of sugar have been reduced to one-half their weight transformed into alcohol, they have been reduced to nothingness; but, once more, assertion is not proof, and alcohol can scarcely be, at one and the same time, a poison and nothing at all.

Mr. Hobart takes exception to my statement that in his reference to the effect of alcohol on the supply of milk of nursing mothers he makes no comparison. He claims that he does make a comparison. He does. But between what? Simply between alcohol and milk. This is what he says: "If the mother's digestion is bad, and the supply of milk fails, the doctor is usually consulted, and he orders ale or stout, and the apparent result is that she has an abundant supply of what she erroneously thinks to be milk, but which in reality is only the water portion, for the chemical composition of alcohol and milk have nothing in common but water."

That, as can easily be seen, is nothing but a begging of the question. There is more milk, says Hobart, after than before taking the alcohol; but this increased supply is merely apparent; it is not real, because "the chemical composition of alcohol and milk have nothing in common but water." Did anyone ever come across such reasoning before? The proper comparison to be made is not between alcohol and milk, but of the

quality and quantity of the milk supplied by the same person before and after taking alcohol.

The question is : Does a nursing mother provide a larger and better supply of milk when she takes alcoholic beverages or when she abstains ? It is a question that can easily be proved, one way or the other, but it can only be proved by a comparison of the supply of milk under the two conditions. But Mr. Hobart knows that perfectly well, and knows that he is only spoofing his readers when he essays to evade that very simple test of the value or uselessness of alcohol by a pretended comparison between alcohol and milk.

For my part, I hold no brief for alcohol. If it can be proved to be invariably harmful and poisonous, then I hold that its retail for drinking purposes should be absolutely prohibited. But it seems to me that is exactly what our teetotallers fail to prove. On the other hand, if it is not necessarily harmful and poisonous when taken in moderation, there can be no excuse for the impertinent and vexatious legislation which interferes with the free enjoyment of what, after all, does give pleasure and enjoyment to thousands, and thereby adds to the sum of human happiness.

I am open to conviction. So far, however, as my experience and observation have gone, I am forced to the conclusion that, taken in moderation, alcoholic drink is not harmful, but actually beneficial to humanity. That, taken in excess, it is disastrously harmful, I readily admit ; but that may be said with truth of all foods and drinks. If friend Hobart or any other teetotaller wishes to convert me from what he appears to regard as a deadly error, he will have to advance some stronger arguments than he has so far put forward. As a matter of fact, he has, with excess of zeal, tried to prove too much, as in the manifest, palpable absurdity that " digestion can only take place when alcohol has been expelled from the stomach."

PERCY SCOTT.

EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION, IN INDIA.

An alien bureaucracy, 150,000 strong, with probably a million or two of native and semi-native lick-spittle officials, for over a century and a-half has been wringing the life blood out of 298,000,000 people of India. Under the cloak of civilising and Christianising the masses of Hindustan, a set of monopolists have defrauded the natives of the land of their bread and butter; misappropriated the revenues and resources of the country; rendered it a constant prey to famine and dread epidemics that always follow in the train of crushing poverty; and peopled the peninsula with caste-ridden, spiritless, backward starvelings.

The Englishman who, to-day, is so blatant about the "White Man's Burden" he has shouldered in Hindustan in a spirit of magnanimity, really went to India as a sordid commercialist—not as a Christian missionary. He succeeded in enthralling the teeming millions of Hindustan, not through personal heroism or superior military skill, but through clever machinations and by deceitfully tricking the native East Indians into fighting amongst themselves. England not only acquired India through intrigue and under-hand schemings, but it has succeeded in retaining possession of Hindustan by a policy of *divide et impera*—that is to say, by encouraging the bickering jealousies of creed and caste amongst the Hindus and Mohammedans and by even dividing the Hindus and Mohammedans, amongst themselves, into sub-castes. This is the secret of 150,000 Englishmen being able to hold 298,000,000 of Hindus and Mohammedans in chains.

As a natural result of this policy and administration of heartless plunder, England has repressed India in more ways than one. The endeavour has been made to keep the East Indians in the darkness of the middle-ages; to keep the natives unleavened with the spirit of the times. To-day in India 90 per cent. of men and 99 per cent. of women are utterly unable to read a line of printed or written matter even in their own language or sign their own names. Fully four-fifths of the villages in India are without a school-house, and many millions of East Indian children of school-going ages have no opportunity whatever to learn even the simple rudiments of the three R's.

Since it has been the consistent effort of the British to make the people producers of raw material for use in the English mills and factories, and to force the East Indians to buy their manufactured products from England, the English educator has scrupulously abstained from teaching the boys and girls of India the modern methods of manufacture. No provision worth mentioning has been made for teaching East Indians how to use their hands, or how to succeed in commerce and industries. Nothing whatever has been taught which will enable the natives of Hindustan to live in material comfort and prosperity.

On the contrary, the effort of the Englishmen has been to apply a syphon to the body politic of India, drain the East Indian life-juices, transport them to England and use them there for fertilising the crops of British prosperity. Annually England exacts £30,000,000 as tribute from India, under many disguises. What country can stand such a drain and not become impoverished? Macaulay said of Bengal—the most fertile and richest province of India:—

“In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known throughout the East as the Garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its

granaries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms."

In less than ten years after Bengal came under the yoke of the foreigner the country was blasted. The same English author wrote :—

"During the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society."

This misgovernment was followed by a severe famine, and 20 years later Lord Cornwallis, the then English Viceroy of India, described Bengal as a province that was hastening to decay. He declared :—

"I am obliged to say that agriculture and commerce have for many years been declining, and that at present the inhabitants of these provinces are advancing to a general state of poverty and wretchedness."

In 1858, Dr. Marshman, another English writer, said of Bengal :—

"No one has ever attempted to contradict the fact that the condition of the Bengal peasantry is almost as wretched and degraded as it is possible to conceive: living in the most miserable hovels, scarcely fit for a dog kennel, covered with tattered rags, and unable in too many instances to procure more than a single meal a day for himself and family. The Bengal ryot (cultivator) knows nothing of the most ordinary comforts of life."

Since the above was written Bengal has continued to deteriorate. The same is true of the rest of the country under British administration. The land has become so impoverished that 100,000,000 people live in a state of perpetual famine, unable to obtain a single full meal a day, even in normal times.

The impoverishment of India is only a single sad feature of British robbery of Hindustan. The spirit of exploitation has led the Englishman to flay India's very manhood. An Arms Act has been rigorously enforced with the object of making cowards of the people. East Indian races which stoutly resisted

the intrusion of European usurpers, which were mastered by the English with the greatest of difficulty and because of having been offset by East Indians of other castes or persuasion, whose heroism even the English army officers admired unstintingly, now are rapidly becoming decadent and emasculated. The Sikh is known the world over for his sterling worth as a fighter. The community originally was organised to keep at bay the Mohammedan tyrant. It is known to have stamped the Mohammedan rule out of the Punjab. For the British the Sikhs, as their allies, have fought in several parts of the old world and have earned deathless fame as warriors. But the Arms Act has been so rigorously operated in the Punjab, the home of the Sikh, that the community is fast degenerating, and to-day the British recruiting officer is meeting with great difficulty in finding recruits to fill the places of the Sikhs who, through death, desertion, expulsion or retirement, leave vacancies in the ranks of the native army.

Furthermore, the warrior races of Hindustan have been reduced to automatons, to merely carrying out, with slavish servility, the orders of the English subaltern. The English Army system directly and avowedly aims at the crushing of all initiative in the East Indian soldiery. The splendid genius the martial races of Hindustan possessed not long ago, which enabled them to lead to victory, is slowly but surely being weeded out of them.

The emasculation of East Indians is not merely confined to the weakening of their bodies. The genius to evolve cosmos out of chaos, to impose and collect taxes, to administer the foreign and home governmental affairs, through disuse is rapidly degenerating. For scores of years East Indian finances have been collected and disbursed by, or under the direction of, foreigners, the legislation has been framed and administered by aliens. The army, the navy, the constabulary have been officered by strangers, the executive control of the internal as well as external administrative

affairs has been vested in the hands of outlanders. Indians are not only losing their manhood, but also the capability to manage their city, country, state, and national government. Anarchy and lawlessness prevailed in India at the time of British occupation, and this has been the main reason given by England for refusing to permit the people of India to govern themselves. On account of their propensity to bicker and quarrel amongst themselves, England has continued to claim that the natives of Hindustan are incapable of attending to their Governmental affairs. But it is only through exercise that brain and brawn gain strength. The hen turns her eggs over every day so that the delicate membranes of the chickens that are slowly being formed within the shells may not break through congestion of blood. Through lack of exercise, through standing still, the genius of the people of India to govern themselves has stagnated and is fast degenerating. The native East Indians to-day are much weaker in body and mind as a natural consequence of British policy, than they ever were in the annals of the country. Left to themselves, East Indians would have prospered and evolved to the level of the enlightened nations of the Occident; but with the relentless clutch of the Englishman ceaselessly upon their throat, they could not but have withered away and lapsed into weak faminelings.

And this process of asphyxiating the masses of Hindustan still goes on unchecked!

Like a faithful dog under his master's cutting whip, the Englishman expects the East Indian to cringe and bow to the alien ruler, who with one hand lashes the hide off his back and with the other makes hypnotic passes to lull him into the belief that the thrashing is for his own good.

The magic has worked. The spell has lasted almost a score of decades. But at last India has awakened. Awakened, to what consciousness? Let

a tale from Hindu mythology depict the realisation into which India has come.

A camel of superior wisdom tore, with his teeth, a piece of tent. He worked steadily and quietly at widening the rent until it was large enough to admit his head. The occupant of the tent had retired a short while before, and, under the influence of a strong narcotic, was sleeping heavily. Awakened by the fall of a pitcher, which the camel knocked down with his protruding mouth, the man, still half-asleep, cried out : "Get ye gone, whoever ye be. Make ye no disturbance." Then he dozed off to sleep once again, and began to breathe quite heavily. Meantime the camel kept on working diligently and quietly until he had torn the tent enough to allow him to put first one foot, then another, through the opening made with his teeth. At last he managed to plant all four feet inside the tent. Rearing his stately head as high as he could, and straining every muscle, the camel broke the ropes with which the tent was tied to wooden pegs driven into the ground, and walked off with it, leaving the man without covering or protection, still in a dazed condition.

Such a consciousness is by no means agreeable, but before serfs can combine to file away their chains of slavery it is essential that they should come to feel the weight of their bonds. The hypocritical Englishman, in a thousand and one insidious ways, through his native and semi-native-semi-English hangers-on, has hypnotised the educated as well as uneducated East Indians into believing that the natives of Hindustan were free citizens of the British Empire ; that they had, despite their caste, creed, race, or colour, the same privileges and rights as the Britishers themselves ; that India was the land of liberty, with a free press and free speech ; and it is only within the last decade or two that the people of India are coming to realise that these professions constitute nothing but empty words. The East Indian immigrants to the British colonies in Australia, South and East Africa and Canada have

demonstrated to themselves and to the people of Hindustan that their status as members of the British Empire did not avail them in the least. They have been excluded from British soil. Recent occurrences in India, like the wholesale prosecution and punishment of scores of newspaper editors and native lecturers who advocated "India for East Indians and not for England," the passage of the Seditious Meetings Bill, which has vested in the Government the constitutional authority to "proclaim" any district and stop any speech being delivered in public on political or economic topics; the deportation of two East Indian patriots without trial; have convinced the wide-awake East Indians that England is endeavouring to tighten the rivets that hold India to slavery to the little European island-nation. The agreement made by the English with the Japanese, three years ago, one essential condition of which is that Japan shall help to quell any internal or external disturbance in India, also opened the eyes of the enlightened East Indians to the fact that they are off their own land in their own country and paying rent to foreigners or their native allies. Slowly but steadily the number of East Indians alive to such a realisation is increasing; but the people, instead of despairing at finding themselves bound hand and foot, without arms and lacking the ability to use gunpowder, with a fossilised system of agriculture, and industries all dead or dying, on account of British exploitation, are mustering strength and are earnestly setting themselves to the task of regenerating the nation.

There are some who would bring the charge against the East Indians seeking the fullest development of their material and moral resources which is only possible under an equitable government conducted by the people for the people, of being disloyal to their English "benefactors." Such a charge takes for granted the fact that the Britishers have not exploited the people of India, but on the contrary have benefited East Indians: a proposition which is utterly untenable.

But, even admitting, for the sake of argument, that the British exploitation of India has been good for the country, to the extent that it has opened the land to Western thought and brought the natives in close contact with men like Patrick Henry, and slogans like "Liberty or death," their plea for a popular government, with East Indian personnel and East Indian interests at heart, in the words of a foremost East Indian publicist, is: "Suppose by some mischance England came under French, German or some alien, despotic government in the same condition and under the same circumstances as India is at present, will he not, as an Englishman, do his utmost to throw off 'the heaviest of all yokes, the yoke of the stranger,' even though all Englishmen were full of faults which the Anglo-Indians, wrongly or rightly, ascribe to the Indians? Will he not as an Englishman, once for all, tell me: 'Corrupt or not corrupt, faults or no faults, a Briton shall never be a slave?' And yet he coolly justifies and assumes the right divine of making other people slaves! Not only makes them slaves, but, in addition to eating up their substance in the country itself, carries it out of the country, leaving the people of the land to perish; to say nothing of the deplorable consequences of the evil, bastard system, begotten of the unholy union of hypocrisy and greedy despotism."

For a slave-country like India to produce a man who would talk in this strain to an English audience regarding the servile position of his countrymen is a great achievement in itself. Quotations like the above can be cited from other responsible East Indian leaders; but the statement that there are others in India beside the one quoted, seeking for "Home Rule," will be sufficient. Utterances such as these are significant. They show that a revolution has taken place in the minds of at least some of the East Indians—that the seed of liberty has been planted in India, which some day will grow into a sturdy tree, beneath which Hindustan's teeming millions will live in freedom and prosperity.

The most gratifying feature of India to-day is that not only the educated people are awakening to their sad economic plight and political tutelage, but also the uneducated masses, despite their erstwhile fatalism, are beginning to grumble at being compelled to constantly live *below the poverty line*. The teeming millions of Hindustan have been taught by their religion and tradition to be patient under adverse circumstances—spurious teaching under the name of religion has even inculcated in them the belief that those who live in agonising poverty here and now will earn for themselves a life of ease and comfort in the hereafter. These have turned the East Indian masses toward fatalism, and made them put up with the increasingly wretched existence which has been their fate during the last few decades. But, as time moves on, they are becoming rebellious against an eternal hand-to-mouth-living, and this is causing them to ask themselves why their lot is so hard.

(To be Continued.)

SAINT NIHAL SING (of India).

THE COMING GUEST.

Fresh from the scene of carnage, see, he comes—
His hands red, dripping with his people's blood;
The brand of Cain burned deep upon his brow;
Upon his soul the quiet of murders foul,
And his black heart with untold horrors filled.
Despot and tyrant, double-dyed and damned,
Perjured oppressor of a suffering race,
Disgrace to Europe and its Christian creed,
Base blot upon the very name of man.

"Batoushka"—Little Father—so the men
And women whom he ruled with iron hand
Were wont to call him. "Father"! What a mock,
A blasphemy, to use that sacred name
Thus to describe this fiend in human form—
This regal leader of the ruffian bands
That maim his children and destroy their homes;
Who, from the eminence of his white throne,
Smiles at the tortures, vile and cruel deaths,
Of his own subjects, young and old alike,
The best and bravest in his weeping land;
And to the doers of these shameful deeds
The hand of welcome fellowship extends.

And we, who live in this more favoured land,
Whose fathers fought for freedom—fought and won—
Whose forebears gave one monarch to the axe,
And drove his weakling offspring from our shores—
Who boast of aid to weaker nations given,
Whose name was once a buckler and a shield
To races wronged and peoples tyrant-ridden—
Have we forgotten this our heritage?
Or is it but an empty vaunt, a sham?
Shall we give up our right to help the weak,
To sympathise with nations wronged and cursed
By rascal rulers—Sultan, Shah or Czar?

Must we forsake our claim to fight for right,
 To side with those for liberty who strive,
 And welcome to our shores the recreant knave
 Whose path is strewn with corpses, splashed with blood,
 Whose ear is deaf to a whole nation's groans,
 Whose heart is sealed to human agonies?

No! by the sacred name of Freedom, No!
 No! by the men who got us from their loins
 And by the women who have borne us, No!
 No such disgrace in silence shall we share.
 Let Kings and courtiers grasp the tyrant's hand,
 Greet him with shameful welcome, crave his grace;
 Let politicians join the dirty throng
 Who fear to speak on liberty's behalf,
 And prostitute their manhood and their souls
 To curry favour with this devil's spawn;
 Let lords of land and lords of high finance
 Bend servile knees to win their servile ends.
 The instinct of the race is not with them,
 But with the common people, whose warm hearts,
 Beating in unison with those of men,
 Who suffer 'neath the Russian's iron heel,
 Refuse to see in him "an honoured guest."
 We will not join the ranks of those who press
 To welcome Russia's curse to English shores;
 We scorn, despise, and execrate his name;
 Our greetings for his victims we reserve,
 And send to them our words of friendship, love,
 And hope that yet their cause will win the day.

To him, the Autocrat, the Hanging Czar,
 O'er whom the angels many a tear must shed,
 While demons laugh, and rub their hands in glee,
 To him we say: "We may not keep you out,
 But think not that we welcome your approach,
 Whose foot should burn and blast our English soil.
 Think not that Britain has invited you
 With your rank presence to defile her shores;
 Our masters—like to like—may bid you here,
 We have nor part nor parcel in the game.
 Our homage is for heroes, not for curs,
 For those who die and suffer in the cause
 Of holy freedom, not for you who kill.
 We do not want you. We resent with rage
 The impudence that let's you show your face
 Within our waters. Get you back from hence,
 And with you take our loathing and contempt,
 Degen'rate scion of a waning race.

The scorn and hate of every honest man
And woman is the gift we offer you.
And if there be a God, somewhere, to judge
And punish, make your peace with Him,
And for your crimes and sins so manifold,
Your murders, torturings, and massacres,
Pray He have mercy on your guilty soul.
Go!—take not blessings but a ban from us :
Get thee from out of sight and sound of us :
Thy presence is an insult to our land,
Polluting e'en the sea thou sailest on,
The air thou breathest : Get thee hence and take
This as our greeting, to the deep black hell
From which thou came'st—Nicholas the Damned."

Hull, July 7, 1909.

JOSEPH NELSON.

THE MONTH.

The month has witnessed some tragic happenings of the kind the likelihood of which was hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto poor, ignorant Socialists. The possibility that two and two may in time make four hardly seems to enter the official head. But Socialists have learnt that it really is so. And have learnt that infamous plottings by Russian officials against the Russian people were sure some day to produce their total of four in a blazing scandal. And that the long failure to redeem Victoria's promises to India of fifty years ago were sure to produce their total of four in some act of blood.

Our comrade Jaurès and his able daily paper "L'Humanité" has dragged to light that M. Harting, the head of the Secret Russian Police in Paris, who would have been receiving the Czar this summer, and have been responsible for his safety in France, is identical with one who nearly twenty years ago was convicted in France of participation in a plot against the then Czar Alexander. He escaped. Twenty-seven men were executed. "At last France has a Government," the Czar exclaimed. Since then Harting appears to have been convicted of another somewhat similar plot. And it is said that it was he who, being on board the Russian ship Esmeralda, got the Russian admiral "Roj." to fire on the British fishing-boats on the Dogger Bank.

At the time we suggested that there was more in this firing on the fishing boats than met the eye. We have been in touch with leaders of the Russian proletariat and had some grounds for the view that there were then men high in power who would shrink at nothing which might drag other European Powers into the range of conflict, those Powers to include Germany, which was to fight on the side of Russia.

Or possibly there were on those ships men who would have been glad of the chance of escaping the coming doom at Japanese

hands by surrendering meekly to a hostile British fleet on the score of its force majeure. Anyhow, this is now the latest sensation in the discoveries about this precious Harting, this Chevalier of Honour, and who was shortly to have been made member of the Legion of Honour. So we are assured.

The Russian gold paid consequent on the Dogger Bank outrage did not bring back British life where it had been extinguished by Russian shells. That must not be forgotten. Being remembered it sets the final seal upon the hideous character of this execrated visit of the Czar. He must make the most of the golden box in which the London City Corporation are going to present him with its civic compliments.

However, he must be fairly well used to this kind of exposure, in greater or less degree. He probably reflects complacently that it will all tend to make genuine conspirators more and more fearful of conspiring, lest they be again talking to a man like Harting.

Jaurès's coup is the biggest thing yet done in Socialist journalism. It may plant "*L'Humanité*" on a rock. It is a reasonable expectation that our Socialist daily when it comes will be over and over again startling the world with sensational disclosures.

The assassination of Sir Curzon Wyllie is almost the last expression one would have expected of the Indian mind, incensed by the sufferings of the country. That is the sad fate in such crises. Blows are struck—not by the coolest, most calculating conspirators. Victims are found—not such as have been outstanding in any oppressive policy. It may be the reverse. The parable can be variously applied. Charles I. of England lies and deceives, and a noble Lord Falkland gives his life for his treacherous King. Black slavery was vile, but an heroic Stonewall Jackson and General Lee were shining valiants on the side of the oppressors. Indian voices have promptly expressed abhorrence of Sir Curzon's murder. As an incident, it will pass after the trial of the assassin. Our comrade Hyndman reflecting upon it, urges that if there is also to pass some of that hideous misrule which has cost not one but millions of Indian lives in the last 30 years, there should at once be a declaration by the Emperor of India of intention that the country will fulfil at long last the promises made by Queen Victoria when we took the control of India from the hands of "John Company," fifty years ago.

The Budget and the anti-Budget championship campaigns are in full swing. The Budget is Socialism. The "Daily Express's" parrot says so. "Punch" says so too; and draws a picture of villa gardens closed through the Budget; or the owners fined. And all gardens under one acre are exempted! (What price "Punch's" alleged humour!) Exempt too is all land worth under £50 per acre, capital value; and all agricultural land is exempt. Lloyd George is making a lot of concessions. On the urging of Rufus Isaacs, the Reading member and the great lawyer (one time stockbroker), he has given a right of appeal against assessment of increment taxes.

The policy for Socialists is the old policy: Go on advocating Socialism. Let the Budget advertise the Socialist fight. Don't let the Socialist fight become a mere advertisement of the Budget.

Persia gets no better fast. Its condition is a sinister commentary on the immoral agreement made by this land of Parliamentary government, and the Russian autocracy.

Mrs. Pankhurst's latest raid on Parliament resulted in over one hundred arrests. The windows of the Premier's and other Ministers houses were more open to the militant women than were the Ministers themselves, and upon these windows a number of women did make a striking impression. Their official stare was most painfully disturbed.

Incidentally the old reproach that women cannot throw was finally exploded.

So far as the papers were concerned the echoes of the trouble soon died down, the Press has decided that there are not many more halfpence in Suffragette scenes. But, of course, there has been a prosecution, Mrs. Pankhurst and another lady have been fined £5 or one month each; and the magistrate himself suggested that they should appeal. There's a flavour of "Alice in Wonderland" about it all.

And so there is in the whole agitation. The limited Bill would not enfranchise adult womanhood, it would but give a fine lady franchise; and would secure a vote to some who by all we know of them would use that vote to prevent their poorer sisters being similarly invested with power.

A more serious matter is the action of Mrs. Despard and co-fighters of the Women's Freedom League, the more democratic of the two suffragette bodies. They have tried to see the King, who referred them to Herbert Gladstone, the Home Secretary, and thus made things easier for Asquith. Gladstone was seen and promised to put any suitable petition before the King.

The irresistible force of the Suffragettes having met the immovable obstacle of the Premier, the King has certainly had a chance to show his tact. Further, the whole question has been elevated and enlarged. The Courts are now discussing the broad constitutional matter of the right of the subject to present petitions at any reasonable time to the King or his Ministers.

A great deal has been made of the so called police brutality displayed towards the Suffragettes. It has always appeared to us that the brutality was entirely the other way. We say nothing about the legality or otherwise of the attempt of these women to send a deputation into the House of Commons. On the face of it, however, it certainly seems that they were quite within their right. In their attacks upon the police, however, they were simply trading upon the privilege of their sex in assailing a body of men called upon to perform a very unpleasant duty, and precluded, because their assailants were women, from defending themselves, as they would have done had the attacks been made by men.

We can say this with the greater force in this connection, because there have been occasions when we have had reason to condemn the police for their conduct; not only in regard to brutality, but to downright persecution. This latter has been particularly marked recently in relation to the drivers of public vehicles, but the whole relations of the police with the public generally require overhauling and putting on a different footing.

Mr. J. R. MacDonald and his friends have been busily engaged, since their return from Germany, in explaining away the very dubious circumstances in which that visit was made. The explanations, however, leave matters exactly as they were, and show that our Labour Party, going to Germany with a message of peace, went there under the auspices of some of the worst German jingoes.

That was bound to be the case unless they had accepted the invitation of the only peace party of Germany, the Social-Demo-

crats. One of the chief difficulties of the peace propagandists of any country is that they are almost bound to find themselves saying ditto to the jingoes of another. Thus the action of our comrade Jaurès at the time of the Morocco difficulty, when he insisted upon the French Government submitting to the dictation of Berlin, found warm approbation from von Buelow; and in the same way the utterances of the leaders of our Labour Party were found very acceptable in the same quarter and by the official party generally, and were effectively set against the protests against naval expansion made by our German comrades.

Among other things, however, Mr. MacDonald discovered that there is really a war party in Germany, and one with a considerable amount of influence. That is what we have maintained all along. We believe, moreover, that it is the knowledge of that fact which has impelled the British Government to the mischievous and criminal folly of the Russian alliance; a folly which will prove to be provocative of the very danger it was undertaken to avert.

In these circumstances, we once more urge the necessity for a meeting of the International Bureau, to consider the steps to be taken on both sides of the North Sea to ensure peace.

Or why should not representatives of the German and English Social-Democracy meet somewhere, preferably on neutral ground, to discuss the whole situation and the steps to be taken in both countries to deal with it? Our Italian and Austrian comrades are to meet to discuss the question of armaments as it affects the relations between those two countries; surely the relations between England and Germany are of equal importance.

When all is said and done, the only party in this country which has carried on an effective anti-militarist campaign is our own. While others have been content to cry peace where there is no peace, we have vigorously combated the sinister scheme of Mr. Haldane to establish a covert system of conscription. And we have done this with so much success that Haldane has failed to get his men, and we now see Lord Roberts bringing forward a Bill for universal compulsion.

SECTS OR CLASS PARTIES.

I.—MARX AND THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

In his observations regarding the unity of the working class ("Neue Zeit," No. 24), comrade Radek attacks a Belgian comrade as well as our friend, M. Beer, but I am probably not far from the truth when I assume that he has me too in view with regard to the resolution admitting the British Labour Party to the International, which I proposed at the last meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. This resolution was accepted, but it appeared to some of my political friends to be something of a heresy to my principles. I consequently willingly use this opportunity of stating my grounds for this resolution in greater detail than was possible at Brussels.

I have no intention, however, of solving the problem as to which is the more important, the organisation of the proletariat into one independent class party without any definite programme or the formation of a special, though indeed smaller, working-class party, but having a definite Socialist programme. I do not think there is any such problem at all. There is just as little sense in such a problem, as there is in asking which is the more important—the final aim or the movement. The organisation of the proletariat into an independent class party is as inseparable from the necessity of converting them to Socialism as is the movement from its aim. In the long run, the one is quite inefficient without the other. Both must go hand in hand.

The problem is not which is the more important, organisation or enlightenment, but how best they can both be united. This question, however, can by no means be answered identically for all countries, the various answers depending upon the given political and social conditions, and corresponding, to some extent, with the answer to the question regarding the relations existing between the parties and the trade unions. In general, however, one can distinguish two principal types of movements for the attainment of an all-embracing Socialist class party: The European Continental type, which is best illustrated at present in the German Social-Democracy, and the Anglo-Saxon type, which can be best studied in

England, but which is also strongly developed in North America and in Australia.

The great difference between the Anglo-Saxon world and the European Continent consists, in the first place, in that the political development of the latter took place under the flag of the French revolution which commenced in 1789, whereas the bourgeois revolution in England was completed in 1688, a whole century in advance, that is. The bourgeois revolution in England was thus accomplished under less highly developed conditions, and thus could bring in its train no such tremendous upheaval in the material and spiritual life of society as did the French revolution. The subsequent political advances made by the rising classes in England since 1688 until the present time, always took the form of isolated struggles for one particular object. The revolutionary classes themselves held aloof from revolutionary ideas. They were far more violent than the Continentals in their actions, but their ideas concerned not society as a whole, but only single occurrences.

The revolutionary classes of the European Continent, whose ideas were influenced by the great revolution, were, on the contrary, far more prone to consider society as a whole and thus to strive to change it as a whole; they were thus revolutionary in their ideas. Consequently, they were more ready than the English to look upon the winning of political rights as a means of attaining the social revolution. Besides this difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the European Continental conditions, there is also this to be added: When the modern working-class movement commenced in the sixties of the nineteenth century, the trade union movement on the Continent found greater obstruction than the political movement; politics was everywhere forbidden to the trade union as such. At the same time the European Continent was still living through a revolutionary epoch which only came to an end in 1871; an epoch, in which the interests of the proletariat were entirely absorbed in political struggles and organisations. Thus, in Continental Europe, the political organisation of the proletariat developed before their trade union organisation; they have, therefore, the sooner formed a mass party under the Socialist flag. For the propagation of Socialism was, from the very first, the only means by which to unite the proletariat into an independent class party; but it must be added, it was not the propagation of Socialism in general, but definite Marxian Socialism, the theory of the proletarian *class struggle* as deduced from the study of capitalist society.

Things in England did not develop so simply. Thanks to its earlier industrial development an energetic working-class party, the Chartists, was to be found there before anywhere else; but this party had no revolutionary programme. Very good Socialists did, indeed, belong to it, but, as a party, it only fought for the universal suffrage and for the ten hours day. Its political centre of gravity lay in the industrial North of England, far from London, whereas that of Socialism and of the revolutionary working-class movement

in France lay in Paris, at the seat of the Central Government. In London itself, the Chartists were weak and irresolute. Whilst the Parisian workers in February and June, 1848, shook the whole of Europe by their bravery at the barricades, the Chartists could find no better weapon than a gigantic petition to Parliament, which, under the then circumstances, gave but the impression of timidity rather than of power. During the decline of Chartism which followed the year 1848, the trade unions, on the contrary, developed rapidly. Already in 1824 and 1825, the trade unions had won for themselves legal recognition, and during the economic development of the new Free Trade era, after 1847, they grew rapidly in strength and influence. The whole interest of the working masses was centred in the trade union movement, and a separate political party seemed quite superfluous since no obstacle hindered their political activity in England.

Under these conditions, it was only possible to form a separate working-class party by amalgamating the trade unions into a common political organisation, and to permeate it with the Socialist spirit.

This was also the opinion of Karl Marx, who was so influenced by the English conditions, that he propagated a similar development in Continental Europe.

Already in his "Misery of Philosophy," in 1847, Marx indicated the political character of the trade union movement:—

"To form a coalition, is that not pursuing political ends? . . . In this fight (the coalition regarding wages)—a veritable civil war—all the different elements unite and prepare for the coming struggle." Once this point reached, the coalition assumes a political character (pp. 160, 162). Still more decidedly did Marx insist upon the political significance of the trade unions in the resolution he proposed, and which was accepted by the Geneva International Congress in 1866. Amongst other things this resolution says: "Indispensable as are the trade unions in the guerilla warfare between capital and labour, of still greater importance are they as an organised means of promoting the abolition of the wage system itself.

"The trade unions have so far laid too much stress upon their local and immediate struggles against capital. They have not yet fully understood their power of attacking the whole system of wage slavery and present forms of production. . . . On that account they hold themselves too much aloof from general, social and political movements. Lately, however, they seem to have awakened to some extent to the consciousness of the great historical problem confronting them. . . . Apart from their original aims, the trade unions must now learn to focus the organisation of the working classes for the great purpose of attaining their complete emancipation. They must therefore support every social and political movement which has this for its aim," and so on. We see then, that what we demand from the Social-Democracy Marx pointed out as the functions of the trade unions.

Interesting also is an interview between Hamann, the Secretary of the German Metal Workers' Trade Union, and Karl Marx, at Hanover, an account of which was given by Hamann in the "Volkstaat," 1869, No. 17. (This account has been printed by Bringmann, "The History of the German Carpenters' Movement," 1903, Vol. 1, p. 364.)

Marx said: "The trade unions should never be affiliated with or made dependent upon a political society if they are to fulfil the object for which they were formed. If this happens it means their death blow. The trade unions are the schools for Socialism, the workers are there educated up to Socialism by means of the incessant struggle against capitalism which is being carried on before their eyes. All political parties, be they what they may, can hold sway over the mass of the workers for only a time: the trade unions, on the other hand, capture them permanently; only the trade unions are thus able to represent a real working-class party, and to form a bulwark against the power of capital. The greater mass of the workers conceive the necessity of bettering their material position whatever political party they may belong to. Once the material position of the worker has improved, he can then devote himself to the better education of his children; his wife and children need not go to the factory, and he himself can pay some attention to his own mental education, he can the better see to his physique. He becomes a Socialist without knowing it." This quotation is only an interview, not a signed article by Marx, consequently it is possible that it does not altogether accurately represent Marx's meaning. However, it is probable that Marx saw it in print, for it appeared in the "Volkstaat," and, if so, he would have corrected it had he found it to be erroneous. Thus, although we cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy, it is yet worthy of attention, and although such an attitude seems very strange to us now, it is yet readily explained by the position of affairs at that time.

Only in England and in France was there then a fairly wide working-class movement of some duration, and it was only from the experience of these movements that Marx could develop his ideas on the subject. In France he found, indeed, much Socialism, but only in the form of sectarian societies. There were many Socialist "schools," each swearing to the genuineness of its own patent pill for the cure of all the ills of society, and each trying to rally the workers round itself. The various schools were at war with one another, and were thus instrumental in splitting the working masses rather than uniting them.

None of them had chosen as their basis the class struggle, which alone could unite the whole class. And the same was true of the political movements which appealed to the working classes. When Lassalle's movement first came into being, it also appeared to Marx as a new sect. The ignoring of the trade unions, the prominence given to the panacea of co-operative production, seemed to him entirely sectarian, and no less sectarian also was the appeal to

State help. When, after Lassalle's death, the new working-class party split, he was still further confirmed in his conclusion that such a party was only the means whereby to divide, not unite, the proletariat. It thus seemed to him that to save the trade unions they must hold aloof from political organisations.

There has been an attempt to conclude from this interview that Marx was in favour of the political neutrality of the trade unions, but this is quite unjustified. Marx was by no means of opinion that the trade unions should be as neutral towards the Liberals and Clericals as towards Socialists. He says expressly: "The trade unions are the schools for Socialism . . . only they are able to form a real working-class party." That means, the trade unions should not be neutral towards bourgeois political parties, but should keep away from all political parties because it is they themselves who are to form the Socialist working-class party, and as such they must declare war on all bourgeois parties. Thus, explicable though this attitude may be under those circumstances, further developments have shown that it is now not altogether tenable. In the first place, the German Social-Democracy lost more and more of its sectarian character. It was now no longer an organisation for the attainment of State credit for co-operative production, but it was the organisation of the proletarian class struggle, which was for a long time far in advance of the trade unions. It was the "real working-class party," whose functions the trade unions, as they grew stronger, had neither the opportunity, reasons, or even legal rights to take over. On the other hand, the English trade unions have shown that their existence alone is insufficient to convert the worker to Socialism "without him knowing it"; that they do not necessarily bring Socialist conviction home to the worker because of "the incessant struggle against capitalism which is being carried on before their eyes." Only a scrap of this struggle is really being pursued daily, and this scrap is not even always sufficient to indicate the real meaning of the whole struggle. And under certain circumstances, the trade unions might even seek to evade this struggle altogether when their benefit arrangements are endangered thereby.

Whilst in Germany the political party has become a real working-class party, the trade unions in England have more and more lost the ability to become such a party. They have ever more separated themselves from the mass of the proletariat, thus forming an aristocracy of labour and becoming a means of splitting rather than of uniting the masses. Moreover, they have always shown a tendency to political dependence on the bourgeois parties, by whom the unions and, to even a greater extent, their leaders, have been bought and duped by concessions.

So it appeared that the development of events in England proved Marx wrong. His theory of the class struggle and its practical results were mainly deduced from English conditions, and it was just in England that they seemed to be brought to an *absurdum*. But finally Marx is seen to be right after all.

II.—THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND THE LABOUR PARTY IN ENGLAND.

At first, indeed, Marxism made its appearance in England in opposition to Marx, when Hyndman, Bax, and the other followers of Marx's teachings founded, in 1881, the D.F., later on the S.D.F. at present the S.D.P. According to the intention of its founders, it was to become a workingmen's party, similar to the German S.D.P. It was a product of the great crisis which began in the seventies and which introduced the cessation of England's industrial supremacy. The conditions which gave to English capital a position of monopoly and allowed it to cede a share of its fruits to the trade unions were coming to an end. Unemployment was raging and the trade unions were declining. At the same time the antagonism between capital and labour was growing; as a consequence, the English workingmen became again susceptible to the ideas of Socialism, and the S.D.F. was enabled to achieve considerable success.

But strange to say, beyond a certain point it could never go in its achievements. The S.D.F. thought it necessary to point out to the workingmen the insufficiency of trade unionism in order to make them realise the necessity for Socialism. But this provoked the opposition of the trade unionists—that element, to wit, which constitutes the fighting portion of the working class, and which is best capable of being organised. It was this, no doubt, which made it impossible for Engels to adopt a friendly attitude towards the S.D.F. As is known from his letters to Sorge, he judged it and its sectarian character rather severely. It is true that Marx and Engels fought against the corruption and narrow-mindedness of the majority of the English trade union officials in a similar manner, and with no less energy than the S.D.F. itself, but nothing could shake their conviction that, in spite of it all, the only way to create in England a strong Social-Democratic working-class party was to propagate Socialism in the trade unions, to loosen the bonds between them and the bourgeois parties, and to unite them into one separate party. Finally, however, Engels did not expect much from the old trade unionists. The new unionism in England, the Knights of Labour in America, seemed to him a much better soil from which a Labour Party could spring. Experience has shown that Marx has been right after all. The English workingman, in so far as he is at all capable of being organised and of fighting, is very strongly attached to his trade union, which has become an indispensable life element to him. Whoever attacks it, or even belittles it, is his enemy. And, in fact, there is no need at all for either setting the trade unions aside or lessening their importance.

The new economic and political situation dates from the eighties, and having improved for a time during the nineties, renders the class antagonism in the new century all the more pronounced and violent. This situation can no longer be met

adequately by the trade unionist methods hitherto in vogue. The methods, then, certainly should be changed, by widening the sphere of action of the trade unions, and by expanding their forms of organisation, which, at the same time, will occasion a widening of the mental horizon of their members, and morally also of their leaders. But this implies that the trade unions, so far from losing, will, on the contrary, gain in importance.

The English workingman is very strongly attached to his trade union. It is for him to such an extent the all engrossing organ of all his social and political struggles, that he requires no other, and considers any other organ superfluous. A Labour Party in England, outside the trade unions, can therefore never become a party embracing the masses. It is doomed always to be confined to a small circle, and to remain in this sense a sect.

In consequence of all this, the S.D.F. as well as the other Socialist organisations, namely, the Fabians (1883) and the I.L.P. (1893), formed side by side with it, did not grow, in spite of the fact that the new situation made it an imperative necessity to create an independent workingmen's party.

If smallness and an incapability to get a hold on the masses are the essential characteristics of a sect, then these other organisations were no less sects than the S.D.F.

When, however, the majority of the trade unions at last made up their minds to form a common political organisation, at once a mass-party arose to which the existing Socialist organisations affiliated. Thus the L.R.C. was formed (1900), out of which grew the Labour Party now in existence.

By creating this Labour Party, the path was at last entered upon, which Marx so long ago designated as the right one, and which proved for England at the present time the only path leading to the organisation of the proletariat as a class. And yet we need by no means declare the judgment passed by Engels on the S.D.F. as justified in all points. The S.D.F. committed indeed mistakes enough. Its Marxism was often enough a dogma rather than a method, and mixed up with additions quite foreign to the spirit of true Marxism. But, notwithstanding all this, the S.D.F. has accomplished a good deal, and its mistakes can be partly explained by the difficulties it had to contend against.

The S.D.F. desired to become a party like the German S.D.P. ; for this, however, the conditions in England were not ripe. Failure was bound to attend these endeavours in spite of the most self-sacrificing work. It only blocked the way to the formation of a real mass party.

But this by no means implies a condemnation of the S.D.F. ; it only means that the tasks and functions of this organisation lay elsewhere than in the direction in which the S.D.F. itself sought them.

It is, for instance, a mistake to think that the principal thing is to organise an independent working-class party, and that once such

a party is in existence, the logic of events will force it to adopt Socialism. One is apt to forget that that Socialism, which is alone capable of keeping the proletariat permanently together, and which alone can lead them to victory—namely, the Socialism of the class struggle—is not a thing which lies on the surface. No doubt their very class position enables the proletarians to grasp Socialism more readily than the bourgeois elements can do; true, also, that an independent class party furnishes them with the best basis for it. But for all that, a good deal of theoretical knowledge is indispensable in order to attain a deeper comprehension of the capitalist mode of production, and of the nature of the class relations begotten by that mode of production as well as of the historical tasks imposed upon these classes. Without such a comprehension it is simply impossible to create a really independent permanent class party of the proletariat, independent not only in the sense that the workers are organised separately, but that their mode of thinking is distinct from that of the bourgeoisie.

We are at present rather inclined to undervalue the importance of spreading Socialist comprehension amongst the mass-movement, because it rests upon propositions which have now become familiar to us for a generation—and are now, by means of a widely spread press, the common property of wide circles, so that they appear to us trite enough. In a country, however, where you just start teaching these propositions, they are by no means so readily grasped. The logic of events will not of itself bring them into the brains of the proletariat, although it will make their brains susceptible to them.

The striving, therefore, for the organisation of an independent mass and class party is not sufficient. No less important is the Socialist enlightenment. If the S.D.F. failed in the former task, it achieved all the more in the domain of the latter. By its Socialist agitation it prepared the soil upon which the Labour Party could arise, and the Socialist criticism and propaganda which it still pursues is indispensable even now, when the Labour Party already exists, in order to imbue that party with a Socialist spirit and to bring its actions for occasional and partial ends into accord with the lasting aims of the struggle of the proletariat for its complete emancipation. Looked at in this light, the S.D.F. acquires an importance very different from what it seems to possess when merely compared to the Continental Social-Democratic parties, which being mass parties are the political representatives of the whole proletariat engaged in its class struggle.

The task of the S.D.F. is aptly stated in what the "Communist Manifesto" says in 1877 of the union of the Communists: "They are practically the most resolute and active portion of the working-class party; theoretically they are in advance of the rest of the proletariat, inasmuch as they possess a clear insight into the conditions, the progress, and the general results of the proletarian movement."

It is the endeavour of the Marxists of all countries to be worthy of this position. The peculiarity of England consists in the fact that the conditions there render it necessary for the Marxists to form a separate, solid organisation, which in countries where mass parties, with a Social-Democratic—i.e., Marxist—programme exist, would be superfluous—nay, more, detrimental—inasmuch as it would only split up the party.

It is unavoidable, however, in a country where the trade unions form the Labour Party, at least so long as this party does not accept a Social-Democratic programme, and has not yet developed a permanent Social-Democratic policy.

We must be very much on our guard not to look at the English conditions through Continental spectacles, and not to think that the Labour Party and the S.D.P. are two parties competing with one another, the one excluding the other. Rather are they to be considered as two organs with different functions of which one is the complement of the other, and of which one can function but imperfectly without the other.

One should not imagine that the relation of the Labour Party to the S.D.P. in England is similar to that existing at the present moment between the Marxists and the Social-Democratic Labour Party in Holland. The formation of the Labour Party was cordially welcomed in England by the Social-Democrats. For a certain time the S.D.P. formed a constituent part of the Labour Party, and afterwards left it, not because it wanted the Labour Party to cease to exist, but because it did not agree with the policy of the latter.

Where two independent organisations exist side by side conflicts between them are always possible, however much the attainment of their common ends makes it desirable for them to work in cordial agreement.

But it is still possible for the S.D.P. to join the Labour Party, and resolutions to that effect, backed by considerable minorities, are again and again proposed at the S.D.P. conferences. The British Labour Party has always desired this union. Unlike the Labour Party in Holland, it does not exclude Marxists, and yet it is contended that it is unworthy of being represented in the International Socialist Bureau side by side with the S.D.P.

Although the antagonism between the Social-Democracy and the Labour Party is so great at present, the S.D.P. itself has altogether given up the hope of becoming a mass party after the style of the German Social-Democracy, recognising as it does that in England the political organisation of the proletariat, as a class, can only be attained by the inclusion of the trade unions.

Since, under the given conditions in England, the functions of the S.D.P., just as those of the other Socialist parties, are entirely different from those of the Continental Socialist organisations, injustice is done to it when one compares it to these organisations, and depreciates it on account of its small membership and its

splits. The importance of the S.D.P. does not consist in its electoral activity, the number of its voters, its Parliamentary representation—these are the spheres dominated by the Labour Party—but in its propaganda work. The Labour Party has no press, has no literature, and its propagandist activity in the form of public meetings is also practically nil.

What is done at all in this sphere in England, is done only by the Socialist parties. The Labour Party represents a tremendous ship, but the Socialist organisations are the compass and rudder of this ship—without these it would be tossed hither and thither by the waves.

What the relationship between the S.D.P. and Labour Party should be depends upon various conditions. The Labour Party is far from being an ideal party, and I have no such liking for its politics as has comrade Beer.

The criticisms of the S.D.P. may, in many points, be rather overdrawn; still, the Labour Party in its present stage can easily sink into confusion and impotence when the Socialism of the trade union masses consists rather in the form of a merely vague desire than in that of a clear understanding of its principles; when the Parliamentary and trade union leaders of the Labour Party, still largely influenced by the deeply rooted traditions of co-operation with the Liberals, are by no means independent, all their ideas being saturated with bourgeois conceptions of philanthropy, of ethics, of economics and of democracy.

Only by means of the most energetic Marxist propaganda amongst the masses, and the most determined criticism of the errors and entanglements of the leaders, can the party be made into a powerful and trustworthy organ, in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.

It is, of course, open to doubt as to which is the best form of carrying on this propaganda and criticism; particularly as to whether it would be more effective were the the S.D.P. inside or outside the Labour Party. In general, the former is to be preferred, for when one criticises an organisation from the outside the critic too often appears as an enemy who would gladly wreck it. When, however, it is criticised by a member, the very membership shows that the critic has an interest in its existence, and only opposes its immediate actions in order to make it all the more powerful.

The English worker now considers the entrance of the trade unions into the Labour Party as essential, as he formerly considered the trade unions themselves, and as formerly the agitation of the S.D.P. amongst the English workers was the more difficult because they carried it on outside the unions, so it is to be feared that it is now committing the same mistake in attempting to criticise the Labour Party from without.

Nothing benefited the S.D.P. more than that so many of its members could propagate Socialism as trade unionists amongst the trade unions. Now, too, many of its members are also members of

the Labour Party in virtue of their trade unions, and as such they take part in the Congresses of the Labour Party. Why, therefore, awaken the idea that the S.D.P. sees a rival in the Labour Party, which it has to destroy, instead of trying to make it better and more effective? It will be said, on the other hand, that the Labour Party refuses to have a programme to which its candidates must adhere. This is certainly a great mistake, but it is no reason for keeping away from the Labour Party. Were the Labour Party so far advanced as to adopt a Socialist programme, the question as to the affiliation of the S.D.P. as a party would no longer arise; the question would rather be as to whether the S.D.P. had not attained its purpose, and should not sink its identity in that of the Labour Party.

Unfortunately, we have not yet reached this stage; the Social-Democracy as a separate body is still indispensable for the education of the Labour Party, but this could best be done as a member of the Labour Party. So long as this work of education is not made impossible to the S.D.P., so long ought it not to stand outside the Labour Party. Whether this is just now impossible it is difficult for the stranger to decide. A very important rôle is played by the "imponderables," the importance of which can only be more or less accurately estimated by one who lives in the country and works amongst the people. Within the different Socialist parties there is at present a movement aiming at their unification in one form or other. Whatever form the Socialist organisation may take it will still remain for a long time the fact that the Socialist organisation and the Labour Party have different functions, each being incomplete without the other; that under present conditions both are indispensable in the struggle for the emancipation of the English proletariat, and that one can very well defend both. The Socialist International itself has every reason to use every opportunity of drawing the Labour Party into closer contact with international Socialism, thus subjecting it more and more to Socialist influence. There is no alternative here. It is not a question as to whether we prefer a small resolute Social-Democratic Party to a big class party with no definite programme indeed, but still independent of all bourgeois parties; the fact is that both form one whole under the given conditions in England. A Socialist organisation of the S.D.P. type is as insufficient by itself as the Labour Party. We must encourage both. We must further the spread and growth of the Social-Democracy as much as the propagation of Socialism in the Labour Party.

In North America things are somewhat different from those obtaining in England. Still, there is some similarity, and it is possible that there, too, the long wished for mass party of the proletariat may be formed into an independent political party in the very near future by the constitution of the American Federation of Labour. Probably this new party will not be a definitely Socialist one at first, and the Socialist Party will, therefore, have to exist

side by side with it until the trade union party has been fully won for Social-Democracy. As in England, so in the United States. The chief sphere of the Labour Party will be Parliamentary and electoral, whilst that of the Social-Democracy will be theoretical and propagandist.

Attempts have been made in this direction, and we must be prepared one fine day to see the rise of such a Labour Party side by side with the Socialist Party in the United States, and demanding admission to the International.

And here I am of opinion, that what holds for the British will also hold for the American Labour Party.

It would, however, be quite a different question if such a party were formed on the European Continent, if, for instance, our *Rexhäuser* were to make such an attempt.

Here the new Labour Party would no longer be supplementary to the present Socialist parties, but it would be antagonistic. It could only exist and thrive by the suppression of the other. It would not be, as in the Anglo-Saxon world, the only form in which the mass of the proletariat could be united into an independent party. The Social-Democratic parties are already such mass parties, and the new Labour Party would consequently enter the field as a wedge in order to disperse the mass organisation and to split the proletariat.

Finally, the present form of the English Labour Party is only a transition stage which will sooner or later develop into a class-conscious Social-Democratic Labour Party, with a definite Socialist programme. With us, this object has been attained, and, consequently, the formation of a purely Labour Party is merely an attempt to crush out an already existing higher form, by a more reactionary party.

In short, although superficially similar in organisation, such a Labour Party on the Continent is just the opposite to what it is in England under the given historical conditions. He who judges both these Labour Parties, isolated from their surroundings, may think we ought to repudiate the Anglo-Saxon, because the European Continental parties must be fought with all the means at our disposal. In their historical connection, however, the Labour Parties assume quite different characters. What we attack here, we must recognise there, indeed, we must joyously welcome it, not, of course, as an ideal organisation, but merely as the previous step to it.

The ideal organisation is the unification of all proletarian parties, the political societies, the trade unions, the co-operatives, as equal members, not of a Labour Party without a programme, as is at the present the case in England, but of a class-conscious, all-embracing Social-Democracy.

KARL KAUTSKY, in the "Neue Zeit."
(Translated by Zelda Kahan.)

THE REVIEWS.

THE EXTINCTION OF THE UPPER CLASSES.

Mr. W. C. D. Whetham, F.R.S., and Mrs. Whetham write the following in the current issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The title placed at the head of this paper has nothing to do with the Budget of the year 1909. Compared with the pecuniary embarrassments which would be caused by taxation much heavier than any yet proposed in England, the subject now to be treated is overwhelming in sinister import. If present conditions are allowed to continue, it can be shown with mathematical certainty that the families of the present upper classes, with their share of good qualities of our race, will simply cease to exist.

In order that a nation should maintain its numbers unaltered an average of about four children must be born to each marriage which produces children at all. If we subtract those who will not reach maturity, those who will not marry, and those who, although married, will have no children, on the average, out of a number of such families, two children, equal to the number of the parents, will be left to continue the race. Such is the result of the Registrar-General's returns.

Now, in the investigations outlined below it is shown that in the landed and higher professional classes the average number of children born nowadays in a fertile marriage is little, if at all, over three, while it is known that similar results hold good for the upper ranks of the skilled artisans. Not only then are these sections of the community not increasing in numbers, but they are diminishing—diminishing absolutely, and even more rapidly in proportion to the nation as a whole.

Good qualities tend to be inherited. They are, it is true, complex in character. It needs the conjunction of many different factors to produce a man of ability, a woman of beauty and charm. Hence we cannot, at present at all events, trace the descent of ability, moral character, or beauty in the same precise way we can follow from generation to generation certain bodily diseases or

mental defects. These bad qualities depend on a definite pathological condition, and some of them seem to be inherited in accordance with definite Mendelian laws. No such simplicity marks the descent of desirable qualities. Nevertheless, it is certain that the presence of such qualities in the parents will result in a larger number of the children possessing them, or something like them, than in families less richly endowed by nature. Good and noble qualities are the greatest possession of our race. To a preponderating extent they are born, not made, and can only be developed where they are already latent. To secure the improvement, or even to prevent the deterioration, of our race it is necessary to replenish our national exchequer of life more freely from our better than from our worse stocks.

Now, the present upper classes are the result of a thousand years of selection—selection for character and ability by which men rise to eminence, selection for the womanly virtues and graces for which they choose their wives. Disturbing causes doubtless have come in. Men have arisen by accident or ingenuity rather than by character or ability, and women have been married for their worldly possessions alone.

But broadly speaking, natural selection has worked well; families that have risen by virtue of their qualities, often manifested through several generations, have remained in the front rank of good citizenship, by reason of the same qualities handed down by inheritance, and showing themselves in one or other of the ever-spreading lines of descent. By reason of their large numbers, such families have permeated all classes, and the nation has been recruited from stocks which have proved themselves worthy to be winners in life's race.

Thirty years have sufficed to alter all this. In detail, the change is obvious to everyone—families of two or three replace the eight or ten of the last generation. The "only child" and the couplet are now familiar to us all. But the total effect and the loss to the nation pass almost unnoticed. People band themselves together into protecting low-grade aborigines from extinction, for preserving the homely crocodile and the playful tiger, for making life possible for the remains of the buffalo herds of America and the wild asses of Africa, and nevertheless these same tender-hearted individuals watch with acquiescence, and often assist as far as possible, in the process of suppressing one of the finest manifestations of the human race, the well-born, the well-bred, tried and trusted men and women of their own flesh and blood.

If the same decrease in reproduction had reached all classes of the community its effects would have arrested more general attention. It would have changed to such a degree the Registrar-General's returns that the birth-rate of the country as a whole would have sunk below the death-rate, and a rapidly shrinking population would have become the most obvious problem of the age. Yet the actual position is more serious than one which would

at once have become a manifest danger. While the birth-rate of the best elements of all classes, of the skilled artisan no less than the landed family of ancient lineage, and the professional man of eminent ability, is falling fast, that of the casual labourer of thriftless stock, and of the feeble-minded class, still large in our midst, remains at its old high level. Increased hygienic knowledge and growing medical skill enable the parents to rear an even larger fraction of their defective offspring to perpetuate the evils of which they bear the seed. The average character of the race is but the average character of the individuals which compose it. If the proportion of the better stocks diminish and that of the worse stocks increase, the race itself must suffer an ever-growing deterioration.

Now, we will examine the birth-rate of the upper classes in three sections of the community, with the help of such books of reference and such personal knowledge as are available. For the upper class in one important section of the people, that of the thrifty artisans, figures provided by the friendly society returns have already been published by Mr. Sydney Webb, and show a falling off in one such society in the number of children born to ten thousand members from 2,472 in 1880 to 1,165 in 1904. This branch of inquiry, therefore, having been adequately dealt with, remains outside out present scope.

A hundred fertile marriages for each decade from 1830 to 1890 have been taken consecutively from the pages of "Burke's Peerage," from those families who have held their title to nobility for at least two preceding generations. In this way, a fairly uniform section of the population was obtained, representing roughly the titled part of the landed aristocracy, and excluding the commercial middle-class element in the present peerage. Moreover, we thus get the full hereditary stability, and do away with any disturbing influence that might be supposed to arise from a sudden advent to prosperity. The results may probably be taken as representative also of the families of the landed aristocracy to whom a title has not fallen. For the first ten years marriages taking place between 1831 and 1840 gave an average of 7.1 births to each fertile couple; from 1841 to 1860 the average for each decade remained constant at about 6.1; from 1871 to 1880 there were 4.36 to each marriage; from 1881 to 1890, 3.13 births are recorded; and it seems probable that the next decade would show another decrease, but it is impossible at present to obtain figures of much value, as one cannot be sure that the births have really ceased, even though an interval of ten or more years may have elapsed since the last one was recorded. Thus our stable upper classes during the past 50 years have reduced their birth-rate by more than one-half, and have passed well below the point at which the number of births

compensates for the number of deaths. Their extinction on these lines is clearly only a matter of a few generations.

Turning to the pages of "Who's Who," to study the more prominent members of the official and professional classes, the lack of detail necessitates a slightly different treatment. The marriages of inhabitants of the British Isles where the number of offspring were recorded, were classified in two groups—those occurring before 1870 and those after that date, with the omission, in each case, of individuals of the class considered in the preceding investigation. A second sub-division was also made, for it became apparent, after a short study, that clerical families could more profitably be considered apart, as manifesting other tendencies. Of marriages in lay families taking place before 1870 and recorded consecutively, there is an average of 5.2 children to each couple; the exact figures are 743 children to 143 couples. After 1870, the average is 3.08, or 1,264 children to 143 pairs of parents. These figures are appreciably lower than those obtained from a study of the "Peerage" at corresponding dates, but it must be remembered that Burke records all or nearly all births which take place, while the entries in "Who's Who" probably refer only to such children as are alive at the time the entry is made. The clerical families, being but a sub-section of the whole, are less numerous, but, taking approximately those occurring in twice the number of pages, we find that before 1870 there were 463 births to 93 marriages, giving an average of 4.99 for each marriage, and after 1870, 437 children to 104 marriages—an average of 4.2. From the dates of marriage and preferment supplied it is clear that the children were born chiefly before their fathers attained distinction. Hence it is fair to assume that these numbers are more or less representative of the clergy as a whole, and that they, as a body, have been less affected by the prevailing tendency to small families. This conclusion seems to indicate the pecuniary conditions alone are not sufficient to explain the phenomena, since no one can accuse the clerical profession of being sensibly overpaid.

Turning now to the consideration of the official population of the University of Cambridge, the members occupying the more permanent and better-paid posts have been divided into four groups—those who, being unmarried, have presumably no offspring; those who, being married for five years and upwards, have no children; those whose youngest child is over ten years of age, and are therefore unlikely to have more children; and those who, having children under ten years of age, may possibly further increase their holding on the future. It must be observed that, in the first three groups, the distinctive effect of the enforced celibacy of the Fellows of Colleges up to 1882 is still probably visible.

In 1909 there were 67 men apparently in a position to maintain a family who remained celibate; there were 40 childless couples, representing 80 individuals; while 70 married couples were responsible for 199 children—a total of 287 adults to 199 children. The

decrease is no longer comparative, nor can a prospective diminished infant mortality be called upon to set things right. Actually and absolutely the next generation of these "intellectuals" will be about 30 per cent. less than the previous one, and, in accordance with the usual statistical result, only about half of these children can be expected to become parents in their turn. Nor do the recent marriages afford much comfort, since 67 marriages have so far resulted in only 164 children, and, though the tale is probably not yet completed, neither is it yet possible to estimate the number of confirmed celibates or of infertile marriages. There is no reason to suppose that the University of Oxford would show a better record of national responsibility than does Cambridge.



THE SITUATION IN FRANCE.

Under the heading of "The Ordeals of M. Clemenceau," Mr. Matthew Stanley has the following to say in the current "World's Work":—

Returning visitors from Paris report such a serious feeling of unrest there that we in England have been prepared for any eventuality, from a general strike to a widespread revolution. It is said that insolence in the streets at the hands of Government officials as well as the rougher working classes has grown amazingly, together with a feeling of insecurity and of unreliance upon the police. Lawlessness is increasing and unpunished. Cabmen decline to accept fixed fees, or to serve at all if the direction of the journey does not please them. In post offices and telephone stations incivility is the rule and any sort of efficiency the exception. And over all this unrest loom the figures of Lépine, the Prefect of Police, and Pataud, the "king" of the rebellious workers. The one will lead the new Commune, if it comes—the other will strike to put it down.

For the moment M. Lépine and those above him representing the forces of law and order are triumphant. The general strike recently ordered was a dire failure, and the martial preparations made by M. Lépine were unnecessary. In a way difficult for us to appreciate, the connection between the police of Paris and the Government of France is constant and intimate. M. Lépine comes very nearly after M. Clemenceau in the ideas of Frenchmen about their leaders. For undoubtedly the failure of the recent strike and all its threatened evils was due to the firm stand taken by the Cabinet and the support it obtained in the Chamber of Deputies. The Prime Minister was resolute and peace was maintained. If at an early date M. Clemenceau should fall, no one can foresee all the evils which might follow. It is therefore timely to look into the perils which beset his administration.

FROM ATTACK TO DEFENCE.

When M. Clemenceau formed his Ministry on October 23, 1906, all who follow the course of French political events asked themselves how far the undoubted talents of the present Prime Minister would enable him to adapt himself to his new and responsible office, and achieve a success commensurate with his previous political reputation.

The writer recalls an interesting discussion on this subject during which an eminent French politician formulated the inquiry that existed in the minds of all, with the terseness and lucidity so characteristic of French thought. "He has led the attack for 40 years," said he; "how will he conduct the defence?"

Time has passed and brought such problems—economic, administrative and political—as have put M. Clemenceau's powers to a severe test. Yet it may be said that at the present day the optimistic anticipations of his supporters have been generally justified.

THE SPOILS OF PARTNERSHIP.

The question we are concerned with is how far the Government were responsible for the state of affairs. It must be remembered that the prodigious multiplication of fonctionnaires in France is primarily the cause of the abuses against which the Post Office employees rose in revolt. To use the words of a French official, it may be said that under the present system "the work of one man is done by two for one man's pay." The origin of this extravagant and inefficient system may be found partly in the deep-seated bureaucratic tendencies of the French nation, and partly in the elaborate and pernicious custom of political patronage. Every Deputy seeks to control, directly or indirectly, the greatest amount of "patronage" with which to buy the suffrages of the electorate, and to reward the influential voters of his district and the zealous supporters of his cause. The result of this is that party politics are introduced into the ranks of the permanent officials and every fonctionnaire who is not a whole-hearted partisan of the Ministry in power runs a very good chance of seeing himself removed on some pretence or another. His removal affords a much-needed opportunity for the reward of some new candidate. This vicious system has, as might have been expected, placed the fonctionnaires in the position of a wretched dependent who must readily comply with every caprice of his superiors. Where favouritism is the starting-point of an official career it is not surprising to find it likewise the cause of that career being summarily cut short. . . .

THE COMING ORDEAL.

It is well, however, to bear in mind the position of the Government has been much strengthened by the vote of confidence on the recent interpellation on the Post Office affairs, and by the utter

collapse of the much advertised "general strike" as well as that of the postal officials. This has certainly shown that the "solidarity" of Labour is not what the word would seem to imply. If these events are not allowed to count as Government victories, they, at any rate, show that the "Confédération Générale du Travail" has not got the power attributed to it.

The warning of M. Niel, general secretary of this, proved true, that "a diminutive minority (*une minorité infime*) cannot let loose a powerful movement." His chief, M. Pauron, would have done well to have listened to counsels of moderation and not to have exposed to the world the impotence of his rule.



HOW JAPAN EXPLOITS KOREA.

A country which has been made a protectorate is generally protected mainly by warding off from it any foreigners except those sent by the protecting Government. In Korea the protection of Japan has resulted in a systematic Japanese exploitation of the Hermit Kingdom. Japanese settlers are pouring into the peninsula, and the quays of Shimonoseki, the Japanese starting-point for Korea, are crowded several times a week with emigrant bands waiting to cross the Straits. Farming and mining are undertaken under the encouragement and with the pecuniary assistance of the Government at Tokyo, and Japanese energy and capital are fast transforming Korea into an important agricultural and industrial corner of Asia. This we read in the "Tour du Monde" (Paris), which continues:—

"Every single year since the Japanese victory over the Russians, more than 200,000 emigrants have passed over into Korea. There must be now close on 1,000,000 of them there. Anyone who visits the country must allow that this is no exaggerated estimate. The 44 railway stations which stud the line as far as Seoul, and the 40 others between that point and Yalou, are not only so many points of attraction to the Japanese colonists, but each one also constitutes a centre, or rather a base, from which the collected colonists scatter in every direction towards the interior, those most active and most daring going farther in quest of a favourable settling place. In the corner which he selects the Japanese settler at once takes up permanent quarters, and sends for his own people and his friends, without much regard to the interests of the natives whom he is supplanting and injuring."

The Japanese Government favours this colonisation in every possible way, for Japan is too small to support its teeming population. The writer remarks:—

"The resources of Japan are quite insufficient to feed its 48,000,000 inhabitants, though they would be ample for 25,000,000.

This makes Japan dependent on foreign importations, and good years and bad years alike she spends abroad some \$30,000,000 for rice. By putting a portion of Korea under rice cultivation it is expected that foreign importations will in a short time be insignificant.

The Japanese are working with furious energy to bring Korea into harmony with the commercial needs of their country. Engineers and mechanics of all kinds are being transported to the points most favourable for development. Japan finds agricultural products and coal, her imperative necessities, equally producible there. The forests of Yalou are magnificent, and cotton-fields are being laid out. On foreign raw cotton Japan has hitherto spent annually about \$25,000,000. Wool she has obtained from Australia. She is now determined to gather it from the pastures of Korea. The raising of cattle and the manufacture of leather are also being carried on there by Japanese. Of course the question is how to populate the country thoroughly with Japanese colonists, and, as this writer remarks:—

“The Japanese Government, by promises, grants of land, and subsidies, is fast attracting settlers. They are to establish private banks and Government banks. They make cash advances in order that the emigrants may be saved the anxieties and difficulties which beset all such enterprises as theirs.”

Japanese villages are to be found systematically in Korea, with a local colonial government, “a sort of expansion of the native country.” The Japanese are acting precisely as Germany acts in Teutonising Russia. They are transplanting local sections of their population. Parties from the same canton or village are made up of people connected by ties of blood or association in trade or profession. The journey by rail from Tokyo to Shimonoseki, thence by steamship across the Straits to Fusan, and on by the line which runs northward to Seoul, can be completed for a fare of \$10. The ruling powers of Japan go even further, we are told as follows:

“As in Japan itself they will provide teachers and schools, doctors and hospitals, even priests and pagodas. Tokyo will refuse the exiled people nothing, and every measure will be taken to alleviate the gloom of isolation and to give to everything the appearance of life as it is led in a veritable Japanese country. These are great plans, but by no means chimerical, and indeed the realisation of them is not very far off.”—From “The Literary Digest” (New York).

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THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL OUTLOOK IN AUSTRALIA.

Readers of the "Social-Democrat" may find it interesting to learn of the development of affairs in Australia and New Zealand. I have been out here now seven and a half years, and all that time have been active in the movement, endeavouring to advance the cause by industrial organisation and Socialist propaganda. During this period I have not only visited but helped with organising work in every one of the States, including two considerable spells in New Zealand amounting to about a year, and three shorter organising runs to Tasmania, also Queensland, West Australia, South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales. I have been through each of them, and am now writing this at Broken Hill, N.S.W.

I propose describing the conditions as they actually obtain, as seen by me, and to indicate the probable development. First, to inform would-be immigrants to these parts as to what to expect on arrival; and, secondly, to show Australia's position in the World Movement.

I know, of course, that Agents-General and other notable personages in London systematically endeavour to create the impression that the conditions surrounding working-class life out here are much superior to the conditions in Britain, and that poverty, as known and experienced by a large percentage of the working class in the large towns of the United Kingdom, is not to be found here.

In order to correctly deal with the matter, let me first declare that those mechanics who obtain in Britain a wage of 38s. to 42s. a week for, say, 52 hours' work, would in Australia receive from 48s. to 60s. a week for 48 hours' work, and this is a substantial improvement. Of course, the purchasing power is different, and the 15s. a week (about) extra received out here does not mean an improvement to anything like the extent the figures appear to indicate; at the most it would mean an improvement of one-half that amount, or about 7s. 6d. a week advance in wages.

But, lest it should be supposed that this higher standard generally prevails, it is necessary to say that, judging by all available methods, the actual standard of life of the workers as a whole is here in Australia as at home.

There is as large a proportion of handy men seeking employment and finding it rarely here as there, and the evidences of poverty are as apparent in each of the cities here as in the cities of corresponding size in Europe. Those who seek to magnify the prevalence of relatively good conditions here frequently do so by comparing a capital city here, like Sydney or Melbourne, with certain portions of London. Even a novice in social affairs should not require reminding that a city of 500,000 inhabitants should not be compared with the 500,000 of the lowest strata in a city fourteen times the size, if a true comparison is to be drawn. As a fact the poverty and degradation in the poorest quarters of Sydney and Melbourne are on a par with what I know to obtain in the worst portions of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Rotherhithe, and Deptford.

In Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and other chief cities, there is as large a proportion out of work or subject to fearful irregularities as obtains in cities of the same size in Europe. At present in Melbourne the unemployed would equal fully five per cent. of the men, and as there are one hundred thousand men that gives five thousand as out of work, and when allowance is made for youths and females it would nearly double that number.

The city next in size to Melbourne, in Victoria, is Ballarat, with a population of 48,000. It is a gold mining centre, and the wages are seven shillings and sixpence a day for working miners; surfacemen and truckers, etc., get less. But about one-half of the miners proper are not able to get day-work, their only chance is to work on tribute, i.e., they are entitled to nothing unless they get gold; then, after all charges are met, they get one-half of net result, which works out at less than a pound a week.

These conditions have obtained all the seven years I have been here, and they prevail now, with no prospect of a change for the better, and these men work six days a week, and for many weeks on end they go home without a shilling. It will strike some readers as being impossible. I assert it to be absolutely true in what is called the "Golden City" of Ballarat, Victoria, and these men cannot turn anywhere and get better pay. It is no use saying, "Why do they not clear out and go to a better district?" If they knew where they could improve their position they would go quickly enough, but they don't know, and no one can tell them; the union cannot tell them, the politicians cannot tell them, the Government cannot tell them, although they can, and do, invite others to come from Europe to share in the "abundance" of good things out here.

If it is asked, "Is any attempt made to get this state of affairs altered?" Then the reply is, the Western Division of Ballarat is represented by a Labour politician, and the adjacent division also by

another politician belonging to the Labour Party, and the latter has ventilated the subject; but everybody is helpless, and so the capitalists get all the development work of the mine done for absolutely no wages at all, either in money or kind. If it be asked "Is there any redeeming feature in this that does not appear on the surface?" the reply is that about 10 per cent. of those on tribute just about make the equivalent of wages, and about 5 per cent. make a little more on the average than the day-wage of 7s. 6d., and about a quarter of 1 per cent. strike luck and may get a bit of a haul. This is the only stimulus, and when a party of tributors do strike good "ground" the owners at once take it over after the first pay and put the men on day wages. A most equitable system!

From the standpoint of political enfranchisement the Federal Act entitles both sexes to full political rights, and last year the women of Victoria were successful in their demand for enfranchisement. But it must not be supposed that a greater freedom obtains out here than in the old country, either industrially or socially. Thus a short time ago no less than 18 of us were gaoled in Melbourne for endeavouring to exercise the right of holding meetings in the streets; four of these were women. They did not occupy the box used as a platform two minutes, and claimed the right other bodies had exercised. I did five weeks in gaol over this matter; since then we hold meetings in that suburb. But, will it be believed? it is an offence in Victoria to give away a leaflet, a paper, a tract or any printed document on a Sunday! We tested it again to the extent of getting fined and gaoled, and the Act is upheld which says: "No printed document may be sold or *disposed of* on Sundays," and to stop Socialist advocacy for two years past the police have upheld this and the courts enforced it.

Only last Saturday, comrade McDonell, of Melbourne, returning from the Socialist Conference at Broken Hill, on his way stayed at Adelaide, where he was advertised to address a public meeting at a

suitable spot in the open-air. The police said they "had instructions not to allow any Socialist meeting to be held," and by force forbade the meeting. Such then is the freedom that obtains here.

During the past five or six years the various Labour Parties of Australia have shown but little disposition to travel in a Socialist direction. They still think and act in the terms and ideas of the bourgeoisie; they still attach importance to getting "more trade"; and so attach importance to fiscalism; they still look to Parliament as the chief, if not the sole, agency through which changes favourable to democracy will be brought about, and so to an increasing extent they aim at being plutocratically respectable and ever constitutional. I fancy you have a few of this type in England also!

As readers will know there has been a Labour Government in power for some six months or so until a month ago, but they dared not attempt anything out of the ordinary humdrum rut, and no one could have told that there was any difference, except by reading that different persons filled Cabinet positions.

Neither from Andrew Fisher, the ex-Labour Prime Minister, with his orthodox Statesman's ponderosity, or from Josiah Thomas, the ex-P.M.G., with his "all things to all men," or from Frank Tudor, ex-Customs Minister, whose economics are confined to the grandeurs of "Protection," or from Hughes, the ex-Attorney-General, with his mental astuteness and superficial pomposity, can anything of a revolutionary character ever be expected, they are each wallowing in the maelstrom of political hogwash, with neither disposition nor power to grapple with the giant problem in any effective fashion.

These and similar important personages take part in the various Eight-hour Celebration Days, and, political devotees as they are, they have never been able to secure a legalised eight-hours day in any State as yet. In Victoria and New South Wales there have been Eight-hour Celebration Days for fifty years on end, but it applies only to certain sections, and never

yet has an Act been passed or a serious attempt made to make the eight hours universal in any State.

The Labour Parties pinned their faith to Arbitration Acts and Wages Boards, and so various States tried them, and, ultimately, the Federal Government carried a measure to deal with disputes extending over more than one State. I have had good opportunities of watching the progress of events, and after being for a time favourably disposed towards them, I have been compelled to definitely declare that such measures are a most serious impediment to working-class solidarity; a powerful agency for hypnotising the workers into somnolence, that makes them strangers to the CLASS WAR, and unfits them for virile action; that destroys their unions whilst pretending to recognise them; that gives the capitalist judiciary complete control of the men in the workshops, mines, mills, and factories; that places the lawyer, ever imbued with bourgeois notions, in front of the real industrial expert, and hands the workers over—handcuffed and ankle-chained—to the capitalist bosses, so that verily their last state is worse than the first.

I am not judging lightly or without opportunity. On leaving England I made direct for New Zealand where an Arbitration Act was in operation. After nine months there, during which time I made careful observations, I came to Australia. Later on West Australia adopted an Arbitration Act; later still New South Wales followed suit. Meantime Victoria was content with Wages Boards as a State, but many wished to see an Arbitration Act for the Commonwealth; this too, came off.

Last year I went to New Zealand again and covered the whole country, making inquiries into the working of the Act with the improvements added by experience. I found the best of the workers in revolt against it. I was at Blackball, on the west coast of South Island, where the colliers had a dispute, and whilst I was there the sheriff was also in the mining township watching his opportunity to get his foot

inside the doors of miners' houses to prevent the housewife slamming it in his face, and when he succeeded he would seize a bicycle or sewing machine, etc., till he got enough for a public sale to get the cost of the fines imposed by the Arbitration Court.

Here in Australia, the Federal Arbitration Act, modelled on all the previous State Acts and expressly stating that it is "An Act for the prevention of industrial disputes," when resorted to in Broken Hill, not only did not prevent a dispute, but prolonged the struggle until twenty weeks had elapsed before the struggle closed ; and then the court had no power to enforce the award.

As one well familiar with industrial disputes I seriously contend that the men without the court could and would have obtained more in one month than they did get with the court in a five months' fight.

(To be Continued.)

TOM MANN.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND "PRIVILEGES."

Mr. Belfort Bax in his article in the May number of the "Social-Democrat," tells us his reasons for being an anti-suffragist. He objects to giving women the vote because they demand equal rights with men, and at the same time want to retain their privileges as women. He is indignant because they have the effrontery to want to retain such privileges as, for example, special compartments in trains, and they want men to treat them deferentially, even if they get the vote. We will not attempt to deny that we hope women will always expect that men will treat them deferentially, and that they also expect that men will soon give them an equal share in every right they themselves enjoy. We, for our part, have no desire to conceal from the world that women demand both deference from, and equality with, men. We also grant that the reason women demand deference from men is on account of their sex—because they are women. But as women are human beings, they insist upon their right to vote, as well as men. Let us now ask a question of the anti-suffragist. What would he think of a strong young woman who, if she were seated in a tram, would not rise and offer her place to an aged or feeble man who entered? Would a tender-hearted woman remain seated in such a case? If a woman did, would such conduct be worthy of her womanhood? We are sure that the anti-suffragist would say no. And he would be right. Any good woman would be only too glad to give up her place to an aged or feeble man, as all of us must have seen from

time to time. Is it on this account that the old man, by the fact of his age, or of his weakness, should be refused a vote? Does his weakness prevent his being a man? Here the man has been "privileged" by a woman. Only an idiot or an ignorant brute would refuse him his right to vote because he has been so "privileged," as only a coarse, selfish woman would refuse him her place in the tram. From this example we infer that deference towards women on account of their sex should not be adduced as a reason for refusing them their rights as taxpayers. If it did, then it would be only like giving them something of little value with the right hand and withholding something of great value with the left. As a matter of fact, women ask for no privileges in the proper sense of the word. Deference is not privilege. It is but the natural kindly sentiment which every true man or woman must feel towards one weaker, whether man, woman or child.

A woman who gives up her seat to an old man in a tram, or who conducts a blind man across the street, does not privilege him thus. But she shows by such acts that she is a true woman, and a man who treats women chivalrously shows thereby that he is a true man. We repeat that women demand no "privileges." Would a woman candidate at an examination think of asking the examiner to put her easy questions because she is a woman? Never. If she did, *then* she would be asking to be privileged on account of her sex. Women want no such privileges. They want, it is almost unnecessary to say again, only equality. They are always ready to submit to the same tests as men in all competitions between both sexes. Mr. Israel Zangwill recently stated in his brilliant speech in favour of women suffrage that Lord Salisbury said that "he knew of no argument against it." Yet Lord Salisbury forgot, as we were about to forget, that there is one argument against it. It is that old argument of the brute. It is that "Might is right." When men were savages, women were abject slaves. Christianity raised them, but Christianity did only part of the work of putting the

sexes on the footing of equality which Christ taught was to be the ideal of Christians. Christianity partly failed because men were so selfish that they deliberately shut their eyes to Christ's teachings. They made a breach in the moral code, a crime in a woman—woman was "dishonoured" (though she is weaker) by a single lapse from virtue. But men consider and treat such an offence in themselves as a mere triviality. And yet women are "privileged"! It has been well said that in small, unimportant matters men consider women, but in all important things they consider themselves.

Christ taught the equality of the sexes; what is sinful for a woman must be equally sinful for a man. But men held the power, as they have always done, and they could therefore oppress women with impunity. For centuries women have suffered in silence. They had, indeed, no other alternative. They bore the yoke laid upon them, as slaves have had to bear it. But, with the progress of civilisation, women are receiving, little by little, some "privileges" from men. One is that they are being better educated. Under the influence of this better education, their minds are taking an independent course. They are beginning to think for themselves. The first sign that women gave of their detestation of brute-force rule was worthy of their womanhood. It was given by the women of North America, who encouraged their sons and husbands to fight to the death against the slave trade. One woman in especial—Harriet Beecher Stowe—did more than any man towards putting an end to the abomination. Her impassioned pleadings for those unfortunate men and women, whose miserable lives she so faithfully depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," have brought tears to the eyes of thousands. But there is still another kind of slavery which has not yet been abolished. Women now want to be free themselves. They want to be ranked as human beings, in every sense. They are determined to wrench off every chain which cowardly men are trying to keep riveted upon them. Not a single argument of the anti-suffragettes has been left unrefuted.

Are women willing to pay taxes? Certainly, if they are represented as male taxpayers are. Are men acting fairly in refusing women the vote? No, because taxation without representation is monstrous. But a woman cannot defend the country in case of war? Women are called upon to be mothers, and thus risk their lives for their country. And how many Englishmen even in this generation, have risked their lives upon the field of battle? Very few. How many women have risked their lives in giving birth to children? Hundreds of thousands. How many women, like Florence Nightingale, have devoted their lives to the care of sick and wounded soldiers? How many sisters of charity have actually died upon the field of battle, whose names have never been published? And if the need ever comes (which pray heaven it will not) that every man will be called upon to defend his home against a foreign invader, does anybody think that women would not respond to that call also? Have women never helped men to defend their homes? What of Boadicea? What of the Maid of Orleans? What of the Maid of Saragossa? What of the women of Limerick who fought beside the men on the walls of the city, and drove back the besiegers?

Yet women are not to have votes because they are protected, they are "privileged." Think of an educated schoolmistress and taxpayer having no vote, and of an ignorant degraded workman, who never even reads the newspaper, and spends the greater part of his money in a public-house—thus robbing his wife and children—having one. And why may we ask? Why is such a human being "privileged"? Because he is a *man*; he is thus privileged solely on account of his sex, and he is privileged by his own sex, who hold all political power in their hands. Here is privilege with a vengeance. The schoolmistress is refused a vote, because she is a *woman*. One cannot vote, say the lords of creation, if one is a woman; but a woman has to pay taxes like anybody else. We are not surprised that Hindu men return thanks to God that they were

not born women. When one thinks of all the mean objections, for want of better ones, which anti-suffragists bring forward as reasons for refusing women their rights as citizens, it is almost enough to make one feel disheartened, and sceptical as to the possibility of converting such men to a sense of what should be in the breast of every honest man, when he thinks of the present helpless position of women, totally dependent upon men as they are instead of being their equals. It is a relief to read the freedom-loving Colonel Ingersoll's opinion on the subject. "In my judgment," he says, and such judgment indicates the nobility of that great man's character, "woman is the equal of man. She has all the rights which I have, and one more, and that is the right to be protected If there is any man I detest, it is the man who thinks he is the head of the family—the man who thinks he is 'boss.' The fellow in the dug-out used that word 'boss,' that was one of his favourite expressions."

That is how we would expect a strong, honourable man to speak about women. Just because they are women, and therefore weaker, physically, than men, he would not only give them every right that he himself enjoyed, but he would, in consideration of their delicacy, protect them in every way he possibly could. It would be interesting to hear Ingersoll's opinion of "the enterprising young men" who, Mr. Belfort Bax says, "had the pluck to fling the female crowd, in all its weakness and womanhood, remorselessly aside, and board the tram themselves." They might, at least, have waited until women had obtained the franchise, and thus been upon a political equality with them before showing them that they were still the stronger, no matter what women could do. Ingersoll would probably assure us that such gentlemen were certainly the direct descendants of the man of the dug-out, whom the laws of evolution had not acted upon. Surely nature has handicapped women quite enough, without the stronger sex keeping them down any

longer? The suggestion that women form a powerful "sex trust" is simply ludicrous. Have we not common sense enough to perceive that women, as a sex, could not get on alone, no more than men could? Love, we hope, will never be banished from the world, and if it could be, then the human race would become extinct. If women supplant married men in any employment, then the wives and daughters of those men will suffer as well as the men themselves. The root of the objections of anti-suffragists is in reality, that they fear women. They fear women because the women of to-day are no longer the women of bygone days. We believe that Ibsen, in his wonderful play "The Doll's House," has given us a correct insight into the transformation women are mentally undergoing at present. Nora's individuality was so strong that it forced her to throw off the mask in the end. She could bear no more. She knew that she was no doll, and her husband did not. He was greatly astonished, and not a little angry, when he found that his wife had an individuality like himself. The time is now past when women can be classed as "females"—all put under one category as it were. They are individuals, and there is as much difference in women's characters as there is in men's. George Sand, at a time when the question of women's rights was only in its infancy, scorned to conform to what was considered correct for women to be. She allowed her individuality full play. She was true to herself, and thought little and cared less about the comments of "correct" people. Women have now found out that they are all individuals as well as men, and one of the most hopeful signs of their mental progress is their new spirit of solidarity. Married women do not now look upon "old maids" with the old eye of scornful pity as if they were the rejected of men. It is at length recognised that marriage should not be the sole ambition of women. There are numbers of women who are unfit to marry. Some dislike housekeeping, others dislike children, others have not the patience

necessary for the proper management of servants. Others, again, do not care for men, as some men do not care for women. Such women by marrying do an injustice both to themselves and to their husbands. They are often blue-stockings, and should not be ashamed to own up to it. Why should they not gratify their taste for study, and even devote their lives to the pursuit of science or of art if it so pleases them?

Some women are silly enough to allow themselves to be influenced by the dictum of old fogies, who say, with wise shakes of their hoary heads, that a woman's place is her home. That a woman's sole care and interest should be to fit herself to be a good wife and mother. If that notion had been followed up by every woman, then George Eliot, instead of writing "Adam Bede" and her other immortal works, would have passed her time in darning stockings; and Madame Curie, instead of setting herself to the pursuit of science, instead of discovering radium, would have probably been an excellent cook. Fortunately for mankind, both left such useful work to their servants, and wisely followed the promptings of their genius, which shows us once again the wisdom of women being true to themselves. Whatever one feels an aptitude for, one ought to do, be it to study cookery or to study art. Some women are born for marriage, others are not. Some men, exemplary in every relation of life, make wretched husbands. This truth is now being recognised, and in spite of all that anti-suffragists may say or do, the cause of the enfranchisement of woman is making constant progress, because mankind is constantly becoming better educated.

Progress is now the watchword of the human race, and as women make up about half of the human race, the interests of both sexes are inextricably bound up, and the stronger half must not neglect any opportunity of helping the weaker half onward. Men, trust women! Trust your wives, mothers and sisters if you wish them to love and trust you. Perfect equality between the sexes has been Christ's doctrine.

Can it be improved upon? You have it in your power to put women on a political level with yourselves. At present they are at your mercy. Women have suffered more than men, and do suffer more. Will you not help them when you can? Will you not, from your post of vantage, tender them your strong right hand? Will you continue to refuse them their rights as taxpayers from the mean fear that they may become as strong as yourselves? Nature has taken good care that they shall not, and if men side with nature, as some are now doing, they are unworthy to be called men. Happily a large and ever-increasing number of men now acknowledge that any handicap which the male sex places upon women, or keeps upon them, is not alone cowardly, but is a serious bar to progress. We now know that the talents of every unit of the human race should be encouraged and fostered for the benefit of humanity in general. That is still another reason why intelligent and honourable men have joined hands with women in their fight for their rights, and all the jeers and insults of the anti-Suffragists will not prevent each and every one of them from continuing their battle for the perfect equality of the sexes as far as nature will allow that equality. But, though nature has handicapped women physically she has not done so as far as brains are concerned, and those brains must be employed in the cause of liberty and progress. The first step to woman's progress will have been taken the day that women are enfranchised. It will also be a step in the forward movement of humanity in general, for it will be another sign that civilisation is taking the place which brute-force rule has had until men began to think.

FAIR PLAY.

EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION, IN INDIA

(Continued from last issue.)

Here, then, at the lowest rung of the ladder, the revolution has set in. It has just begun; but the beginning, in a case like this, means a tremendous achievement. It denotes that the foundation has been laid for India's evolution. The spirit of discontent always precedes the desire for progress. It is a gratifying sign that the "nation of Nirvana," as the East Indians have been stigmatised, is becoming discontented, and is inquiring about its deplorable economic conditions. If this spirit of unrest, which is making itself felt in the agricultural and industrial communities in the villages of India, is directed properly Hindustan's political and material salvation can be easily brought about.

The case as it stands is this: The educated community in India is impatient, because the fat berths in the Government offices are misappropriated by foreigners; because there is no channel, such as the management of Government affairs, which, as in self-governing countries, provides a healthy and profitable occupation to the highly cultivated individuals, making it possible for them to use their talents to satisfy their ambitions by serving the community. The East-Indian students of economics are lamenting that the resources of their country are either being left undeveloped or exploited by the foreigner. The unlettered masses are growing tired of their existence because of the great severity of the pinch of want.

The feeling of discontent created by all these contributory causes is significant of the fact that India is waking up from its stupor of ages and preparing to take its place alongside of the other nations.

Education is responsible for the awakening of India—Western education, to be more specific; and education of the right kind is the fulcrum upon which hinges the future of Hindustan. The thing that India needs most to-day is mass education; not the kind that would take the farmer off his field and the artisan away from his trade, but integral education—a simultaneous culture of the head, heart and hand. The East Indian agriculturalist has to be taught the use of modern farm machinery; initiated into the use of manures that will recoup his worn-out soil; taught that it is criminal for him to marry his children below a certain age; instructed in thrift; encouraged to study his peculiar position and shown how to improve it; coaxed to care less about the influence of the moon and stars on his crops, and depend more upon intensive farming. The East Indian craftsman requires to be told that he should not expect but to be crushed down if he persists in adhering to his cumbrous methods of doing things; he has to be instructed in the employment of modern methods and machinery, and persuaded to use these in preference to the paraphernalia he has inherited from his forefathers. The moneyed class, in its turn, has to be impressed with the desirability of employing their capital as a good husbandman ought to use his seed supply, in reproductive work; they have to be influenced so that they will give up burying their treasure in the ground or locking it up in gold and silver trinkets for their women-folk, as they do at present; and gradually prevailed upon to invest their money in businesses conducted on a co-operative basis. India stands in urgent need of agricultural, polytechnic and commercial education, given broadcast to the swarming millions of the land.

Under ordinary circumstances, the task of educating so many people would be stupendous; but the

difficulties in the present case are of a nature that render the work almost insuperable. From the manner in which the constituted (?) Government of the land has gone about educating the people, it is certain that the alien administration is chary of educating the masses. So long as the foreigner is in India to misappropriate its wealth, the only way he can hold the country in his dread grip is by dividing and ruling the people; and that long he would be averse to educating the people and standing the chance of their becoming united in a nationalistic propaganda of "India for the East Indians." This has been at the root of India's misfortunes and constitutes the greatest handicap the country labours under to-day.

The educated people of India, however, are rapidly awakening to a sense of responsibility toward educating their less fortunate brothers. In every province of India, every community is taking more and more keen interest in starting and conducting educational institutions for the benefit of their compatriots. Elementary and high schools are commencing to crop up overnight; and here and there manual training schools and technical and industrial institutes are being organised. In several parts of Hindustan colleges financed and run by East Indians are successfully competing with those maintained by the alien Government or by foreign missionaries; and the natives of the land are more and more becoming alive to the necessity of starting their indigenous universities, unfettered by official routine and red tape. Fortunately for India the leaders of the people are very sensibly laying emphasis upon providing facilities for the agriculturalist, mechanic, industrialist and commercialist to educate himself in such a manner that he will be enabled to improve his condition and live in a more up-to-date and prosperous manner. Stress is also being laid on female education, and all wide-awake East Indians are co-operating with one another and acting individually

with a view to uplift womanhood. In order to study the methods employed in foreign countries by other communities, East Indian young men and women are being sent abroad, and they are carrying back to India the wisdom gleaned during their sojourn in Japan, Europe or America.

Alongside of this educational propaganda the effort is being made to co-ordinate the people. India has all these decades and scores of years been cursed with an intricate caste system, and the endeavour is being made to re-organise the body politic of India on a saner basis, and inspire it with a community of interest, "India for the East Indians." Despite the effort of foreign rulers to keep the people hopelessly divided amongst themselves, an East Indian nationality, bound by ties of patriotism, is gradually coming into being in India. The social system is also being purified; early marriages are becoming unpopular; low castes are less and less being looked upon as inferiors; the caste regulations are crumbling into dust; and the rancour of sectarianism and hatred of caste and creed are gradually yielding place to a broad toleration and sympathetic attitude toward professors of different religions. Hindu Protestant religious sects are growing in all parts of Hindustan, and the influence of these is in the direction of inspiring the people with hope and charity, and permeating their minds with love of the country and nation. These militant Hindu sects are even sending their missionaries to Occidental countries.

The Occidental trend of thought has reacted on the fatalism of the East Indian people, and inspired them to improve their material and economic conditions simultaneously with developing their moral and spiritual natures. India's bane has been over-spirituality, just as the Occident's misfortune has been over-materialism. The Western wedge, which is more and more being driven into the people of Hindustan, is healthily reacting upon this unfortunate feature of Orientalism, and thus is effectually removing a serious drawback which has held the country from progress and pros-

perity and prepared the way for the enslavement of its people by an alien nation.

As the East Indians are divesting themselves of their morbid and abnormal spirituality, they are giving more attention to their present state of affairs and to improving their lot here and now. This is showing itself in the manner the decadent trades are reviving in the land. The educated people of Hindustan have maintained now, for three or four years, a boycott of English goods, as a protest against the summary manner in which the English Government is treating the enlightened public opinion in India. The unlettered masses, in many places, have taken the lead of their educated brothers and are following in the footsteps of the boycotters. This is giving a fresh impetus to the indigenous industries, putting new life into them and paving the way for the utilisation of the resources of the country by the people themselves. As a direct result of this new spirit which is abroad all over Hindustan, the death knell has been sounded for the old and worn-out methods employed in agriculture and manufactures. The policy of England has been to keep the people of India busy with producing raw materials for the benefit of the British manufacturer, but the brown man has awakened to the ulterior purpose of the Briton and he is not only endeavouring to advocate the employment of better agricultural machinery and farm methods, but also to provide a new impetus to the manufacturing industries, so that the people will profit by turning the materials into finished products. At the dawn of the twentieth century, therefore, the desire to industrially and commercially regenerate India is observable everywhere in the land, and is fast becoming volcanic in intensity. Rivers and waterfalls, in different localities, are being harnessed to do the brown man's bidding; steam and electricity are, in every part of Hindustan, being used in industrial work; the old-time hatred of manual labour is being everywhere in the country superseded by the craving to boycott petty government offices and

take a share in the uplift of the country by engaging in profitable trade or commercial work.

To sum up :—

The brown man in India is realising that a nation which, in the past, achieved a unique civilisation and produced wonderful literature, art, and philosophy, but which, with the turn of the wheel of fate, became sunk in poverty, superstition, ignorance and fatalism, is like exhausted soil. A farmer cannot succeed if he attempts to till worn-out soil by the same methods he would employ with virgin land. He has to recognise that the ground is exhausted and must make due provision for the lack in it. It is necessary for him to make up the deficiency by means of scientific fertilisers, building it up to the quality of productive soil. Similarly, into the veins of the individuals of a nation which has seen better days but since has become decadent new blood must be pumped—new vim injected. So long as the farmer persists in believing that his old land is as good as new it is impossible to persuade him to change his tactics. Nor can anything be done to resurrect a retrogressive people so long as they remain unconscious that they have fallen from their former pinnacle of grandeur into the bottomless pit of lethargy and inaction. But once a degenerated nation wakens to the realisation that its pristine glory has faded away, and that in its hands it holds merely the ashes of the roses that bloomed in days gone by, there is hope for its future. With such an awakening the memory of bygone achievements becomes a goad for future advancement and progression. Past and precedent, instead of exerting their conjoint influence to keep the people victims of “arrested growth,” tend to further evolution and development. For tens of years the eyes of the people of India have been fixed on their glorious past and they have been contented to live in the reflected rays of their former attainments. To-day India is at the parting of the ways. Its people are

commencing to see their own deficiencies and they are setting right out to remedy these defects. The brown man's virility is asserting itself, and despite the odds, India, in the near future, has glowing prospects in store for her millions.

SAINT NIHAL SING (of India).



QUOTED FROM A RECENT PROSPERITY SPEECH.—Has it ever occurred to you, Mr. Chairman that the cotton cloth made in South Carolina annually would make a sheet big enough to cover the entire face of America and Europe and lap over on the toes of Asia? Or, if all the cattle she raises in each year were one cow, she could browse on the tropical vegetation along the equator, while her tail switched icicles off the North Pole, and that her milk could float a shipload of her butter and cheese from Charleston to New York? Or, if all the mules we market each year were one mule, it would consume the entire annual corn crop of North Carolina at one meal, and kick the spots off the sun without swelling its sides or shaking its tail? Or, if the hogs we raise annually were one hog, that animal would dig the Panama Canal in three roots, without grunting, and its squeal would be loud enough to jar the cocoanuts off the trees along the Canal Zone?—"New York Sun."

It appears now that the cocoa and chocolate manufacturers have been giving employment to the slave traders and slave stealers for many a long fat year. The fun of it is that most of them are pious Quakers: these gentlemen have been attacked for mild hypocrisy; they have investigated the accusation, and re-investigated it, for years, and at length, confronted with the fact, have tardily determined to stifle the trader and let the Quaker live. Messrs. Cadbury and Fry and Rowntree have all determined to buy no more nibs from the slave-traders at St. Thomé, Principe, and Angola. We understand that a considerable time ago the firm of Epps and Company ceased to purchase this slave-grown cocoa; Van Houten also, and Suchard, made the great renunciation, though they were not pious. But how these gentlemen will be able to avoid buying cocoa nibs from St. Thomé is not stated. As for ourselves, we believe in their belated protestations, and we shall be astonished if the practice is affected. Slavery must be put down by Governments, and we are afraid that everyone who buys cocoa runs a great risk still of helping the slave-trader, in spite of these well-intentioned protests of the pious.—"Vanity Fair."

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

So Mr. Percy Scott is not angry, he is only poking fun at me. Which reminds me of the schoolboy who kept punching and sparring at one of his school fellows, and when the latter turned round and administered well-deserved chastisement, the former complained that the latter was spiteful, as he (the former) was only larking.

But Mr. Percy Scott is only poking fun at me. That is why he persists in calling me alcohol mad.

These funny people have such funny ways of being funny that very often a long explanation is necessary to illustrate their funniment, and Mr. Percy Scott is no exception. But what is the funniest thing of the whole is that he thinks me funny. He says: "I was simply amused at the very funny—really funny—style of reasoning adopted by my respected antagonist."

Then this very funny man goes off at a tangent to apologise for his fun in reference to calling me a bigot and a fanatic. He says: "I admire your fanatic and your bigot. It is only the fanatics and the bigots who ever do anything." So that instead of being a vice Mr. Percy Scott, in very eulogistic and complimentary terms, makes bigotry and fanaticism to appear as a virtue.

Seeing that Mr. Percy Scott is only poking fun at me, I am compelled to conclude that the following attempt at argument is only exhibited in a fit of desperation:—

"Here is a mild specimen of Mr. Hobart's impartial, unfanatical, and unprejudiced 'reasoning': 'Alcohol, in brief, has

the same origin as the malignant and fatal exhalations of the pestilence—the death and putrefaction of organic matter—and is on a parallel with the malarial poison.’

“The first might be said, with equal truth, of every fruit and vegetable we eat ; but we should not, therefore, draw the conclusion that every one of these was a poison.”

Now, if it were not for the fun of Mr. Percy Scott, I should reply to the last paragraph in these words : “ True ; every fruit and vegetable may have its origin in the death and putrefaction of organic matter, but from that origin the full fruit and vegetable develops. It is then we eat them, not when they are decomposing ; but with alcohol it is different. It is only in the rotten, putrefying condition of vegetable matter that it can be produced, and it is consumed in that state. We do not eat the rotten potato nor the decayed germs of fruit. If we did, we should know it !

But it is useless to try and argue with Mr. Percy Scott. He would shield himself by some display of fun. Nevertheless, the readers of the “ Social-Democrat,” who have read my articles and Percy Scott’s contributions, and who may not see the fun in them, may be anxious to read what I have to say.

As a further illustration of the way in which Mr. Percy Scott twists words and sentences to suit his fun take the following quotation :—

“ That quotation is taken from Mr. Hobart’s first article ; yet he demurs to my statement that he ‘ *begins* by declaring alcohol to be a poison.’ He *concludes* that article by describing alcohol as the ‘ twin brother ’ of ‘ malarial poison.’ ”

The italics are mine, of course, but it would be interesting to know whether, in the King’s English, “ begins ” and “ concludes ” are synonymous ?

Before going further may I politely remind Mr. Percy Scott of an old French proverb : “ Qui s’excuse s’accuse.” The need for this reminder becomes apparent when I read that “ All things ” sometimes means “ Some things,” Read :—

“ ‘ All things ’ in the quotation in question obviously means those things which, indulged in in moderation, are beneficial and

pleasurable, but the excessive indulgence in which is harmful. That is true of the most necessary and useful things—food, drink, exercise, sports, etc. Mr. Hobart's point, of course, is that alcohol is a poison, is not a food, and is necessarily harmful and mischievous in its effects even when taken in the smallest possible quantities."

Now, if Mr. Percy Scott were not poking fun at me, I should say that he had put my position very clearly; and I am pleased to be able to say so. But he soon gets back into his funny mood:—

"But that is just the question at issue—the question upon which there is a very wide difference and a very considerable conflict of opinion.

"Mr. Hobart says; 'I have shown that alcohol provides neither heat nor nutriment.' But that is just what he has not done. He has asserted that over and over again, but stoutness of assertion is not proof."

Really that is funny. He sees my point. He states it. He elaborates it. And yet when I say, "I have shown that alcohol provides neither heat nor nutriment," he denies it.

It is also very funny—that last sentence: "He has asserted that over and over again, but stoutness of assertion is not proof." I might add: "Flat contradiction is not argument." But then he would say he was only poking fun at me. Nevertheless, if he will read my articles again, sincerely and in earnest, he will find that I have given proof from a number of authorities, and a list of books that he would do well to peruse.

But as Mr. Percy Scott is only poking fun at me I do not feel called upon to defend my position. I am quite content to leave the matter to my readers. I do not claim to have given an exhaustive essay on the Alcohol Question. I have purposely been as brief as possible, and at the same time endeavoured to be clear and concise. I may have failed, but it is not for the want of trying. I have not, of course, dealt with excessive drinking. That is condemned all round—even by Mr. Percy Scott. But he is also open to conviction on the question of whether a little

alcohol is harmful or not. His own experience and observation, so far, have not convinced him, and I am afraid that anything I might say would hardly help him. He holds no brief for alcohol, so he says, unless he is poking fun when he says it. But much of what he says suggests a very strong advocate. Why can he not have his little joke without using such phrases as "quibbling," "begging the question," and "spoofing the readers?" He says I have displayed too much zeal; tried to prove too much, "As in the manifest, palpable absurdity that 'digestion can only take place when alcohol has been expelled from the stomach.'" That palpable, manifest absurdity happens to have been made by Baron Liebig, who, I fancy, knew something of what he was writing about, and I would rather be in company with such a palpable, manifest absurdity and Baron Liebig than the utterances of a questionably funny man.

H. W. HOBART.

THE MONTH.

The Czar has come self-invited, and has respectfully waited on the doorstep. Our Ministers popped their heads out of the window, and finding who it was had knocked, winked, and made him understand how welcome he was, and if he wouldn't mind waiting out there on the doorstep, their King would come outside and shake hands with him. This was Bernard Shaw's happy way of describing the incident. Its delightful humour mustn't cause us to overlook the fact that there are plenty of men highly placed who would have made the Czar welcome enough—and his subsequent honours, in return—if it had not been for the Socialists. The Corporation City Fathers of London tumbled over each other in their eagerness to hob-nob for an hour with the little great man. If he wouldn't or couldn't come to them why they weren't going to stand on their dignity; they'd go to him. So off they went down to his "Standart" yacht in the Solent to the chorus of the gibes and jeers of the spirits of greater Londoners, who in the days of our own tyrant kings were sturdy foes of absolutist monarchs, even if the people in the English provinces were befooled and bemused. The Czar shook hands with quite a number of them. What more could be wished?

The hope that the Czar received some good counsels is not very great. The Ministers in attendance were Asquith, who so utterly missed his opportunity to say the needed word when he was addressing visiting Russians some months ago. And Sir Edward Grey, who looks so much wiser than any mortal man could ever really be, and whom almost everyone in the Commons seems to have agreed to take at his own extraordinary estimate. The man who keeps aloof from ordinary mere life and death affairs of the toiling millions, but who condescends to come down to St. Stephen's every now and then, and make everyone's blood run cold about the imminence of war in or respecting

Egypt—and no questions must be asked if you please—and the imminence of this and the imminence of that ; and you will be so good as to leave it all to him.

Spain may have seemed to be outside the inner circle of the great commercial nations, and for that reason we perhaps have not looked for as much progress there as we have hoped for elsewhere. Although to be sure the courage of the great Madrid journalist who was imprisoned following upon the bomb-throwing at the Royal wedding procession was one thing which went far to redeem Spain from any reproach of not having its part in the world fight. What even Socialists may have forgotten at times is that the forces making for Socialism are elemental, and operate everywhere. And it may well be that a country like Spain, in which lip homage to liberty and to the great ideas is not so general as here, may be the field whereon elemental forces may operate most strikingly—so to say with the gloves and the masks off. There certainly seems to have been no particular nonsense about dignifying this Riffian war with any high-sounding pretences. It is a capitalist's war pure, or rather impure, and simple. As such the peasant toilers of Catalonia hate it with perfect hatred, and count it their enemy. They will not—

“ Give themselves death and war
For pence, doled out by kings
From their own store.”

The scene of the fighting is on the north of Africa, near Melilla, in the region of a fierce Moor populace. So far it seems that Spain has met there its Assouan, as Italy met in Abyssinia. It is a tremendous moment in European and African story. And the acuteness of the crisis seemed so unlikely but a few weeks ago. The latest woeful tidings is of the execution of women and boys in Barcelona.

Spain seems to have a way of springing surprises, or of being the cause of other countries springing surprises. It was over the question of the Spanish throne that France and Prussia went to war just a week or two after Lord Granville, succeeding Lord Clarendon as Foreign Minister, had been told at our Foreign Office that they had never known so dull a time in Europe—there was not a ripple of a trouble anywhere. Prussia proposed a Hohenzollern for the vacant Spanish throne, and yielded when the French Emperor protested. The fools in Paris thereupon

demanding that Prussia should eat yet more leek—should undertake that never at any future time would it make such a proposition. Thus insulted, the Prussian King wrote and Bismarck edited and accentuated a message which led to the war.

If this were merely a history fragment it might be out of place. But it is worth while to realise in advance that it is not the tradition of Europe to leave Spanish affairs to settle themselves. Sir Edward Grey may even now be hard at work on some Anglo-Spanish understanding. The great idea of present heaven-sent diplomatists seems to have been to recreate Spain as a country which, though it cannot be in the first rank, shall yet be a useful make-weight. We note in passing that the boy King of Portugal is to be the guest of King Edward in England very shortly.

This is the time of holidays, and incidentally of more than ordinarily generous diet for the classes who live by the direct or indirect exploitation of labour. For the children of our elementary schools they are hollowdays—days of hollow cheeks, hollow eyes, and empty or half-empty stomachs. The meals are not continued by the school authorities while the schools are closed. The curriculum should include the teaching of a time-table to little stomachs. This matter is of overwhelming importance, and to get at the actual facts and deal with them should engage the attention of Socialists everywhere.

Prince Buelow, he has gone below, we ne'er shall see him more—at least, so far as we can judge. A German Jew has succeeded in the Chancellorship. It has come as an incident of the long financial stress. But Socialists realise that quarrels between two species of spiders are of little interest to the fly, which is the victim of either, as either may be uppermost. We do not hear much of "Vorwaerts" exciting itself over the taxation proposals; just as here, the S.D.P. does not boil with Gorringle wrath, even if the Duke of Westminster did appropriate a rich hoard of wealth largely communal in its origin, which otherwise Mr. Gorringle would have retained. To change the figure, it is not overwhelmingly important to a fowl whether it is roasted by order of Buelow or boiled by order of the new Chancellor.

Blériot has flown across the Channel, and, apparently, a monument is to be raised at the points of his take-off and his set down.

It was a wonderful display of courage by a son of decadent France! First with the balloon, first with applied photography, first with the motor car, now first in aviation; or volitation, or volation, or whatever we are to call it. Vive la France! But, alas, such is the perversion of nature under the Ishmaelitish stress, that at once the thought is of the sky, black with locusts in the form of flying invaders. Every new invention is deemed to import a new disaster. Invention should be made a capital offence.

There is little doubt that the Government has for the moment strengthened its position in the country. If there were one or two vacancies to-morrow where the sitting members had been Tories, the Liberal attack would now be made with a good heart. The contest in the High Peak division was epochal in this Liberal Administration's history. By all the omens of previous elections in the last three years, the seat should have reverted easily to the Unionists. The Liberal majority has decreased, but the Liberal poll has increased. And recently the Government held each of four seats whose members had died, or where an election was somehow necessary. It would seem that the Budget has been a great help to a Government which had been wasting its strength on unpopular Temperance and Educational Bills. The more necessity that the people should be educated in the full character of the Budget—its heavy, indirect taxation of the worker; and its posing of the landlord as the one chief absorber of the spoils of labour.

The Commission has reported in opposition to the half-time system in the United Kingdom. Almost on the same day the Bill promised in the King's Speech is brought in. It proposes to reduce shop hours and shop overtime. It seems an extraordinary time to produce a measure of this searching order. Whether or not these reforms are seriously to be pressed forward, it is, in any case, useful to have their introduction put upon record. It cannot be erased. "One thing is denied the very gods; to make past things as though they had not been."

"Justice" was seized by the police during the anti-Czar demonstration in Trafalgar Square, and Herbert Gladstone, the Home Secretary, has come down flat-footed in their defence.

The "Daily News," to its credit, has made vigorous protest more than once that "Justice" was not fairly seizable, even from the non-Socialist standpoint; and that this is a Russianising of police methods. The "Labour Leader" also has written in the same sense. Just when a Commission is inquiring into the vagaries of Redford, the censor of plays, the Government constitutes any raw young constable a sufficient literary and political censor of the Press. So far the Press has been largely unmuzzled. You don't muzzle sheep. However, this seems to be going a little too far even for the ordinary journalist. What with the tendency to give monstrous damages in libel, and the new creation of P.C. Brawn as not Police Constable but Police Censor Brawn, new terrors are added to the editor's path.

The Sultan, whom King Edward assured of "the veneration of posterity," has been kicked from the throne of Turkey; and now the Shah of Persia, another of our precious official friends, has also been sent packing. Sir Edward Grey wasn't even asked by the Turkish Nationalists as to whether this course would be "regular," and agreeable to his Modesty.

A private syndicate is running the steamboats, bought almost at old iron prices from the Moderate L.C.C.—that is, running most of them; for some have been taken abroad. It is a scandal of the first order.

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THE CRISIS IN THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

At the present time a great confusion exists in the ranks of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.). The four most important members of its National Council—Keir Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and Bruce Glasier (editor of the party organ, the "Labour Leader")—have, in consequence of the criticism of their policy as leaders of the Party which was expressed at the Easter Conference, demonstratively retired from office. In an open letter addressed to the members of the Party they point out that confusion has existed for some time, caused by the formation within their ranks of a group who do not know what they want, who to-day applaud the Labour Party, and to-morrow demand the formation of a new Socialist Party, who upset the minds of the comrades and undermine their confidence in the leaders by their criticisms and ugly allusions and erroneous statements. How could the business of the Party be carried on under such circumstances? It is indeed not a question of the tactics of the Party—these were laid down once for all when it was founded—but only as to whether the Party is desirous of carrying out these tactics, of insisting upon loyalty to the latter, and of rejecting any actions or methods not in agreement with them. But it is exactly on this point that the Conference has in some instances not supported the Council, thus leaving them, the writers of the letter, no choice but to resign the mandates given by the Party.

Horrible! What can have happened? What is this mysterious group which is confusing the spirits of the Party, and has driven the four most respected leaders and founders of the Party out of the "responsible" posts of the Party Ministry? The proclamation of the four—the quartette, as it is now called in I.L.P. circles—does not mention any names, but all the world knows that the allusion is to the Grayson group. Now, who is Grayson? Who constitute his group? Wherein consists their disruptive activity?

Grayson is still quite a young man, about 27 years old, gifted, full of temperament, a born agitator, but without any sort of theoretical knowledge, no Marxist—more inclined to be an opponent of Marxism—in short, a sentimental Socialist at an age when the

wine is not yet fermented. Like all Socialists of this type—and the type is a historical one, dating far back beyond our period—he represents more the tribune of the people than the modern party man, and without being an anarchist or syndicalist, he has a great horror of parliamentarism and of the planned political struggle, which he looks upon as dirty jobbery. This horror seems to be very wide-spread in England, in spite of the prevalent fetish-worship of Parliament, and is caused by the lying and deceitful tactics of the bourgeois parties. It is more to be ascribed to this horror than to firmness of principle, that Grayson, when put up as candidate at a bye-election in the summer of 1907 by the workers of Colne Valley, a Yorkshire constituency, fought for the mandate as a declared Socialist upon an openly Socialist programme, and rejected the compromise proposed by his National Council to appear before the public as a mere "Labour candidate" according to the arrangement of the Labour Party bloc. In spite of his being boycotted by the administration of his own party, as well as that of the Labour Party, and having candidates of both the bourgeois parties opposed to him, he was elected and came into Parliament, the first representative of the workers to get in on a Socialist ticket; thus proving that the hushing-up policy of the National Council of the I.L.P. and their trade unionist colleagues of the bloc of the Labour Party is not a necessity, and occasioning great joy in the S.D.P., as well as among the Socialist elements in the I.L.P., but at least equally great annoyance among the National Council of the latter.

Since that time Grayson has come to be in permanent opposition to the heads of his party, as well as the Labour Party group in general. As he did not join the latter, they boycotted him, and on the few occasions when he spoke in the House (as a Parliamentarian he was chiefly remarkable by his absence) he always came into collision with it. As, for instance, when the English King's visit to Reval was discussed. The Labour fraction, encouraged by the Radicals, had decided on an interpellation, and as polite people (unlike the Irish who always force their questions upon the "Honourable House") they entered into negotiations with the Government as to when and under what conditions they would allow this interpellation to be discussed. The Government said they would be glad to meet the wishes of the Labour fraction; only the debate must be closed at a certain hour by the leader of the Labour Party himself, and besides, the speakers must observe a respectful tone towards the King. The group joyfully accepted the conditions, and during some hours made their speeches, which were a curious mixture of attacks upon the Anglo-Russian friendship, and loyal songs of praise to King Edward. The time for adjourning the debate had already passed, but two Liberals spoke in succession, and the leader of the Labour Group, Henderson, showed no signs of interrupting them. Suddenly

there arose from his seat, the "enfant terrible," Grayson, who might well be expected to adopt a sharp tone against the King. Immediately at a sign from the Government, Henderson rose and closed the debate. Grayson protested, but was not allowed to speak.

Grayson came into collision a second time with the Labour Party on the question of unemployment. The Labour Party had neglected this question very much, while it had supported with great enthusiasm the Government's Licensing Bill. The protests against this outside the House were becoming more frequent and violent, and one fine day when the whole House was deep in discussing a paragraph of the Licensing Bill, Grayson appeared upon the scene and announced to the House an obstruction according to the Irish pattern if it would not occupy itself, instead of with trivialities, with the unemployment question. Grayson's appearance was unexpected, and one could justly reproach him that he, who never appeared in Parliament and had let pass earlier and much more suitable occasions for a protest, had no right to dictate to his colleagues as to what they should occupy themselves with. Still, this formal reason could only be sufficient to prevent the Labour Party supporting him in his unasked-for and unforeseen protest. But these gentlemen went further, and when the leader of the House, the Prime Minister Asquith, moved Grayson's suspension, none of them uttered a syllable of protest, some refrained from voting, and the others voted for the proposition.

This, then, is Grayson. No extraordinary hero, as you see; no pioneer; though, on the other hand, not quite an ordinary human being. Whence, then, comes his popularity? How did he manage to create a state of mind in his party by which the most respected leaders have been defeated? The answer is, he has created no state of mind; he has only given expression to that state of mind which was already present; and that is why he has become popular. Perhaps the same state of mind could have been expressed much better and more worthily by a different person. As a matter of fact, the manner in which he gives expression to it is too theatrical, sometimes bordering on caricature. Still, he it was who distinctly voiced the state of mind, and he is made much of by those who agree with him—as a symbol, a standard. Nothing could be more mistaken than to see in him the leader of an opposition. He is no leader, neither can he become one. He is but a point of crystallisation, round which those elements group themselves who have something they wish to express.

What is that state of mind? Who are these elements? The state of mind is: Discontent with the tactics adopted and carried on during the last few years by the I.L.P. leaders towards the Labour Party. Here we reach a much discussed topic, which was also raised in the "Neue Zeit" a short time ago. How should a Socialist Party behave towards a Labour Party like that

in England? As Marxists we all indeed know that Socialism can only succeed as a labour movement, that Socialists do not constitute a special organisation opposed to the other labour parties, and that the Socialist idea and the organised proletariat united into a class party must go together, like—to use the striking expression of Comrade Kautsky—the connection between the final goal and the movement. In all Continental countries we have acted upon these principles, but not in England, where their application met with a hindrance in the form of the peculiar historic facts. For while in other countries it was the Socialists themselves who for the first time organised and mobilised the hitherto chaotic, or, to be quite correct, amorphous mass, the proletariat in England had already been organised and actively engaged in the political struggle for decades before the modern Socialists appeared in the historic arena. Therefore Socialism on the Continent was never for a moment separate from the general labour movement, but stood, on the contrary, in its midst as its central force, while in England it arose as something different—even something opposed. What were the English Marxists to do under these circumstances? Should they merge themselves in the Labour Party? But there was no such thing at the beginning of English Marxism, for the few trade unions which engaged in political action did not at that time constitute a special party, but only provided from among their ranks members and candidates for the Liberal Party. All then that the Socialists could do was to seek to win over the masses to themselves; and that they did. Were they successful? No. Marx himself did not succeed when he tried to unite the English labouring masses to the International. As long as the English trade unions were fighting for the suffrage, as a means of securing their right of coalition, it seemed as though Marx's attempt were destined to succeed. But no sooner was the suffrage—and what a meagre suffrage!—won, and the right of coalition secured, than the unions left the International, and the whole movement was at an end—the International was dissolved. This precedent cannot be too sharply emphasised in face of the widespread opinion that the S.D.F.'s want of success is to be attributed to its own mistakes. Ah! what Party has not made mistakes? Marx was surely free from great tactical errors, and did he fare any better? Engels, too, discontented with the S.D.F., made, after Marx's death, several attempts with the Avelings and others, to set on foot a new Socialist movement, and to mobilise the masses for an independent political struggle. How did he fare? Any better than the S.D.F.? No; a thousand times worse. Not only did all the organisations and movements die down after fluttering a little while, but the leaders, the Avelings, Bax, Morris and others, were forced to make their peace with the S.D.F. The difficulty of the S.D.F.'s task lay, not in that body and its methods, but in the historically created state of mind of the English working class, who were unreceptive to

Socialist propaganda. Therefore it is out of place to speak of mistakes on the part of the S.D.F. Kautsky, who knows English conditions much better than most critics of the S.D.F., admits this fact, but yet is of the opinion that the S.D.F. did itself a great deal of harm by its irreconcilable criticism of the trade unions. I cannot share this opinion either. In the first place it was not the trade unions that the S.D.F. criticised, but the trade union cretinism, which at that time was so wide-spread, and of which Germany has not been free from samples. The faith in trade union action, and especially trade union diplomacy, as the one means of salvation, was the principal obstacle to the political action of the masses, and how could the S.D.F. not fight against it? In the second place, if these tactics brought the S.D.F. the enmity of the trade unions, thereby injuring the former, how was it with the I.L.P., which was much more gentle in its attitude towards trade union cretinism? Was it any more successful in winning the sympathies of the unions for itself, and for Socialism? It is true that at first Engels had great hopes of this, but the hopes were not realised. The I.L.P. remained for years quite as small a group as the S.D.F., and the unions gave it quite as little attention. Therefore the alleged bitter tone adopted by the S.D.F. towards the trade unions was not a factor in the want of success of this Party's agitation among the masses.

But in the year 1900 the position changed; a Labour Party arose. Now the S.D.F. was able to put into practice the principles of the Communist Manifesto. But it did not do so, and still stands opposite the Labour Party as a separate organisation, and does not join it. Why? Let us examine the situation.

The Labour Party arose as a committee for arranging Parliamentary candidatures in which the trade unions and Socialist organisations engaged at elections. Already, there had been several times a conflict, as the trade unions put up one candidate, the Socialists another, and the local committees, which arose for electoral purposes, a third. But at that time, 1899, a General Election was expected, and as the prestige of the Liberal Party had sunk very much, and the workers expressed the eager desire, if possible, to put up candidates from their own ranks, the danger was imminent that the former confusion would increase. And so it was decided at the Trades Union Congress in 1899, and that, not on the motion of the Socialists, but of the delegation of the Railway Union, whose leader, Richard Bell, was a Liberal Member of Parliament, to appoint a committee to which the Socialist organisations also could send representatives. Thus the foundation of the Labour Party was not an event to upset the world. It was merely an attempt to organise Labour candidatures without thereby diminishing their mutual independence by any programme or leading principle. The trade unions retained the same right as before, of putting up trade union officials who were only Liberals, and the Socialist organisations were given the right of entering the Parlia-

mentary arena with their Socialist candidates. The only thing to be excluded was the putting up of rival candidatures.

This constituted the beginning of the "Labour Party." What was of the greatest value was that the trade unions openly allied themselves with the Socialists, thereby admitting that the latter stood nearer to them, in spite of everything, than the bourgeois parties. Now the moment had come when the S.D.F. could act upon the principles of the Communist Manifesto. Did it do so? Certainly. It did not for a moment hesitate to affiliate to the Committee. It affiliated, and set to work at once upon the task which its position in the Labour Party laid upon it. This task was to enlighten those proletarian elements which as yet were scarcely conscious. It said to itself: The English proletariat—that portion of it which is organised in the trade unions—is not the raw mass which one has first to organise and get into motion. It was organised long since, and has already more than once taken an active part in the political struggle. If it now organises as an independent party, this is very far from being the important step that it is on the Continent under similar circumstances. The English proletariat, as experience has shown us, may indeed constitute itself formally as a class party, and yet go hand-in-hand with the bourgeois parties, only at last to be absorbed altogether into these. What the English workers urgently need is the class-consciousness without which an independent class party is impossible, and to implant this is the first and most important task of the Socialists who are inside the Labour Party.

According to this conception of the situation, the S.D.F. tried to work in the Committee. It represented to the trade unionists how groundless and contrary to common sense a separate Labour Party was if it did not at the same time rest upon the fundamental antagonisms which divide the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, and demanded that the committee should acknowledge Socialism as the final goal of the aims of the Labour movement, and draw up a programme consisting of the demands for palliatives which had several times been formulated by the Trades Union Congresses. To its astonishment, however, in these attempts it met with the active opposition, not of the trade unionists, but of the I.L.P.! The latter entered the Committee with quite other ideas. For them the opportunity offered by this combination of all forces and funds of capturing seats in Parliament was the principal thing, and in order not to spoil this opportunity they would listen to nothing about any programme or any final goal. "Labourism" was sufficient for them. What did it matter to them that a Bell—or, indeed, a whole wing of Bells—could constitute itself in Parliament under this flag: persons who only differed technically from the Liberals, but materially marched hand-in-hand with the latter on all points? As long as a few seats might fall also to the share of the members of the I.L.P. there is no banner in the

world more beautiful than that of "Labourism." Lately comrade Beer drew the attention of the I.L.P. leaders to the fact that, according to the well-known passages in the *Sorge* correspondence and a new explanation of the Communist Manifesto, they had, in their tactics, acted as the best and truest Marxists, whose great object is the organisation of the proletariat in an independent class party. The MacDonalds, Keir Hardies and Snowdens, who up till then had no idea of Marx, and had always spoken with the greatest contempt of all Marxian theories as "cant phrases," were quite enchanted, and, like that Molière hero who did not know that he had talked prose all his life, they suddenly became enthusiastic about Marxism. Yes, they said, we are just the ones who mean to act according to the spirit of Marx. "The I.L.P.," said the quartette in its manifesto, "was formed by Socialists who wished to carry out Marxian tactics, to weld the working class together into an independent party in order to conquer political power."

What could the S.D.F. do under such circumstances? They were on a Committee—we must not forget that it was then, and for the most part still is, only a committee—in which they were but a small minority opposed to a great majority of politically unstable trade union leaders, and of Socialists who supported these. They could, with a fair hope of eventual success, measure their strength against one or other of these elements; but what chance was there of overcoming both together? None whatever. They were therefore condemned from the first to impotence—to eternal fruitless struggles and eternal and bitter quarrelling. And if, at least, the struggle had been before the public, so that the masses themselves could have decided as to the right or wrong of the warring parties! But no, the battlefield was a committee, the negotiations of which the masses could know nothing but the results, and the results were majority resolutions, with which the S.D.F., if they would act loyally, must declare themselves in agreement. It was not unlike a Parliamentary bourgeois-Socialist bloc, the harmfulness of which consists in its rendering impossible the educational work of Social-Democracy. The S.D.F. decided to withdraw from so compromising a bloc. It was not their sectarian impatience with the narrowness of the trade unionists that caused the S.D.F. to retire, as some people suppose, and as one might imagine judging at first sight from externals. It was the deep conviction that all their efforts to work for Socialism on the Committee would be in vain, and that they would only compromise themselves and their cause. It is quite safe to say that they would not have left the bloc if they had had the I.L.P. on their side at that time. It was just because the I.L.P. was against them that they could have no hope of influencing the trade unionists, and therewith their principal reason for taking part in the bloc was gone.

Certainly, as Kautsky says, they have lost a great deal through this. But this "great deal" must not be overestimated nor their gain underestimated. They are, indeed, no longer active in the central management, but in the trade unions themselves, as well as on the local committees of the Labour Party, their members are engaged in vigorous agitation. Even at the Annual Conference of the Labour Party their members sometimes appear, as representatives of trade unions, and work for their cause. It is due to them that the Labour Party has three times condemned the agitation for "ladies' suffrage," and demanded general suffrage for both sexes, and the Labour Party have them to thank that the attempt of the parliamentarians to make themselves independent of the Party, did not succeed. And at the same time the S.D.F. gained for themselves freedom to agitate, to act and to criticise, which was impossible as long as they remained in the bloc. If, in spite of the quasi-Liberal policy of the leaders, the workers have gone a good deal towards the left, and in the ranks of the I.L.P. itself a rebellion has broken out, we owe this principally to the agitation of the S.D.F. It is true that this effect of their agitation would have been still greater if they had remained in the Labour Party. Only the misfortune was that then this agitation would not have been possible at all. How could they, for instance, undertake an unemployment agitation if they were bound by a decision of the majority to work for a Licensing Bill? One can say quite for certain that the S.D.P. would either have had to forego its principles like the I.L.P., or would one day have found itself forced to leave the bloc. We know well what goes on even inside Socialist Parties between Marxists and opportunists.

And so the I.L.P. remained in possession of the field. How little the *soi-disant* Marxian tactics helped it in the solution of the problem of welding the working class into one independent party on the foundation of Labourism may be seen from the fact that at the beginning of the third year the number of the members of the Party had only increased from 375,000 to 469,000, and that the second Annual Conference was brought to an end very quickly because the delegates were very anxious to get to London in order to be present at the coronation festivities for the new king. What did save the Party from unavoidable ruin, and made it a real Labour movement, was not the I.L.P. with its Labourist tactics, but the famous Taff Vale judgment by the House of Lords in July, 1901. That was a still better means of enlightenment than the S.D.F. could ever accomplish with its agitation. For another whole year the trade unions failed to comprehend the new situation, but then they poured in great masses into the Labour Party. The number of affiliated unions rose all at once from 65, with 469,000 members, to 127, with 861,000 members, and in the following year, 1903-4, the Party already contained 165 unions with 969,000 members. Since then, it has grown to the extent of 172 unions

and a membership of 1,152,000, and the current year will bring the affiliation of hundreds of thousands of miners.

Thus it has come about, in spite of the hushing-up tactics of the I.L.P., that the Labour Party—especially since the lucky elections of 1906—has after all become a great power. Of course, the I.L.P. leaders attribute this success to their tactics, and are thus encouraged to a further strengthening of these tactics. After the unions were reinstated in their rights during the first parliamentary session, the trade unionists in the House fell back into their former Liberal ideas, and the “Socialists” followed them, in order to preserve the “unity” of the Party, and at the same time not to lose their seats. The result of the whole development was that at the present time the Labour Party represents nothing but the left wing of the Liberal Party, which fact entirely proves the original insight of the S.D.F., that the Labour Party in England must exist as a Socialist Party or not at all, to be right.

Here, after a long detour, we come to a right understanding of the events which are taking place at the present time in the ranks of the I.L.P. At first, dazzled by the outward successes of the Labour Party, the members of the I.L.P., who, in the main, are, after all, proletarians, gradually began to understand that they had paid for these successes with their Socialist principles, with their Socialist action, indeed with their very existence as a Socialist Party. Their action in putting up Grayson as a candidate outside the Labour Party bloc, was the first protest against the tactics of the I.L.P. leaders, and the enthusiasm which his victory called forth, showed how sympathetically this protest had been received. Such cases of “insubordination” have increased from year to year,* and as the leaders retaliate

* For the most part in the so-called double constituencies which elect two members, and in which, by an arrangement with the Liberals, one Liberal and one Labour member have been elected. In order not to disturb the arrangement with the Liberals for the future, the leaders never allowed a second Labour candidate to be run at bye-elections, and the local sections often revolted against this, and ignored the decision of the Party management. As the candidates put up in this way fail on account of the absence of unity, the leaders always succeed in hiding the real state of things by declaring that their objection to this and that candidature is based, not upon an understanding with the Liberals, but upon their conviction of the hopelessness of the fight. They said the same thing in the case of the severe defeat suffered at the Croydon bye-election by a Labour Candidate whose candidature had been urged upon the administration of the Party by the local section, and who had candidates of both bourgeois parties against him. Quite recently, however, a bye-election took place in Attercliffe, a Sheffield constituency. Both bourgeois parties put up their candidates, whereupon a split occurred among the Conservatives, and they ran two rival candidates. The workers there demanded a Labour candidature, but the leaders of the Party refused out of consideration for the Liberals. There was, they said, no chance of success. But the workers insisted, and at last the leaders of the Party had to give in. The Labour candidate was victorious; a proof of how to take the alleged insight of the leaders into election possibilities. It is simply an excuse in order to get out of the Liberals' way.

more and more violently against them, the discontent has become stronger. At last the idea arose in some of their minds that the I.L.P. should leave the Labour Party bloc altogether, and together with the S.D.P. and other similar organisations, form a Socialist bloc. The idea is unripe, just as its originators themselves, for instance, Grayson, are unripe; but there is more underlying it than a bit of sectarianism, as it is represented by some to be—it is the expression of the rebellion fermenting in the I.L.P. against the opportunist tactics of its leaders.

And the latter understand it very well. Having fallen quite under the hegemony of the trade unionists, and dependent, as regards their seats, upon the Liberals (as they have not educated the working-class voters), they have lately been trying to intimidate the opposition, or to captivate it by pointing to the sympathy of the international proletariat. The certificate in Marxism solemnly awarded to them by comrade Beer was a splendid trump card for them, and Kautsky's remarks at the last meeting of the International Bureau in Brussels have been suitably made use of. But neither these witnesses nor the suddenly adopted Marxian and Socialist phraseology, such as "class-conscious" and "comrade," sufficed to convince the members of the I.L.P. that their leaders are Socialists "now as ever," and the criticism of the opposition continued. At the Edinburgh Conference the differences were thrashed out. Should the I.L.P. retire from the Labour Party bloc? Should the local sections have the right to run candidates without the consent of the National Council? Should a member of the Party who is in Parliament without belonging to the bloc get a salary from the Party's treasury? Should a Grayson, who will no longer appear with the leaders of the Party, such as Keir Hardie, at public meetings, still have his name upon the official list of the Party agitators? Thus were the points of difference placed by the National Council—all upside down! Of course, the National Council had a majority. The first question was negatived by all against 10 votes, the second by 248 to 123, and the third by 332 to 64. The leaders might well be satisfied. But no! The mood of the conference was very irritable, the majorities were obtained by means of all the force of Keir Hardie and of the chairman, MacDonald, and then each time the minority was considerable and by no means propitiated. A few more such victories, and the leaders are lost. Then came the vote on the fourth question, and behold, it was affirmed by 217 votes to 194. The leaders immediately conferred together and gave in their resignation. It was of no avail that the majority of the conference declared their full unabated confidence in their tried leaders, and withdrew the last vote by 249 votes to 110. But these figures in themselves were sufficiently uncomplimentary, and the offended quartette adhered to their decision.

After the foregoing, any commentary would be superfluous.

The meaning of the action of the four members of the administration of the party is rooted much deeper than in their personality or Grayson's—it is rooted in the unbearable situation into which their opportunist policy itself has brought the I.L.P. The I.L.P. finds itself absorbed more and more by the Labour Party bloc, and as the latter tends more and more distinctly towards Liberalism, the I.L.P. itself is losing the foundation of its existence. Hence the revolt which has crystallised itself in so bizarre a form round a young man like Grayson, and hence the feeling of discomfort which has caused the Keir Hardies and MacDonalds to resign their position. It is the moral debacle of English opportunism, which could not be expressed more distinctly.

This fact is to be welcomed. It is possible that the four will return: more probably they will cut themselves off from the Party altogether, and constitute with the trade unionists and the bourgeois Radicals, a Radical-Socialist wing.* In any case, their tactics will no longer dominate the I.L.P. And this fact will gradually alter the position of the I.L.P. in the bloc, thereby making it possible for the S.D.P. to join the Labour Party. For like comrade Kautsky, most of the S.D.P. leaders realise that their existence outside the Labour Party is an anomaly, and if they have hitherto remained outside it was because the problem that Kautsky declares an impossible one, becomes, under certain circumstances, actual: Whether to share with a large Labour Party confusion and even worse things, and to renounce a clear-cut Socialist agitation among the masses, or rather to remain a small organisation, but to work unhindered towards the Socialist enlightenment of the proletariat? The degeneration of the Labour Party on the one hand, and the rebellion in the ranks of the I.L.P. on the other, have proved that the S.D.F.'s attitude towards this problem was a quite correct one; the mere fencing in of the proletariat into one Party has led to nothing, while the I.L.P. is now discovering that, as a political Party, it already stands on the brink of a chasm. But if the I.L.P. will now renounce its principle of "Labourism" and announce its readiness to work for Socialism inside the Labour Party bloc, the foundation will be created upon which the S.D.P. could collaborate. For it would then only have the trade union leaders to fight against, and allied with the I.L.P. it would be a match for these.

THEODOR ROTHSTEIN (in the "Neue Zeit").

* Since this was written, George Lansbury has expressed in a Christian newspaper his conviction that some members of the Labour Party will soon sit with some Radicals in a coalition Ministry.

THE REVIEWS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA: AN ALLIANCE OR AN ILLUSION.

Dr. Dillon, under the above heading, has the following to say in the current issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The most momentous event in the world's history since the conclusion of the Treaty of Portsmouth is believed by many serious students of politics to have been the visit of the Duma deputies to England. Their sojourn in this country, we are assured, brief though it was, "has drawn the two nations so closely together than an Anglo-Russian Alliance in everything but the form is now as good as concluded. Henceforth, whenever the one Power is threatened, the other may be relied upon to spring to its assistance with all its effective resources, and as France is the ally of each, the three great States are one for purposes of defence." The new Triple Alliance is, therefore, an accomplished and a formidable fact, and the wierd Teutonic spectre that so long haunted and terrified pacific Europe has at last been laid. So confidently is this view of the modified situation accepted, or at any rate professed, in high quarters abroad, that certain responsible statesmen have, to my knowledge, blithely declared that they consider it superfluous to have a formal treaty drafted in the presence of such harmony of national sentiment and such identity of national interest and aims. The three are already one. *Sursum corda!*

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But whatever good may have been achieved by the visit of the Deputies is but as dust in the balance compared with what still remains to be attempted. For secular prejudice against us, among the Czar's subjects, is still widespread and, in some places, intense. Nor could it be otherwise. Only four, nay three, years ago we were still hated most cordially by the bulk of the Russian people as the arch-enemy of the Great Slav nation, and it would be little less than a miracle if this feeling had vanished in the course of three short years, leaving no trace behind. In truth, the English are not yet popular in Russia. Bitterness against them is but slowly abating. Mistrust of their policy is ingrained. Accusations against their Government find a ready ear. The

words "Japanese War," "The Dogger Bank," the "Dardanelles," still evoke unpleasant recollections.

The friendship of one devoted band of northern Slavs, however, we possess, and are likely long to keep—that of the pushing group of Russian reformers, democratic and other, whose avowed aim is the constitutional overthrow of the present régime and the establishment of popular Government. These pioneers of Parliamentarism in Russia look to us for moral sympathy in their struggle against the Czar's rule, in their systematic endeavours to extend their own rights at the cost of his prerogatives. As the English people have already fought a similar good fight against their kings, and come out victorious, they turn to us for encouragement and guidance. And they have not sought for it in vain. Obviously there is an eclectic affinity between Russian parliamentarians and the British people. They both dearly love popular rule and entertain a strong opposite feeling for whatever stands in the way of that.

And here we come to the main point. For those who ardently desire a change in Russia's attitude towards the British nation, the transformation of the entente into an alliance, formal or informal, but real, it is of essential importance to have on their side the co-operation of him who can truly say "Russia. I am Russia. I am the pilot of the ship of State, which I will continue to steer without reference to the conflicting velleities of this crew." For despite Constitution and Duma, October manifestoes, and fundamental laws, or, it may well be, because of them, the Czar is no less powerful to-day than he was before the revolutionary outbreak of 1905. Indeed, his authority is greater, more real, because the new machinery by which it is now being exercised runs more smoothly than the old. Accordingly, the foreign as well as the domestic policy of the Government is essentially what he wishes it to be. And he pays no heed to the programmes and schemes of parties or deputies who owe their political existence, not to the confidence of the nation, but to the electioneering calculations of his Premier.

Those marplots will probably fare somewhat better when they set themselves to prove that the tendency of the friendship between the progressive Duma Deputies and the British people is to brace the former in their struggle against the autocracy, and to bring foreign public opinion to bear against the autocrat, and that the closer these friendly relations become, the more vigorous will grow the aggressive action of the Russian Chamber. Even now, they affirm, British public opinion is being used as a weapon in the struggle. Already the people in these islands who regard with strong disfavour absolutist Russia's intervention in Persia are burning to see constitutional England interfere with the governing of Russia. *Quod licet jovi non licet bovi.* Russian absolutism,

it is further alleged, is distinctly unpopular throughout Europe, with the exception of Germany and Austria. There the monarchical tradition is still a living force. There the Government speaks a language which is music to the ears of Russian Conservatives. There if a bombist, an anarchist, or a conspirator from the Czarism is "wanted" by the Czar's police, he is watched, followed, and arrested, and expelled. The Czar, on the contrary, is made much of, is welcomed as a monarch by Divine right, and his relatives are received by corresponding honours. In England it is otherwise. Here the Russian pauper, liable to expulsion, is welcomed if only it can be shown that he is a genuine bomb-thrower, whereas the Czar's visit provokes a venomous protest which has no counterpart in Germany, even among the Socialists there. In Western countries arguments of this character would be ruled out of the Court before which the question of the nation's foreign policy should come up. They would be dismissed as irrelevant. But in Russia, where domestic and foreign problems have not yet been disentangled, they are not devoid of force. And it will hardly be gainsaid that Russian monarchists can adduce specious arguments in support of their contention that Germany, who sends them princes and princesses, is Russia's true friend, not England, whence they import horses and democratic maxims.*

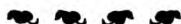
More telling because more specious is the mode of reasoning adopted by the keener and subtler minds of the party, by men of the type of the late P. Schwanebach. The only question that really matters, argue these politicians, is what line of action is most conducive to the welfare of the Russian Empire : a Germanophile or an Angloophile policy or the golden mean ; the maintenance of a status of intimate good fellowship with the Teutons and of tactical goodwill towards the British. And to this momentous query the answer seems to them so obvious that it would be a waste of words to discuss it. The entente, they admit, is an excellent compact, so far as it goes, being about equally advantageous to both parties to it. Great Britain, freed from the nightmare of a Russian invasion of India and Afghanistan, may cut down her expenditure for defence. Russia, on her side, is glad to avail herself of the golden stream that France and England can turn on to the Treasury of the Czar in the shape of loans, or to the industrial and commercial undertakings of his subjects in the form of investments. The bargain, in a word, is

* The Press organ of the reactionary party, "*Russkoye Znamya*," writes : "During the troubles of 1905 Wilhelm II. had ample opportunity to meddle in Russian affairs with evil intent. But he refrained from utilising it ; nay, he tendered the friendly advice to string up the Russian revolutionary rabble to the gallows more energetically. It was only thanks to his co-operation that the Poles were taught a wholesome lesson, and, if they shrunk from proclaiming a rebellion, it was uniquely from fear of being crushed by Germany. It was only in consequence of the powerful support given by the German Kaiser that the Jews failed to secure equality in Russia, and that is why, in order to curry favour with England, they have been so eager to egg on Russians against Germany."

fair, and should, therefore, be observed in the spirit in which it was concluded. But it connotes no more than its name implies, and is not meant to stand a severer test than that under which it broke down last March. It is an instrument for the abatement of friction, a cork fender to deaden the shock of two ships of State, a *modus vivendi*. It should not be allowed, they add, to ripen into an alliance, because such a development of Russia's foreign policy would be tantamount to an international revolution and national suicide. And the merest common sense unleavened by the higher statesmanship should be enough to enable a community to recoil from suicide.

Now, if this interpretation of Anglo-Russian relations be correct, it should be known to the British nation and thoroughly realised. If to Russia Germany is sacred and inviolable, there is nothing more to be said about the entente. Looking fairly and squarely at the situation, one cannot but see that the only State against which there is any real danger of our being confronted on the battlefield is Germany. Eliminate this contingency, and the need of a heavy naval expenditure vanishes, and with it the need of costly alliances. Even inveterate pacifists no longer challenge the proposition that if there be any danger to the peace and liberties of Europe, it lurks in the Wilhelmstrasse. True, we have been assured by Englishmen fresh from German banquets and excursions that the bulk of the Kaiser's subjects are as peace-loving as ourselves, that they turn with horror from the perspective of a war with their kindred beyond the sea, and that we may calmly stake our interests on their will and power to veto such a fratricidal campaign, if their Government were iniquitous enough to undertake it. But to this optimistic forecast history and observation impel us to demur. The German people never yet hindered the German Government from deliberately bringing on a war when the odds against the future adversary seemed sufficient to ensure certain victory. Say what we may about the value and need of honesty in international dealings, and of enlightened humanity, ennobling political aims, maxims of this nature have not hitherto been found to coincide with what German or indeed Continental statesmen deem the best interests of their respective communities. Hence they frankly follow others. And, like unrighteous mortals in the days of Job, their countries live and thrive, and their horn is exalted. Now this is fact which our optimists are prone to blink. All that Germany's friends can urge on her behalf is that the ethics of her Government are in harmony with public opinion on the Continent, which allows Ministers in time of peace the same dispensations from the laws of ethics which it accords to generals and admirals in time of war. Germany's admirers may urge that her scheme of a United States of Europe, under the control of Berlin, is a desirable consummation. They may compare it with the dream dreamt by Henry the Fourth of France of a Christian Republic and its august Senate. Or her enemies may indulge in violent invective against the

brutality of the Prussian who is about to set his heel on the neck of Europe. But friends and foes alike admit that the vast design of a Prussianised Europe has been conceived and thought out, and that it is now moving apace towards realisation.



POLITICAL ASSASSINATION IN LONDON.

J. D. Rees, M.P., has an interesting article under the above heading in this month's issue of the "Fortnightly Review." He says:—

At the very time when the campaign of calumny and misrepresentation has produced its natural, if not legitimate and immediate fruit, in cruel and callous assassinations in the heart of London, a little volume appears, entitled "India," by J. Keir Hardie, M.P., published by the Independent Labour Party, and giving such an account of the rule of India by our fellow-countrymen as would indeed justify wholesale revolt, and, if anything could, almost palliate assassination. Readers of this surely undervalued shillingsworth of misrepresentation are informed that there is no antipathy between Hindus and Mohammedans, but that "the policy now being pursued by the Government is to show special favour to the latter," that "the people of India derive no benefit from the interest paid on British capital invested in railways, irrigation works, and the like," that "the taxes raised directly from the peasants amount to not less than 75 per cent. of the harvest," which figure would be almost correct if a decimal point were placed between the first and second unit; that "the Government wrings the last penny from the overweighed peasant, and keeps him in a position of perpetual, hopeless, grinding poverty, in such a state of abject destitution as is probably not to be equalled in any other country in the world"; of the rather numerous countries in which, presumably, the writer has exceptional experience and information. The average annual income of the Indian peasant, whose expenses for board, lodging, and clothing are infinitesimal, is compared with the incomes of peasants in countries in the North of Europe, where either food or clothing cost far more than the total expenses of the inhabitants of the tropics. Again, our Government of India, the chief fault of which is that it is over elaborate, is described as "similar to that meted out to half-developed savages." The reduction of the very moderate military expenditure is urged; but this, of course, is common to all those professing that sinister creed called by the specious name Internationalism, which implies the renunciation of all patriotism, and, as it seems to me, of all public and most private virtues. Mr. Keir Hardie upholds, as an example of native rule, Mysore, apparently in complete ignorance of the fact

that it was for fifty years immediately under practically British administration, and is still governed in almost all respects after the British fashion.

The figures of mortality are used without any reference to the enormous totals with which they should be compared. The deaths from plague, which is said to be due to the growing poverty of the people under British rule, are not compared with the mortality from fever, which, for some reason or other it seems, cannot be ascribed in like manner to our misgovernment. Yet fever kills ten men to one who dies of the plague. No matter! The author, in his dogmatic way, asserts that "plague is in the main due to hunger, and that is a condition of things which our system of Government of India must be held responsible." A hot-headed, half-educated, ignorant student, believing that a Member of Parliament is necessarily a competent observer and responsible writer, may well be inflamed by such statements as this, and induced thereby to join in unlawful conspiracies, some members of which may, in a further accession of perverted patriotism, strike a fatal blow. That the Member of Parliament does not contemplate this consummation matters not at all. Such writings as his supply the text for the precious justifications of which Dhingra has just presented Britain with a specimen.

We are beginning to learn in England that assassination of officials does not necessarily connote the great wickedness of their ways. But the blind hostility displayed by the Labour Party against the Czar of Russia is another manifestation of Internationalism run mad, and of inability to take circumstances into account, or to look beyond the back garden wall.

. . . . What effect are writings of this class likely to have upon young, hot-headed students?

It is a fact that these writings are not obnoxious to the law; but there should be a compelling power of public opinion in this country; and it should be impossible for public men to complicate and enhance the inherent difficulties of the task of their fellow-countrymen in governing India.

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WOMEN'S PRIVILEGES AND "RIGHTS."

An anonymous lady writing over the signature "Fair Play" treats the readers of the "Social-Democrat" to what an admirer describes as a "spirited reply" to my article "Why I am an Anti-Suffragist." There is one thing for which I am grateful to my "spirited" opponent and that is that she has the candour to throw overboard at starting the hollow pretence that sex-equality is the aim of the female-suffragists. "Women demand," she says, "both deference from, and equality with, men." So there we have it. She goes on to state that they lay claim to this "deference" on the ground of their sex. Socialists who profess to believe in equality and also in Feminism, please note! This "deference" to sex she apparently claims on the ground of chivalry, but here I would remind "Fair Play" that, as she herself points out, chivalry has nothing to do with sex as such. Chivalry may exact a "deference" toward a sick or an aged woman as it may toward a sick or infirm man. But the attempt to make it run on the lines of sex-distinction is untenable on any rational ground. An

ordinary healthy strong woman has no more claim to be an object of special chivalry than an ordinary healthy strong man. If men are muscularly stronger than women, women are, as has often been pointed out, constitutionally stronger than men. Women can bear much severer strains than men can, with impunity. The recuperative power of the female organism is well-known to physiologists.

But there is a curious zeal on the part of Feminists to insist on this point of the muscular inferiority of women to men while indignantly repudiating inferiority in all other directions. Thus "Fair Play": "But though nature has handicapped women physically, she has not done so as far as brains are concerned." Now as far as most persons' observation and reading of well-known facts are concerned, it is indubitable that they point, *prima facie*, to an, at least, equally great, if not greater, mental inferiority to men than the physical (muscular) inferiority—so strongly emphasised by Feminists. It is neither less nor more easy to rebut or contest the physical inferiority than it is the mental. The reason of the aforesaid procedure on the part of Feminists is, however, not far to seek. The only semblance of ground for the privileging of women, for their exemption from all the disagreeable duties of citizenship, is this ground of physical weakness. But when it comes to the question of mental weakness that is quite another story. Although we might naturally expect inferiority on the physical side to involve inferiority on the psychical side also, not perhaps in any given individual, but taking the sex as a whole, and although facts point to, at least, equally great mental as physical inferiority between the average woman and the average man, we are nevertheless asked to ignore all these considerations, and in a humble and contrite spirit accept the Feminist dogma that women, while physically weaker, are mentally as good as men—with the practical corollary, of course, that while all honourable or remunerative functions ought to be open to women, they are to be

jealously guarded from all arduous occupations as also from the legal consequences of their own criminal or tortious acts.

I instanced the Tooting tramway incident as an act of commendable pluck on the part of those concerned in it to boldly challenge the attempt of woman's righters to "jump the claim" to chivalry as a special right of the sex they champion. But there is another point Feminists conveniently overlook. It is this: That granting the "weakness" argument, this very weakness, to whose claim chivalry may per se be granted, forfeits its claim when it presumes upon that claim and becomes aggressive. Aggressive weakness deserves no quarter—à la guerre, comme à la guerre.

"Fair Play" indulges in the usual talk about the injustice of women who pay taxes not having votes. "No taxation without representation" has been, as we all know, the political mot d'ordre of the middle classes in their struggle for independence against noble and monarch. It is the affirmation of the dependence of political power on acquired property; but the modern Socialist is precisely engaged in combating the notion of basing political rights on a property qualification at all, so for him, at least, the argument in question can have no special weight. For the rest, the terrible grievance of taxation without representation seems to me, in any case, somewhat exaggerated. I rent a humble dwelling in a French town, for which I duly pay my "*impôt de l'état*," without any right to vote for candidates for the Chamber; but yet, strange to say, I don't feel myself groaning under a particularly monstrous injustice. Provided the recognised governmental functions of protection, etc., are duly carried out, I fail to see that the payment of a moderate tax for them involves such an outrageous violation of rectitude as many other things in our present social order. Taxes rest on private property, which is guaranteed to the holders by the existing State. Hence it seems not unnatural that all possessed of private property should pay proportionate taxes, quite apart

from the question of direct representation. When the State levies a personal or blood tax—e.g., conscription—it is quite a different matter. This does not rest on property, but on the personal life and labour of the individual. Here a claim to direct personal participation in the machinery of government is infinitely stronger. But an obligatory personal service of this nature the State never claims from women.

Women bear children, it is said. Good. But there is no governmental compulsion that they should do so. They do so in the performance of a natural function, not as a public duty. All that the State demands of women in this connection is that they shall not kill their babies when they have them, and even this is considered hard on the poor, oppressed creatures (cf., the Daisy Lord agitation). The absurdity of comparing the risks of childbed with those of the battlefield and its horrors, only shows the extremities to which Feminists are reduced for weapons to refute a very obvious and straightforward argument.

"Fair Play" commends Georges Sand for her disregard of convention in her life. But who is it that most slavishly licks the boots of Mrs. Grundy in questions, say, of free marriage, in which Georges Sand so conspicuously (and rightly as I think) asserted her claim to personal freedom? Just women! It is precisely on the ground of the servile puritanism of women to conventional moral shibboleths that many persons, not otherwise adverse to woman suffrage, dread any increase in the direct influence of women in public affairs. "Fair Play," like other Feminist advocates, seizes upon questions of minor social "deferences" and carefully omits to notice the main indictment of anti-suffragists, namely, the privileged legal position of women under "man-made law" and administration, a position which the avowed aim of Suffragists is to strengthen and extend. The woman, who is alleged to be mentally equal to man, is excused the legal punishment for her crime because she is a woman. A workman was hanged in Ireland last week

for flogging his female child to death ; a woman a few years ago, also in Ireland, in a well-known cause célèbre, for a precisely similar offence, viz., torturing a child to death, got twelve months' imprisonment. Let "Fair Play" defend such iniquities as this (which, in a minor form, are occurring weekly and daily) if she dare ! The W.S.P.U. would presumably, while maintaining the death sentence on the man, reduce that of the woman to three months' imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanor !

The cant about "brute force" is not impressive. As "Fair Play" must know, "brute force" is the final appeal of every institution and every right. What Feminists want is to have the "brute force" at the disposal of men exercised in favour of women. They want to set men to "bully" other men into submission to the demands of the female sex. This is the true meaning of the agitation for the franchise. It is not a question of sweet reasonableness *versus* brute force, but of brute force exercised on behalf of one sex rather than another. Suffragists want to place the female sex in a position to legislate, i.e., to command the brute force of the State (wielded by men) in their own interests. Hence the denunciation of "man-made law" which already gives woman a position of legal domination over the man, but not enough apparently to satisfy the rapacious will-to-power possessed by the Feminist members of the sex !

The task of Feminism is to paint a privileged sex in the colours of an oppressed one. Naturally this difficult task can only be accomplished by a game of "bluff" of the most impudent kind and by the wholesale "hocussing" of public opinion by falsehoods, and at the same time by the most strenuous attempts to prevent the light of fact being let in. Of the latter there has been evidence only recently within the S.D.P. in the demand of Mr. Herbert Burrows at the Conference that the pamphlet published by the Twentieth Century Press, "The Legal Subjection of Men"—in which the present state of the law and its

administration as between the sexes is given—should be suppressed, and also in the representations made to the Editor from a “Women’s Committee” of the body that I should be muzzled and any statement of mine adverse to Feminism be excluded from the party organs. For the former we have only to consult the current literature of Feminism in the daily and weekly press. The desperate attempt to secure privileges for the Suffragettes is a topical case in point.

Those who “gas” most about “political” offences and “first-class” prison treatment know perfectly well (1) that there is not and never has been any distinction in English law or custom drawn between “political” and other offences as regards prison treatment. They know well enough that men galore, among them Socialist speakers imprisoned for the technical offence of obstruction, have had no “first-class” treatment and that no one has suggested they should have. They also know (2) that even if the distinction as to “political” imprisonment existed—breaking windows, assaulting the police, persistent personal molestation, etc., could not possibly be regarded as other than common law offences obnoxious to an ordinary common-law punishment. In fact, the sympathisers with Suffragettism are quite aware that they are playing a comedy in the hope of hoodwinking public opinion. This comedy became screaming farce when Mr. Keir Hardie posed as the innocent and indignant redresser of female wrongs, and suggested to the Home Secretary that the law needed amending to raise prison treatment of women to a level with that of men! Fancy these petted and pampered hussies—who, after deliberately breaking the law, are allowed to assault warders, throw their food and utensils out of window, having previously smashed the same—with practical impunity—having then only to go without their dinners for a day or two in order to have their sentences of two or three months remitted; and think of what would happen to a man did he venture upon but a tithe of the outrages these despicable females on the hunt for cheap

martyrdom allow themselves with perfect assurance, relying upon their sex immunity and the limitless forbearance of male authorities! Heroism is a cheap commodity when one knows beforehand there is no danger of any unpleasantness worth speaking of, no matter what one does. For men the lash, the plank-bed and weeks of semi-starvation and solitary confinement! For women, at worst, a few days of arrest in cells, the airiness and comfort of which the Secretary of State personally supervises! And yet there are Socialists who profess to think it unjust that a section of the community, weltering in privilege of every description, should not, at the same time, be accorded the political rights accruing to the section deprived of these advantages. Truly, there is no accounting for the operations of sex-prejudice in certain minds. No, no, my "spirited" female friend, justify the name you have assumed and show us that you have a distant notion, at least, of what constitutes "Fair Play," as regards this question!

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL OUTLOOK IN AUSTRALIA.

(Continued from last issue.)

Now, I wish to give the position of the Socialist Federation of Australia.

Prior to the formation of the Socialist Federation two years ago, there was a feeling amongst many Socialists in Australia, perhaps more particularly with the "unattached," that the various Socialist parties, like those of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and elsewhere, ought to unite their forces, and this occasionally found expression in the columns of "Justice." Those of us in the thick of the fight were conscious that the long distances between the capital cities made it more difficult to have an interchange of speakers, to unite upon one good paper for the movement, or to agree not only on principle but also upon methods of propaganda, than if these long distances were not a fact. Still the effort was made in 1907 in Melbourne, and the first conference was held bringing together the International Socialist Club of Sydney, the Victorian Socialist Party, and the Broken Hill Socialist Group, these three bodies have continued in the Federation and are members at the present time.

Delegates attended the first conference from the Socialist Labour Party of Sydney, but they decided not to become part of the Federation. The Brisbane Vanguard had proxy delegates, but they decided to continue to work with the Labour Party and did not join the Federation. New Zealand last year and again this year, at their Easter Conference, carried a resolu-

tion to federate with the S.F.A. Western Australia had proxy delegates from the Social-Democratic Association, but they too, like Queensland, preferred to work with the Labour Party.

We have had two years development, and it turns out that only those who joined the S.F.A. are doing any real Socialist propaganda (except the S.L.P. of Sydney). Victoria continues to head the list in membership and all-round propagandist activities.

When I left Melbourne in October last to organise in Broken Hill, comrade Bob Ross took up the editorship of the "Socialist" in Melbourne, and became Secretary of the Victorian Socialist Party. I should like here to direct the attention of comrades in the old country to the fact that we have in R. S. Ross a comrade of whom it would be impossible to speak too highly, he is exceptionally well read, keeps in touch with the movement internationally, is a good platform man, but superb as an editor. As soon as he can command time he will no doubt favour the readers of the "Social-Democrat" with an article.

In Harry Scott Bennett, the lecturer for the Sydney comrades, every week at indoor and outdoor gatherings, we have also an excellent propagandist. Scott Bennett is good with the pen, but stands right in the very front rank as a lecturer on scientific and Socialist subjects. Our comrade Harry Holland, who was the General Secretary of the S.F.A., as you will have learned, is now undergoing a sentence in Albany Gaol for alleged "sedition" when addressing a meeting outside the gaol at Broken Hill, in which a lady comrade was serving a month's imprisonment in connection with the Broken Hill dispute. I find that comrade Ben Tillett has given an admirable pen-picture of Harry Holland in "Justice" of May 15. Ben's description is correct in every particular. Comrade Holland is sentenced to two years, and it is pleasing to see that a subscription list is opened in "Justice" as further evidence of the international spirit of comradeship.

Comrade Holland's family consists of Mrs. Holland and seven children, the eldest a son of 19 years, the youngest a little fellow of two years.

Two years ago the Conference of S.F.A. endorsed the preamble of the "Industrial Workers of the World"; at the conference just held this was withdrawn, and the endorsement of Industrial Unionism was carried in its stead, and to make clear the Federation's attitude in this regard the following appeared in a manifesto issued by the conference: "We declare that before there can be any real chance of grappling effectively with the capitalist system in Parliaments, the organisation of the workers economically, on a basis broader and firmer, and with a more virile spirit than has hitherto been the case, is vitally necessary. We hold that those Socialists of America and Europe are correct who declare that industrial organisation is at the present of greater importance than political action, as the workers have no hope of getting ownership and control of industry until they have the sense to demand it and *organise in the industrial establishments to use it*. When they are thus ready then they may utilise Parliament to give legal effect to the workers' Acts in the shops, factories and mines, and then Parliaments, as we now have them, i.e., capitalist institutions, to enable them to govern the workers, will have completed their work, and Parliaments of industry will be formed by the workers, by which the industries necessary for a real co-operative commonwealth will be carried on."

This does not mean that the Socialists here will slacken in their propagandist efforts, but it means that the utmost encouragement will be given to all to become members of the industrial organisations, to get the rules altered where necessary so that all unions shall be ready for common action, not in one department only but in all, and use their power as good sense shall decide. The nauseating drivel to which citizens are treated out here from Labour politicians is sufficient to sicken one of Parliament and all that it

chloroforms, and it appears to be much the same with you in Britain.

Then again, we are great admirers of the German Social-Democratic Party, but it does seem to be terribly slow to move, and if a similar body, say, these same three millions and a quarter of men, were solidly organised industrially, and prepared to *use their power now*, such glorious activities must ensue as would completely change the conditions of Europe. Some of us who have admired the German Social-Democratic Party for 20 years on end would be grateful for additional reasons for further admiration; but merely to record votes, to issue millions of pamphlets and Socialist papers, the readers of which take absolutely no action, is too trying, and a few of us, at any rate, prefer to die in healthy activity, if need be, rather than hand on the glories and dangers of the fight to our children.

And the cumbersome, stodgy trade union movement of Great Britain, how much vitalising and solidifying it requires. I wonder how many agreements there are just now stipulating that those workers covered by them must, on no account, take action until the expiry of the agreement. I do not know, but I reckon there are quite as many agreements as unions, i.e., 1,140. Some of the unions, like the Amalgamated Engineers, Boilermakers, and builders' unions, have a dozen or more agreements between sections of their own members and the employers, terminable, of course, at different periods, so that what is called organisation absolutely prevents solidarity, and is a direct and positive cause of sectionalism, and therefore a most mischievous influence. *All these agreements must go* and no more of the kind be entered into, whether endorsed or ratified by Board of Trade or other legal machinery; they are utterly pernicious, whether legal or voluntary. This, in my opinion, is the lesson to be learned and acted upon without delay; and genuine district federations of all unions are urgently needed. Those unions that provide a variety of benefits other than the economic or industrial must alter their rules if need be and keep

friendly society benefits entirely apart from the industrial. The next step is to realise that we must organise as an industry and not as separate trades with separate interests in each industry, and then link the industries together and *prepare for action*.

Here in Australasia, as with you in Britain, we have trades and labour councils, but what real good are they? Mere affiliation carries nothing with it; the votes of delegates very rarely commits the society or union represented. We want something more definite and workmanlike than a mere loose affiliated body, to receive appeals for sectional unions and discuss the pros and cons as to whether appeals shall be sent to the other sectional bodies to get money for them, when they deliberately refuse to help them in the only helpful fashion by showing solidarity by throwing down their tools. The fact is, the vast majority of the trade unionists have never given a serious thought to the formation of a real fighting force, to wrest from the capitalist class the position they have usurped. The two and a-half millions of unionists in Britain to-day could be doubled in a year if a real crusade were entered upon on scientific lines, but when one hears representative men speak contemptuously of industrial unionism, and place the hopes of the workers upon Parliamentary action exclusively, I could almost pray for the spirit of my more virile savage forefather, than meekly take a place among the mugwumps of constitutionalism.

As regards the outlook here in Australia, I am glad to say that there is now constant discussion taking place in the unions and on the councils as to the necessity for this broader relationship, and many of us are watching events in other countries, and we greatly admired the readiness and solidarity shewn by the postal workers of Paris. This can and will be improved upon a hundredfold, but it was encouraging to find somebody who dared to go in the teeth of wretched convention and smug artificiality.

The Socialist propagandists here, now that the southern mid-winter has gone, will begin out-door

work with increased vigour, and you will be glad to know the number who now give careful attention to the international aspect of the movement is increasing rapidly. The conference last week decided to endeavour to establish business relations with the Socialist publishing houses of America and Europe. We get much helpful literature from Kerr and Co. of Chicago. It is easier to get a hearing for Socialism here in Australia now that America can be quoted as active in the field.

This year South Australia was represented at the Socialist Conference, one of the delegates so acting being Percy Laidler, of Melbourne, who has been for a long time connected with the Socialist Party of Victoria. Comrade Laidler has now been appointed by the Socialists of Broken Hill to act as organiser for them, and has begun his duties this week. The expense of travel makes it difficult to cover Australia by an organiser, but this is receiving attention too. Also, we are not unmindful of the fact that the next International Socialist Conference takes place next year at Copenhagen, and we are hopeful of sending someone to speak for Australian Socialism, and show that the old-time conceit of race superiority is giving way to intelligence. It has been a hard and long row to hoe, as nearly every paper claiming to be really Australian exhibits an insularity and a superficiality that has hitherto proved sufficient to satisfy; but the persistent propaganda work, the devotion of the advocates, the late industrial collapse in the United States, and the growth of the Socialist movement there, as well as in Europe, all have materially helped to secure listeners to the revolutionary gospel. Out here we feel in a serious sense shut off from the great stream of human life, for, after all, what are four millions of people scattered over three millions of square miles? Would that wireless messages could be at our service that we might more frequently and extensively share in the joys and trials, the anxieties and pleasures of the multitudinous activities of the world movement.

But no complaints, only encouragements. Go on comrades in your great and glorious work. We wish we could report a greater progress here, but, at least, we can say we joyfully carry the blood-red banner, and we share with you the ennobling aspirations, the sturdy strivings, the inspiring endeavours to help men and women who yearn for that better State, which we of the Socialist faith are confident will soon be ours and all men's.

Pardon a personal reference, but the fight here and at Port Pirie was arduous and long drawn out, and then came the Albury trial with eight days in the dock and as many nights in the cell, and when, on acquittal, I received a bunch of telegrams and a cable from the Bristol Conference delegates of the S.D.P., I was exceedingly pleased at their kindly thought, and I ask permission to be allowed to thank those comrades through the columns of the "Social-Democrat."—Yours for the Social Revolution,

TOM MANN.

SOME FIRST EFFECTS OF GERMANY'S NEW TAXES.

At last, even the average long-suffering and trusting German, with his child-like faith that "the Government knows what it is about," is shaken in his convictions. The latest Budget, by which over 300 million marks are to be raised solely by indirect taxation of necessities, throwing an almost unbearable burden on the poorer classes, and coming so close on the heels of last year's promises of "not another pfennig indirect taxation," has awakened first consternation and then gradually increasing indignation.

Even the most stolidly and narrowly patriotic Germans—those whose childhood has been spent in an atmosphere of Imperialism and Hohenzollern worship, who have learnt little else at school but a glorified history of Germany, a quantity of jingo songs, and the art of shouting "hurrah" on the frequent school holidays given in honour of the visit of this and that potentate, and who have developed in later life into blindly enthusiastic members of the thousand and one patriotic associations for the fostering of militarism, fleet-building, and general exaltation of the one and only Fatherland—even these are waking up and looking round. They are still convinced, from the bottom of their souls, of the necessity of keeping up the Dreadnought competition; they still consider being ruled by blatant militarism as the happiest possible condition; they still regard the stamping out of East African natives as a noble work of culture, but to their own amazement a doubt is stealing over them as to the methods by which money is being raised for these desirable objects.

The Budget forced on the Reichstag by the Conservative-Clerical great landowner combination consists, besides about

100 million marks on dividend warrants, bill stamps, and other means of traffic and money circulation, of the following :—

| | mill. marks |
|---|-------------|
| Beer tax | 100 |
| Tax on spirits | 80 |
| Tobacco tax | 43 |
| Duty on coffee and tea | 37 |
| Tax on matches | 25 |
| Tax on incandescent lighting bodies | 20 |
| Champagne tax | 5 |

Besides this, 55 million marks are gained by retaining the sugar and railway ticket taxes, supposed to be done away with or reduced. The taxes on bill stamps, cheques, etc., affect practically all classes except actual paupers; the small business man or saving workman being crippled by dues which are mere drops in the ocean to rich exchange merchants. Even where these taxes are apparently aimed at capital they will react largely on the masses. The dividend and interest warrant tax will, for instance, also affect mortgage loans, thus exercising an unfavourable influence on building activity, and leading eventually to raised rents. The tax on property transference will have a similar effect.

Thus, of the total sum of over 450 millions new taxes, 310 millions fall directly, the remainder indirectly, on the poorer classes. The sole tax proposed, which would have affected the well-to-do only, the inheritance tax, was unconditionally rejected by Conservatives and Clericals, and without the slightest veneer. Whilst the Conservative papers have long been trying to smooth down the rejection of the inheritance tax with a variety of soft soap about depriving widows and orphans of their dear departed's well-earned savings, the parliamentary representative of the Conservatives openly stated in the debate that his party would not place such a weapon in the hands of a Parliament elected by equal suffrage. After this open declaration—after this enormous burden of new taxes on the necessities of life—who can maintain that there is no class war? This is the Budget of a fully class-conscious section of the community, a class pursuing their own interests only, and not caring for Kaiser or people, Government or Chancellor, so long as their own private property and privileges remain untouched. It might perhaps have been more diplomatic of these junkers if they had conceded a little more on this occasion, and avoided the storm of indignation now raging; but they are so fully

conscious of having the upper hand at the moment that they scarcely find it necessary to disguise their class-interested manoeuvres. They are long accustomed to ruling Parliament in unassailable combination with the faithful Clericals; to them the Kaiser and his Government are only so many marionettes, and their sole tactic with regard to a Minister who opposes them is "to make it uncomfortable for him till he goes." And, on this occasion, they felt themselves doubly secure; their majority in the present Reichstag is safe, and they need have no fear of bringing about a dissolution of Parliament by defeating the Government. For the poor, weak, self-contradictory Government, having been forced to give sops to various of the parties of the left, and driven into making proposals for taxes which, at heart, they were not really wanting so very much, dared not appeal to the country, for the absurd reason that they feared the country agreed *too* heartily with them. From their point of view, they would have got altogether too much of a good thing, and the number of Social-Democrats who would have been in the new Parliament would have been as disagreeable to them as to their opponents. Anything rather than more Socialists! Better swallow defeat; dismiss the Chancellor; and then see how the country is to be pacified.

The Conservatives and Clericals have calculated well so far, it only remains to be seen if the country will have forgotten when the next election comes in three years' time. It may be that the law-abiding and authority-worshipping German patriot will swallow any pill gilded with the glory of the Fatherland, and think it just and right to pay any amount of fees so long as he has to fill in half-a-dozen forms about them, and waste no end of time running from one public building to another interviewing insolent officials. Still, it may be that this time he will not forget—that which is felt daily and hourly in the pocket and in the stomach does not escape the memory so easily—and the Social-Democratic propaganda now finds fruitful soil among those who are awakening to the fact that they are being plundered.

At the moment panic prevails in all camps. The Clerical shepherds are endeavouring to explain it all away to their sheep, and as they have been pretty skilful in excluding any ray of enlightenment from their faithful flocks, they may succeed for the time being. The Conservatives tactfully ignore the taxes which have been imposed, with the exception of drawing attention to the self-sacrificing spirit of the upper classes as exemplified by the magnificent 5 millions on champagne, and confine themselves mostly to the negative line of

dilating on the depravity of those who would have taxed sacred property and destroyed the German home with their abominable inheritance tax. The Conservative constituents are, however, not so easily quieted as the Roman Catholics, and many movements of protest are being made, even to the holding of meetings censuring the action of the parliamentary representatives, and passing resolutions in favour of the formation of a new Conservative party.

As for the other capitalist parties, the Liberals, National Liberals, Radicals, and what not, representing more the manufacturing as opposed to the land-owning class, these are simply beside themselves. And their indignation is entirely genuine. Here are class interests being favoured, but not the interests of *their* class! Loud are the complaints of intolerable burdens on commercial enterprise, ruin of manufactures, paralysing of trade, etc. The opportunity is being seized for pushing the wildest party propaganda. Here, as everywhere else, the parties sailing under the flag of alleged friendliness to the proletariat are more dangerous than the open enemy; and, no doubt, many of the half-enlightened may be carried away by fair speeches, and bagged for the Hansa Bund and other "non-political" societies for the protection of trade. Happily, the German worker—at least, in the towns—has learnt, as a rule, to know his enemy, and is not likely to be much impressed by a National Liberal tobacco manufacturer dropping crocodile tears for the sorrows of workers with decreased incomes and increased expenses, when this same manufacturer finds himself compelled, through the execrable taxes, to request his employees to work overtime till August 15 in order to fulfil the many orders for delivery of goods before the tax comes into force, to be rewarded with dismissal when the slack time sets in.

The tendency of public opinion is pretty well shown by the recent bye-election at Neustadt-Landau, where the National Liberals lost the seat to the Social-Democrats, and this although the National Liberals gave themselves out as an opposition party and against the taxation. Already, in the first ballot, the Socialist vote showed an increase of 2,000 since the last election. The class-conscious worker may agree with the Liberal capitalists as regards condemnation of land-owning greed and misuse of parliamentary power, but that is no reason for him to devote his energies to bettering the lot of the lords of industry; he has his own lot to better.

Whilst the capitalist parties are "getting each other by the hair," as the German phrases it, throwing the blame on

each other all round, and advertising themselves, each and every one, as the sole salvation of the nation, there is one point with regard to the new taxation on which they are all agreed—namely, in dodging the practical results of the taxes, whether by trickery, or by pushing the payment on to somebody else.

The real aims of the capitalist leaders are better seen here than in their speeches. In every instance, whilst railing against the taxes, they utilise the opportunity for extra profit. The match manufacturers, obliged by the tax to raise the price of a 10 pfennigs packet to 25 pfennigs, are raising it to 35 pfennigs. The manufacturers forming a syndicate, this price must be submitted to. The incandescent mantle factories are adopting the same line. The tax on spirits would in itself throw a burden of about 400 millions on the consumers, the distillers make it 1,000 millions.

The great brewery owners have been laying their heads together to decide how best to unload the beer tax on to the shoulders of the consumers, whether by decreasing the size of the vessels in which it is sold—which would be a great initial expense—or by increasing the price, which generally works out at an impossible fraction; and have concluded to improve the occasion by so rounding up the price as to squeeze a tremendous additional profit out of the public. The tax raises the price of the beer, originally sold at 30 pfennigs the litre to 32½ pfennigs. The combined brewers of Berlin have decided to raise the price to 40 pfennigs the litre. That is, the average 7,300 million litres of beer consumed in Germany are to be burdened with an additional 730 million marks. Of this sum 100 millions go to the State, 630 millions into the pockets of the brewers and publicans.

The consumers look helplessly on, the few who would be willing to attempt to boycott being too scattered and powerless to hope to intimidate the brewers. A third party, the unsalaried waiters, are discussing the only too well founded fear of a decrease in income, for tips will certainly diminish in quantity and quality with lessened consumption and dearer beer and spirits. Naturally, in this case, the weakest will suffer: the waiters in loss of work and money, the poorer consumers in less or inferior drink. Indeed, there is no development of the new taxes which does not fall heavier on the poorer classes. Every housholder with a small sum at his disposal has been laying in the lawfully permissible household stock (20lbs. of each) of tea and coffee before the tax comes into force, thus postponing the increased expense

for some time; but how many workmen's families can suddenly lay out £5 in advance for household goods?

One of the finest attempts at tax-dodging comes from the so loyal and self-sacrificing Conservatives and Roman Catholics themselves. In the "Münsterischen Anzeiger," a Clerical organ, the following announcement may be read:—

"Gerbaulet Shares.

"Our shareholders are requested to immediately hand in the dividend warrants and coupons in their possession, to be exchanged for new warrants and coupons for the business years 1909 to 1918. On August 1 of this year the dividend warrant tax comes into force. Warrants not drawn before August 1 are subject to stamp, and we shall thus be obliged to charge the amount of the tax to such shareholders as have not received their warrants before August 1."

The shares of this company are chiefly in the hands of the Conservative and Roman Catholic nobles of the Münster district. Among the shareholders are lords chamberlain, privy councillors, Landtag and Reichstag members, etc.

The "Kölner Bürgergesellschaft," whose stockholders include members of the better-to-do Clericals of Cologne and district, and which has at its head various town councillors and other big guns of the ultramontane world, also addresses a like notice to its shareholders. Thus, without giving a thought to the hungry fleet and army for which they have declared themselves eager to shed their heart's blood, these lords of patriotism and feudalism are openly prepared to swindle their way out of a tax resolved on by their own party. And these directors and shareholders are not mere misled voters, they are of the intimate circle of upholders of the parliamentary action of their representatives.

Naturally, as soon as the Reichstag meets again, it is proposed to render this far-seeing proceeding futile by a law declaring dividend and interest warrants issued before August 1 as equally liable to tax. But as precisely the individuals who hit upon this clever idea for avoiding the tax are the same who will have the casting vote on the matter in Parliament, it is not to be supposed that it will be very severely dealt with.

The enforcement of the taxes, on the whole, is an exceedingly unwieldy and difficult business. Wherever an attempt is made to avoid a tax, a new regulation must be immediately coined to thwart the attempt, and as all taxes

have been formulated somewhat superficially, and with a dozen loopholes for obeying the letter and not the spirit, hundreds of new controlling officials and inspectors must be appointed; dozens of new laws must be made; and an incalculable amount of time and money must be expended. Even if all citizens were ready to pay up joyfully, and required no superintendence, the mere technical side of ascertaining and recording their liabilities involves a burden of useless labour. How many more ledgers will have to be kept when every cheque, bill-stamp, dividend warrant, etc., must be noted down afresh for purposes of taxation, every pfennig interest recalculated; how much unnecessary writing, printing, book-keeping, sending back and forward of documents, become indispensable? How much litigation and needless red tape will result from the loose wording of the dividend and interest warrant tax, which does not state whether buyer or seller be liable, or how the original purchaser is going to put up with paying the tax in advance for the whole of the ten years for which his warrant is probably issued, although it may pass out of his possession long before that period is reached? How much tedious and profitless work is being thrust at the present juncture on to the manufacturers of, or dealers in the freshly-taxed industrial products? All goods in stock are liable to post-duty, and an exact inventory must be made, and list sent in by a certain date. What an infinity of unproductive labour before all this is brought into order! Before the lists are compiled, rectified, reckoned through, the amounts collected and receipted! It is poor consolation that the fresh work involved will give employment to some. Unproductive work must none the less be paid for in the long run by the real producer, and it is only evidence of a very rotten social system when unnecessary work can appear as a blessing. If a tobacco manufacturer is obliged, for instance, to provide that every packet of cigarettes, even the smallest packet of ten, has its own special wrapper gummed round it, and is thus obliged to employ hands for a work which earns nothing, it is quite certain that he adds the increased expense to the price of his goods, besides doing his best to utilise the opportunity to lengthen the hours and shorten the wages of his employees—generally under the guise of overtime and subsequent short time. It is pitiable that a state of society should have reached such a condition of logical absurdity as to impose on itself such a complicated, time-wasting, and economically false set of laws. It is the inevitable result of government by a class seeking only its own interests, instead of government by all for all.

If the taxes had been thought out with devilish ingenuity for the purpose of causing economical confusion, they could not have accomplished this object better than they are doing. On every side victims of the new order of things are being driven into absurd courses of action; dealers in incandescent mantles, tobacco, etc., are selling off their goods at any price because they cannot raise the sum due on their stock under the post-duty regulation; others are pretending to do the same thing, but really making a very profitable "clearance sale," with the intention of paying off the majority of their employees when the busy time is over; owners of automatic machines are wondering how they can make it clear to their apparatus that boxes of waxlights hitherto delivered up for 10 pfennigs must now not be disgorged under 20 pfennigs; match manufacturers are working day and night, but totally unable to cope with the feverish eagerness with which housewives are laying in a stock; even the manufacture of matches with a head at each end is being contemplated; there is no end to the confusion.

And when all is said and done, when the confusion has settled down, then the proletariat will find that they, and they alone, are the sufferers. Whilst the manufacturers in the trades affected can compensate themselves with tripled prices, thousands of their workmen must join the unemployed, forming a surplus stock of workers by which thousands more are compelled to submit to a reduction of wages. And apart from these, it is the poorer class of workman, who has been living up to now to the full extent of his income, who will feel the full weight of the increased prices. That all classes contribute to the taxes is true, but as soon as a class has an income above the living wage it possesses a margin enabling it to meet the taxation without actual physical suffering. And to the well-to-do it is little matter if they smoke a cigar at 40 pfennigs instead of 50 pfennigs; the difference in quality is not enough to affect health and happiness. The workman's family is differently placed. If coffee, potatoes, and bread have been hitherto practically the sole means of sustenance, if the cheapest coffee obtainable has already been in use, and in the smallest possible quantity to keep the family alive, what is to be done when the price is raised? If the cheapest possible beer and the worst imaginable cigars have already been accorded for years to the workman as his sole relaxation and pleasure, what can be given him now? With less the people cannot do, they have already long reached the minimum. The only solution is to invent still more wretched substitutes for coffee than are already

in vogue, to roll up still more frightful combinations of weeds into so-called cigars than has hitherto been the case, to produce still worse qualities of beer.

The taxes are a direct crime committed on the health of the poorer classes. And with what calculated ruthlessness they have been chosen. They are taxes intended to be effective. They are aimed at something essential to the masses. Coffee, beer, and tobacco are no luxuries, they are necessities of life to the German poor; their sole stimulant, strength, and refuge. Poor substitutes, no doubt, for what they *should* have to live on, but none the less articles which cannot be done without under the present wretched conditions. Class interested taxation has laid its hand, with demoniac far-sightedness, precisely on that which is indispensable even to the poorest, that none may escape from paying his dole into the coffers of the possessing classes.

It is another step on the thorny road of enlightenment. How many more such lessons will be required before the whole of the proletariat recognises that the men who make these laws are not their representatives, but their foes?

MAUD PARLOW.

THE MONTH.

During the month Dr. Cook has "discovered" the Pole—and Peary. Peary has discovered the Pole—and Cook. For a moment the world has turned even from watching a high flying man at Rheims, to gaze wonderingly at another possibly high flying man, fresh from the Arctics. The odds seem to be on the side of Peary, though Dr. Cook claims to have been first at the Pole, by many long months. He explains that he has sent his proofs by a whaler to America while himself coming on to Denmark. He has had a great reception in Denmark, and its University has conferred a degree upon him. Should the story not be supported at all points that university honour will hereafter be regarded as a degree of considerable latitude.

Horatio, he of Bottomless knowledge, knows all about it. The Lords will reject the Budget in a few weeks time, and the King will dissolve Parliament. A one-clause Bill will be introduced into the House to make the new Parliamentary register operative on November 1, and to that the Lords will assent. So apparently the General Election will take place in November as it did in 1885, at the end of Gladstone's second ministry. The only detail the prophet's organ, "John Bull," seems to have carelessly overlooked is the exact size of the majority—and how the Labour Party is to emerge.

The "Mail" during the month has announced that when Asquith came to chief power, it was for some time a question whether John Burns would be retained in his post. Their relations are anything but cordial, says the "Mail." It is true that Asquith has had sometimes to democratise Burns a bit; as in the celebrated instance during the Old Age Pensions Bill debates when he assented to the general complaint that an Administrative Order by Burns was not at all a fulfilment of a pledge which Asquith had given.

He overruled that Order, and a more liberal method of interpreting both his own announcement and the obvious wish of the House was substituted. Burns resigned himself, and did not himself resign.

September 18 is the date of the bi-centenary of Dr. Johnson, marked appropriately by a Johnson Exhibition at Lichfield, the birthplace of the old moralist with the bow-wow way, who discovered 150 years ago that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," and that "slow rises worth by poverty deprest." It's hard on the old man to make him out a mere stolid old Tory. He taught at least that there was next to no difference, sir, between child and child; it was the upbringing and educating which made one class seem so intelligent and the other so dull. Before the "Wealth of Nations" was issued (1776) he taught (1773) how "money and wealth have by the use of commercial language been so long confounded that they are commonly supposed to be the same."

The Trades Congress has been in session at Ipswich. Mr. Bell has been sharply called over the coals for virtually taking the side of the masters during a railway dispute. It was not quite so expressed, but that was what the reproach came to. It recalled the case of Frederick Maddison, M.P., who, when he was editor of the railway servants' journal, in the throes of a crisis, published a statement anent the inadequacy of the men's fighting war chest. Maddison was required to give up his position on that account, and by no one has he been more strongly attacked on that score than by Bell.

Bell, however, has demanded to know in his own case if a man is not at liberty to call his soul his own, and to make fair acknowledgment of anything due to be credited to the other side. Without being a genius, he knows he is at liberty to do all this as Richard Bell, and in his private character. What he is not at liberty to do is to take the money of the underpaid and overworked railwaymen, on the agreement that he will fight their battles, and then, every now and then, turn upon them during the conflict. The Conference dressed him down and gave him another chance.

Repression appears to have triumphed temporarily at Barcelona. Cunningham Graham and Joseph McCabe have

done something to tear the veil which would shroud the continual, and, at the moment, the especial horrors of Spanish life, as lived by the proletarians of Spain. "Punch" (which, under Seaman, is a paper immeasurably below the moral altitude of Tom Hood, who first published in its pages his "Song of the Shirt") has depicted Alfonso as the victorious matador who has killed his bull "Revolution." Mr. Punch stands by and congratulates him. The fighting in the Riff country continues. The truth as to what is happening in this purely capitalist war seems hard to obtain. It does seem, however, to be one of the most unequivocal instances yet on record of purely capitalist bloodshed: "The people give themselves death and war, for pence doled out by Kings, from their own store."

Talking of fighting, it was gravely explained in the Trades Union Congress that Mr. Haldane had assured Parliament that Territorials would not be called out to act as soldiers in trade disputes. Tillet bluntly expressed disbelief in the value of any such assurance, and was rebuked from the Chair. He "must not call Haldane a liar." But Haldane is a lawyer and knows, or should know, that in law a man is held to intend the inevitable consequences of his acts. It is inevitable that the Territorials will be asked for some day by some employer whose human nature (*à la* Balfour) has reached its limits.

To Sweden in her throes the German Social-Democratic Trade Unions have contributed nearly £40,000, and even the organised workers of little Denmark have sent at least £15,000. Scarcely any help has come from the wealthy trade unions of Great Britain. At the Trades Union Congress a proposal to vote £1,000 was ruled out of order by the Chairman. Yet the need is enormous. Relatively to population it is as if over a million workers of Great Britain were locked out. The Government of Sweden intervened at last, and with the result that there were negotiations which have lead to a sort of dividing up of the field. The employees locked out by the Federated Masters are still out. The workers on strike have gone back practically on their own terms. The indifference of Great Britain in the struggle seems to be matter of bitter complaint abroad.

How can the British Socialists, or even Labour world, expect to be effective in a world crisis when it has no Press voice; no

means of prompt, concerted action? There are sixteen Socialist or Labour dailies in Sweden alone. There is not one in Great Britain, nor one in sight.

During the month the position of the Twentieth Century Press, Ltd., has been presented to the readers of "Justice" and the "Social-Democrat" with unusual fullness. It is serious, but not without its elements of strength. While Socialists everywhere, especially Socialists who are in active sympathy with the Social-Democratic Party, are being appealed to to rally up with shares or subscriptions, it is fitting that those who read these notes should also have put before them the opportunity to criticise and the opportunity to serve. The simple fact is that the management of the Press has tried to do a bit too much during the last six months. It has a bit overrun the constable, and its financing will be a delicate matter for yet some weeks.

The Press will win through—with the help of loyal and devoted comrades—as it always has done. But that help is wanted, and at once. The Press has represented, for those engaged in carrying it on since its inception twenty years ago, a labour of love and a persistent struggle against poverty and want of means. In the first year of its existence only a hundred pounds was raised as capital; and, from first to last, during the whole of its existence less than three thousand pounds had, up to the beginning of the present year, been subscribed. None but enthusiastic and "visionary" Social-Democrats would have attempted to run a Press with such means and under such circumstances. Many of our friends, even, instead of lending a helping hand, predicted our failure from the start, and have done their best in the meantime to realise their prediction. Nevertheless, like the man who survived the French Revolution, "We have lived."

And we have done more. In spite of all drawbacks, all obstacles, we have succeeded in establishing the one Socialist Press in this country, and in maintaining and extending the only Social-Democratic organ in the United Kingdom. If we can only secure the immediate support our past achievements warrant us in asking, we ought soon to be in a position to start a Social-Democratic Daily! But help is wanted *now*, and can be afforded by subscriptions for shares—5s. each—or by contributions to the "Justice" Fund.

The International Trades Union Congress closed its sittings on September 1st, which will have enabled the British members to get away in fair time to their partridge shooting.

Just for the moment, coal isn't quite as black as it was painted. The Coal Conciliation Board has decided that wages shall not be further reduced.

The Development Fund portion of the Budget has been before the House during the month. Lloyd George and Churchill, to do them justice, have made some speeches whose fighting spirit might give a tonic to the Labour Party.

On the whole question of the Lords and the Budget, Churchill has expressed the issue as to whether there shall be an aristocratic revolution, engineered and carried through by the Lords, to the end of their own power being for the future immeasurably greater than in the past—indeed extending to all finance matters as well as to any other legislation.

Lord Londonderry has found that the Budget is Socialism.

There has been a Trafalgar Square demonstration against sweating by the Salvation Army.

The Housing and Town Planning Bill has got through committee, and reached its third reading.

The Great Eastern Railway award has been issued, and expresses nearly nothing.

THE LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS.

For years the Governments of all the great Powers have been vying with each other in assurances that all they have in view is the preservation of the world's peace, while at the same time they continue from year to year to increase their armaments on land and sea, here also competing with each other, because not one of them imputes any value to mere assurances on the part of the others. One cannot build, say the Powers, on the peaceful words of one's neighbours, when they are accompanied by increased eagerness in the preparations for war. Thus speaks C, and then after all D cannot remain behind, until in the course of the circulation of the feverish pressure to arm, A, in its turn, receives an impetus towards additional armaments. This is the endless screw in which, without a fixed goal each tries to out-do the other in armaments, until, finally, if it is not put a stop to within a measurable space of time, it will end either in the bankruptcy of the individual States or in the catastrophe of a universal war.

This is already the position with regard to the armaments on land. But these are bounded to a certain extent by the possibility of recruiting troops and of the development of the technical auxiliaries. In Germany and France the possibility of recruiting the land forces will soon have reached its limits; it is only the development of the technique which is continually urging onwards towards new armaments and increased expenditure. But the latter applies to a much greater extent to the competition in naval armaments, for the development is more rapid and the field of action less limited. For pitted over against the effects of the continual improvements in the technique of weapons are the still more important improvements in the shipbuilding technique. A warship, be it battleship, cruiser, or torpedo, which to-day suffices the utmost demands of technique, may in five years have become of less value and have to be relegated to the second-class warships, and in another five years it may have no further value than that of scrap iron. And yet how costly are these "passing phenomena"? A first-class battleship involves to-day the expenditure of about 50 million marks, whereas two decades ago it only amounted to 20 million marks at the highest.

But the German Empire has lately started out at full steam to compete with the other naval Powers in naval armaments. Not

enough that the German taxpayers have to keep up the largest land force in the world, the ambition of the mighty and the operations of capitalists who have interests in a boundless world policy, have also burdened them with the tremendous and ever-increasing expenditure for a first-class navy.

While demanding more supplies for this purpose, the representatives of the Government did nothing but give assurances of peace, which were echoed by the bourgeois parties in the Reichstag while they gave their consent to these demands. Many of them, especially those members of the "Bloc" who are of the Radical persuasion, managed to take part in this competition and yet to blow the trumpets of peace, and to offer incense to the ideal of disarmament at the International Peace Congress. With the help of these war-fleet-upholding peace-apostles, the expenditure on Germany's glorious navy has in the last twelve years been nearly quadrupled, increasing from 92 million marks in 1896 to 339 million marks in 1908. This increase is one of the principal causes of the chronic financial distress of the Empire. It will continue to exercise its injurious influence in spite of all so-called financial reforms.

In face of this the question forces itself into the fore-ground: Can no way be found for people so enthusiastic for peace as our Government and Reichstag members to stop this ruinous competition of armaments?

An opportunity for this offered itself; it was not made use of. The English Government suggested to the German Government a mutual arrangement for the limitation of naval armaments; the outstretched hand was refused. The German Social-Democracy tried to move the Reichstag to take a decision in favour of an international agreement to limit naval armaments and to abolish the right of seizing property at sea; their demand was scoffed at by the Imperial Chancellor, and refused unanimously by the bourgeois parties. But their refusal does not kill the idea. It continues to exist, and must force its way through if Europe is not to be involved in a world-wide war, which would destroy its welfare and its culture for many decades to come.

Through the rapid growth of fleet-building, especially through the Navy Bill of 1906, the German Government has placed the question of disarmament in the forefront. This was expressed in the communications made by the English Ministers, Asquith and McKenna, to the House of Commons on the occasion of the introduction of the Naval Budget for this year. The starting-point of their considerations and demands was the fact that in Germany the building of a number of warships is provided for, ships of the newest and largest type, so called Dreadnoughts, which when completed will raise the German navy, in so far as this particular and most important kind of ship is concerned, to the level of the English, or even perhaps above it. Therefore, the English Government demanded the power to put in hand four new Dreadnoughts at once if Germany carried out her present intentions

for the enlarging of her fleet; then to the 13 German Dreadnoughts ready for service in 1912, England could oppose 16 Dreadnoughts. But for the case of Germany's accelerating the pace of her fleet-building so that she should have no less than 17 Dreadnoughts ready for service in 1912, then the English Government wished to be enabled to put another four Dreadnoughts in hand in 1910, so that in the year 1912 they could put to sea 20, as against Germany's 17.

The desire of the English Government to be unconditionally superior, if possible to the extent of two to one, to every other power at sea is explained by the insular position of England and her economic conditions, which make her defence against attacks dependent on a superior fleet. That is the guiding thought of English policy, whatever party is at the helm. In the course of the debate an agreement was arrived at; in the Lower House the only quarrel was as to whether the Government's shipbuilding programme should be adhered to, or whether, according to the demand of the Conservative Opposition, eight Dreadnoughts should at once be put in hand. The question as to whether Germany would have 13 or 17 Dreadnoughts ready for war by 1912 played a great part in the debate, but this point is quite of secondary importance, for the principal question is, namely, as to whether England need take precautionary measures at all against a possible attack at sea on the part of Germany. The fact is conclusive on this point that, on the one hand, the great productivity of the German dockyards, are now capable of launching 14 Dreadnoughts simultaneously, while three more are in construction; and, on the other hand, the political attitude of the German Government.

For what made the deepest impression, in the first instance, on the House of Commons, and then all over England, was the communication by the Prime Minister Asquith concerning the failure of the attempts at disarmament. He said on March 16:—

"Why, some of my Radical friends will doubtless ask, is a mutual understanding not possible? I will answer this question at once. The question has been raised more than once by the British Government, with the intention of determining if the German Government would accept any proposition with regard to a mutual limitation of naval expenditure. But we have received the assurance, more than once, and in the most formal manner, that Germany's naval expenditure is only arranged with regard to her own needs, and that Germany's programme in no way depends on ours. That is the answer we received. The German Government tells us quite candidly that if we were to build a hundred more Dreadnoughts they would not, on that account, increase their building programme; but also that, if we were to build no Dreadnoughts, they would still adhere to their programme just as it now stands. If that is the position, it is perfectly clear that there is no possibility of a mutual understanding with the object of reducing expenditure on naval armaments."

This statement by the English Prime Minister was confirmed in substance by the representatives of the German Government, after a few evasions.

The fact, therefore, stands: The English Government (it is true in an informal manner, which is the diplomatic custom in such matters) offered the German Government an agreement regarding the mutual limitation of expenditure on naval armaments, but the German Government refused in the most formal manner. The only reason given by the Imperial Government for this refusal is threadbare enough. They maintain that they are only led by their own needs in the building of war-ships. As though the Imperial Government's own needs did not depend entirely on the ship-building of other Powers! The English Government is here more candid, in that it declares: Our needs are determined exactly by the building programme of Germany, as of that Power, which, in the position of things, we have to reckon with as with our most dangerous enemy.

The attitude of refusal on the part of the German towards the English Government had, as the later debates in the Reichstag showed, acted very agreeably on the patriotic feelings of the members of the bourgeois parties. It flattered their pride that Great Britain, the ruler of the waves, should be anxious concerning the growth of the German fleet. The refusal of the English offer of an agreement met with no unfavourable criticism from the bourgeois parties in the Reichstag. It need hardly be said that their attitude found no echo among the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democratic Party, in itself on principle an opponent of wars in the interests of capitalism, recognises the frightful results which must follow for the German people from a naval war with England, even if it ended victoriously for the German navy. Even the capitalist development of Germany would thereby be severely injured. The advantages which a few pan-German imaginative politicians promise themselves from a victorious war with England are quite illusory, and it is certain that a serious interruption of economic development would result, not only in Germany, but in the whole of Europe, from such a war, however it ended. Only the United States of America, and perhaps Japan, would have any advantage from it if the two largest industrial and commercial States of Europe were to tear each other to pieces and drag other European Powers with them into the whirlpool of such a universal war on sea and land.

But even if the arming competition between Germany and England should not at once lead to a great war, still the enmity with England would, even in time of peace, be disastrous for Germany's commerce and industry. From the debates in the House of Commons on the Naval Budget and the want-of-confidence vote of the Conservative Opposition which was discussed on March 29, it is clearly to be seen that the fact of the steady increase of German naval armaments is arousing among the ruling

classes in England the deepest distrust of the German Government, has strengthened the long-since budding feeling of enmity to Germany, and made the way clear for jingoism. As the parties are situated in England it is without decisive weight that the English Socialists and trade unionists have refused to let themselves be carried away by this stream of jingoism, but like the German Social-Democracy sharply emphasise the international solidarity of the working class of both countries. A strong proof of the force of the prevailing jingo mood was given in the Croydon bye-election, where the Conservative votes went up by about 4,000. Should a general election soon take place, the result would be an overwhelming Conservative majority in the House of Commons, and the downfall of the Liberal Ministry. But the new Conservative Ministry, with Balfour at the head, would not only go in for increased naval armaments of a decidedly anti-German foreign policy, but would also introduce protection on the Chamberlain pattern, and try to persuade all the self-governing colonies to institute protective tariffs in favour of the Mother Country. On this account the Unionists, as the united Conservatives and Imperialist Liberals now call themselves, confident of victory, are already suggesting that the House of Lords should be got to throw out the Budget, by this means forcing the Liberal Government to resign, and appeal to the country by dissolving the lower House.

The prosperity of the English people would indeed be severely injured by the change from Free Trade to Protection. But it is certain that it would also be a heavy blow for Germany's commerce and industry. Therefore, however one looks at it, any enmity with England would evolve the most fatal disadvantages for the German Empire and the German people.

In view of all these circumstances, the Social-Democratic Party in the Reichstag decided to take the initiative towards an understanding with England, by bringing in the following resolution on the vote for the Imperial Chancellor's Office:—

“That the Reichstag agree: to urge the Imperial Chancellor, in view of the decisions of the Hague Conference in 1899 and 1907, which were agreed to by the German delegates, to take the necessary steps towards initiating an international agreement among the Powers for mutual restriction of naval armaments, and abolition of the right of capture at sea, as soon as possible.”

The allusion to the Hague Peace Conference brings to mind the fact that the German Government did, in principle, give their adherence to the idea of disarmament, for in the minutes of the Conference in 1907 it says:

“The Conference also agreed unanimously to the following decision:

“The Second Peace Conference confirms the decision taken by the Conference of 1899 regarding the limitation of military burdens, and, in view of the fact that since that year these have increased considerably in almost every country, declares it to be highly

desirable that the Governments should take up the serious study of this question."

The attitude of the Imperial Government towards the English suggestion to bring about an understanding regarding the limitation of naval armaments, proves, however, that the "serious study" of the disarmament question has, so far as the German Government is concerned, as yet led to no happy results, and, therefore, is in urgent need of a new impetus.

The combination of the disarmament question with the demand to abolish the right of capture at sea, was desirable because the latter demand was made unsuccessfully by Germany at the Hague Conference and refused by England. The combination of the two questions would, therefore, have made it easier for the German Government to accept the Social-Democratic motion, for the resolution, by pointing out also to the English Government that they might give way to a demand formerly made in vain by Germany, lost the character of a one-sided warning to the Imperial Government.

But the abolition of the right of capture at sea would already be of such great importance, because this privileged sea robbery constitutes one of the principal reasons for keeping large navies. At present a belligerent Power has the right to seize on the open sea the private property in ships and goods of the subjects of the State opposed to it, while, as is well known, in wars on land private property is protected from being captured. If it were protected in the same way at sea, that is, with the exception of contraband of war, secured against capture, the excuse of a great fleet being needed for the protection of trade would become obsolete.

Against the reasons brought forward by the Social-Democrats on March 30, in favour of the disarmament resolution, the Imperial Chancellor limited himself to the following declaration:—

"The general attitude of the United Governments towards the idea of disarmament is determined by the points of view which the Imperial Chancellor demonstrated to the Reichstag before the meeting of the Hague Conference, and on December 10, 1908. No formula has as yet become known which would do justice to the greatly varying geographical, economic, military and political positions of the different peoples, and have a unified basis for negotiation. But as long as there is no workable basis, the Imperial Government must remain of the opinion that negotiations upon the limitation of shipbuilding promise no real success, whether they are carried on between two or between more Powers. The United Governments claim for themselves that their point of view in this question is determined by peaceful and humane motives, and is quite in keeping with the peaceful direction of the whole German policy which has for decades been found satisfactory.

"If we, therefore, continue to hold back it is nothing extraordinary and does not imply any unfriendliness towards another Power, especially as we are therein only making use of the self-evi-

dent right of not discussing internal German affairs with foreign countries." ("Bravo" on the Right and from the National Liberals.)

Relying upon the oft proved distaste of the bourgeois parties of taking up a Social-Democratic proposal, the Chancellor went on to try and cover over, by the most petty personal attacks, the fact that he did not know how to get over the important reasons for passing the resolution, especially just at the present time.

The hollowness of Bülow's excuse that the Imperial Government cannot commit itself to a limitation of naval armaments as long as a suitable basis was wanting, is brought into the right light by the fact of Herr v. Schön having previously, in the Budget Commission, expressly emphasised that in communications between friendly Powers it is customary to avoid putting formal motions, the success of which appears doubtful. On that account the English Government restricted itself to informal questions. But it was just at that stage in the preliminaries that the German Government made an end, in the most formal way, of the question. And then Bülow comes to the Reichstag with the excuse that the Imperial Government must remain in its attitude of refusal because a workable basis for negotiations had never been suggested!

Equally lame is the excuse that the Imperial Government is but making use of its self-evident right not to discuss internal German matters with foreign countries. As though every arrangement with a foreign State did not in some way or other affect the internal conditions of one's own country! Besides, the Imperial Government has, by agreeing to the above-mentioned decision of the Hague Conference, already quite given up this maxim. That Bülow should still parade it in the Reichstag shows his low standing as a statesman as well as the want of backbone of the bourgeois-Reichstag majority who rewarded such untrue assertions with patriotic applause.

The Imperial Chancellor will make no impression abroad with his assurances of peace and friendship, for in international relations a statesman is valued not according to his polite phrases, but by his deeds and omissions.

But Bülow judged rightly his Mameluke majority. A few Radicals salved their consciences by remarking that though they were on principle friends of the limitation of armaments, the Social-Democratic demand was not opportune. And then the whole of the bourgeois parties, with the exception of Pfarrer Naumann, voted against the resolution with a "Pooh, it comes from Social-Democrats."

How opportune, how urgently necessary the resolution was, might have been seen, even by those who had not seen it before, in the debates which were taking place at the same time in the English House of Commons upon the vote of want of confidence. This was

shown distinctly in the utterances of the English Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, who among other things said :—

“If I were asked to name a measure which would give to the world, or to Europe throughout, the conviction that peace were assured, it would, I think, be this : that the expenditure of Germany on naval armaments were lessened, and that England could follow suit and diminish her own. If the competition in naval armaments could be diminished, public opinion everywhere would consider it as a safeguard of the mutual good intentions of both nations, and the effect cannot be estimated.”

Further, Grey gave his opinion on the effect of this increased competition of armaments in the words : “Sooner or later if it goes on in this way, we are heading towards State bankruptcy.”

And his words expressed also that for the English Government the psychological moment has just now come when they would be open to consider the previously repudiated idea of the abolition of the right of capture at sea.

He said concerning this :

“We have never received a hint, it has never even been whispered to us, that if we altered our opinion on this point, it would have an effect on Germany's naval armaments. Therefore, when members of this House blame the English Government for not bringing forward this question, it is only a waste of time. In such a matter it is the business of the German Government to express itself.”

Can a diplomat express more distinctly that he is ready to be approached if the Imperial Government, in the spirit of the Social-Democratic motion, were to suggest simultaneously the limitation of naval armaments and the abolition of the right of capture at sea as the subject of an international convention ?

We thus have the English Minister for Foreign Affairs as a witness to show what good fruit might be borne by the Social-Democratic suggestion to unite these two questions.

Still more energetically, even with a hint against the English Government, is our double demand supported by the leading paper of the Liberal Party in England. The “Daily News” wrote, namely on April 1, in a leading article :—

“There is a way to make an end of the panic in England, and to spoil the sport of the passions and interests which have given rise to it, and that is, to come to an understanding with Germany. Sir Edward Grey is pessimistic on this point. But has he tried every means? Is there no basis for discussion with Germany about any question in the world? He tells us that Germany has not even whispered a suggestion in his ear about making the right of capture at sea the basis for an agreement. But has *he* “whispered” his willingness to listen? At the Hague he took up an attitude of complete refusal when Germany declared in favour of the abolition of this legalised sea robbery. They will

build their twelve Dreadnoughts in the year—for that is Balfour's demand for next year. But long before the ships are built they will have stirred up a conflict and provoked a European war, the war regarding which Mr. Arthur Lee prophesied as long ago as 1895, that we shall strike the first blow long before the Germans have even had time to read our declaration of war."

These remarks of the leading organ of the Government party in England are striking also by reason of their open allusion to the danger to which the writer of this had pointed two days previously in the Reichstag, namely, that a jingo Government in England, in the conviction that Germany had bad intentions, might suddenly aim a blow at Germany while she still feels sure of her superior power at sea.

It is an unpardonable mistake that the Imperial Government, by their brusque repulse of the English attempt to approach them, has given full play to the anti-German, war-desiring jingoism in England.

Never has the necessity of any Social-Democratic demand been so quickly and thoroughly justified by subsequent events as in the case of this proposition of an international understanding as to the limitation of naval armaments and the abolition of the right of capture. All the more irresponsible is the attitude of refusal on the part of the Imperial Government and the Reichstag majority. It will be the business of the Social-Democracy to help on their demand to victory in public opinion, before the frivolous policy of the Bülow Cabinet can conjure up more serious results for Germany. An understanding with England, and the bringing about of an international agreement regarding the limitation of naval armaments and the abolition of the right of capture, that is now the demand of the day for Germany's foreign policy.

G. LEDEBOUR in "Die Neue Zeit."

THE REVIEWS.

THE INCREMENT TAX.

THE LAND CLAUSES NEITHER UNPRECEDENTED NOR
SOCIALISTIC.

Alfred Mond, M.P., writes the following in the "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The inveterate Rip-Van-Winkleism of the Tory Unionist Opposition has never been better illustrated than in their attitude towards the land clauses of the present Budget. After the long series of Irish Land Acts they suddenly wake up to discover that the present moderate instalment of Land Reform, the benefits of which are not confined to Ireland, is as novel as it is "unjust" and "revolutionary." The astonishing fashion in which their leaders, who might fairly be expected to be better informed, speak of the Budget proposals as revolutionary innovations makes it the duty of those with better memories to recall the obvious fact that they are nothing of the kind. Both the increment tax and the taxation of undeveloped land on the basis of its capital value, instead of being socialistic novelties, are simply an attempt to carry into effect principles underlying British constitutional usage which, though allowed to lapse in practice, are still inherent in our system. A little inquiry into the matter shows that England, although lagging behind her own colonies and some of her neighbours in the application of those principles, had actually developed them—some theoretically and others in practice—long before they were taken up and carried into effect by her modern rivals in Land Reform.

One way of clearing the ground for a fair discussion on the merits of the Government proposals is to dispel the illusion that they are a mere adaptation of Continental and Colonial novelties. It is to be hoped that in this way it will be possible to remove some of the prejudice against them entertained by that large and respectable section of the community which—with no interest in the maintenance of land monopoly and the law-made misery to which it gives rise—yet defend it by their votes in the honest conviction that it is part and parcel of the British Constitution. The manner in which farmers, for instance, have for generations been induced to

pool their interests with the diametrically opposed interests of the landlords is certainly an extraordinary aberration. It is, however, less astounding than the blindness which permits merchants and professional men in great cities to be recruited in thousands as unpaid auxiliaries for the defence of the ground landlords, who tax them far more heavily than the State and the municipality on the improvements and progress due to their own energy and to the general development of the country. Working men and the lower middle class have begun to see where the shoe pinches, being painfully conscious of the high percentage of their earnings which go in rent. To judge, however, by the spirit prevailing at meetings in the City of London, the business men assembled there would seem to be quite incapable of appreciating the lesson displayed daily before their eyes in the unearned wealth of the monopolists who hold the land (which is as necessary for the poorest of their employees) and levy pitiless toll indifferently upon the labour of both categories and of the whole community. Surely the desire of successful men of business to win a place by purchase among the owners of the soil, possession of which still confers high social position in England, must be an absorbing passion to blind them to such an extent to their own interests. But how is it that the average professional man and trader, who cherishes no ambition, fails to get a glimpse of the fact that he pays away to the landowner, directly or indirectly, without any equivalent service, a far larger proportion of his gains than he does to the State and the municipality? To this class may be commended the following significant remarks of Professor Cairnes, an economist of a former generation, who was neither foreign, Colonial, nor Socialistic:—

“A given exertion of labour and capital will now produce in a great many directions five, ten, or twenty times—in some instances perhaps a hundred times—the result which an equal exertion would have produced 100 years ago; yet the rate of wages . . . has certainly not advanced in anything like a corresponding degree, whilst it may be doubted if the rate of profit has advanced at all . . . we should be inclined to say it had even possibly fallen. . . . Someone, no doubt, has benefited by the enlarged power of man over material nature; the world is, without question, the richer for it. . . . The large addition to the wealth of the country has gone neither to profits nor to wages, nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing, even while its proprietors sleep—the rent-roll of the owners of the soil.”

It may also be well to point out to business and professional men that the theoretically orthodox British Socialists—such, for instance, as Mr. Hyndman—contemptuously reject the idea that Mr. Lloyd George's proposals are in any sense Socialistic, or constitute any advance towards the nationalisation of the land.

Indeed, they oppose them on the ground that they are simply middle-class palliatives of an old-fashioned Whiggish character. As a matter of fact, these Socialist stalwarts, in their opposition to the Budget, show a sound instinct, as the reforms which it promotes are exactly of the kind which will strengthen rather than weaken the basis of social order, and are part of the armoury of the most effective opponents of Socialism, viz., those who take the wind out of the sails of the Socialist agitator by promoting necessary reforms at an opportune moment.

On the other hand, the German Government, at present the most effectively Conservative in Europe, has just adopted the principle of the unearned increment tax as a source of Imperial revenue, and promised to embody it in the laws of the land in 1912; while in the meantime the principle is being enforced in the form of a surtax. In the memorial which it submitted to the Reichstag during the discussion of the increment tax, the Government declared that the taxation of the unearned increment was in itself justifiable, and a very suitable source of revenue for the municipalities and local authorities. Indeed, the gist of the whole statement was that the municipalities had a greater claim to it than the central Government, and that its conversion into an Imperial tax might upset the financial arrangements of the municipalities. But there is not in this official pronouncement a single word attributing to the increment tax either a Socialistic or a revolutionary character, the objections being solely to the participation of the Empire and to the unsuitableness of the tax for inclusion in the finance reform then under consideration.



"AERO-TAXIS."

The following is the conclusion of an article on "The Command of the Air," by Frederick A. Talbot, in this month's "World's Work":—

The day is yet distant, as Monsieur Berget points out in his volume, when "aero-taxis" will ply for hire above our streets, and it will be some time yet before even those well blessed with this world's goods will go out for an airship run. Many knotty problems have still to be unravelled; the dirigible will have to be equipped with motors sufficiently powerful to give it an independent speed exceeding that of the wind, for 350 days out of the year. To do this means the equipment of the vessel with motors capable of giving an independent speed of 45 miles an hour. Then when this speed is reached it is sufficient to enable the machine to rise without its encumbering gas-bag, so that a speed of 45 miles an hour would appear to indicate the line of demarcation between the airship and the aeroplane.

Moreover, the establishment of an airship service would entail tremendous expenditure. It must be kept fully inflated, and to preserve it from the weather it must be docked in huge sheds or *hangars*. It cannot be moored safely in the air, or in the open—the disasters to *Nulli Secundus*, *La Patrie*, and *Zeppelin IV*. conclusively proved this, and it is a mere idle dream to conceive an airship berthed alongside a lofty tower, fitted with a passenger elevator, in the same manner as a steamship is moored alongside a jetty.

At the present moment it is the "heavier than air" machine that is the objective of 99 per cent. of experimenters. During the past months the number of such has increased a hundred-fold, and all sorts of nooks and crannies are harbouring creations which are confidently asserted to revolutionise aero-locomotion. Yet it is safe to say that not one in ten will ever leave the ground. The inventors have not troubled to master the rudiments of the science, and until they do their labour will be in vain. . . .

The widespread movement in aero-locomotion has been stimulated by the huge prizes which have been offered in various parts of the world for various achievements. All told they aggregate about £100,000. Many have already gone by the board, but their places have been taken by others more difficult. Already we have our airship reproductions of the automobile salons in London and Paris every year, and the Derby of the Air has been established by the Rheims races. Advertisements are issued for the sale of aeroplanes of the successful types such as Farman, Voisin, and Blériot; manufacturers have launched out into this new field and already catalogue their specialities; a new fillip has been given to the petrol motor industry, and the increasing demand is bringing a fall in prices. You can buy a cross-Channel Blériot for £400, and build one yourself for anything from the same sum upwards. One firm has been founded in Paris making a speciality of nothing else but aerial propellers, a phase of the science in which there are far-reaching possibilities, and on which the "cream" of the brains is being concentrated, since it is one of the most vital questions of the whole subject.

Such is the sum of some four years' work in a new field of transport. Will the next four years show as great a development?

BECAUSE THEY UNDERSTOOD NOT.

They were a man and a maid who loved each other, and the moon was shining. They had found for themselves a desolate place, for, with all the refinement of intense natures, they dreaded that others should know their secret of love, nor would they vulgarise their thrice-holy Eucharist of Nature by celebrating it in a shrine trod but by holy feet. Holy feet trod here, indeed, by day—feet worn with over-much toil for over-little purpose; feet which when confined cold and still showed that the road to heaven had been rough and hard. Well indeed it were that men cast off their robe of flesh when they cease to labour, for surely God would weep to see his handiwork so exceeding marred. “Make us bricks without straw,” went forth the Pharaoh’s edict generations ago, and even now men and women laboured to fulfil his word, when Cook’s tourists broke ginger-beer bottles round the Pyramids, and said it was “awf’ly funny” how well the mummies were preserved after six thousand years.

And now, day in, day out, men and women shaped the bricks, thinking, when bodily exhaustion allowed them to think, how unlovely were the bricks whereof they builded their lives, and wondering whether they would crumble to nothing, these strawless bricks, some day. Yet, strange to say, when at last the hardened hands and feet were resting, the Master looked on the bricks of the building, and they pleased him well.

Now, for a space the workers were at rest, and none was there save the man and the maid. Huge kilns rose on every side, squat and ugly, yet grand as they glowed and reddened with the unconsuming fire. By their side were piled masses of the bricks they disgorged, both kiln and brick-pile ugly and formless, like the tenets of some man-made creed, and like man himself, incomprehensible, yet, at the heart, beautiful, for in each was the fire prisoned. Now they were bathed in the pale moon-glow, and in the ruddy furnace-glare which flushed the sky in a medley of gold and silver, and gleamed in the brown turbid waters of the canal below, which swirled slowly about with a solid motion, towards the lock lower in its course. It was very quiet everywhere.

The man and the maid stood, still and silent, drinking in the beauty-draught—soon they stood closer, and, almost unconsciously, their lips met. Then she sighed with pure delight.

"There are no half-measures between us, Rolf, and I am glad—we drink deep of the wine of life, and it—it—is—sweet."

"And intoxicating, too," he said slowly.

"Intoxicating, perhaps. No, I think not—it makes *me* see more clearly. You have interpreted everything for me now, Rolf."

They were silent for some moments, then Rolf said, "Joan, do you trust me—completely, and in all things?"

"As much as I love you," she answered quietly. "If I didn't trust you, I should have nothing to trust—you are my creed. I want no other."

The quiet dignity with which she spoke redeemed her words from melodrama.

"O, God," he said bitterly, "it is always so. Joan, I'm a cad. I'll go away from you. I'm not fit to speak to you. O, don't ask me why. I'll go at once, and curse myself because you love me."

She clutched his hand in hers as though afraid he would go at that moment, and said faintly,

"Rolf, what do you mean? Don't you love me now?"

"Love you?" he said fiercely. "Do you need to ask? That's the very reason I'll go. No, listen. I'll tell you a story."

He stood gazing into the water, where the red light gleamed—far away they could hear the steady plod, plod of a heavily shod horse, and the lapping of the water round the side of an approaching barge. Joan's one hand was resting on his shoulder, and the other was holding his hand—she dreaded she knew not what revelations. Would he go away? Yet she trusted him; O, yes, she trusted him.

"Yes, tell me your story, Rolf, if it won't hurt. You needn't. You know I trust you, though your words frighten me. I shall love you as much, whatever you tell me."

"Listen, and then judge. But I know now your verdict. I'll speak it as a parable—it doesn't sound so bald. There was once a boy, lonely and miserable in his childhood, and the bricks of which he built his life never pleased him; he could make them so well that he must make them better. They were heavy, and the hard, jagged edges hurt his hands, and his feet were weary with plodding on, each day and all the days, and his eyes were dull and lustreless, for there were no other eyes from which they reflected the lovelight. The boy pondered much as he went about his work, and after weighing all the chances carefully, though he was no coward, he thought it would be well to lie down, and let the tide of life ebb from him, for he was very tired. Then a woman came, and they loved each other. In their kisses it seemed to him that a thousand generations with all their throbbing endeavour dumbly cried for birth from him and her.

"Now they worked together, and their work was very sweet to them, as they sang together about it. People called them mad that they could find beauty and joy in making bricks; but the

Master smiled. 'This work is well done,' he said. 'They work for love now. It is well.'

"All the days of a long summer and a sweet autumn they worked together and played together, and then one day the maid told the boy a strange new secret, he had little known, about the bricks they were building. Then he was afraid, for he knew that his fellow-workers would blame this work, though the Master would, perchance, smile on it, and use it for the building of His own house. Yet the Master's praise sufficed not, and he went away, to work elsewhere. Then once more he grew weary, and would have lain down, for he wearied for his woman helper, and for the work they had begun. Yet he dared not go back. Then there came another woman to help him, and the old sweet love returned. Yes, he loved her better than the first one, and once more, with her help, he builded his bricks well, and once more the Master was well pleased.

"Then the woman knew he loved her as she loved him, and one night he loved her so well that he told her of the other. How must I finish the tale, Joan?"

He spoke the last words in a whisper, and she felt his hand quiver in hers, for the love of her was strong upon him. She was silent for a long while, and stood away from him (she had gently withdrawn her hand), looking into the dark water. The lapping of the water was louder now—the barge was coming nearer. Then she spoke.

"The story of the second woman before the man came was like *his* story—one of hopelessness, of toil without a purpose. Then he came and crowned her queen of his love; in return she gave him herself, with all her love for life and death. Then, when the woman, proudest among women by right of the queenship he had given her, lived only for love of him who had crowned her queen, he came and told her that the crown was not hers, and belonged to another. She knew she owed it to him to answer as a queen should answer. Yet she loved, and was weak."

Joan stopped speaking. She saw all the lonely, weary years to which she must condemn herself. She thought how weak she was, and how strong he seemed to her when he folded her in his arms, and said that together they could do things. She thought of those strange, unutterable stirrings of her soul when he pressed his lips upon hers, and the windows of Heaven were opened for her to see all the glories that should be. He could see that she was trembling on the verge of her decision, and taking her hand in his, raised it unresisting to his lips.

"Rolf, I can't—O, I can't! I'm only a woman, and I love you too much—too selfishly. I can't do without you—it's worse than death. I'm not ashamed that you should see how well I love you—it's natural and right. But, then, *she* does, too."

"Yes, Joan, *she* does."

"She suffers, as much as I, perhaps, and is nobler than I, because she was willing to let you go, if going could make you happy. *She suffers*," she repeated musingly, "and I suffer—and you?—if you went back?"

"Joan, I can't—don't ask me."

"But you love her?"

"Yes, I think—yes, I love her; but not as I love you."

"The one who loves is happier than the one who is loved," she said slowly, as if speaking to herself. "There is much suffering in the world. Why shouldn't I bear it instead of her? The Master will look upon the work, and it will appear the same—you will forget in time, and I—shall—be—happy—I think."

"Joan, I can't. Now you know, take me for what I am, and let me stay with you—and love me."

She looked into his eyes, and seemed to read his soul; then her own sank, and she looked out into the dark water again.

"I thought perhaps you were afraid to go back, but—are you, Rolf, afraid of what they'll say about——"

"By heaven, no, Joan!"

"I knew it; you wish to stay because you love me?"

"I *must* stay because I love you."

Joan's courage was fast failing. She felt that she must yield, and let the other woman suffer. For what? Sin? No, a thousand times, no—for love and for the law of man. And she? With the thought of escape came the sweet ecstasy of life again—the song-laden gales of Paradise-to-be seemed to waft before and around her. She would forget this woman and her sorrow, and forget this unworthy thing to which love prompted her. But—was it love?

"O, Rolf, I don't love you well enough. I love myself best. No, I will be worthy of the crown you gave me. Take it; go back to her, and ask her to forgive me, for I didn't know. Go—go, before I forget, and call you back. You have my love as long as life parts us—and then perhaps we shall belong to each other."

"Joan, I can't."

"Go," she cried. "Do you think I have no pride? You cannot give me love, when it is hers. Good-bye! You may kiss me once, and then—until you crown me anew in our kingdom, no more." He never guessed what it cost her to give this last token of her love and her sacrifice and then resign him to another's kisses. Women, the best of them, are feverishly, tigerishly jealous when they love. But, enough of that—doubtless the Master smiles on these bricks, made, perhaps, or marred, by love.

"I shall never see you again; at least, not unless *she* wishes—if she doesn't, when we're dead, the eternal parts of us can love without wrong or fear—or—" She broke off suddenly, for the canal barge they had heard in the distance was approaching quickly.

"Hast' got a pipe o' 'baccy about thee, mester?" bawled a hoarse voice from the barge. "I've got a nasty bit o' business on 'ere, an' I'm goin' fetch the pleece."

"Here you are—what's the matter?" said Rolf shortly.

"A wench been an' drowned hersel' an' her kiddie, as fur as I can see—I'd stopped for the night up to Bakewell Wood, there, an' all of a sudden I heard a splash, but I didn't think nothin' of it, an' then her drifted down, an' bumped in to the boat. This is good 'baccy, mester—wunnerful how it comforts you. Her give me such a turn. I got her in—better not let the young lady see her, her's quite drowned. I'll fetch pleece. W'ut stop here while I go?"

"Do you mind, Joan?" He was really thankful. It gave him a few minutes still with her.

"No—let's see if we can do anything."

"No use, I'm afear'd. We'll lift her into the light o' them furnaces. Lend us a hand."

Gently they lifted her, her thin, scanty, soaked garments clinging closely to her, and showing the moulding of the form they only half hid—a slight girlish form, and a sweet, almost childish face, thin and sunken, but flushed now with the rosy fire glow. The dress was opened at the back, and the light gleamed through the strands of dark, sodden hair, which had come unbound and floated over to hide the whiteness beneath. Cold and still, now—but perhaps in that last despairing moment, when she went before her time to ask the Master's judgment on her building, she had stilled the aching mother-heart, and the wailing baby-voice at once, and had forgotten in the divinest of joys, the supreme sorrow. . Perhaps—

They had laid her down, and turned away to bring the child. Joan knelt at her side, and, knowing nothing better to do, lifted the poor thin hand. Even then, she noticed that it bore not the sign-manual which would win her the world's pity instead of its scorn; then she blushed with shame of herself thinking—

She stroked the hand tenderly, then sprang back in horror—the wrist was broken! She could but surmise how, but tears started to her eyes. Strange that a broken limb should seem more terrible to her than Death itself—but Death was the touch of the Master; and the broken hand? Poor child, the pity of it all! that love should exact so heavy a toll from love's victims! And herself? Suppose *she* were left thus, unprotected, the scorn of the righteous, the virtuous, the unloving—the victim of the world's inexorable law of expediency!

The two men returned into the centre of the circle of light; the bargee puffing at his pipe as he carried a pile of doubtful looking clothing, Rolf bearing a dripping bundle which he shewed to Joan. "Joan," he said simply, "the child may live. It was only in the water a few instants. I expect the mother was exhausted by

despair and want, and died almost immediately. Let's get it to the fire—we'll try to save it."

The boatman threw down the clothing, and tramped off to the police-station; together they knelt down to take off the baby's wet garments. Rolf's hand was trembling, and Joan gently pushed it away—of what was he thinking? Joan too, as the tiny form lay naked in her arms, shuddered. . . . She realised at that moment *another* page of life which her renunciation of Rolf had closed unread. But she dared not think, she could not trust herself, and the minutes were speeding on to the last, last minute of all.

"Rolf," she whispered, "go away for a moment. I'm such a coward. Look at her—her hand is broken, and she's died of starvation, nearly—and this child. Oh, go away Rolf, till that man comes back, or I shall forget—my duty—and my love."

Rolf understood. He almost thought he would stay and win her, yet he felt she was right, and walked away to where the woman lay, while Joan wrapped the child, which was stirring feebly in the warmth of the furnace, in the clothing the boatman had brought her, and her own jacket.

She sat down on the ground, her back turned to Rolf, as she caressed the child, and gazed on its face, thinking of—Suddenly a hand was laid on her shoulder—a hand that trembled. She turned quickly, and met Rolf's eyes.

"Joan," he whispered, "it's she. She's come to find me—Oh, it's too terrible. Joan, my punishment is more than I can bear. Joan. . . . Winnie, forgive me."

He sank on his knees beside her—in an instant she had grasped what he meant, and her woman's wit or her love told her what to do. The child was pillowed on one arm, the other she flung round Rolf's neck, and drawing him close to her, kissed him as in the days before the horror of to-night. Then she gently drew the tiny child nearer to him, until he could feel its body, and hers, against his own.

"Rolf, then there's no need to go—this child is mine—ours—it shall be our master-building—our only master-building." She spoke very slowly, and in a strained voice; but looking again into her eyes, he wondered once more why she should suffer—why *any* should suffer, because he had been too cowardly to face the outraged sycophants of method and established law.

Moved by a sudden impulse, she laid the child in his arms, and weeping, turned towards where Winnie lay, and knelt by her side.

"Winnie, Winnie," she sobbed, "I took him from you, but I didn't know—I'm sure I didn't. Oh, why should we all suffer so much? Yet if you hadn't suffered, I should never have seen Rolf, and loved him. You have suffered, and, not knowing it, given me perfect happiness. Now, I will suffer too. I can love

him now, without wronging you, and the world will never pry into our secret—but I will never, never usurp that crown—of thorns, you found it, and I had dreamt of it as a crown of glory—that crown he gave to you to wear.”

She sobbed for a moment, then, kissing the pale, troubled face, returned to Rolf, who had heard the words, and understood. . . . Then, with a kiss, they entered on their kingdom—with a little child to lead them and remind them. And the building went on apace, and the Master smiled and wondered at their childishness, because they had said, “Someone must suffer,” and thought how far they were from understanding his will for them. Yet, because of their weakness and misunderstanding they suffered much; but to which woman was meted the heavier dole of woe?

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A month later, a man and woman stood on the deck of a steamer, southward bound, and the woman held a baby girl in her arms, and loved and mothered her for that she was his. Together in the islands of the south, they builded well, and made a dwelling-house, stately and beautiful, for the Master. Yet sometimes, in the night watches, he thought of a long dream-summer, and a sweet autumn, when he and another had trod the love-path. Sometimes he longed just a little for her, and wondered if she still lived, and if Joan would ever discover *the lie he had told her*—for love’s sake. And underneath the glaring gas-lamps of the Embankment, a girl who wandered faint and weary at night, thought of him who had taught her to write her life, for a long summer and a sweet autumn, in the lovescript, on the history-book of the world. Sometimes she thought of the little child who had died—but most she thought of him. She did not think long or often, though, for others came—

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PARLIAMENTARISM, ANTI-MILITARISM AND DIRECT ACTION.

It seems a far cry from the revolt in Catalonia to the highly respectable law-abiding British Trades Union Congress at Ipswich. Yet in considering the all-important question of the policy of the working class movement both events have their lessons, and there will be found some relation between them. The Trades Union Congress was, in its way, as striking a manifestation against mere Parliamentaryism as were the disturbances in Barcelona; the one by its acquiescence, the other by indignant revolt. The British trade unions, having at last realised the folly of leaving to the master class the monopoly of the Parliamentary machine, are still so dominated by bourgeois ideas that they yet show little inclination to drive that machine in any direction other than that pointed by the master class. The consequence is that the Parliamentary Group of the Labour Party is actively engaged in demonstrating to the working class the futility of Parliamentary action, and the Trades Union Congress, with smug self-sufficiency, emphasises that

demonstration by its cordial approbation of the Liberal Government and the Liberal Budget!

Nevertheless the Trades Union Congress passed a resolution of sympathy with the Catalonian insurgents and of condemnation of the atrocities of the reaction there. The Congress also adopted a resolution condemnatory of Haldane's Territorial Force. That force, in the opinion of the Congress, "is absolutely incompatible with the policy of trade unionists" and one in which they ought not to enlist, as they would be "liable to be called out in times of industrial disputes to quell, and possibly shoot down, their fellow workers who are struggling for better conditions." One delegate, indeed, was so carried away by the indignation evoked by the discussion on this subject as to boldly declare that if the Government dared to use the Territorials against workmen on strike, they, the trade unionists, would immediately—call together the Parliamentary Committee, who would convene a special meeting of the Congress! And nobody laughed at this terrible threat! By this, and by its vote on the Citizen Army, in which the proposal for universal military training was defeated by an overwhelming majority, the Congress showed that the leaders of the organised working-class in this country are not yet alive to the fact that all government rests, as a last resort, upon force, and that a working class which is not in a position to meet force with force, at need, is absolutely powerless when conclusions come to be tried between it and the master class.

The revolt in Catalonia teaches the same among other lessons. That outbreak has been variously treated. Some English newspaper correspondents have essayed to write it down, to belittle it, and make it out to be a childish and futile ebullition of rebellious waywardness. The street fighting, they would have us believe, was but child's play, and the fusillades mere fiction. The ruins of conventual buildings, however, are there as evidence of the reality and vehemence of the popular fury against religious intolerance, and

the savage reprisals which have been going on ever since the suppression of the rising serve to show that the cruelty of the Spanish ruling class has lost none of its hideous characteristics.

In some respects the Catalonian rising, crushed as it was by the most brutal despotism—its vanquished now being tortured in the most hideous fashion—is the most remarkable event that has taken place since the Paris Commune. It was not only a revolt of the working class and the intellectuals against civil despotism and religious intolerance and obscurantism, it was a declaration of “war upon war.” International Congresses have repeatedly declared the hostility of the working class of all countries to war; that their interests are bound up in the maintenance of peace. Our Labour Party in its Conferences, and our Trades Union Congresses have over and over again condemned war and militarism and all their works, and our Labour Members in the House of Commons, except those who represent constituencies directly interested in arsenals and dockyards, generally oppose expenditure on armaments. But “when the blast of war sounds in our ears,” all are “patriots” and sink all considerations for the sake of their common country. We know how impossible it was to make any effective stand here in opposition to the popular fury against the Boers, once the infamous gold-bugs’ war had commenced; and even in the Paris Commune, much of the force of that formidable insurrection was due to popular indignation against the authorities for the misconduct of the defence against “les Prussiens.” In Catalonia, however, the outbreak of the war in Morocco was the signal for a popular rising against the war, a formidable, forcible opposition to Spanish soldiers being sent against the Moors. Working men and working women fought energetically, vigorously, fiercely, against their brothers and sons being sent away to fight against the enemies of “their own country.” That is the outstanding fact which gives to the Catalonian rising its special significance and makes it an event of world-

wide importance. It was "war against war" in the most literal sense.

War against war, in the pacific sense, has been preached many years by the various peace societies; but their preaching has counted for little. On every hand armaments are growing. Europe is an armed camp; the building of war vessels and the forging of implements of war are the only industries which show no signs of flagging in the midst of almost universal industrial depression, and the chief interest in the discoveries of science centres in the question of their adaptability to the art of war. Hervé and his followers, in other countries as well as in France, have vigorously advocated war against war in a more literal and practical fashion than by the mere preaching of peace. They openly advocate the use of arms by the people against their own Government in the event of the latter declaring war. "Turn your arms against your own officers, your own generals, your own rulers—these are your real enemies—not the foreign workmen against whom they would drive you"! That has been the cry; but our own experience in time of war made us here sceptical of the possibility of any such action once hostilities had broken out. In Catalonia, however, the thing has been done. There the people have actually risen in revolt, and have actually fought against a foreign war.

It is true that the revolt has been crushed; that of its leaders some have been shot or tortured to death, and that others are being subjected to similar inhuman tortures. The fact remains that there in Catalonia war has actually been waged against war. And it is the first step that costs. What has been done once can be done again; and failure is but the precursor to success.

The lesson of the present temporary defeat is that afforded by other defeats of the working class elsewhere. It is the lesson that force can only be vanquished by force, and that those only have rights who are strong enough to maintain them. Like the revolution in Turkey; the revolution in Persia; the counter-

revolution in Russia ; the failure of the most successful strike to conquer anything, and the failure of mere Parliamentarism everywhere, the defeat of the Catalonian insurrection is an argument for the Armed Nation. A whole working-class may strike, as in Sweden, but it cannot carry the fortress of the enemy without arms. It may vote itself into power, only to be robbed by force of its victory.

The present growing antipathy to Parliamentarism arises from the fact that both Parliamentarians and anti-Parliamentarians have attached too much importance to it. The former have forgotten that Parliamentarism is, or should be, only one factor in a revolutionary movement, and have constituted themselves legislators instead of rebels.

"Direct action," which really means nothing more nor less than the strike, grandiloquent as the phrase sounds, can never be really aggressive. It can only be defensive, or passive. To strike is not to do anything ; it is to *refuse* to do ; it is passivity carried to the extent of reducing everything to a standstill until certain conditions are conceded. A strike may be undertaken for a political or an economic end ; to support an agitation for the franchise, or to secure higher wages, shorter hours of labour or the improvement of any other conditions of employment. But, however successful a strike may be in attaining any of these objects, it leaves the capitalist basis of society untouched. It does not expropriate the expropriators, and the dominance of the propertied class remains unimpaired. The expropriation of the capitalist class can only be accomplished by force, latent or applied. In any case the force must be there ; and a general strike having this for its object would need, in order to be successful, such perfection of organisation and discipline as would enable the workers to take possession without any strike at all. Even then this perfectly organised and disciplined "direct action" would need to be accompanied by Parliamentary action to ratify and consolidate its achievement.

On the other hand, political Parliamentary action would be futile unless supported by organised force. It is scarcely likely that the decrees of a Socialist Parliamentary majority would be respected by the propertied class whom it proposed to expropriate if the latter still had control of the organised armed force of the nation. "Ulster would fight, and Ulster would be right," was the threat of Irish landlordism in answer to proposed Home Rule. But if a dominant class would fight against a political principle which would in all probability leave their proprietorial rights untouched, how much more forcibly would they resist an avowed attempt to divest them of those rights and privileges?

The lesson, therefore, to be learned by the proletariat from all this is that all means are necessary that may be found available in the work of emancipation, and that none is to be despised: Direct action, Parliamentarism, armed force. It will be time enough for the workers to discard any one of these when the master class does so. When the capitalists condemn Parliamentary action, and refuse to spend tens of thousands of pounds, and to strain every effort in maintaining their control of the political machine, it will be time enough for the workers to abandon political action as useless; when the capitalists cease to resort to "direct action" in the form of the lock-out and the black-list, it will be time enough for the workers to surrender the right to strike; and when the capitalists disband the Army, melt down their artillery into statues of Peace, and beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, it will be time enough to abjure all idea of a resort to force and to cease to agitate for the armed nation. In the meantime, and so long as all means are resorted to against the workers, it behoves them to be prepared as necessity arises to use any means that will serve their end.

H. QUELCH.

KAUTSKY'S "ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY."

The interest attaching to the task of attempting the historico-critical reconstruction of that great episode in universal history which, through a combination of circumstances, became the landmark of the turning point in the evolution of the civilised world, namely, the origin of Christianity, never seems to lose its fascination. Among the immense number of scholars and thinkers who, for a century past, have set their intellects and their pens to the task there is no risk in affirming that few have produced more remarkable results than Karl Kautsky in the volume now before us. On a basis of fact well known to scholars and historical students but by no means familiar to the average man of intelligence and culture—whose culture is, by the way, generally confined for the most part to literature and literary criticism and reckes little of history—Kautsky has succeeded in producing a volume of absorbing interest. In fact, as a purely literary production we would unhesitatingly pronounce "*Der Ursprung des Christentums*" to be the masterpiece of the great literary protagonist of Socialism in Germany. This, notwithstanding that the arrangement of the work we hold to be faulty. The book is divided into four sections, the first a short one on the sources of Pagan and Christian tradition for the personality of Jesus. This is followed by a long section containing a brilliant and graphic summary of the social conditions of the early Empire. The author then returns chronologically in the third section to an equally brilliant survey of Jewish history from its origin. The

latter part of this deals, it is true, with post-exilian Judaism and the Jewish sects of the Christian era, thereby leading on to the fourth and longest section which is concerned with the beginning of Christianity itself. The arrangement strikes us as clumsy. The portion of the fourth section dealing with the early history of Israel ought surely to have come before the discussion on the sources of the Jesus-figure and the description and analysis of the society of the Augustan period.

Apart from the vigour and interest of its literary presentation and marshalling of historical facts, Kautsky's book is remarkable, as those who know anything of the other works of the author will scarcely need to be told, for its thorough-going and consistent attempt to reduce Christian origins and the phenomena connected with them to economic causes. The book represents, indeed, an endeavour to apply practically the materialistic doctrine of history of Marx. But, in addition to this, many interesting points are brought out in the course of the discussions of various historical problems. What Kautsky has to say on the traditional Jesus-figure is practically summed up on page 19, where the author insists that the historical kernel of the Jesus legend amounts to no more than Tacitus reports, to the effect that during the reign of Tiberius a Jewish prophet was executed, from whom the Christian sect took its origin. "What this prophet did and thought," observes Kautsky, "we have not the slightest means of ascertaining with any certainty. In no case could he have aroused the attention alleged by the early Christian writers, otherwise assuredly Josephus, who relates many unimportant matters, would have had something to say about him. The agitation and execution of Jesus unquestionably excited not the least interest among his contemporaries." The legendary figure which has come down to us formed itself gradually, as the originally small and obscure sect grew out of the aspirations and ideas of the various successive layers of its increasing adherents. How the sect came to grow in numbers and importance, ulti-

mately occupying the place it did in the Roman world, is the task Kautsky has set himself to solve by aid of the Marxian key, as we shall see later on. Meanwhile, we may linger a moment over the Kautskian view of the titular founder of Christianity and the nature of his personality. For Kautsky, Jesus was simply one of the numerous agitators and Messiahs which the two last generations of the Jewish State brought forth. On the absurdities and contradictions of the Gospel version of the events preceding the execution of Jesus our author has much to say. He points out the clumsiness with which probably authentic scraps of tradition concerning the character of the historical rebel-zealot, opposed alike to the Roman power and to the respectable Jewish parties of the time, who were prepared to compromise with the former, were allowed to remain in the Gospel narrative side by side with the later conception of Jesus as the meek and lowly apostle of non-resistance and passive obedience, which it was one of the new gospel's main objects to embody.

The unhistorical absurdity of the whole Gospel narrative of the trial and crucifixion is well brought out. Kautsky's view of the story of the arrest is that it took place during, and was in consequence of, a conspiracy started by Jesus and his band against the authorities of Jerusalem—the rendezvous of the conspirators being the Mount of Olives—and which seems to have been planned to follow on the disturbance in the court of the Temple which resulted in the driving out of the bankers and salesmen who were installed there. On an impartial survey of the evidence, which will be found well-marshalled in the work under review, no fair-minded reader, we think, will be able to avoid the conclusion arrived at by Kautsky, to wit, that the historical Jesus was simply the leader of a not very important local attempt at insurrection, and that his seizure, trial, and execution followed immediately on the suppression of the revolt. The unimportance is attested by the fact that, while other Messiahs acquired sufficient influence to have left a name in contemporary historical

testimony, Jesus of Nazareth did not do so. How then, it may be asked, was it that if the original movement of Jesus was of a local and temporary character that the Christianity of history eventually arose out of it? This is the problem for which Kautsky has his own solution to offer, and in respect to this solution some of us may be inclined to part company with our distinguished author.

As already said, the idea of Kautsky in writing "*Der Ursprung des Christentums*" was, in the first instance, to furnish a practical application of the materialistic doctrine of history. Now, in the present case, Kautsky's trump card is to be found in the alleged communistic tendencies of the early Christian communities. The far-reaching influence acquired by the tradition of these communities, as well as the growth and diffusion of the communities themselves in spite of their insignificant origin, Kautsky attributes mainly, if not entirely, to their association with the principle of communistic property-holding. As against this, however, two important considerations may be urged: (1) Is the assumed communism of the early Christians demonstrable as an historical fact? and (2) Even conceding this fact, is it possible to regard it as even a remotely adequate cause of the very far-reaching effects ascribed to it? For my own part I am constrained to answer both questions by a decided negative. The so-called communism of the primitive Christian community at Jerusalem, when closely viewed, amounted to no more than an exaggerated alms-giving called forth by special circumstances. The principal, and probably only original source we have for its existence at all, seems specially to emphasise its voluntary, and hence so far as the principles of the community were concerned, its non-essential, character. Evidence we have none of any organisation in the early Church embodying real communism in contradistinction to the charity of the richer members towards the poorer brethren of the community or certain forms of ceremonial observance

in common. Kautsky is, of course, anxious to "rope in" every statement or tradition he can to prove his thesis, to wit, that the Christian Church was originally a communistic organisation; the dogmas that it embraced, or that grew up around it being, in the first instance, little more than "ideological" decorations and emblems of this central economic fact. The circumstance recorded of the Apostles that when on a journey they had a common purse or "bag" is noted by our author as evidence of the communistic doctrine and tendencies of primitive Christianity. At this rate there should be a lot of communism going about in Western Europe every autumn holiday season (especially in connection with Cook's tours), considering the number of tourist parties whose members find it convenient to have a common account during their trip. I give this as an instance of how perfectly commonplace historical statements can be coloured by a pre-conceived theory.

But if, even, in spite of the lack of evidence, we concede the communistic character of the early Christian Churches, what necessary or probable reason have we, I ask, for assuming this character to have been, not merely the central element in them, but the distinguishing feature in Christianity, that which differentiated it from amid the welter of religio-mystical cults, sects and brotherhoods with which it was surrounded in the world of the contemporary Roman Empire? Was the admittedly crude and imperfect communism of consumption (as opposed to that of production), alleged to have been practised by the early Christians, a sufficiently distinctive and important phenomenon in that age to have by itself attracted the numbers it did and to have acquired for Christianity the influence it did? Kautsky, himself, indirectly answers this question against his own thesis. A certain theologian, anxious to rescue primitive Christianity from the charge of communism, urged against Kautsky that, although a variety of ugly accusations were brought by the contemporary Pagan world against the Christian sect, nowhere do we find any indications that

the early Christians were ever charged with practising communism. The fact of its not being mentioned by contemporary critics of Christianity might indeed militate against the theory that it formed a very prominent side of the new sect, but the argument from the silence of these opponents is, we must agree with Kautsky, certainly not any proof of its not having existed. For, as Kautsky very pertinently points out, communism, as it was understood in the ancient world, did not, either in theory or practice, imply any reproach. It was not viewed as having any special connection with revolutionary tendencies. On the contrary, it was associated, more or less, with many forms of religious, social, and even political organisation that were in high esteem and was traditionally connected with the honoured names of Pythagoras and Plato. So it will be seen that Kautsky himself in this passage argues against it being a distinguishing feature of Christianity. What may possibly be regarded as ceremonial survivals of the traditions of communism in the early forms of human society obtained in well nigh all the fraternities, guilds and corporations of the ancient world, so that, for that matter, it is quite likely, notwithstanding the absence of affirmative evidence, that the early Christians had certain tendencies pointing to communism in the life of their organisation. As for the periodical social feasting, these they undoubtedly had, though probably no one but Kautsky would regard them as any evidence of actual communism. Be this as it may, and allowing the utmost latitude to the alleged communistic tendencies of early Christianity, we are still a long way from the assumption that communism was an essential part of Christian doctrine, or even practice, still less that it was the ground of its success over similar sects and doctrines. Even if communism, in the sense of the dividing-up of consumable wealth, obtained in the early Christian Churches, this was quite certainly a purely side-issue. It was not this which led Christianity to victory over the Roman world. It was not mere

exaggerated alms-giving, such as that described in the Acts, which effected this result. Admittedly the first great successes of the new sect began after the supposed communistic practices were becoming obsolete in the Church.

What, then, was the distinctive feature in early Christianity which gave it "the pull" over Judaism and the various Pagan cults and mysteries professing the same general intellectual and moral outlook as Christianity? The answer, I take it, is in the main obvious. During the second century, how and why we cannot at present trace, the Christian Church discovered, and made its own, the formula or formulæ best adapted to express a strong intellectual and moral current already existing for some generations throughout the East and the Mediterranean lands, while at the same time it absorbed from the various Pagan cults around it the ceremonies and ritual best adapted to body it forth. How and why it managed to effect this by a process of selection, conscious or unconscious, as just said, it is impossible at this distance of time to find out. That the purely materialistic side of the organisation of the early Christian communities, together with the general conditions of life in the great cities of the Empire, powerfully contributed in the general result is undeniable. But neither the economic conditions of the society out of which it grew nor those which it shaped for itself within its churches, can, having regard to the historical evidence, be located as the central or determining factor in the evolution of the Christian Church. What then was this central factor? Undoubtedly the doctrine of the relation of the individual human soul to the central power of the universe. This was the problem round which the thought of the then civilised world had been circling for generations. This was the theme of the Mysteries, of the new cults introduced from the East, and the new interpretation of the old myths and ceremonies of an earlier Paganism. It was the ideal content of the dominant thought of the age which crystallised in the

Christian sect and around its central figure, which came to serve, so to say, as the tailor's block to set forth these tendencies. That every doctrine and practice belonging to the Christian religion is traceable in the contemporary and pre-existing Paganism and Judaism of the time is a fact no longer disputed by any serious student of history, and to enlarge upon it here would be superfluous.

Why these ideas, common as they were to the serious-minded men of the age and expressed in a detached form in the various cults and mysteries, should have concentrated themselves, as in a focus, precisely in the Christian sect rather than in any other of the various cults then prevalent, I again repeat, is, to a large extent, one of the secrets of history to which our imperfect materials for a knowledge of the time furnish us with no adequate key. We can only explain it in general terms as due to the fact that the Christian religion succeeded in finding the formula most suitable for the growing monotheism and ever intensifying introspective spiritual and ethical tendencies of the age, together with the form of organisation best adapted to maintain material continuity and independence for the Christian sect as a sect. That the alleged element of communistic practice in the Christian Church, if it ever existed, had nothing to do with historical Christianity can hardly be doubted when we reflect that the Essenes, the Therapeutæ, the votaries of Serapis, not to speak of other lesser communistic brotherhoods and religious bodies existing at the time—whose communism is not a matter of doubt, and was developed, it will not be denied, to a much greater degree than could have been the case with the early Christian Churches—nevertheless did not maintain their independence in the face of the new sect. It may, perhaps, be conjectured that the elaborate system of intercommunication by wandering preachers and by letters in which intercourse was kept up, and a uniformity of doctrine and practice promoted among the Christian

communities of the Empire, and under the influence of which gradually the imperium in imperio of the Catholico-Christian Church was developed, was the most powerful factor on the material side in the success of the new religion. As regards the ideal side of the latter, the essential element in Christianity, so far from its being communistic, was the very antithesis of communism. The Christianity of history represents, primarily, the quintessence of the individualism of a decadent civilisation as far as possible removed from the communism of primitive times, which had its symbolical expression rather in those primitive local Pagan practices with which Christianity waged so deadly a war. The central point of Christianity was the relationship of the individual soul to God as the creative principle of the universe. It was this mystical relation of the individual soul to God who, in popular thought, came to be regarded as a preternatural superman, on which the whole Christian theory turns. This it was, and not any exaggerated alms-giving, in which Kautsky discovers communistic tendencies, that really gained over the Roman world of the first three centuries. Kautsky, in his sacramental devotion to the historical materialism of Marx, fails altogether to recognise the importance of this introspective individualism and mysticism as a salient phase of human evolution. The latter, of course, got overshadowed among the great mass of nominal Christians as soon as large populations became converted, and the Church waxed rich, even within the confines of the Empire—by interested motives; while, with the acceptance of the Christian creed by the barbarians, and, still more, with the establishment of their kingdoms, it became entirely overgrown with the crude animistic beliefs of an earlier phase of social life and thought. But, though this continued substantially throughout the Middle Ages, the mystic-individual idea remained always, nevertheless, the motive power of the saint and the higher intellects of the Church.

The above criticism must on no account be taken

to imply that the present writer underrates the value of Kautsky's investigations. His work contains much historical criticism of a very high order. He may not have succeeded in proving the existence of communistic tendencies in any legitimate sense of the word, in the early Church—not even in the primitive Church of Jerusalem—and assuredly not in the Christian communities which spread over the Mediterranean countries after the fall of Jerusalem—but he has succeeded, nevertheless, in establishing an important fact in connection with primitive Christianity. Kautsky has shown, beyond all probable doubt, that the little-noticed sect of rebel-zealots at Jerusalem who claimed Jesus of Nazareth as their founder, was predominately of a proletarian-anarchist character—understanding the word proletarian in the classical sense of the word, as denoting a rabble of indigent or destitute freemen. That its objects were substantially the same as that of the other insurrectionary cliques then common throughout Palestine is highly probable, to wit, the freeing of the country from the Roman yoke and the re-establishment of the Jewish religion on a democratic and popular basis with the control of the Temple and its vast treasures by their own leaders. The above revolutionary society succeeded in holding together after the death of its leader, owing, it may be, to the memory left by the latter's personality or to other causes. This community at Jerusalem it was to which all the proletarian associations of Christianity were attached, and it came to an end soon after the year 70.

From this date Christianity assumes quite another character; it ceases to be rebellious, and becomes a religion of non-resistance to evil, and it is from this time forward that it begins to absorb the mystical tendencies of the age. The old Messianic and rebellious doctrines of the original Jerusalem community became soon a heresy, the so-called "Ebionite" heresy. "True Christianity," if by this be meant the Christianity of history, began its career. It cannot be

too much insisted upon that wellnigh all the doctrines and most of the ceremonies which constitute Christianity at the present time in all its various forms, and which have constituted it throughout its historical career, date from the first half of the second century. This, the only Christianity with which for practical purposes we are concerned to-day, is, in essence, neither communistic nor proletarian, but, on the contrary, mystical, introspective and individualistic.

E. BELFORT BAX.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE STATE.

In the August number of the "Social-Democrat" the article by "Fair Play" entitled "Women's Rights and Privileges" contains so much that is distorted and misleading that I ask for space in which to correct the erroneous ideas and statements of the writer.

I would at the outset ask to be excused from discussing the "sayings, doings and teachings of Christ" in reference to this question, as having no practical bearing upon any aspect of the case. Not that I fear the result of such a discussion, but in a review such as this the space can be filled with more tangible and useful ideas. That Christians are opposed to one another on this as on every other question of a social and political nature is proved by the fact that such men as the Dean of Canterbury, the Bishop of Manchester, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Archdeacon of Hereford, the Dean of Winchester and many other eminent clerics are Anti-Suffragists.

May I suggest that "Fair Play" is a woman, else we should never have had such "arguments" as the following in the article I am dealing with: "Christ taught the equality of the sexes"; "one woman—Harriet Beecher Stowe—did more than any man to put down slavery"; "women now want to be free themselves"; "women are totally dependent upon men"; "some women are born for marriage, others are not"; "women are called upon to be mothers and thus risk their lives for their country"; "taxation without representation is monstrous." All these statements, as well as minor ones in the article, I emphati-

cally deny and dispute. If "not a single argument of the Anti-Suffragists has been left unrefuted," I propose to submit a few arguments as an Anti-Suffragist, opposed to giving equal political power to any woman in the community at all, rich or poor.

The local, municipal, and county vote women already have, in some cases also the right to sit—just the same as the men; with these civil rights I do not quarrel, but the wider national and imperial political powers that are demanded by women I strenuously protest against. I look at the matter from no biased standpoint, neither as a Socialist nor a Secularist, but as a citizen; a point of view, after all, from which the question will ultimately be settled.

The principal claim made by all Suffragists is that women have a *right* to the vote. Not a legal right, that is certain. And as to "inherent rights" or "natural rights," nobody at this time of day would urge anything so foolish publicly, although one does meet them privately even among members of the S.D.P. On coming into the world (in a civilised or savage state or community) we have no "rights," but as we grow up we share in the responsibilities, duties, and rights of individuals in the community, just as far as the sense and safety of the community decree and allow. The only "right" then to be considered is the "moral right." This gutta-percha-like term can be made to fit over anything one wants. But even when we agree that there does exist this moral right to equal political power, I contend that this personal right is subject to public right. That the rights and liberties of individuals are circumscribed, and that the safety, security and well-being of the State are paramount. Will a Socialist or anybody else dispute this? The question then finally resolves itself into this, Will woman suffrage be in the interest of the community?

To answer this we require all the facts concerning those States where adult suffrage obtains. For sex differences, sex instincts and sex characteristics are not local but universal.

What has been effected in the four Rocky Mountain States of America? Are not the industrial, economic and social conditions of other States in the Union equal, even superior? And what value can women's votes have in Mormon States like Utah, Idaho and Wyoming (three of the four), where many women are sexually and economically enslaved to their Mormon "protectors," who actually command their votes and turn their political power to personal profit.* In Australia, too, does not Tom Mann tell us that things on the whole are the same there as here; that poverty and degradation in Sydney and Melbourne are as bad as are to be found in Bethnal Green, Shore-ditch and Deptford? But there is another side to the question of *women's rights* in Australia I will deal with.

Suffragettes and "whole-hoggers," too, are continually telling us that once give women votes and the sex will tend to become public-spirited, noble-minded, less frivolous, petty and sordid, etc.; that politics, through woman's entrance and interest therein, will be elevated and purified; that a better class of politician will be created, and the rest of it. What will Tom Mann tell us of these prophecies?

The official "Year Book" of the Commonwealth of Australia (just published) gives the following vital statistics. At the end of last year there were 2,252,000 males and 2,023,000 females in population, a majority of 220,000 males. We would naturally expect from this that female virtue and womanly pride were characteristics of Australian women (being fewer than men), especially as they possess votes, i.e., equal political power with the men. But the statistics of illegitimacy (p. 196) show a percentage of 6.23, whereas the figures for England and Wales (same authority) is 4.00. How does this square with the moral and social consequences that are claimed for Votes for Women?

The women of New Zealand and the Commonwealth have certainly caused legislation closing public-

* In the United States there are a million more men than women.

houses in certain districts, and the abolition of barmaids throughout these Colonies ; but the Prohibition States of America existed years before, where no women have votes. In the four States previously referred to, neither saloons nor the sale of liquor are prohibited. While Suffragettes boast of what the female vote has done in Australia in the matter of barmaids and the serving of women in public-houses, with characteristic inconsistency they denounced the Home Secretary (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) for wanting to abolish barmaids in a clause of the late Licensing Bill. In Trafalgar Square I heard that "20,000 honest, respectable women will be thrown on the Labour market and the streets, by this interference with the liberty of the subject." As to the general trend of legislation there, I think Tom Mann will bear me out when I say that the growth of Labour politics and the Labour Party is responsible for social and industrial reforms, and not "Votes for Women."

On the economic side, too, I see dangers ahead, and disasters that will ensue if women get political power added to their present economic power in the Labour market. We all know that supply and demand regulate prices—of commodities and human labour. Wages are determined by competition, not votes. And were it not for the strength of the trade unions wages would go down, votes or no votes. The right of combination, fought for and won by men, is free for the women to use, by which means they could increase their wages in the same way that men have done. Too selfish and mean-spirited to join a trade society and pay their dues, they are easily deluded into believing that votes will get them a higher price for their labour and services. The idea that votes will obtain for women equal pay for equal work with men must have been hatched in the brain of a female utterly ignorant of economics. It is true that the elementary teachers of both sexes employed by the State in Wyoming receive the same pay ; but in no trade or industry of any kind does it apply there or anywhere else. And

the result in Wyoming has been that, whereas some years ago there were 400 male and 100 female elementary teachers, there are now 434 women and only 102 men, showing that where the work and pay is the same, women can compete and shame men out of the business altogether. And, moreover, the wages remain at the same low level as 20 years ago.

Here female clerks are doing the same work as numbers of men formerly did, and accepting 10s. a week for what men demand 25s. or more; and these men's votes are useless to alter this state of things owing to competition. Competition and the laws of supply and demand bring the price of this form of labour down to the lowest level of subsistence; a level that the men clerks themselves denounce and describe as a "pin-money level." Can we believe otherwise than if women obtain votes for Parliament they will use this political power as a means for taking and making opportunities to enter more and more into competition with men? That this competition will bring down wages is inevitable, with the result that less men will be employed, and those who are will have to put up with lower wages, even, than they get to-day.

The displacement of male labour is ever on the increase, and all the votes of the men affected are powerless to alter the currents of capitalist exploitation. Capital wants cheap labour, and females respond to the call. Outside the traditional "women's trades," women are largely, sometimes exclusively, employed in the making of saddlery and harness, slippers, gloves, cocoa, confectionery, jam, pickles, mustard, aerated waters, straw plait and hats, rubber and gutta-percha goods, stationery, elastic web, corsets, cutlery and scissors, gold, silver, white metal and pewter goods, electro-plate, pottery, chemists' preparations, explosives, and in printing, dyeing and cleaning. Can such rivalry and displacement, intensified by "equal political power," tend to produce healthy and noble human relationships? And will not the homes and the health of the people suffer in consequence?

Without votes women's wages during the last 50 years have increased faster and more consistently than those of men, and with regard to the unorganised and un-agitated domestic servants, wages have strikingly increased and conditions changed for the better; only supply and demand have brought this about, and if every domestic servant had a vote to-morrow, they could not profitably affect it in the least.

It is urged by the Suffragists that women are more humane than men, and that they would use their power to bring about kinder and gentler legislation. There is nothing to justify this expectation. The half-timers of Lancashire have again been condemned to begin work in the sheds and mills at twelve years of age, by the female vote in the unions, whereas at Portsmouth at the Labour Party Conference the men unanimously condemned the half-time system altogether. And it is the women, too, who demand the exemption of female florists from the provisions (as to overtime) of the Factory Acts. Their demand conceded would mean giving employers power to keep their girl florists working overtime as often as they (the employers) liked. It would appear as though these women agitators were afraid the employers would not make their fortunes fast enough. Again, what kindly considerations have the 2,000 married women teachers in the London County Council schools for the hundreds of young women teachers out of employment, who are fully qualified for these posts? Young women who are an expense and an anxiety to their parents and friends. And how often do we hear of the discredibly low salaries paid by "ladies" to other "ladies." Platform platitudes about benevolence and the rest does not appeal to poorly-paid nursery governesses, secretaries, music teachers, etc.* But economic laws working in a competitive system take no heed of the weak, the weary and the worn out, not even though they went once in six years and voted for the man or the party who had promised most.

* See the advertisements in the religious weeklies.

When it is suggested that the women who are interested in social and political movements, who are working in various ways in the interests of the poor, the weak, the distressed and the friendless, should hold congresses and submit their conclusions to the Government for their consideration and acceptance, the answer is a flat refusal. Nothing less than co-operation with men in all the political problems affecting the people, the nation and the empire will satisfy them; a condition of things that no European State or any military power of ancient or modern times could agree to.

Consequently the vote would cause an influx of women into all the political clubs and associations, into the inner circles, on committees, boards and delegations; determined to have a voice and an influence in all the private, official and public business of their party, having *become counters* in the game, they would, by virtue of their sex alone, dominate a section of the male members and supporters. Men otherwise indifferent, and indifferent men now otherwise occupied, would then be attracted to politics to the annoyance and disgust of the sincere and the serious, and instead of getting a better class of men in politics we should, I am afraid, get the opposite. It may be urged that this would right itself in time, but I fear that with the introduction of business and commercial interests and speculations into the political life of the country, which the Tariff Reform movement threatens, politics and politicians here will become as corrupt and immoral as is the case in America.

And what kind of women will politics attract? Surely not the gentle, the patient and the homely; not the domesticated, the maternal or the sisterly; but those who are scheming, hard, calculating, impatient, unloving, distrustful; those who are fond of bluster, noise and deception; in fact, those unwomanly females that are "an abomination to God and man."

Although I personally disagree with H. M. Hyndman and Robert Blatchford as to Germany's

intentions regarding Great Britain, the fact that two such clear-sighted and influential comrades are urging on the country the immediate and absolute need for our preparedness in military and naval armaments is another reason why we should refrain from giving equal political power to the women. I believe that women will not clamour for war—having too much to lose—but if they had votes, and desired peace, could they prevent the manhood of the country going to war with Germany to maintain their national existence? And, in the event of women desiring war and the men objecting to it, how would the fighting be done? In the United Kingdom there are about a million and a quarter more women than men, and on a purely sex question, supposing all the women to vote one way, how would the law be enforced? Laws ultimately rest on force, without which they would become ineffective and ridiculous.

In conclusion, I would just like to show how empty is the charge made by Suffragists that women are the slaves of men, "and at their mercy." When a man marries a woman he must support her, and the law, as well as the local authorities, are at her command in case he requires to be compelled. There is, however, no law in this country that can compel this woman in return, to do a single thing for the husband. Man-made laws compel him to do his duty, but allow her to please herself. If he gets rich, he must allow her more; but if she gets rich even though he meets with misfortune and cannot earn his living, she is not compelled to maintain him, unless he goes into the workhouse, when the authorities would charge her with the cost of her husband's support out of the rates. And men are called tyrants!

Finally, I contend that woman's place is in the home. Homes in the true sense do not and cannot exist for the workers while capitalism obtains. The forces of capitalism that drive women out to "earn their living" in the shop, the factory, the mill and elsewhere, risking danger, degradation and disease, these

forces must be conquered and controlled by the people, so that woman may be left in her true sphere, in her natural position, where as daughter, sister, sweetheart, wife and mother, her influence and her efforts will ennoble and elevate human tendencies and ambitions, so that from every home, radiating from every family circle, there shall be love and truth and justice. *First seek ye Socialism and all else shall be added unto you.*

H. B. SAMUELS.

RED BANNERS.

As the Autumn down the year's path stealing
Hangs its scarlet banners through the land,
Touching copse and moorland, ash and rowan,
With the magic of its crimson wand ;
So our cause steals over hill and valley,
Wafts through hamlet glimpse of vision red ;
Catches tree-tops of the great world thinkers,
Flaunts the scarlet banner overhead.

Banner dyed with Privilege's life stream,
Banner stained with Feudal year's decay,
Stiff with weary workers' blood-red heart drops,
Borne aloft by staggering men at bay.
Banner carried through the mart and workshop,
Hailed by comrades as the token sure :
" From red Autumn's reek and Winter's death pangs
Rises Spring with hope and purpose sure ! "

Come, then, Comrades, lend a hand to Autumn,
Hang out scarlet banners through the land ;
Let each village, hamlet, cot and roadside
Feel the magic of our crimson wand ;
Preach our Gospel over hill and valley ;
Give our cause hot words and visions red ;
Gather in the conscripts for the battle,
Flaunt the scarlet banner overhead !

Let us vow beneath red stains of Autumn
Never more shall child be starved or lone ;
Never more shall weary man or woman
Seek for work and bread—and find a stone.
Never more shall man enslave his brother
With the gold from sweated workers got ;
Never more shall wealth lie stored and useless,
While folk shiver, starve and rot.

'Tis the workers who must free the workers ;
'Tis the toilers' blood has dyed our flag ;
Come, then, comrades, lend a hand to Autumn,
Flaunt the red on moorland and on crag !
Ye are many in your sweltering slum-lands,
They are few, and in their hearts is dread ;
Lo ! the red pall o'er the land is spreading,
Flaunt the scarlet banner overhead !

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

THE MONTH.

Mr. Lloyd George's many Budget concessions during the Budget debate, which Asquith himself suggests are too many, now include half-a-million a year to the landlords in respect of income-tax. Lloyd George may, indeed, be glad of a week's adjournment of the Commons. It will enable him to test what may now be expected as the yield.

It is now decided, if the Budget passes, that £500,000 a year is to be spent as a Development Fund in making new roads, afforestation, coast protecting or land reclaiming. France has for years been spending about ten times as much in this way. However, it is a start. It is getting in the expansive bullet, as the Rosebery raven would croak.

It is more "grandmotherliness," we suppose; and brings nearer the day when every man will be his own grandmother.

To be sure the Government's idea is that ordinary labour will be increased in volume, hereby; not that the unemployed will be "put on" to any great extent.

All lands occupied and used by friendly societies will be relieved from all the taxes so long as they are occupied and used. The periodic increment tax will not be charged on lands held for investment, but, so far as the other taxes are concerned, on lands held for investment, these societies will pay like any other owner. The exemptions apply to any friendly society registered with the Registrar. All friendly societies are therefore on a level.

Rosebery won't speak again. Nothing makes it necessary, he says. The country, he has told us, is being brought "into

jeopardy." The "Daily Mail" gives the biggest capitals to that great phrase. And it is revolution, says Rosebery. And it's all right, says Rosebery. Anyhow, there's no need for me to speak again, says Rosebery. "— the "Times" and its scolding of lordly shirkers," says Rosebery.

Burns's Housing and Town Planning Bill is in the melting pot. The point between the Lords and the Government is chiefly as to whether compulsory powers for purchase should be obtainable by a local authority by the simple and cheap process of going to the Local Government Board for an Order, or by the more complicated and vastly more expensive method of applying for a Provisional Order confirmed by Parliament. The Bill was for the simpler process; the Lords, pretending to wish to save the people from bureaucracy, are for the more complicated one.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell, addressing "Dear Mr. Asquith," has appealed to him to reverse his attitude on the Women Suffrage campaign. The hunger strike, with its forcible feeding sequel, has puzzled the Government, but has not helped the suffragettes. They had lost much ground in the country by their tactics at Birmingham, where they appeared quite reckless as to who might be hurt by missiles flung from roofs, and where there were toy bombs found in plenty, and were even dark whispers of kerosene and possible firing of the tarpaulin laid on Bingley Hall roof.

Socialism has been "cussed and discussed" at the Church Congress; and the month's new "great thought" is that we must change human nature first. Messrs. Lipton never open a branch without writing to the local grocer and inquiring if his "human nature" will stand being choked by their octopus concern. He always says "Yes." Obviously, because they come.

Great efforts are being made to extend the trackless trolley-cars system. As a means of linking up with track routes for one thing. Their initial cost is only about one-fifth of the track line system.

Seven hundred men who had been employed at the Labour colony under the Glasgow Distress Committee were dismissed on a recent Saturday owing to the lack of funds

Comrades everywhere are rallying with their shillings and sixpences to the strengthening of "Justice" in the difficulties which it has experienced following on the bad trading of the first half of this year. It is too early for confident talking, but the position of things at Clerkenwell Green shows marked improvement; owing partly to this rally, and partly to internal changes.

Second reading has been given to the Marine Insurance (Gambling Policies) Bill.

The Suppressed Bande Mataram has re-appeared at Geneva.

The German Socialist Conference has re-affirmed the Dresden resolution, the substance of which was that Social-Democrats could not, in ordinary circumstances, take any part in bourgeois governments.

The month has witnessed the Conference of the International Association of the Press.

A military training Bill has been introduced into the Australian Commonwealth Parliament.

Tom Mann writes that in Melbourne now there are fully four thousand men able to work and anxious to get work, but who can find no opportunity; besides these there are many only casually employed, not classed as out of work, but whose income is less than £1 a week; and there are thousands of youths and young women out of work too.

Don't despair of Australia, he adds, in spite of the foregoing facts. The Socialists are at work steadily and persistently, and their work is telling, and telling well, too.

For about a month a strike has been on the Pressed Steel Car Company's works at McKee's Rocks, Pennsylvania, and has resulted in scenes that call to mind the horrors of Homestead and the Cœur d'Alene. The men on strike are of all nationalities. Three imported strike-breakers, three strikers, and two troopers have been killed, and many others wounded, some very seriously.

The following has been passed by the Executive Council of the Social-Democratic Party: "This meeting of the Executive Council of the S.D.P. enters its strong protest against the wholly arbitrary and unjust proceedings of the Clerical Spanish Government against Professor Ferrer and other innocent people for using their best endeavours to improve the education of the Spanish people, and to organise them on constitutional lines."

The squalid Peary-Cook controversy over the North Pole drags on. Meantime, Cook is raking in the dollars. Peary is keeping his dignity nice and cold. It seems, by the way, that Peary sent back the British subject, Capt. Bartlett, as he neared the Pole. He didn't want any sharer in his honours. "John Bull" comments on this: How unlike Dr. Russel Wallace and Darwin, fifty years ago, when simultaneously they made a great achievement in science.

Dr. Cooper, Liberal member for Bermondsey, has died. One of his last acts was to write to the local S.D.P. stating that the high death rate of the district, and the poor health rate, were, undoubtedly, largely due to the wretched state of some of the Bermondsey homes—so-called. The bye election will, naturally, be one of very special interest. The 1906 majority was nearly 1,800.

The Duke of Northumberland's wretched cottage property has been much to the fore. The death rate among its occupants has been very high. The local sanitary authority has ordered several of the cottages to be closed. The Duke has just figured prominently in the Lords. He has moved (and carried) an amendment to Bills dealing with property; the amendment directed to the safeguarding of private ownership as the chief thing the Lords have to consider. There is no need to hurry with housing reform, the Duke told the Lords.

NEWPORT, 1909.

Comes yet another "*terrible disaster*"

To swell the sum of grim and ghastly toll
Paid, from fear lest Hunger overmaster,
By earth's sad toilers. Deep in clay and coal,
O'er scaffold's dizzy edge, down hideous drain,
'Mid whirring wheels, 'mid white-hot furnace-blast,
Off boat and barge, 'neath shattered truck and train,
Behold them—torn, crushed, fall'n, caught up or cast!

And *we* are consenting to their deaths this day,
To *all* our deaths, if we but acquiesce
Patiently in the brutal bludgeon-sway
Of Riches wrung from human wretchedness;
Like those whose profit is our griefs and graves,
Who cease not to extol, endorse, defend
Their Juggernaut, rolled down upon us slaves
Murdered to make its modern dividend.

O, then, take hands who daily risk their fate,
We, the yet living, 'cross our mates just dead!
Leave barren tears, and ineffectual hate,
Sharing a nobler Sympathy instead;
To hasten on the inevitable Hour
When, proof against the guineas of our lords,
In Solidarity we'll push to Power,
Beyond all creziers and conquering swords.

Let Mammon's slaves cry up from shore to shore
Their Monarch of all Monsters yet unhung,
Think they have peace, because they see no War,
And prate like parrots of their flags far-flung.
But Labour from its many deaths must rise
In glorious victorious Second Birth,
Living through living lips, and hands, and eyes,
To grapple for the Mastership of Earth!

G. W. S. (Erith Branch).

THE NEW REVISIONISM IN GERMANY.

In an article in the current issue of the "International Socialist Review," Wm. English Walling writes :

"The world's most important Socialist conference, after the International Congress at Amsterdam"—such will be the judgment of the historian of the Socialist movement on the German Parteitag that has just been brought to a close in Leipzig.

It is to be compared with the Congress of Dresden, at which the German Party declared, by an overwhelming majority, against the revisionists, that revolutionary tactics must go with revolutionary principles, and that Socialists were not to lend their political support to capitalistic Governments. And, just as the International Congress, held the next year at Amsterdam, decided against Jaurès and the participation of Millerand in a non-Socialist Ministry, so the International Congress at Copenhagen next year may be expected to take a stand against the new revisionism or labourism which is now threatening to lead the movement in many countries away from the path of Socialism.

For, as Kautsky has made clear in his writings and speeches, the new danger comes not from Bernstein or the intellectuals, but from among conservative and opportunist leaders of the trade unions. Theoretical revisionism, Kautsky maintains, is dead. Political revisionism is at the danger point. That this is true is shown by the fact that the revisionists refused to take any position on the question of re-affirming the Dresden resolution, which, therefore, stands as the party's principle. Like true opportunists, they were ready to throw Bernstein and the revisionist theory overboard, it only left in control of the political machine.

On the principal matter at issue, to be sure, whether the Socialist members of the Reichstag should have voted in favour of or against the inheritance tax proposed by the late Bülow Government, the revisionists seemed to win a victory by the declaration of Bebel, that, had he been well at the time, he would have opposed voting against the tax. However, it was just the kind of victory that will do the revisionists the least good, now that they have given up hope of moderating the fundamental principles of the party—namely, a mere moral victory.

For the conduct of the party in this matter was left at Leipzig, as before, in the hands of the Reichstag members. Evenly divided at the present moment, the new successes the party is winning in every bye-election must soon give the revolutionists a clear majority in the Reichstag. For there is not a single revisionist on the party executive, the editors of the *Vorwärts* are all revolutionists, and the overwhelming majority of the party membership stands with Singer, Kautsky, and Ledebour, against the South Germans, the conservative trade union leaders, and the relatively small group of revisionist intellectuals.

The importance of the new tendency lies not in the fact that it has captured, or is about to capture, the German party, but that its tenets are almost identically the same as those which are as powerful as ever in France, have recently gained the upper hand in Italy, and are the only "Socialist" principles to which the British trade unionists have ever paid the slightest heed. Not only this, but all the main questions, including the bone of contention in Leipzig, are equally under discussion in every modern country.

It is just such crises as have arisen at the present moment in every country of the world, that enable the Socialist parties for the first time to play a great historic rôle in weakening militarism, and establishing the basis of at least a political democracy. As reformers, Socialists will always be overshadowed by opportunist bourgeois reformers, who can and will sell out everything to obtain the reform in question. But in these great constitutional crises it is necessary to fight, which requires the backbone and principle to be found only among Socialists in these days.

Already in England the Liberals have begun to compromise with the House of Lords, while their German counterparts have abandoned all pretence to make use of the great crisis of a year ago, when (as the world knows) the whole nation was up in arms against the Emperor, in order to demand a constitutional government. Only the most aggressive tactics on the part of English and German Socialists can force the people of either country to take advantage of the financial difficulties caused by Imperialism to forge a weapon by which the latter may finally be overthrown.

But this is the very moment when British Labourites and German revisionists come forward with a plan to strengthen the Liberals by a political alliance. The situation in Germany and the arguments used are almost exactly those of other countries.

The arguments for and against the proposal of the revisionists to vote in favour of granting the proposed Inheritance Tax were summed up in the shortest possible form by Karski in "*Vorwärts*":

"On the one side it is argued that we stand under all circumstances in favour of the increase of the Inheritance Tax, because

it is a direct tax. In the second place, we follow the tactics of choosing the lesser evil, and grant direct taxes in order to avoid indirect taxes. In the third place, we grant direct taxes to spoil the inclination of the bourgeoisie for militarism; which they will favour no longer if they must bear the burden themselves."

"On the other side it is argued that we might grant direct taxes, but that it is by no means necessary that we should do so. If it is a mere question of replacing indirect by direct taxes, then we are, of course, in favour of doing so. But if it is a question of creating new sources of income for the State, then we must ask first of all to what purposes are these new sources of income to be used. If they are to serve the general aims of civilisation, then we grant them. If they are to serve purposes hostile to civilisation and the people's welfare—like militarism, colonialism, and the big Navy craze—then we refuse them under all circumstances, according to the good old principle, 'Not a single penny or a single man for the present system.' The argument of the lesser evil can find no application here, since it leads to laughable conclusions; it would only be necessary for the Government to demand as many *indirect* taxes as possible to be used against the people, in order to get the Social-Democrats to grant *direct* taxes in large amounts (to be used for the same purpose). Also, the argument that the bourgeoisie would lose its taste for militarism if its cost had to be covered by direct taxes falls to the ground, because the maintenance is for the bourgeoisie of to-day a life and death question; it is the only means they have of defending their domination against the proletariat, and they will gladly trade direct taxes for this purpose, especially when these direct taxes are so ridiculously small, as they are in the Government's Inheritance Tax proposal."

With the change of a dozen words this whole résumé could be applied equally well to the English situation. There, also, the cause of the new revolution in taxation is not that money is needed for social reform, but that the Government has decided to build more "Dreadnoughts," and that the Liberals have become as Imperialistic as the Conservatives themselves. Similarly the principles of the argument could be extended to the situation in nearly every other country.

In Germany, fortunately, the voters seem inclined to take the revolutionary view, as was pointed out by Ledebour in his report to the Leipzig Congress on behalf of the party executive. He said:

"All our experience proves that the best thing for us to do is to oppose the *whole system* in the sharpest possible manner. The colossal successes in the recent bye-elections show this. If this increase of votes could be traced back to our declaration in favour of the *principle* of the Inheritance Tax, the Radical and Liberal parties would show an increase of votes since they were on our side in this question. But these parties have everywhere

fared as badly, and, in places, even worse, than the Centre (Catholic) and Conservative parties. The confidence of the people in our party grows, not on account of our attitude to any side issue, in which we find ourselves *in agreement* with the bourgeois parties, but on account of the basic principles which *separate* us from all other parties."

Chairman Singer expressed a similar opinion, and seemed to receive the approval of a majority of the Congress. He said:

"What has made the Social-Democratic party great and strong? Why, only the open and firm way in which we have stood for our principles, both in regard to our final goal, and in the politics of the day. . . . Since the question of choosing the lesser evil has been brought up here, I must say that I hold it to be a lesser evil, if difficulties arise in our (electoral) agitation on account of a vote (in the Reichstag) which was justified by our principles, than if we finally take a path in which there is no possibility of stopping, in order to avoid these difficulties. . . . Of course, we will vote for direct taxes, if the purpose for which the taxes are to be used corresponds with our convictions; but to decide this question beforehand for each individual case is impossible."

This clearly is the true Socialist position. But what, then, is the basic principle on which the revisionist opposition rests? The long controversy between Kautsky and his revisionist and trade union opponents, just before the Congress, shows the heart of the situation. Kautsky had argued that English, German, and especially American experience in the past ten years has shown that the trade unions cannot expect the same success as they could ten years ago, before the era of trusts and employers' associations; that, therefore, they must seek the aid and co-operation everywhere of the Socialist party. The trade union revisionists answered that the prospects of the trade unions are satisfactory in all these countries, without any new and radical political action, and that, on the contrary, it is better for the political party to give its chief attention to such everyday political matters as may be of immediate benefit to the unions. In other words, the party plays a secondary rôle. If the political reformers in the party will satisfy the immediate needs of the unions, the latter will be glad to drop all larger questions and to leave the party management in their hands.

SALVADOR DANIEL, MUSICIAN AND COMMUNARD.

Heine warned those who fought with him in "the war of human liberation" that they must expect their names to be uttered with slander in Philistia. That is the penalty all soldiers of "progress" must pay. If they are fortunate enough to win a place in the annals of men, their fame may live it down. If not, their portion is a sneer, or contemptuous silence.

Among musicians, for instance, take Wagner's anarchical tendencies, and his service at the barricades in the Dresden rebellion of 1849. In those days, Wagner was considered by "respectable" people a very wicked man. He was "wanted" by the police, and declared a "dangerous political" with no less a person than Bakounine. But to-day Wagner is among the world's elect, and these same delectable occupants of Carlyle's "thousand gigs" now profess to see his "revolution" in the light of a harmless escapade. Note, however, that a lesser star like Reményi pays the penalty for his affront to the *bourgeoisie*, in taking part in the 1848 revolution, by being slandered;* whilst a Salvador Daniel, an ardent supporter of the Paris Commune of 1871, is passed over with contempt.

Yet Daniel was a director of the Paris Conservatoire—the successor of Auber, and the predecessor of Ambroise Thomas. For all that, you may search the most important work of reference for music and musicians—"Grove's Dictionary," comprising four large volumes, each of some 800 closely-printed pages—but you will find no reference to Salvador Daniel.

The present writer had hoped that this omission would be remedied in the new and enlarged edition now being issued; but it appears that the conspiracy of silence is to be strictly maintained. And so, in the interests of Social-Democracy, we must pen our own tribute to the musician and Communard who gave his life to "the cause" in the bloody week of May, 1871.

Salvador Daniel was the eldest son of Don Salvador Daniel, a Spanish nobleman, who, after supporting the first Carlist war,

* See the recent "Life of Brahms," by Antcliffe.

fled with Don Carlos across the French frontier. Don Salvador eventually settled in Bourges, as a professor of music, obtaining the post of organist at the cathedral, and a professorship at the Royal College.* His son (born about 1830) was educated to the musical profession, and, although he made small promise as an instrumentalist, he displayed considerable talent as a theoretical musician. Whilst yet in his teens, he went to seek his fortune in the "gay city." Musical Paris was then full on the tide of *opéra-bouffe*, and all serious art had become subserved to this "intelligent musical persiflage," a true reflex, says Naumann, of the cynicism and moral emptiness of the Second Empire. In such an atmosphere, the young enthusiast, straight from the provinces, with high-flown notions on art, was bound to suffer a rude awakening. Indeed, he found himself forced, for sheer subsistence, as Wagner was during his first stay in Paris, to accept employment from music publishers as a proof reader, and arranger of popular melodies for the *cornet-à-piston*, and the like; an occupation which well nigh broke his heart.

Daniel then became attracted by the works of Félicien David, and it is not improbable that he even became acquainted with the master, forming, perhaps, his first ideas of social reconstruction (which he afterwards espoused with great fervour) in the doctrines of St. Simonism, which the composer of "Le Désert" professed. However, Daniel was certainly struck by David's successes in the East, and, having saved a little money (he was then in the orchestra of the Théâtre Lyrique), decided to try his fortune in a similar quest, and set out for Algeria. This was in 1853.

We next hear of him as a musical professor in an Arab school at Algiers, and conductor of a musical society there. Being to some extent in a settled position, he devoted himself to the study of Arabian music, publishing his investigations in several French and Spanish journals—the "Revue Africaine," the "Journal des Travaux de la Société Historique Algérienne," and the "Espana Artistica." Shortly afterwards his articles were issued in book form as "La Musique Arabe, ses rapports avec la musique grecque et le chant grégorien" (Algiers, 1863), which also contained a supplement on the origin of musical instruments.† The work, which was dedicated to the French Minister of War, brought Daniel into some eminence, and he saw his talents recognised at last.

In the midst of his prosperity came a severe blow. His fiancée suddenly died, on the eve of their wedding. The unfortunate affair so preyed on his mind that his friends were compelled to

* He was the author of two important works: "Commentaires de l'Alphabet musical et de la Grammaire philharmonique" (Paris, 1839), and "Cours de plain-chant dédié aux élèves maîtres des écoles normales primaires" (Paris 1845.) Both were highly praised by Fétis and Castil-Blaze.

† A second edition of this appeared in Paris in 1879.

remove him from his work. Fortunately his spirits soon revived, but he decided to quit Algeria for ever.

Daniel returned to Paris. Here his musical and literary reputation immediately gave him entry to the most influential circles.

Music publishers soon sought Daniel, with commissions for arrangements of Algerian melodies, and we find that he published an "Album of Arabian, Moorish, and Cabalistic Songs," arranged with "a certain amount of cleverness," says Pougin, for voice and piano, and a "Treatise on the French Chanson." Belonging by birth to the "Upper Ten," the patronage of the Tuilleries was practically extended to him, and in 1867, at the suggestion of Prince Napoleon, he gave concerts at the Maison Pompi  ienne, in the Champs Elys  es, when some of his orchestral arrangements of Arabian music were performed.

But Daniel had inherited something more than the "Don," and that was a rebellious spirit, which found an outlet in his sympathies with the revolutionary ideas then swaying Paris. Wounded by the pettiness of current existence, which affects all artists, whether successful or not, he saw in revolution a sure art stimulus, as Wagner did. For the artistic mind is inherently anarchistic ("something unsociable," Anatole France once wrote), and readily assimilates fresh forms of expression with fresh forms of thought. Daniel, who for some time had devoted himself to musical criticism, contributing to several journals, now took a decided step, and allied himself to the extreme revolutionary party of Rochefort, and was appointed musical critic to their organ, the "Marseillaise," where he revealed himself a fine writer of keen critical acumen. He afterwards wrote in "L'Homme," and (I believe) the "Mot d'Ordre."

Pougin, the well-known musical critic, became acquainted about this time. He afterwards paid a tribute to him in "Le M  nestr  l," in an article, "Le Th   tre et la Musique    Paris pendant la Commune." Pougin, who knew Daniel for several years as a member of the Soci  t   des Compositeurs de Musique, speaks of him "as a distinguished man of great culture . . . ardently devoted to art, in the discussion of which he showed great enthusiasm."

At the outbreak of the war with Germany, the theatre and concert rooms of Paris closed their doors one by one, and musical critics were, to some extent, without their "briefs." Not so Daniel. He still wielded his pen in propagating the social revolution, and, what is more, was one of the angry crowd that attacked the H  tel de Ville, in October, 1870, receiving a wound in the arm, which laid him low for a short time. On March 18, 1871, the proletariat of Paris seized upon governmental power, and ten days later the Commune was proclaimed, followed by a defection of the bourgeois population to Versailles, including the heads of most of the public institutions. One of the few who remained was Auber, the director of the Conservatoire de Musique, who,

although nearly ninety years of age, and bitterly opposed to the Commune,* stayed at his post. But the brave old man fell ill on May 17, and died five days later. Why Auber as an enemy of the Commune, was allowed to remain in office may be explained by the fact that at this time the Conservatoire was completely disorganised, and the Commune, doubtless, thought it scarcely worth while to trouble about it. During the first siege the school had been used as a hospital, and the professors had to receive the pupils at their residences, although only twenty-one out of the total staff of forty-seven professors remained in Paris.

The delegation of Public Instruction, apprised of Auber's death, now looked for someone to take charge of the Conservatoire.† Although this delegation, says M. Lissagaray, the historian of the Commune, was bound to write one of the finest pages of the revolution, it has not left a sketch or memoir of its administration. Yet most of its members were men trained in professional instruction, and the delegate was a doctor and a student of German universities. All we know is that it decreed the placing of education in the hands of the laity, and suppressed religious teaching in public schools, whilst sub-commissions were charged to organise primary and professional instruction. Two talented men—Elise Reclus and Gastineau—were given charge of the National Library. The famous painter, Courbet, who was a member of the Council, was appointed Director of Fine Arts, and with the assistance of another painter, the great Cazin, and the sculptor, Jules Dalou, superintended the opening of the picture galleries and museums. The Academy of Sciences, under M. Delauney, also kept its doors open.

To appoint someone to the "chair" of Director at the Conservatoire, the Delegation of Instruction were at a loss to know what to do. Nearly all the eminent musicians of the city had migrated to Versailles with the "friends of order," and the Commune could only claim two adherents of note among musicians—Salvador Daniel and Pugno, the music manager at the Opera. Even the old St. Simonian, Félicien David, failed them. However, on the recommendation of Rochefort, Salvador Daniel was elected "Director" by the delegation, on account of his experience in teaching. A commission was then appointed to consider certain reforms at the Conservatoire, and a circular was issued to the professors, signed by Daniel, requesting their attendance upon them, notifying, at the same time, that non-compliance would lead to dismissal. Daniel and the Commission arrived at the appointed time, and found only five professors had put in an appearance. Daniel consoled himself with the idea that the reason

* He tried to dissuade Marie Roze from singing at a concert in aid of the wounded Communards.

† Fougine says that Daniel was nominated Auber's successor even before the latter's death.

of the absence of so many was owing to the death of Auber. After the discussion of some business matters, he lectured the professors on some suggested reforms in teaching, especially on the employment of more professors. Soon after this the meeting broke up, the professors offering the customary congratulations to the new Director. M. Rêty, the secretary, was then interviewed by the commission concerning the financial position of the institute. (This secretary afterwards boasted how he deliberately confused financial matters before Daniel.) Another meeting was decided on for the 20th, and the following notice was issued in the "Journal Officiel," and placarded: "The citizen professors of the Conservatoire of Music are invited to join together at the Conservatoire on Saturday, the 20th, at two o'clock, in order to confer with the citizens appointed by the Commission to consider the reforms necessary in this establishment." This time, only *TWO* professors attended the conference.

The sands of the revolution were running low. But proletarian Paris, strong in its faith for the Commune, could not see the end was near. The Versailles outworks were being pushed closer and closer. On the morning of the 22nd the Commune awoke and found the enemy pouring into Paris, and their shells falling even in the city. Then came the fatuous cry: "Everyone to his own *arrondissement*. This is a war of barricades," and a veritable *saute qui peut* from the outposts ensued. "Now began that enthusiasm," says Belfort Bax, "that limitless courage and contempt for death—displayed in defence of an ideal—the colossal proportions of which dwarf everything similar in history, and which alone suffices to redeem the sordidness of the nineteenth century."

Salvador Daniel, Director of the Conservatoire, did not forget his duty to the Social Revolution in the hour of need. The morning of the entry of the Versaillese saw him *chassepôt* in hand at the barricades. All true revolutionists were there—from the members of the Council downwards; "even those who had no illusion as to the issue of the struggle, eager to defy death in the service of the immortal cause." How the loyal Daniel fought on those fatal days—the 22nd and 23rd—little is known. Bourgeois history says: "He died in an engagement with the regular troops." That is the version of the "friends of order." When the Versaillese soldiery were killed in open fight, their journals shrieked "Murder!" But when they, themselves, massacred men, women, and children of the Commune, taken as prisoners, they wrote it, "Died!" We shall see how Daniel "died." It appears he left the barricades some time during the 22nd, retiring to his house—13, Rue Jacob, near the Rue Bonaparte—with some fellow-Communards, where they erected barricades. Next morning, whilst in the act of dressing, Daniel noticed the Versaillese approaching. Disdaining to fly, he and his companions immediately opened fire on the troops. Their barricades were soon

forced by the soldiers, and the house entered. Daniel and another were found in an upper room with smoking rifles in their hands. They were seized and hurried into the street, flung against a wall, and shot, Daniel dying, says Pougin, "with great courage." Their bodies remained where they fell until the following day.

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Of Daniel, it has been written that "he was not without merit"; whilst another says: "He might, under better circumstances, have led a respectable life, and perhaps made a name for himself." Bah! He had sufficient "merit" to die for the cause of "the people," and those who live the "respectable life" need have no fears for his name. It is enshrined with those glorious martyrs of May, in the heart of Social-Democracy.

H. GEORGE FARMER.

THE REVIEWS.

THE REFERENDUM IN ENGLAND.

The current issue of the "World's Work" contains a very interesting article on "The Referendum in England" by Claud W. Mullins. He says:—

The Referendum would provide a remedy for two important weaknesses in our present system. Firstly, it would afford a simple method of determining disputes between the two Houses. Until the Referendum is introduced the second Chamber will always feel itself entitled to assert that Bills sent to them from the House of Commons, and which have not directly passed through the fire of a General Election, are lacking in popular support, and on that plea to reject them. This means that the Government in power will be compelled, at once, to appeal to the country, regardless of the other measures that it has pledged itself to introduce, or to submit to the taunt of being afraid of the judgment of the electorate. Even should the Government decide to appeal to the country it is impossible for a decisive verdict to be given on any one reform, for, as a victory would mean a further lease of power, other questions of the day are bound to enter into the election. To take an instance: suppose the present Government had appealed on the merits of the Education Bill of 1906, is it likely that the questions of Free Trade and even of the House of Lords itself would not have become planks in the party platform?

The second danger of our present system which the Referendum would obviate is the waste of time caused by one Government endeavouring to undo the work of its predecessors. Several instances of this have occurred in recent years. Had the Referendum been in operation a few years ago, we should not have had the unedifying spectacle of one Government introducing alien indentured labour into South Africa and another immediately setting to work to prevent its continuance. Can it be in the interests of our national system of education or of the moral welfare of our nation that two successive Governments, working from different standpoints, should each deal with such subjects as Education or

Licensing and in the struggle arouse such a storm of political animosity as to render almost impossible the attainment of a lasting settlement? Such political quarrels as have taken place in recent years cannot improve the tone of our public life and must tend to lower the standard of public opinion in general. With the Referendum a settlement of the education question would probably have been reached in 1902, or without doubt in 1906, whereas a popular vote on the Licensing Bill of 1904 would have rendered the Bill of 1908 unnecessary.

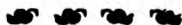
One of the great features of recent political history in this country has been the large majorities in the House of Commons, and the tremendous turnover of votes at the general elections. This may result in greater strength for the Government in its initial stages, but as a general rule the greater the swing of the pendulum at elections the greater danger to the stability of a Government in the long run. The great danger in the path of a party with a powerful majority is to underrate the Opposition, thus arousing strong animosity in the House of Commons and in the country. To-day a Government may pass many Bills that are strongly opposed, but the opposition must accumulate until the General Election, and it then usually results in a defeat of the Government. The new Government sets to work to amend the doings of its predecessor. And, as we have already seen with regard to Education and Licensing, it does not add to the efficiency of government that two Parliaments, with diametrically opposed views, should successively deal with the same questions. The adoption of the Referendum would make Tory Governments less Tory and Radical Governments less Radical, for the opposing forces against any Bill would be able to vent themselves during the Referendum campaign, and might either secure the rejection of the Bill, or else, by obtaining a large poll against it, compel the Government to modify its proposals. Thus the opinions of the opposition would, if they had strong support in the constituencies, be directly reflected in a Bill before it became law. This would result in a purification of our political system, and incidentally a change in the methods of our electoral warfare.

It may possibly happen from time to time that a strong revulsion of feeling at a General Election may bring into power a Government intent on carrying out a policy either more progressive or more conservative than the electorate really desires. This may result in a stimulating rush forwards or a healthy pause, but no good could finally arise, since the electors would sooner or later be called upon to pass judgment, and the result would in all probability be the installation of a Government entirely the reverse of its predecessor. Experience has shown that progress must in the long run be on a level with public opinion, and public opinion does not advance by leaps and then stand still, but pursues a more or less even course onwards. The Referendum would bring Parliament into closer harmony with the voice of the electorate, and its

influence would be to level the pace of legislation, or, in the words of the old song, "Checking the crazy ones, coaxing on aisy ones."

PARTY IN DANGER.

If public opinion decides in favour of the introduction of the Referendum, in some form or other, one great danger must be avoided in the interests of political peace and fair-play. It must not be looked upon from the point of view of party. Liberals cannot allow Conservatives to urge it as a counter-scheme to their own proposals for the reform of the House of Lords, and the Conservatives must not permit Liberals to introduce it as part of their plan of warfare against the second Chamber. The Referendum must be introduced, if at all, solely to avoid the imminent deadlock, and in order that the wishes of our countrymen may be better known.



THE MISSING ESSENTIALS OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

Mr. Mallock concludes his last article on the above in the "Nineteenth Century and After" as follows:—

And now, to sum up the conclusions which have been here elucidated, let me begin by recurring to a fact that I have pointed out already. Whatever difficulties may be inseparable from the problem of distribution as soon as the problem of value is created by the division of industries, these difficulties could conceivably be solved by a Socialistic State, and an equal reward could be allotted to each producer, so long as all the producers were labourers approximately equal in capacity; so long as the extent of their capacities was measurable by some external authority, and so long as the conditions under which the various labourers worked were, in general estimation, substantially equal also. The State, under such conditions, could conceivably equalise the distribution of products, but only because such a distribution would be that which would substantially be established by the natural "higgling of the market," or the free action of the citizens if left to fight things out for themselves. All the State could do which could not be done by the citizens would be to obviate accidental inequalities which otherwise might here and there, and perhaps frequently, arise. It must, however, be noted that even without the introduction of any productive force other than labour of hand and muscle directed by the intelligence of the labourers themselves, the power of the State to secure an equality of distribution would begin to diminish as soon as any labour developed itself of an exceptionally skilled kind, and the community began to any important extent to demand products

which such labour alone could produce. The State could bring up any number of boys as masons and compel them to perform whatever work might be required of them, but it could not so secure for itself even craftsmen of very rare skill. Still less could it so secure great original artists. It could not secure such men, because it would have no means of identifying them unless it promised them rewards which would tempt them to reveal their talents. It would be equally impossible for the State, and in the sphere of ordinary production this impossibility would be fraught with far more extensive consequences, to know that any man was capable of inventing uninvended machines or processes, of initiating and carrying to completion enterprises not hitherto attempted, or of doing anything greatly in excess of what can be done by anybody.

But before we dwell upon this point further, let us go back again to the case of average labour, excluding all manual skill, whether of the craftsman or the artist, which is the natural monopoly of a minority, and is not the mere result of habitation or average faculties. In so far as such ordinary labour was the sole form of productive effort in operation, the State, it was said, might ensure an equal distribution of the products, thus satisfying equally all the practicable demands of everybody; but a certain condition, which we have not yet dwelt upon, was mentioned as essential to the full realisation of this result. That condition was that the labour of the various groups of producers should not only be equal in respect of the capacities required for the prosecution of them, but should also be equal in respect of the estimation in which the workers held them. As a matter of fact, however, it is certain that whenever industries are divided, different industries will differ so widely in their circumstances that the workers in some groups, though they work no longer than the others, and are called on to exercise no greater intelligence, may be tempted to complain that their own work is of a specially disagreeable kind; and that this inequality should be redressed by the payment to them of higher wages, or else that their working day should be shorter than that of the rest of their fellow citizens.

This, indeed, is a point on which Socialists themselves very often insist. For example, Professor Ferri, a well-known Italian scientist who has in his mature years become a convert to Socialism, and has written a book a translation of which has been issued by the English Labour Party, mentions the getters of coal as an important class of labourers who might justly demand preferential treatment of some kind, not because the work was exceptionally hard, but because it was exceptionally distasteful. He accordingly proposes that, in order to meet the Socialistic demand for equality, the producers of coal shall not receive more wages than other workers, but shall be required for the same wages to exert themselves for a shorter time—for two days in the week instead of six. And since even Socialistic professors, not directly interested in the matter, are moved to advocate this kind of

preferential treatment, we may be sure that any group of workers who could persuade themselves that a preference was due to them would demand it of the State with no less energy and conviction.



FOREIGN SOCIALISM AND THE BUDGET.

In its review of "Imperial and Foreign Affairs" the "Fortnightly Review" has the following to say under the above heading :—

This is how it appears to the majority of foreign observers, whether they are Socialists or not. The latter declare that England, which developed representative institutions and trade unions, has again introduced a "new model"—a practical political method which is bound to dominate the domestic controversy of nations in the future. Therefore the Socialists of all countries are as enthusiastic for Mr. Lloyd George's Budget as are Socialists at home. Both feel the immediate fortune of their cause to depend upon the Finance Bill, and they hope for the final establishment of single-chamber supremacy in matters of finance. That would indeed be a régime not yet existing, and, as yet, impossible to establish in any other civilised nation of consequence. On behalf of the French Socialists, M. Jaurès welcomes the British Budget with rapture, and hails it as an illuminating and almost an inspiring event. The German Socialists are not behindhand. The "Vorwaerts" published in Berlin the other day a notable article from its London correspondent. This witness believes that Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, with the schemes it is meant to finance, will effect an amount of economic redistribution fully worthy of Socialist support. The same critic proceeds to point out that the new system of the Radical-Labour coalition in England will involve State interference with industry, and must, in the end, involve State control of production. And the same writer goes on to maintain that the democratic movement in England has at last got itself upon right lines—that a bold use of direct taxation is the proper engine of revolution by degrees—and that the proletariat in all countries must desire to see the power of the Peers broken by Budget. The instructive passage may be quoted in full :—

"When there is a Labour majority in Parliament it is the Budget which will still be the instrument of revolution. Any Government which firmly establishes the supremacy of the Lower House in matters of finance deserves, in my opinion, the support of the party of the proletariat."

That is a very suggestive but not a surprising comment. Socialists at home have said as much. It would be out of place to quote them at length. We need only recall two passages. The "New

Age" wrote:—"We shall be quite frank with Mr. Lloyd George's Budget. It is splendid. A few minor defects apart, it is almost as much as we should have expected from a Socialist Chancellor in his first year of office." And, again, the same organ remarked: "We cannot for the life of us see why the Budget should not be claimed as a victory for Socialist ideas." The "Labour Leader" wrote: "It is not quite a Red Flag Budget, but its basis is capable of being broadened." Some of the defenders of the Finance Bill maintain that the Socialists do not know their own minds, but are subject to hallucinations. The Socialists, from their point of view, are undoubtedly right, and the authors of the Budget are not themselves surprised that their measure has been received with something less than national unanimity.

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SOCIALISM AND TAXATION.

It is somewhat noteworthy, and certainly not without significance as showing the identity of interest between all civilised nations, that precisely the same questions are agitating the peoples of the chief countries of Europe at the present time. Clericalism, Parliamentarism, and Fiscal Policy are the three chief questions which are engaging the special attention of the working-class movement, in varying degrees, in England, Germany and France. Recent events have shown that Clericalism is still "the enemy"; and that whatever may be said for any religion—and we Socialists must always hold to the principle that religious belief is a private matter—the Church of all denominations in every country is the buttress of the existing social order and an instrument whereby the religious idea—of any faith—is made to subserve the interests of the dominant class. While this has been strikingly made manifest recently in Spain and France, it must not be supposed for a moment that it is not also true of England and Germany. Although in these

latter countries, for a number of reasons, Clericalism may be less bold and arrogant, it is only more astute and not less dangerous than in the former.

Parliamentarism is on its trial; but the present form of the political struggle manifests itself in a demand for the widening of the basis of representation, by universal adult suffrage, and for its reform by the abolition of fancy franchises and the application of the principle of proportional representation. In France and Germany the whole working-class movement is united in its demand for these reforms. Here in England, however, where we have about the most absurd and antiquated political system in Europe, our "Labour leaders" are opposed to Proportional Representation, and appear to be in doubt as to the need for any political reform whatsoever, except that of giving votes to a privileged number of women on a property qualification.

They have adopted precisely the same reactionary attitude with reference to the taxation proposals of the Government. Hitherto it has been a sound axiom among Socialists that the incidence of taxation was a matter which did not greatly concern the working-class; that, fleeced as the workers are in the workshop and the factory, the expenses of government must, perforce, in the main, be met out of the surplus-value created by their unpaid labour. That being indubitably true, it could not greatly concern the workers whether the bulk of the taxes were paid by landlord or capitalist—the Duke of Donnohoo or Sir Gorgious Midas; Lord Tomnoddy, or Mr. Plugson of Under-shot—it all came out of the plunder of the workers, which would be taken from *them* in any case. What did matter to the working-class was the manner in which the taxes were spent. The revenue might all be spent in maintaining, protecting and advancing the interests of the propertied class, or it might, under a sympathetic Government, be largely devoted to improving the material condition of the common people. In the latter case, the taxation proposals of a Govern-

ment might be worthy of the support of the masses of the people and their representatives; in the former they should meet with their hostility, or at least, their indifference.

On the other hand, while recognising that taxation is, and must be, mainly drawn from the surplus-value, of which the workers are despoiled under any circumstances; it has had to be admitted that indirect taxation in the shape of customs and excise duties, especially when imposed on their luxuries, does afford a means of taxing the workers, another means of still further fleecing those who have already been stripped almost bare by industrial exploitation.

From these conclusions were deduced three definite principles for the guidance of the working-class and their representatives in dealing with the question of fiscal policy: (1) The general incidence of taxation is one which in the main concerns the master class, the appropriators of surplus-value, alone. (2) All expenditure which is solely in the interests of the master class—notably expenditure on armaments—must always be strenuously opposed. (3) All indirect taxation should be opposed, and all taxes should be levied upon incomes over a fixed minimum, so as to ensure that those who drew the largest revenues should contribute the largest share towards the cost of their own government.

That *was* the clearly defined fiscal policy of the working-class movement. Now, it would seem, we have changed all that, at any rate in this country; for during the last six months we have been witnessing the unedifying spectacle of "Labour" representatives tumbling over each other in their eager enthusiasm to support the bourgeois Budget of the Liberal Government in contravention of all three of these principles. The first principle is involved in the chief reason advanced for this extraordinary conduct on the part of our Parliamentary Labour Party. Mr. Lloyd George, we are told, is going to tax the landlords, and in his petty tax on undeveloped land, his increment tax and his super-tax, he is introducing quite new principles of

taxation. That is not true ; but even if it were, these new principles only concern the propertied class. If the landlords are to be taxed a little more, it only means that the capitalists are to be taxed a little less. It does not mean that the robbery of the workers is to be mitigated in the slightest degree.

The second of our principles is transgressed by the Labour members supporting a Budget, and increased taxation, directed almost exclusively to serving the interests of the master class. Over thirty millions goes in interest on the National Debt—the only thing that is “national” in the whole category of services for which the Budget provides—and over sixty millions are for naval and military armaments. Thus more than two-thirds of the total goes in paying interest on a debt contracted by “monarchs and statesmen”—a debt for which the people were never responsible and which has been repaid over and over again—and for the provision of armaments which the Labour Party is pledged to strenuously oppose !

And it is chiefly on account of increased armaments that increased taxation is necessary. Old Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges and the Development Scheme of the Government are urged as reasons for the increased taxes and as justification for the support given to the Budget by Labour members. But altogether the expenditure on these is proportionately a mere flea-bite, less than ten millions in all, and should have been provided for, either by increased taxes on property or by reduced expenditure on armaments.

Our third principle is contravened by the support given to the increase of indirect taxation provided for in the Budget. This amounts to nearly half of the total increase, and at least five millions of this will be drawn from the working-class, and will involve, it is estimated, additional expenditure by the workers, on the articles taxed, of no less than twenty millions !

In Germany the proposal to increase indirect taxation has met with the fiercest opposition from the Social-Democratic Party. They have instituted a

boycott of spirits to defeat the new taxes on those, and a "beer war" against the additional tax on the national beverage. "Down with the Radicals, who support the plundering of the people by indirect taxation!" *they* cry. "Up with the Radicals who propose to plunder the people by indirect taxation!" is the slogan of *our* Labour members.

Keir Hardie says, "It may be that some of our men have been too unqualified in their praise of the Budget, and certainly it is a blot upon it that by a recent concession it gives a relief of half a million yearly to good landlords who pay income tax, while it leaves the breakfast-table duties untouched."

A blot upon it, indeed! Why, it is all blots. As for "unqualified praise," we have the Leader of the Labour Group, Mr. Henderson, in the debate on the third reading of the Finance Bill, pledging, for it, the "warm and united support" of his Party. "The Labour Party," he said, "would take their stand in favour of the *whole* of the principles contained in the Bill, and they would do their level best to influence the great mass of the people of this country to give a verdict in favour of those principles." That is "unqualified praise," indeed, and, what is more important, unqualified support, for all the principles and all the "blots" contained in the Bill, including increased expenditure on armaments, and increased indirect taxation.

Mr. Hardie contends that, after making all allowances, "the Budget is still worthy of support because of the principles which it introduces for the first time into our fiscal system." It would be well to know what these principles are. It is rather interesting to note that in the debate in which Mr. Henderson pledged his party to unqualified support of the Budget, Mr. Lloyd George had been at some pains to prove, and did successfully prove, that all the provisions of the Budget which Mr. Hardie affects to regard as "new principles" have had the endorsement in the past of the Tories who now most strongly

animadvert upon them. It was rather unkind of Lloyd George, but he couldn't help it. He had to show, in order to prove that his proposals did not deserve the hostility of the Tories, that it did not merit the unqualified praise and support of the Labour men. Mr. Hardie says that "The super-tax and the various taxes on land values and mineral royalties are of the very greatest importance from our standpoint." As a matter of fact, they are of no importance at all. We have no objection to the Government taking not merely a portion, but the whole of the mining royalties; but if these are to be taken simply to relieve the capitalists of an amount of taxation which they would otherwise have to bear, the taxation or even the appropriation of royalties is a matter only of the most infinitesimal importance. All such questions are matters of dispute solely between different sections of the exploiting class, and it is idle to suggest that, however they may be settled, the miners, or any other section of the working class, or the people at large, will be benefitted in any shape or way. It is most deplorable that our Labour Party should have departed so far from the clearly-defined principles which should have guided them in these matters, and their policy is in striking contrast with that of our German comrades, who refused to allow themselves to be bribed into supporting an increase of indirect taxation by the promise of a succession duty, and vehemently denounced the Radicals who did so.

H. QUELCH.

THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

There is little doubt now that the question of unemployment is of primary importance in our national politics. Unemployment has complications that enhance its importance even beyond its power of life or death for those immediately concerned. It sets up a rot and decay through the whole of society.

In 1884 the Social-Democrats were the first to recognise the importance of work being found or initiated by the Government as an immediate palliative. At that time we only considered unemployment from the negative point of view—or as an evil result of the present conditions—and an omission of capitalist society, which it was necessary in the interest of humanity for the State to supplement.

Time develops situations. Our over-developed individualist competitive system is approaching failure and decay. In order to compete successfully our capitalist has to resort to larger and larger combinations with ever-increasing power; and the failures in trade are more frequent and over larger areas, and are of longer duration, affecting the workers in greater numbers. The larger combines of employers and greater facility of production result in further subdivision of labour and more fluidity. In other words, work that at one time was fairly regular and required some skill is now being cut up and made more casual; the workers are employed by the job, and then have to wait till there is another little rush of work, when their services may be required by the employers. The gamble of the employers on the

markets of the world necessitates a fluid supply of workers floating round to meet the haphazard chances of employment.

Signs are not wanting that we are approaching the end of this period, and are even now entering a transitional stage. The spasmodic protests and claims of a half-dead and dejected section of the workers are already being dreaded by statesmen—not that the unemployed in their disheartened condition, with all energy starved out of them, could do anything effective; but their constantly increasing presence is a token of paralysis, and the drag must shortly prove unbearable to the rest of the workers. At the present moment we have right-to-work committees everywhere voicing a demand of the times, that is growing in volume, for the State to provide work.

It is well, therefore, that we set ourselves to consider the whole ground thoroughly, apart from sympathy for personal suffering, so that our action be united and effective, and that the founding of the new age shall not be hindered by ignorant blunders.

The title “Right-to-Work” is somewhat of a misnomer, which seems to have originated in the timidity of the workers to assert anything but their wish to work. What is really meant is that we are demanding our “Right to Live,” and in return are willing to give time and labour.

Let us examine the ground of this claim, “The Right to Live,” and why it is made from the State.

The State, properly speaking, is the collective power of the whole people, the governorship of which may be in the hands of, and wielded by: (1) one person; (2) different classes or sections of society, or (3) it may be shared equally by the whole society. In each case laws are made according to the ideas and in the interest of those who control the State. These laws are enforced by the collective power of the whole people (organised society), even when they may be against the interest of the majority of them.

The fundamental principle that underlay the feudal State was legal protection of birthright in land, but with possession of the land went possession and protection of the people on the land.

With the development of the capitalist class as governors of the State we have the legalising of the right of property, although the owners of such property may change. The very franchise and rights of citizenship as a fundamental principle depend on the property they possess, and remain attached to the property and not to the person of the owner; and we mark this difference: When the control of the State was in the hands of those who possessed land by birthright or appointments (church or king gift) they had also the duty—more or less carried out—to protect the people who were tied to the land. When the control of the State became based on property and was wielded by property owners, there was no recognised duty to protect and insure the living of those citizens who produced that property. Thus we had the anomaly of the power of the State being used as a police force to defend the accumulation of property and all the legislation invoked to see that its privileges were not violated, while we had no corresponding provision made for the protection and maintenance of the State itself. This had to be partially remedied by a certain amount of State interference with the powers of property owners (limitations of hours of labour of children, etc.). Now, it is generally acknowledged that the strength of a nation consists in the number, health, knowledge and unity of its people; and its property is only valuable in so far as it guarantees the fulfilment of such requirements, a fact overlooked by many statesmen, who are so accustomed to estimate the greatness and controlling power of individuals by the property they possess that they estimate the greatness of the State by the property possessed by its people.

This, briefly, is the situation. All the means of living are possessed as private property, and are protected by the State. The owners of that property are

under no obligation to allow any of it to be used by their fellows if they do not choose. Indeed, it is to the interest of property owners that a growing class of their fellow-citizens should be without the means of living in order that they may bargain for their labour to better advantage to themselves.

The interest of the controlling class has become antagonistic to the interest of the State itself.

Therefore the claim is made from the State, whose collective power is being used to retain private property in the means of living. *It is a necessity to the existence of the State itself that its people should have the means of living.* The suffering from semi-starvation and the anxiety and worry that results from the uncertainty of casual employment gives grave matter for legislation. We have statesmen of the capitalist class endeavouring to meet the demands of the situation, as human beings and as statesmen. They perceive that the welfare of the people is a necessity to the State, therefore the State is logically required to control the means of living. Yet they are almost powerless to act, even if they were willing to make the necessary sacrifice themselves. Every real effort in this direction is thwarted by the interests of their own class which places them in power.

Any concession which they are allowed to make is regulated by the necessity of retaining control of the State, and is only granted when that position is obviously threatened.

So we have statesmen endeavouring to pilot measures through that will give fractions of State assistance where it is absolutely necessary, but which shall yet leave their fellow-citizens destitute enough to make easy bargains for the owners of property and employers of labour. It is possible that a minimum wage may be conceded, or even State insurance for unemployment on lines modest enough to be a little less than enough to live on, so that it will not interfere with a sufficient supply of cheap labour. Probably

State insurance for unemployment will be more acceptable to employers of labour than a small modicum of State organisation of industry, even though employers have to pay a portion, as well as the State and employees, towards the maintenance of the workers during the periods that the private employer cannot employ them profitably for himself—especially as these periods tend to become longer and more frequent. State insurance for unemployment still leaves the control of industry and the necessities of life in the hands of the present employing class; whereas, State organisation of labour and provision of work, while it is a fairly simple proposition to carry out, meets with much opposition and talk of ruining the market of the legitimate trader. There is no real need to worry about finding a market for the produce, providing that the amount paid by the State for wages and cost of material be not less than the selling price of the produce, for the wages paid and the material bought form the market, either directly or indirectly. State organisation of labour need not dislocate industry to any appreciable extent, and it is a perfectly practicable thing to give work to all. But it would seriously interfere with and finally destroy private control of the necessities of life; therefore, it is prohibited by the class interest. We have already some amount of State Maintenance being granted for the children, but always with the same reserve. It must not be sufficient to relieve the worker from anxiety, as that would lighten the pressure on the labour market too much. This marks the limit that is possible for the capitalist statesman; beyond this his own class will not support him, their own interest forbids it, and he vainly struggles with a problem that he may not effectively solve; while all the time the over-development of capital is intensifying the antagonism, with its growing demand for fluid labour, and proportionately diminishing markets, which it gluts with increasing facility.

When the interest of the controlling class and the interest of the State become antagonistic, if the State has vitality enough it will depose such controlling class and their representatives; if not, it must die with the decrepitude of its people.

The granting of the Right to Live involves the end of private ownership in the necessities of life.

To restate the case: —

We have recognised that the right to work is really a claim on the State for the right to live, offering work in repayment.

We see the necessity of the State providing maintenance for its citizens, because the strength of a nation depends on its people, and it naturally follows that if people are a necessity to the State as adults it is equally necessary to maintain them in childhood, not only while required to study at school, but previously in order to be in a fit condition to study; and to be logical, if it is necessary for the State to have healthy citizens there must be maintenance for the mother before and after the child is born, so that the child shall not be starved or stunted to start with.

Thus logically, when once the *Right to Live* is conceded nationally, it becomes the affirmative principle that underlies the new age. All other laws will have to be based on it; property will only be of value as it increases the comfort of life. Even now the sacred rights of property are questioned.

With State control and ownership of all the necessities of life the State assumes its full responsibility and weight. It renders it possible for every citizen to derive the greatest result from their work with the minimum of effort and risk to life, which is the proper function of society, leaving the largest proportion of free time for each individual's own use and development.

The relationship of people to each other will also undergo considerable alteration, and must necessarily become more equal and democratic directly it becomes

impossible for any person to deprive others of their livelihood. This will be very rapid where there is a wide or universal franchise.

With this fulfilment of its duty the State, in return, has a claim on every citizen. It is necessary that sufficient time and labour of all capable adults should be devoted to the repayment of maintenance of themselves, the care of future citizens, sick benefit, support of old age and working expenses. State maintenance does not necessarily mean allowance in kind; it will probably be most convenient to retain the use of coin, so as to allow the widest choice of expenditure. But it does follow that wages—as a return value for individual work done—are not possible when the value of work done depends on collective organisation, training and machinery. Wages will become obsolete (even now they are fixed by competition, not by amount of work).

All that is possible is to estimate the yearly, monthly, or weekly share of wealth required to be produced by the collective organisation of work, and fix the hours of labour accordingly. Probably the Budget of the future will consist of estimated standard of expenditure with the lowest possible tax on time for work. If the estimate is too low, or the work is carried out slackly, overtime may be required to make up the deficiency, or, on the other hand, a large surplus may allow a reduction of time necessary for work. This may dispose of any lack of "incentive to work," or likelihood of "loafing" being tolerated. Neither does it appear feasible that persons of extra ability to assimilate the education offered by the State will be allowed to contribute a lesser tax because of that extra ability; nor is it likely that they would ever wish to escape returning a full share of work to the State because they happened to be more capable than the others. Rent of ability also disappears with the wage system and private ownership in the means of living, with probably less commotion than would follow a change to a decimal system of coinage. To each

according to his needs, from each according to his ability, must automatically become the custom. Work for the unemployed, the right to live and State maintenance, are ideas already here. They have protruded uncomfortably perhaps, and are daily becoming more pressing problems. We are obliged to touch them already. Let us understand they are palliatives only so long as it is possible for the capitalist system to last. In reality they are the ethical basis of the new age that is approaching—perhaps more rapidly than we imagine. The Right to Live and State Maintenance are the foundation principles upon which Social-Democracy becomes the normal method of government.

MARGARETTA HICKS.

BAX AND FEMINISM v. WOMEN.

The line of opposition—a cry of protest, tempered with snubs—adopted by women against our comrade Belfort Bax cannot be too deeply regretted. Death to a strong case does not these ways lie. Repudiating the deductions he draws from his premises, they have assumed it necessary to repudiate his premises also. But these are as incontestable by any unbiassed lover of justice as undeniable by any unwarped lover of truth. Moreover, half the primal strength of the case for women's emancipation is reiterated, passionate insistence on these premises. To ignore or dispute them is self-stultifying omission of the blackest injuries women have suffered from civilisation ; similar non-insistence on the degradation of the proletariat would be self-stultifying. While to "ostracise" humiliating facts is futility ; not to welcome their tonic array, to spurn the hands of Jacob, because the voice is the voice of Esau, is folly. Bax's premises must be met with square and free admission, but why have all his antagonists held the logician and lawyer in too great awe to dare suspect his deductions do not follow ?

Marshalling his case in "Essays in Socialism," published by Messrs. Heinemann :—

1. Bax premises that women, at any rate at present, are physically, mentally and morally inferior to men. Quite true.

2. That women, instead of being oppressed, are privileged. Again quite true.

3. He explicitly concludes : " Hence it is pro-

hibitively perilous to admit women, all or some, to the franchise." Non sequitur.

1a. One wondered if he implicitly and unwarrantably assumed that women must necessarily always be privileged. From his recent reply to our comrade Mrs. Montefiore, apparently not.

2a. But he did implicitly and unwarrantably assume women's inferiority was almost wholly necessitated by biological and inappreciably by environmental differentiation.

I. Women's present inferiority, physically, generally agreed; her greater power of recuperation and endurance being plainly a special adaptation to meet her monopoly of the pains of reproduction. Morally, I will not elaborate; but the distinctively female code judges man or woman by what he or she has refrained from doing, of wickedness, ignoring compensatory achievements—a negative, cowardly, mean, narrow standard; while the distinctively male code judges by what he or she has done of good, ignoring compensatory blemishes: an affirmative, courageous, generous, all round standard. But war centres round mentality; morality is less valued.

General mental inferiority, ordinary women (scarcely) to ordinary men, but talented women to talented men, and even the only two women I could confidently claim as geniuses, Jane Austen and Charlotte Gilman, much inferior to men geniuses of the unapproachable order, as Aristotle, Marx, Bernard Shaw—contestants are generally driven to the corner of pleading that women, the whole sex (whose solidarity, social and mental, is a ton-load drag on the accidentally advantaged individual or clique) have never yet had a chance of showing what they are capable of, and must not be judged by achievements yet achieved, triumphs, but triumphs marred by circumstances. A just plea, but militates equally against the assumption of superlative as the assumption of inappreciable results from 'emancipation.

There are two reasons for the latter assumption. First, the traditional and exclusive standard of judging mentality: the capacity for intellectualism, idealism, logic, the method of discreet categories. But an ascendant movement, which Belfort Bax, with Edward Carpenter, pioneered—Socialists are ever in the van—has shown the hopelessness of logic's interpreting, *by itself*, the multifariousness, continuity, and vitality of reality. The new wine bursts the old bottles. This demonstration tends to instate (cultivate) women's intuition along with men's logic.

Second, the biological data. The origin of the differentiation called sex is an unfathomed mystery. Undifferentiated organisms separate into well-nourished, curiously inert, globular ova, whose functions are anabolism (building up, nutrition), retentiveness, transmission of accreted race-memory, accreted race-type, and hungry, excessively agile head-and-tail spermatozoa, whose functions are katabolism (pulling down, impregnation), plasticity, variation, individuation, and the capacity for these. Did life segregate her more mobile plasm to evolve an evolver of herself? Or, in the struggle for existence among undifferentiated cells, were those which remained female, those which, by accident or natural capacity for grabbing, secured more food, and left the sperms to become livelier, because hungrier? (If so, blessed were they left hungry, for great has been their compensation, and time's revenge on the female sex for the unwitting exploitation !)

Bax says man's superiority must be permanent because part of woman's energy is expended in gestation. Geddes and Thomson, apparently going further, ascribe it, and the maleness of genius, with greater size and the beauty of male secondary sexual characters among birds and mammals, to the "natural exuberance" of the agile supermatozoon. All ascribe the male tendency towards variation to spermatozoan exuberance, the result, adds Lester Ward, of the segregative female act.

For a long time life was parthenogenetic, or female. For since it then manifested solely the progeny-bearing, nourishing function, characteristically female, the impregnating function, characteristically male, was not yet found necessary. Shaw expresses it that "man was originally a device of woman" (or the potentially human spermatozoon a device of life, itself inert) "to enable her to breed better progeny." The male devised, the race began to develop by leaps and bounds. But the first male creatures were tiny in size and short of life, sometimes parasitic, their function being impregnation. Not till late in life's age-long course does the male, free from the burdensome part of reproduction, as here Bax and Ward agree, or from "exuberance," according to Geddes and Thomson, overtake and eclipse his mate.

Lester Ward deduces from the priority, primitive, and race-conserving quality of the female sex, and the secondary, belated, appearance of the male, as an offshoot, afterthought—the former's superiority. But what an extraordinary preconception; that the original and previously larger is necessarily superior, the developed and subsequently larger, inferior! So far from the female's priority and lost superiority of size demonstrating her intrinsic superiority, surely, to a believer in steady progress, and not steady decline, the male's subsequence of itself suggests the contrary. Moreover, however essential is norm-preservation, variation is the supreme thing; otherwise, the type preserved would still be the *amœba*. Lester Ward's deduction is so fantastic as to deserve Bax's humorously meeting it with the only less fantastic quasi-deduction implying that distinctively human physical and psychical development is peculiar to the male sex—secondary male sexual characters!

The priority of the female casts ridicule on the Adam's rib view of woman as an inconvenience for the convenience of man, but leaves it doubtful whether child-bearing woman must not always physically and mentally somewhat lag behind man; though as the

maternity necessary to the fullest development women can have fosters "altruism," morally, woman on an equal footing may outstrip him. It cannot be necessary to insist that both biology and facts controvert Bax's implication of the distinctively human being men only. I agree that maternity will doubtless always preclude women from highest genius; but the few men geniuses are not the monopolisers of the distinctively human character. I will suppose, for argument's sake, that men of the future will be divisible into three classes—very high, high and good—women into high, very good, and again good: for the difference perceptible between exceptional men and women is even to-day less so than between ordinary ditto. Since the first women class, inferior to the first men class, would be equal to the second men class, and the second women class, inferior to the second men class, would be superior to the third men class; it would be disadvantageous to the community to exclude the first women class while enfranchising the third men. But if the male did not bequeath his variation to all his progeny, male and female, so that what was a variation—webbed feet, elephant's trunk, or mentality—becomes part of the race, the females of all species, birds, fishes, mammals, would be *amœbœ* still; and the daily increasing little band of women of irrepressible individuality, whose interest in philosophy and science is keen as men's, would be impossible. The muscularity and mentality of fully developed women may differ in degree, not in kind.

The spermatozoon being the varying, tending to complexity, element, Geddes and Thomson's somewhat occult "natural exuberance" implies only greater prevalence of genius among males; moreover, spermatozoan agility might indicate only the greater sexual ardour of males. But if superior size and male ornament be due to Bax's cause, male freedom from gestation, permanent slight general female inferiority almost necessarily follows. Not quite. For when the

male gained hugely on the female, she was reproducing by the thousand. As life rises, fecundity decreases. It is less in well-nourished than ill-nourished women; it lessens when women's energy is expended in mental work. In future society, when, too, the cessation of infant mortality, preventable diseases, wasteful labour, war and exploitation, will make such large birth-rates unnecessary, may we not hope that with decreased fecundity women's inferiority will become nil or inappreciable, since nature specially adapts to meet such stress as must remain? It is noticeable, also, that the difference between birds, male and female, is much greater than between mammals, where the female co-operates in or has all the burden of the food supply.

II. Bebel says that the two great crimes of humanity are the oppression of the workers and of women. Now, this is inaccurate, and therefore weak women's condition is not an oppression, but a degradation. Bax, on the other hand, says that women's is a privileged and oppressing condition, as she lives by the sale of her monopoly of sex power ("which costs her nothing," he adds. Before the discovery of preventatives, it necessarily cost her pain and risk of life: so many of Bax's gratuitous generalisations about women apply only to the present-day middle-class.) But the rest of his statement is perfectly accurate as far as it goes, and his analogy from feudalism apter than Bebel's. But his statement is also one-sided, a correct statement of half the case, which ignores the other half; and the economic relation between men and women is necessarily unique and without analogy. For what women forfeit by their dependence is so infinitely greater than the pecuniary loss men forfeit that women's privileged condition is infinitely worse than men's oppressed one. For women:—

I. Forfeit liberty of action, person and thought. Women do not value these human rights? The existence of some women who value them as highly as men, the existence of none who do not show occasional

sparks of rebellion at their absence, show women not naturally deficient in these human desires; the deadening of them in the majority only testifies to the abysmal degradation of women.

2. Until recently, no place was found for women in the progressive industries of the country. Her only status was obtainable by the legal sale of her sex. She must be wife, prostitute, domestic servant, or spinster. Which meant women must be either dolls or drudges, confined to the home.

3. Men, under these economic circumstances, by indulging in sexual intercourse with pregnant, ailing, or nursing women, so that the majority during the centuries have borne children every one or two years, have exaggerated, for most women, the natural pain and strain of childbirth into agony and struggle mentally paralysing to both mothers and offspring, male and female, for men's average mentality is higher than women's only because women's is so very low. I blame not men, but the economic circumstances. No doubt men brought about the economic degradation of women ages ago, but it is unfair and useless to hark back so far, as savage man could have no possible foresight of the disastrous results, nor appreciation of them if he had; and women in their ignorance and atrophy uphold their present privileged degradation as much as men.

For, worse than oppression though it is, this anomalous relation between those who are *mutually* oppressors and oppressed cannot be called an oppression. There are extreme cases of the involuntary oppression of men by the women they must maintain as well as themselves, such as slow suicide in the abominable chemical industry, which bachelors refuse to stick at, which should prick the conscience of the most conservative women to shame.

Anti-feminists (ridiculous word !) point to the more than suicidal character of woman's privilege every time they insist on her physical, mental and moral inferiority.

O, noble privilege which thus "costs her nothing"! For nearly all professional and business women are far more intelligent than nearly all domestic ones; and the business woman is daughter of a domestic mother. Hence I claim that far the greater part of women's present inferiority is due not to necessary cost of (inexcessive) reproduction, but to the benumbing environment of the domestic still-primitive industries, as cooking or, at most, agriculture. The growth of every successive generation of any creature in the same environment produces the same external effect as an unvarying heredity. If in one generation different environment produces the improvement noticeable in business woman, how much more, by solidarity, must general participation in the progressive industries, and in scientific and philosophical training, which the business woman has not had, increase women's participation in the human tendency towards mental variation! Why do so many economic determinists suddenly forget their economic determinism when the objectionable characteristics of woman, the snare and encumbrance, the tyrant at once and slave, are concerned? Especially as her being so makes them also, in a less degree, tyrants and slaves both, with the necessary characteristics of such.

III. To be a member of a community is a right to citizenship; to value and demand that right, a second right. However, since the enfranchisement of the poorest man would hinder temporarily the coming of Socialism, the enfranchisement of the poorest men and women, and of upper class women (Adult Suffrage) would hinder it still more; and that class measure, the Limited Bill, hinder it far the most. I agree that not to start any agitation for any suffrage extension is the spirit of democracy as against its letter. But some suffrage extension—and that not male extension only—years before even State capitalism, the middle-class women's agitation has now made inevitable, here as abroad, as also men's commendable growing refusal to marry dependent

wives is necessitating women's securing legal equalising of wages—European capitalism also needing double work, as Marx foretold, for the same money. Hence Bax's position is futile and harmful. By opposing not only the strongly-backed Limited Bill, but weakly-supported Adult Suffrage also, he only makes much likelier the Limited Bill, instead of Adult Suffrage. Moreover, since to enter, without Adult Suffrage, upon State Capitalism (sometimes called State Socialism) would no doubt long delay its transformation into Socialism, Adult Suffrage, despite its temporary conservatism, is positively desirable.

Present mental unfitness, in either sex, is not a disqualification. As the eye is evolved by a primitive creature's using thus a special bit of skin, so fitness for the vote is only to be evolved by its use. The average mental inferiority of an entire sex, immensely more artificial and temporary than natural and permanent, I cannot hold to be a present sufficient disqualification, even from the standpoint of reason, and certainly not as a sex barrier, from the standpoint of Socialism. Does Belfort Bax assent to the integral characteristic of Social-Democracy, Social and Economic Sex Equality? Why does he not, like Dora Montefiore and Charlotte Gilman, who, in a sense, has said more than all Bax has about women's degradation, insist on that demand under its only possible interpretation—that all women under Socialism, and as soon as possible, work for their living, as a right as much as a duty, save for the exemption (which would generally be agreed to be necessary) of mothers during pregnancy and nursing?

Why did he not from the outset attack the fundamental privilege of maintenance, instead of mere extensions of it, under civil law, practically available only for middle class women, and valuable only to shameless and vixenish women?

That the privileges of women under criminal law are substantial and iniquitous I heartily agree. But it is from a subconscious sense of the degradation of women,

that is of the deepest wrong done women by economic dependence, that men extend these quasi-compensatory favours. If a new factor did not alter the case, Bax might, without lapse of logic, fear the enfranchisement of favoured and unfit women. But to grant women the rights of citizenship is the surest way to abolish the favours, as the unfitness. And to give aggressive women scope for unfairness is the surest way to bring feminist men to their senses and dissociate humanist women from feminist women.

Again let me point out that the falsifications of even great feminists like Bebel and Lester Ward are broken reeds, because easily disprovable; and even if they were not, their tendency to gloss over the degradation of women is a weaker statement of the case for women's emancipation than the "Anti-feminists'" helpful insistence.

EDITH SWIFT.

THE MONTH.

The Commons have passed the Budget on to the Lords, its final majority being 230 ; the Irish mainly refraining from voting.

Burns's Housing Act has been turned inside out by Lords' Amendments. Burns seems feverishly anxious to get some legislative act to his credit, and has accordingly caved in to the slum-owning Duke of Northumberland, and has agreed to that Duke's amendment which struck at the element of compulsion.

This act of Mr. Burns is too much even for the patient "Daily News," which says "it is not concession" on Mr. Burns's part, "it is betrayal."

And Burns has been told much the same thing at a meeting of one-time associates in Housing reform.

The keeping of John Burns up to the mark is becoming quite an anxious responsibility to his Liberal allies.

Battersea, by the way, yielded the one sensational incident of the London Borough Council elections. The Progressives and Labour men held 29 seats against the Moderates' 25 ; they now have only two. The Moderates have captured 52. There are four or five more Progressive boroughs than before the election, but the movement is not remarkable. Mrs. Salter, wife of Dr. Salter (late Socialist candidate at the Bermondsey Parliamentary fight) won a Council seat in Bermondsey. One more case of a man failing to get employment and his wife having to go out to service.

We Social-Democrats did better in the elections in London than ever before. Our total poll was about twice that of three years ago

and in Shoreditch we scored a notable success, winning all six seats in one ward against both Moderates and Progressives. In the provinces, however, the flowing tide was not so distinctly with us, and we lost three seats, against a gain in London of five.

The "Labour Leader" is crying out for a Socialist daily paper. So are "Clarion" correspondents. The Bermondsey election has been the latest stirrer of dry bones in this connection. The Trades Union Congress decision to forward a Labour daily scheme goes forward, too. But millions are not raised without enthusiasm; and of enthusiasm for the project of the Labour daily there is no sign.

Mr. Gladstone's grandson is asked to stand for the Exchange Division of Liverpool. The four-times Premier was born in Liverpool, where his father was a great merchant and shipowner.

There is some movement in Germany towards a naval understanding with England. It is said that the cost of the navy in Germany is spoiling the army.

The Czar has "done" Italy, being welcomed in Italian streets by a vast military guard of dishonour. The people draped Garibaldi's statue with mourning black. The Socialists demonstrated to leave the guest in no doubt as to the popular welcome.

Mme. Steinheil, said to have been the one-time friend of Felix Faure, ex-President of France, is putting the French judiciary upon their trial. Our sensitive Gallic neighbours will not relish the world's condemnation of their custom of presuming the guilt of a person and allowing the judge to be a prosecuting counsel. Mme. Steinheil is arraigned for the murder of her mother and husband in May, 1908.

Wilfrid Lawson's memoirs are published, with at least one tale to be thankful for. He told of a woman who was shocked to find her husband hanging in a barn. "Did you cut him down?" asked the Coroner. "Why, no," said she. "He wasn't dead."

The Lords have transformed the Irish Land Bill. It would create in Ireland a further army of petty proprietors. Which we don't want.

A demonstration of Nobody's Own unemployed ex-soldiers has waited on Mr. Haldane, our comrade Robert Edmondson, Ex-Squadron-Sergeant-Major of the 21st Lancers, taking the lead.

The War Minister took up the usual line of detailing the different civil departments of State in which ex-soldiers are employed—there are, he said, nearly 6,000 engaged in different capacities. The War Office could not create employment.

The men afterwards demonstrated in Trafalgar Square.

Notwithstanding the much-boomed "improvement in trade," the unemployed registers of the 29 London distress committees show 20,718 registering in the first 30 days this season, as against 21,640 last year. Of these work has only been found for 200 by the Central Body.

There have been deplorable mining disasters in South Wales, with loss of a score or two of lives. The manager and some working miners displayed great courage in rescue work in one case—that of an explosion of gas at Bargoed. Several of the rescuers lost their lives. A Departmental Committee has been appointed to inquire into the use of electricity in mines.

There is talk of the King of the Belgians abdicating. After Turkey and Greece anything is possible.

Floods have caused distress in South Wales and Kent, and some loss of life in the former district.

The Football Players' Union has withdrawn from the General Federation of Trades Unions.

An address and a £160 cheque have been presented to Mr. Frederick Rogers in recognition of his long service as Secretary of the Old Age Pension Association. Mr. Bowerman, M.P., recalled that Colston Hall, at Bristol, was burnt down the night after Mr. Rogers had been speaking in the Hall; and presumed he had raised the temperature to a dangerous degree.

The atrocities of the monarchical and Clerical terror in Spain culminated on October 13 in the shooting of Francesco Ferrer. Hundreds of the victims of Royalist reaction and Clerical obscurantism have been tortured in the cells of Montjuich, and have fallen before the rifles of mercenaries, without causing any protest. But the murder of Ferrer excited universal indignation and execration throughout the civilised world. In Paris, Rome, Amsterdam—in fact, in all the chief cities of Europe, tremendous popular demonstrations against this crime of the Spanish ruling class were held.

Even in England the people were stirred. In a couple of days the Social-Democratic Party in London organised the largest demonstration that has been held in Trafalgar Square for many years. From every important provincial centre, too, came indignant protests and the echo of popular demonstrations against the crime of which Ferrer was the victim.

It has been made quite clear that the Spanish Clericalist Government has gone too far. The common expression has been that the shooting of Ferrer was a challenge, and a challenge which requires an answer, and that the only effective answer would be the killing of Ferrer's prosecutors.

Whatever may be the upshot, it is beyond question that, useful as Ferrer's life-work may have been against Clerical despotism and obscurantism, there is no act of his life which has served the cause of popular liberty so well as his execution. However long its downfall may be deferred, the reign of Clericalism in Spain is doomed. Ferrer's death has sealed its fate. Already Maura, the Prime Minister, who was chiefly responsible for the murder, has been hounded from power. That is only the beginning. The system, not merely its outward form and expression, will be overthrown.

The elections for the various State Parliaments in the German Empire have been characterised by extraordinary and encouraging successes for our party there. In Saxony and Baden this is particularly the case; but everywhere our comrades have done remarkably well and have scored notable victories.

The enthusiasm for the Budget has considerably slackened, people having discovered how little good there is in it. It is

still believed in certain quarters, however, that the Lords will reject it. They will be acting very foolishly if they do, as by such action they will re-awaken the enthusiasm, and will, at the same time, stir up a strong popular feeling against themselves.

The latest tactics of the Suffragettes have undoubtedly done their movement a lot of harm. So long as they were merely rowdy they might be almost amusing, and could, at any rate, be good-humouredly tolerated. When, however, it came to committing murderous assaults and to outrages in polling stations the limits of toleration were exceeded, patience was exhausted, and reprisals were provoked. The outcome is widespread disgust with the whole movement.

Considerably less has been heard of the German war scare of late, and it is amusing to note the silly comments of Liberal journals thereon. There is no longer any scare, say they, therefore there never was any danger. There was danger, and there is always danger. There is less just now, and less talk about it, for the simple reason that the British Government took heed of the cry of alarm and set to work to put its house in order. But the danger still exists, and those who think the contrary will one day have a rude awakening if their fatuous folly should be listened to.

It is hardly likely that Russia will submit to the check she received in the Balkans, while Germany's bloodless victory there has undoubtedly encouraged her to press other and more outrageous claims in other directions. "*L'appetit vient en mangeant*," and those who refuse to see the menace of a European war in recent happenings are political ostriches indeed.

ON HOUSING AND RENTS.

A PAPER WRITTEN TO BE READ AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY, EASTER, 1909.

In the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society for 1840 it is stated there were then living in the parish of St. John and St. Margaret, Westminster, 5,366 working men's families, numbering 26,830 persons, in 5,294 dwellings. Three-fourths of the families possessed but one room, while the total number of families, 5,366, paid £40,000 per year in rent. In the latter part of the period since that date the number of one-room tenants declined, but the two outstanding points revealed by this reference to the Westminster parish still remain. Those outstanding points are— inadequate accommodation, and a charge for it which is far greater per cubic space occupied than the rich man has to pay. The oppression of the worker does not cease when plunder has made him poor; then he is penalised for his poverty.

For more than a hundred years the housing question has been discussed as an issue of importance, but it was not until 1851 that Lord Shaftesbury, adopting the suggestions of a working-class organisation called the Labourers' Friend Society, introduced his Bill enabling municipal authorities to erect lodging-houses. The movement towards disintegration of the city encouraged by recent developments of electric traction and the increased rent of land in urban centres, was supported then by a few æsthetic persons only. At an earlier period of English history the municipal corporations held strong views against the too rapid growth of towns, while the central government endeavoured to maintain the wide distribution of population by prohibiting building in London and other great cities. But those who sought to make England the workshop of the world saw neither beauty nor profit in husbandry, and to considerations of health they were indifferent. Since the workers were needed in the towns in greater number, as the province of capitalism extended, all proposals to re-house the working class from about 1845 to 1880 were on the lines of the Peabody Trust. By the erection of costly, hideous and inconvenient barracks, ironically called "models," a more scientific mode of crowding came

into vogue. Whereas the people in wynds, stews and alleys had formerly been jammed against each other's sides, they were now jammed down upon each other.

For thirty years after Lord Shaftesbury introduced his Bill the methods indicated were pursued by private speculators and municipal authorities, so far as the latter made any move at all. On the programme of the Democratic Federation, formed in 1881, there appeared a novel proposal that houses should be let at rents to cover the cost of construction and their maintenance, and in great part as a result of the agitation which again brought social and economic questions forward while merely political issues receded from prominence, the Housing Commission was appointed in 1884. It is commonly supposed that all the recommendations of this Commission are embodied in subsequent legislation, but where the municipal authorities have been empowered to carry out the Commission's more important suggestions that power has been limited by numerous restrictions. As housing is but a part of a larger subject—the promotion and maintenance of public health—the Commission recommended such alteration in the general law as would render it impossible for any premises to exist in an insanitary state, and, further, that local authorities should have greater facilities for the erection of dwellings. The suggestion that insanitary property should no longer exist has been turned into law by amendments of the Public Health Acts and the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890. That is to say, the Statute Book authorises local administrators to apply the law if they please to hurt themselves, as would invariably be the case, since the greater part of those who serve on the municipal bodies of the kingdom are either owners of house property, or interested in its protection by strong class ties. Imperfect as the present law is in many particulars, in the hands of those who seriously desired to give homes to the people in town or village, it could be the means by which dwellings and their surroundings were made clean, commodious and artistic. There is one thing lacking, a deficiency that is not met by the powers of a few electors to appeal to the Local Government Board, given by the Housing Act of 1890. There is no compulsion brought to bear upon the municipal authorities. People in a district may be overcrowded or ruining body and mind and contracting disease by dwelling in the midst of rapid decay, but there is no authority to compel the town council to exercise its powers. And quite apart from all questions of authority there is the important matter of imagination. The psychology of the man of property is of different stuff from that of the free citizen living in a two-roomed tenement. The man owning house property has a view of what is good enough for a working-class tenant totally at variance with the view held by an educated workman, or one who has imagination enough to conceive the homes of England as they might be. As an instance of the failure of municipal

authorities we may cite their unwillingness to obtain land for housing purposes beyond their own districts, which they are empowered to do by the Housing Act of 1900.

The magnitude of the evil, and the extent to which private and municipal enterprise has sought to improve conditions of housing, may be seen by a consideration of existing accommodation. From time to time inquiries have been conducted in the rural districts. One recent investigation covered 78 villages containing 4,179 cottages. One thousand cottages are reported to be bad or very bad; 2,500 were not provided with fire-places or sufficient ventilation in bedrooms. In another case 240 villages with 10,000 cottages were visited; 5,000 of the dwellings are reported to be bad. In 1897, 400 villages in all parts of the country were selected for visitation. Alderman Thompson, of Richmond, states that in half the villages the general condition of the cottages was found to be unsatisfactory or very bad; in over a quarter the water supply was bad; in over a quarter there were not enough houses for the people; three-quarters of the cottages had not more than two bedrooms; two-thirds of the cottages had no fire-places and no ventilation in the bedrooms.

In the working-class Ghettos of the towns there has been a decrease in the worst type of dwellings, but the slender improvement is barely worthy of note when compared to the need for change. Two-thirds of the people in London live in homes of not more than four rooms. The devotees of municipal control are apt to regard Glasgow as a kind of Mecca in all but its weather, yet no less than a fifth of her citizens live in one-room dwellings; half its people are in two-roomed homes and over 80 per cent. of the houses built in recent years contain not more than three rooms. Edinburgh is so like Athens that scant regard is given to her common people. In the Canongate 70 per cent. of the people are living in one or two-roomed homes. The splendour of Dublin before the Union has changed to a system of tenement occupation particularly squalid and expressed in an abnormally high rate of mortality. The general conditions in the great towns of England, on the North-East Coast and in South Wales will be so well known to the delegates that extended reference is unnecessary.

The task of meeting the deficiency of accommodation, which became more acute when the housing companies ceased to build about the year 1888, devolved upon municipal authorities, supplemented by sporadic efforts on the part of private enterprise. After a period, in which slum property was demolished at the cost of millions of public money, and the value of remaining slums greatly enhanced by an increase in the number of their tenants and the prospect of purchase, the municipal bodies, with few exceptions, embarked upon the very kind of building which the housing companies had abandoned. In the smaller towns cottages or cottage flats were erected naturally, but Edinburgh built block dwellings at a cost, in the High School Yard area, of £145 per room, inclusive

of building and site. The cost per room of building only, in London block dwellings, from 1893 to 1901, varied from £81 to £138. In Liverpool it is about £100 per room for building and site, and in Manchester about £120. In fact, the municipal bodies have generally failed except in providing the most expensive form of building with the least convenience, at a relatively high rent. The rate at which accommodation is increased is abnormally slow; in fact, it was recently estimated that, if the London County Council continued to build with the rapidity it has displayed since 1890, it would be 200 years before all the one-room tenements in London could be superseded by two-room tenements. I am not aware of corresponding figures for the whole of the kingdom, but the number of rooms available for occupation in London and Extra London increases by 30,000 a year, while the population increases by 120,000 a year. Over the country generally the number of one-room tenements is decreasing and the overcrowding in homes of this narrow compass continues to fall, but this slight improvement is balanced by closer crowding in the two and three-roomed homes.

While the rate of building by public authorities has been slow and of a character not calculated to seriously affect the interests of private owners, the rights of private property have been further safeguarded by fixing the rents of municipal property at a price charged for similar accommodation in the neighbourhood, or even at a higher figure. In London the average rent in the County Council dwellings is 3s. per room; in England and Wales excluding London, the average rent is 1s. 10d. per room weekly, a mean price which renders it impossible for the municipal house to depress the incomes of private owners of house property. On the impropriety of housing people in block dwellings or badly built cottage flats at high rents there is general agreement, but before we leave this point I must refer to the mode of dealing with the housing question adopted in Ireland. Since the passage of the Irish Local Government Act, the building of agricultural labourers' cottages, which first received encouragement from the Government in 1881, has continued. Close upon 40,000 cottages have been erected with money lent to the Irish local authorities on better terms than the Treasury will lend to English municipalities. The rents charged vary from 9d. per week in Munster to 1s. 6d. per week in Ulster. So eager is the Government to efficiently house the importunate Irishman in certain districts where the sanitary authorities have displayed some reluctance to exercise their powers, that the provision of houses in such cases has been transferred entirely to the hands of qualified inspectors. It is worth suggestion to the Labour Party that similar consideration from the Treasury in order that cottages could be erected for our own agriculturists, might well be made to supplement the slender benefits conferred by the Housing and Town Planning Bill.

I have already referred to the custom of fixing municipal rents at such a figure that they do not compete with privately owned

dwellings. The proposal of the Social-Democratic Party that municipal authorities or the State should erect cottage dwellings and let them at a cost to cover construction and maintenance only, would, if applied, secure the best form of accommodation and place it on the market at a price that would play havoc with the rents drawn for private property.

After a municipal authority has adopted a housing scheme it next applies to the County Council or some other public authority, for a loan to cover the cost of the land and building. The period in which the loan has to be repaid is subject to considerable variation at the option of the lenders. It is the custom when fixing the rent of municipal dwellings to charge a rent that, during the life of the loan, will cover the repayment of the money borrowed and the interest upon it, the cost of maintaining the property in repair and all charges for rates. For many years a school of housing reformers has sought to obtain a reduction in the rent charge by excluding the cost of land from the tenants' rent. They propose to treat the land as an asset, or, in other words, to pay for it out of rates.

While being in agreement with the proposal that the cost of the land should be borne by its owners, it must be pointed out that the purchase price for the site, even in the most expensive housing schemes, represents a very small part of the capital expenditure, interest, and maintenance which the tenant has to pay. In those cases where the housing authority has considered the housing value of the land to be far below its commercial value, and in those other cases where the cost of the land has not been charged to the housing accounts at all, the ideal of the "land as an asset" school of reformer has been partly realised; yet it cannot be said that the buildings have been made more convenient or the rents more reasonable.

There is another school that proposes to extend the period for the repayment of loans. It cannot be too frequently pointed out that with every extension in the period for repayment there is an increase in the total interest payable. While it is true that by prolonging the life of the loan to 100 years, we could reduce rents by a few pence per week, or erect better buildings, it should be remembered that the cardinal injustice of paying the increased interest would continue to fall on the tenant unless the municipal authorities abandoned their present financial methods.

At the present time there is a popular belief, encouraged by the propertied class, that the municipal authorities must fix their rents to cover all the charges I have enumerated, whereas the rent may be fixed to yield a profit after these charges have been made, as in the case of the L.C.C., or the rent can merely cover a part of these charges, as in the case of Stafford, where all contributions to the sinking fund—the fund from which the money borrowed for construction will be repaid—is to be borne by the general body of rate-payers, who will ultimately be the owners of the municipal dwellings.

How far municipal housing would be affected on its financial side by the adoption of our proposal will be seen by examination of the capital account of almost any housing scheme. As a good illustration of their general character we may take the capital account of a scheme recently proposed to cost £22,700. The money borrowed was to be repaid on the annuity system, which combines the principal and interest in variable proportions, though the sum actually payable to the lender—the annuity—is the same in each year of the loan. The other method of repayment is the instalment system, which decreases the amount repayable in each year. The total of principal and interest combined payable to the lenders is slightly less under the Instalment system than by the Annuity system. A loan of £100 for 50 years at 3 per cent. will bring to the lender repaid by the instalment system a total of £175 13s. 4d.; if repaid by way of annuity he will receive £194 7s. 6d. The particular scheme we are considering allows for repayment by annuity of a loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The land is valued for housing purposes at £1,500, and it is assumed that the money for the purchase of the land can be borrowed for 80 years. The annual repayments in respect of this charge are to be £55 17s. 7d. The cost of buildings, paving, architects' and quantity surveyors' expenses are estimated to amount to £21,200, to be borrowed for 60 years, and entailing an annual charge of £847 14s. 2d. The estimated rental to be derived amounts to £1,610 per annum.

It will be observed that the sum borrowed for the land is £1,500, but the total repaid in 80 years is £4,470. The sum borrowed for the buildings is £21,200, but the total repaid in 60 years is £50,868. The total amount of interest received by the lenders of the two loans and paid by the tenants before they have purchased the freehold for the ratepayers, is £32,638. By adding to that sum the £1,500 charged against the scheme for cost of land, we find that an interest and land charge of £34,138 is imposed upon a scheme of working-class dwellings that will cost only £21,200 to build.

The outgoings shown on the Maintenance Account of our scheme, including rates and taxes, water, light, insurance, repairs and renewals, supervision, collection of rents and contingencies, is estimated at £712 a year. Under the item of rates and taxes, set down at £342 per annum, I consider there are many charges that cannot be properly set against maintenance account, but if we waive that point and charge the tenants with £712 for the annual maintenance of the property, and a sum equal to one-sixtieth part of the actual cost of building—as the loan is to be borrowed for 60 years—but relieve them of the cost of land and all interest we shall be able to reduce their rents by no less than £550 10s. a year. In the particular case we have examined that would mean a reduction of more than one-third in the rents the tenants have to pay.

The adoption of the proposal to house the people at rents to cover the cost of construction and maintenance only, would reduce the rental

of houses by from one-third to one-half of its present rate. I need not do more than refer to the consequences of this policy upon privately owned houses and the rents obtained from them.

Admirable though this step would be towards placing the people in clean and healthy dwellings, there are great numbers whose earnings are so low that they could not pay a rent covering the cost of construction and maintenance. The Liverpool Corporation has discovered this, and its remedy to house those who need re-housing most, is to put them behind slabs of clinker set in frames. This tendency of municipal bodies to erect poor and ugly dwellings for the poor, cannot be too strongly condemned, in common with all other suggestions to lower the standard of building. The re-housing of the very poor cannot be met by inferior building, or by adhering steadfastly to a rent scale covering the cost of building and care of the property when erected. The highest rent the poor could pay would simply meet the cost of construction spread over a long term of years. I should, therefore, prefer to see no reference to maintenance on our programme, but a single demand for rents to cover cost of building only.

Even to-day, before social freedom is assured by the establishment of the principle that what the people need they should own and have, which carries with it free bread and free domicile in return for labour performed—even to-day our housing proposals, in the hands of men with a real sense of the possible and devoting wealth to the service of man, could be a means to raze every slum, make our towns and cities clean, and provide the people with healthy circumstances to the permanent good of the race.

E. C. FAIRCHILD.

PROGRESS OF SOCIAL REFORM ON THE CONTINENT.

This essay, probably the earliest of Engels' writings on Socialism, appeared originally in the Owenite journal, the "New Moral World," in 1843, in the numbers for November 4 and 18 of that year. Engels was at that time residing in Manchester, where his father was part owner of a manufactory. Karl Kautsky thus describes his activities at that period :

"In England, the motherland of capitalism, his keen economic and philosophical insight soon made the tendency of capitalistic production plain to him. The actual position of the proletariat, its misery and historical future, were more plainly evident here than anywhere else. His interest in the proletariat was strengthened, and we soon find him in the midst of the agitation of the Utopian Socialism, which was then current, as well as of the actual labour movement, which had not yet become Socialistic. He studied both of these diligently; not as an onlooker, but as a fellow-fighter. He was associated with the 'Northern Star,' the party organ of the Chartists, and the 'New Moral World' of Robert Owen."

S. H.

It has always been in some degree surprising to me, ever since I met with English Socialists, to find that most of them are very little acquainted with the social movement going on in different parts of the Continent. And yet there are more than 500,000 Communists in France, not taking into account the Fourierists, and other less radical social reformers; there are Communist associations in every part of Switzerland, sending forth missionaries to Italy, Germany, and even Hungary, and German philosophy, after a long and troublesome circuit, has at last settled upon Communism.

Thus, the three great and civilised countries of Europe—England, France, and Germany—have all come to the conclusion that a thorough revolution of social arrangements, based on community of property, has now become an urgent and unavoidable necessity. This result is the more striking, as it was arrived at by each of the above nations independently of the others; a

fact than which there can be no stronger proof, that Communism is not the consequence of the particular position of the English, or any other nation, but that it is a necessary conclusion, which cannot be avoided to be drawn from the premises given in the general facts of modern civilisation.

It must, therefore, appear desirable that the three nations should understand each other—should know how far they agree and how far they disagree; because there must be disagreement also, owing to the different origin of the doctrine of Community in each of the three countries. The English came to the conclusion *practically*, by the rapid increase of misery, demoralisation, and pauperism in their own country: the French *politically*, by first asking for political liberty and equality; and, finding this insufficient, joining social liberty and social equality to their political claims: the Germans became Communists *philosophically*, by reasoning upon first principles. This being the origin of Socialism in the three countries, there must exist differences upon minor points; but I think I shall be able to show that these differences are very insignificant, and quite consistent with the best feeling on the part of the Social reformers of each country towards those of the other. The thing wanted is that they should know each other; this being obtained, I am certain they all will have the best wishes for the success of their foreign brother Communists.

France is, since the Revolution, the exclusively political country of Europe. No improvement, no doctrine, can obtain national importance in France unless embodied in some political shape. It seems to be the part the French nation has to perform in the present stage of the history of mankind, to go through all the forms of political development, and to arrive, from a merely political beginning, at the point where all nations, all different paths, must meet at Communism. The development of the public mind in France shows this clearly, and shows at the same time what the future history of the English Chartists must be.

The French Revolution was the rise of democracy in Europe. Democracy is, as I take all forms of government to be, a contradiction in itself, an untruth, nothing but hypocrisy (theology, as we Germans call it), at the bottom. Political liberty is sham liberty, the worst possible slavery; the appearance of liberty, and, therefore, the reality of servitude. Political equality is the same; therefore, democracy, as well as every other form of government, must ultimately break to pieces: hypocrisy cannot subsist, the contradiction hidden in it must come out; we must have either a regular slavery—that is, an undisguised despotism, or real liberty, and real equality—that is, Communism. Both these consequences were brought out in the French Revolution; Napoleon established the first, and Babœuf the second. I think I may be short upon the subject of Babouvism, as the history of his conspiracy, by

Buonarotti, has been translated into the English language.* The Communist plot did not succeed, because the then Communism itself was of a very rough and superficial kind; and because, on the other hand, the public mind was not yet far enough advanced.

The next French social reformer was Count de St. Simon. He succeeded in getting up a sect, and even some establishments, none of which succeeded. The general spirit of the Saint-Simonian doctrines is very much like that of the Ham-Common Socialists† in England; although in the *detail* of the arrangements and ideas there is a great difference. The singularities and eccentricities of the Saint-Simonians very soon became the victims of French wit and satire; and everything once made ridiculous is inevitably lost in France. But, besides this, there were other causes for the failure of the Saint-Simonian establishments; all the doctrines of this party were enveloped in the clouds of an unintelligible mysticism, which, perhaps, in the beginning, attracts the attention of the people; but, at last, must leave their expectations disappointed. Their economical principles, too, were not unexceptionable; the share of each of the members of their communities in the distribution of produce, was to be regulated, firstly, by the amount of work he had done; and, secondly, the amount of talent he displayed. A German Republican, Boerne, justly replied to this principle, that talent, instead of being rewarded, ought rather to be considered as a natural preference; and, therefore, a reduction ought to be made from the share of the talented, in order to restore equality.

Saint-Simonism, after having excited, like a brilliant meteor, the attention of the thinking, disappeared from the social horizon. Nobody now thinks of it, or speaks of it; its time is past.

Nearly at the same time with Saint-Simon, another man directed the activity of his mighty intellect to the social state of mankind—Fourier. Although Fourier's writings do not display those bright sparks of genius which we find in Saint-Simon's, and some of his disciples; although his style is hard, and shows, to a considerable extent, the toil with which the author is always labouring to bring out his ideas, and to speak out things for which no words are provided in the French language—nevertheless, we read his works with greater pleasure; and find more real value in them, than in those of the preceding school. There is mysticism, too, and as extravagant as any; but this you may cut off and throw aside; but there will remain something not to be found among the Saint-Simonians—scientific research, cool, un-

* This is a reference to Bronterre O'Brien's translation, published 1836.

† These were a body of communistic mystics who set up a community at Alcott House, on the verge of Ham Common, in 1842. The founder of the sect was James Pierrepoint Graves. The establishment was called the "Concordium," and its inmates practised vegetarianism and recommended celibacy. See Thomas Frost's "Forty Years Recollections," and Holyoake's "History of Co-operation."

biased, systematic thought; in short, *social philosophy*; whilst Saint-Simonism can only be called *social poetry*. It was Fourier who, for the first time, established the great axiom of social philosophy, that, every individual having an inclination or predilection for some particular kind of work, the sum of all these inclinations of all individuals must be, upon the whole, an adequate power for providing for the wants of all. From this principle, it follows that if every individual is left to his own inclination to do and to leave what he pleases, the wants of all will be provided for, without the forcible means used by the present system of society. This assertion looks bold; and yet, after Fourier's mode of establishing it, is quite unassailable—almost self-evident—the egg of Columbus. Fourier proves that everyone is born with an inclination for some kind of work, that *absolute idleness* is nonsense—a thing which never existed and cannot exist: that the essence of the human mind is to be active itself, and to bring the body into activity; and that, therefore, there is no necessity for making the people active by force, as in the now existing state of society, but only to give their natural activity the right direction. He goes on proving the identity of labour and enjoyment, and shows the irrationality of the present social system, which separates them, making labour a toil, and placing enjoyment above the reach of the majority of the labourers; he shows, further, how, under rational arrangements, labour may be made, what it is intended to be, an enjoyment, leaving everyone to follow his own inclinations. I cannot, of course, follow Fourier through the whole of his theory of *free labour*, and I think this will be sufficient to show the English Socialists that Fourierism is a subject well worthy of their attention.

Another of the merits of Fourier is to have shown the advantages—nay, the necessity of association. It will be sufficient only to mention this subject, as I know the English to be fully aware of its importance.

There is one inconsistency, however, in Fourierism, and a very important one, too; and that is, his non-abolition of private property. In his *Phalanstères*, or associative establishments, there are rich and poor, capitalists and working men. The property of all members is put into a joint stock, the establishment carries on commerce, agricultural, and manufacturing industry, and the proceeds are divided among the members; one part as wages of labour, another as reward for skill and talent, and a third as profits of capital. Thus, after all the beautiful theories of association and free labour; after a good deal of indignant declamation against commerce, selfishness, and competition, we have in practice the old competitive system upon an improved plan, a poor-law bastille on more liberal principles! Certainly, here we cannot stop; and the French, too, have not stopped here.

The progress of Fourierism in France was slow, but regular. There are not a great many Fourierists; but they count among

their numbers a considerable portion of the intellect now active in France. Victor Considérant is one of their cleverest writers. They have a newspaper, too, the "Phalange," published formerly three times a week, now daily.

As the Fourierists are now represented in England, also by Mr. Doherty,* I think I may have said enough concerning them, and now pass to the most important and most radical party in France, the *Communists*.

I said before that everything claiming national importance in France must be of a political nature, or it will not succeed. Saint-Simon and Fourier did not touch politics at all, and their schemes, therefore, became not the common property of the nation, but only subjects of private discussion. We have seen how Babœuf's Communism arose out of the democracy of the first revolution. The second revolution, of 1830, gave rise to another and more powerful Communism. The "great week" of 1830 was accomplished by the union of the middle and working classes, the Liberals and the Republicans. After the work was done the working classes were dismissed, and the fruits of the revolution were taken possession of by the middle classes only. The working men got up several insurrections for the abolition of political monopoly and the establishment of a republic, but were always defeated; the middle class having not only the army on their side, but forming themselves the National Guard besides. During this time (1834 or 1835) a new doctrine sprang up among the republican working men. They saw that, even after having succeeded in their democratic plans, they would continue the dupes of their more gifted and better educated leaders, and that their social condition, the cause of their political discontent, would not be bettered by any political change whatsoever. They referred to the history of the great revolution, and eagerly seized upon Babœuf's Communism. This is all that can, with safety, be asserted concerning the origin of modern Communism in France; the subject was first discussed in the dark lanes and crowded alleys of the Parisian suburb, Saint Antoine, and soon after in the secret assemblies of conspirators. Those who know more about its origin are very careful to keep their knowledge to themselves, in order to avoid the "strong arm of the law." However, Communism spread rapidly over Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, and the other large and manufacturing towns of the realm; various secret associations followed each other, among which the "Travailleurs Egalitaires," or Equalitarian working men, and the Humanitarians, were the most considerable. The Equalitarians were rather a "rough set," like the Babouvists of the great revolution; they purposed making the world a working-man's community, putting down every refinement of civilisation, science, the fine arts, etc., as useless, dangerous, and aristocratic luxuries; a prejudice necessarily arising from their total ignorance

* Author of "False Association and its Remedy," 1841, etc.

of history and political economy. The Humanitarians were known particularly for their attacks on marriage, the family, and other similar institutions. Both these, as well as two or three other parties, were very short-lived, and the great bulk of the French working classes adopted, very soon, the tenets propounded by M. Cabet, "Père Cabet," as he is called, and which are known on the Continent under the name of Icarian Communism.

This sketch of the history of Communism in France shows, in some measure, what the difference of French and English Communism must be. The origin of social reform in France is a political one; it is found that democracy cannot give real equality, and, therefore, the Community scheme is called to its aid. The bulk of the French Communists are, therefore, republicans besides; they want a community state of society, under a republican form of government. Now, I do not think that the English Socialists would have serious objections to this; because, though they are more favourable to an elective monarchy, I know them to be too enlightened to force their kind of government upon a people totally opposed to it. It is evident that to try this would involve this people in far greater disorders and difficulties than would arise from their own democratic mode of government, even supposing this to be bad.

THE REVIEWS.

SEÑOR FERRER'S EXECUTION.

In its review of imperial and foreign affairs the "Fortnightly Review" gives the reactionary view of the execution of Francesco Ferrer:—

As a result of the execution of Señor Ferrer, the intellectual leader of Republicanism and Secularism in Barcelona—the undoubted inspirer of disaffection and the teacher of a tolerably Anarchist philosophy—advanced political feeling has been convulsed with indignation throughout the world, and in Madrid itself the Conservative Cabinet has fallen. Let us avoid the folly of precipitate judgment upon these events. Señor Ferrer, the son of a cooper, became an extreme Republican in early life, but lived in Paris for a time, where he maintained himself by teaching. With the legacy he received from a rich and ardent sympathiser, Mlle. Meunier, he returned to Barcelona to found the Escuela Moderna. It was the centre on the one hand of a Secularist system of education, and on the other hand of intensely revolutionary influences. If the seditious press in India is indirectly responsible for the murders committed by Dinghra and for bomb-throwing in Bengal, Señor Ferrer was to at least the same degree responsible for the violence of anti-dynastic and anti-Clerical outbreaks in Barcelona. One of his assistants at the Escuela Moderna was Matteo Morral, who flung the bombs in the Calle Mayor upon the day of King Alfonso's wedding. Señor Ferrer was then arrested on suspicion and imprisoned for a year. When, after all the investigations of the police, no evidence against him could be discovered, he was not "politically murdered," as he would have been if the theories of Spanish justice now spread by his friends were true. He was discharged. He resumed his revolutionary teaching. After the recent Catalan outbreak, already described with some fulness in these pages, Señor Ferrer was seized. He was tried by court-martial and no witnesses were examined. If the most turbulent city in Europe is now in a state of siege, that is not the fault of the Government but of the

revolutionaries. No witnesses were examined, and the summary procedure before a military tribunal was a political blunder ; but it is absurd to call it a judicial crime. The trial and execution were episodes in the repression and punishment of desperate revolt in a city where political murder of an almost unexampled cruelty has raged, and where in the last quarter of a century there have been over a hundred bomb outrages by which 47 people have been killed and 241 wounded. If executions are to cease, que messieurs les assassins commencent.

AN EXPLOSION OF REVOLUTIONARY PASSION.

The Spanish Government may have made mistakes of judgment, though, in a situation which might well have broken weak men, Senor Maura and Senor La Cierva, his Minister of the Interior, showed a resolution, courage, and directness worthy of M. Stolypin himself. These statesmen maintain that Senor Ferrer was shot in Montjuich for his proved participation in revolutionary acts. The advanced opinion of Europe, led by Anatole France, insists that Ferrer died a victim of a judicial blunder, a martyr for his philosophical ideas, his education work, his anti-Clerical zeal ; and that the officers who condemned him were the fanatical tools of the tyrants and Jesuits. . . . Before the execution, menaces of a very ill-advised kind were addressed from Paris and elsewhere not only to the Maura Cabinet, but to King Alfonso, who had no personal responsibility whatever for Ferrer's death. With the news that Ferrer was dead, all the Socialist and extreme anti-Clerical sentiment in Europe leaped into madness. The rioting was most serious in Paris, where a policeman was killed, while M. Lépine himself was repeatedly fired at point-blank and narrowly escaped with his life. The police had to charge again and again amidst showers of stones and bricks ; and barricades, bonfires, the tearing down of shutters, the breaking of the boulevard trees, the overturning and burning of omnibuses, mingled in indescribable scenes of disorder and destruction. It need hardly be said that the scoundrelism of Paris promptly came out in the name of humanity, and the Apaches showed noble feeling by trying to break into a bank. Elsewhere ruffianism was mixed in the same way with revolutionary violence, always ready to exploit any pretext, and with the genuine emotion of many persons stirred by vehement misdescriptions of the case, though knowing little of Spain in general, and still less, if possible, of Ferrer and his work. General strikes were threatened in many cities, from Buenos Aires to Budapest. In Pisa the mob tried to burn the doors of the glorious Cathedral, more ancient and austere than St. Peter's or Milan, and more precious to some of us, which forms, with the Leaning Tower, the Baptistery, and the Campo Santo, that wonderful series of prayers in stone which, taken together, are as moving as anything architectural in the world. "Anti-Clericalism" is more and more used as a convenient cover for a

sort of irreligious and destructive rage which can delight no sane man.

FALL OF THE MAURA MINISTRY.

The sequel, however, was fatal to the Spanish Government. With the re-opening of the Cortes, Senor Moret, the Liberal leader, engaged in a memorable oratorical duel with Senor Maura. In the result the latter resigned office with all his colleagues, and the affairs of Spain are taken over at a critical moment by Senor Moret, with a Moderate Liberal Cabinet and a programme of general conciliation. It is not easy to be sanguine about the issue. Senor Maura is as unmistakably the strongest steersman in Spain as was Canovas del Castillo in his time, and the Liberals will find it hard to maintain order by milder or other methods than those employed by their predecessors. In reply to excited interpellations, both in the House of Commons and the French Chamber, Sir Edward Grey and M. Pichon repudiated the suggestion of interference in the domestic affairs of another nation.



EYES AND NO EYES.

Under the above title Mr. W. S. Lilly writes an interesting article in the "Fortnightly Review." It is evidently the first of a series, as it has for sub-title "I.—The Social Question." It opens with the sentence "The whole art of politics is the art of seeing," and the writer is of opinion that party politicians do not see the issues involved in the questions they are called upon to decide. He takes Mr. Lloyd George and his Budget as an opening theme, and he says: "There is an occult force which drives the generations of mortal men before it as irresistibly as the wind drives the leaves to which Homer has likened them. Call it the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of the age, or what you will; the name matters little; the fact is undeniable. It is of such a force that this Budget of Mr. Lloyd George's is the outward visible manifestation. It really means that what Carlyle called 'The Condition of England Question' is at last asserting its claim to be of paramount importance, and can no longer be shelved by the players of the party game.

"Let us look a little at this question. The population of the United Kingdom is 44,538,718. The wealth of the United Kingdom has been recently estimated by Mr. Chiozza Money—a very competent authority—at £11,500,000,000. Of that vast sum 95 per cent. is owned by one-ninth of the population; five millions of people are the proprietors of £10,900,000,000. Let us go on from capital to income. We may roughly estimate the income of the country at 1,800 millions a year—the figures are still Mr. Chiozza Money's. There

are about five million persons who take one-half of it, while thirty-nine millions take the other half. And of the five millions of persons who take nine hundred millions of income, about one and a quarter million persons, or two hundred and fifty thousand families, take six hundred millions. These two hundred and fifty thousand families are at the top of the social scale. At the bottom are two millions of families earning less than £1 per week. Forty-three per cent. of the population, however hard they may work, however thrifty they may be, are not able to command an income sufficient to provide for a standard of workhouse subsistence. Further, there are always over a million of unemployed and over a million of paupers. It is a significant fact that the rise of pauperism has been continuous since 1901. There are now one hundred and eighteen thousand more paupers than there were then. Moreover, it should be added that while the capital wealth of the country is increasing yearly by £200,000,000, wages are going down, and the cost of living is going up."

Then follow quotations from Dr. Channing's "Duty of Free States," a book written half a century ago, the passage quoted showing the horrible conditions then existing in England, and that America presented a cheering contrast. "They no longer," says Mr. Lilly "present such a contrast. The economical condition of that country has changed—and changed immeasurably for the worse—since the Civil War. Enormous riches are concentrated in the hands of a very few, while the great bulk of the population have become more and more impoverished. It is calculated that 1 per cent. of the families of the United States own more than one-half of the national wealth, while nearly one-half of the families are virtually propertyless. We know what are the splendours of the New York millionaires and multimillionaires—there are, as it appears, some two thousand of them. Well, in this same City of New York men are crowded four thousand, and even more, to the acre, and are living in conditions as filthy, as wretched, as inhuman as can be found in any London slum. An Occasional Correspondent of the 'Times,' who in the years 1907-8 contributed a most interesting series of articles to that journal, under the title of 'A Year Among Americans,' writes as follows, founding himself on official reports:—'In New York two-thirds of the inhabitants live in tenement houses that have over 350,000 living rooms into which, because they are windowless, no ray of sunlight ever comes. In fairly prosperous years there are at least 10,000,000—some careful statisticians say from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000—people in America who are always underfed and poorly housed, and of these 4,000,000 are public paupers. Little children, to the number of 1,700,000, who should be at school, and about 5,000,000 women, are wage-earners in America. . . . A Report of the 'Department of Correction' shows that one person in every ten who dies in New York has a paupers's burial; that at the present ratio of deaths from tuberculosis, 10,000,000 persons,

now living, will succumb to that disease, which is largely due to insufficiency of food and light and air; and that 60,453 families, in the borough of Manhattan, New York, were evicted from their homes in the year 1903.' Such is 'the shame of mixed luxury and misery' which is spread over the United States, as over England, and from which no country of the civilised world is wholly exempt. 'Wealth accumulates, and men decay.'"

We can do little more than give short extracts from this article. Further on the writer proceeds:—

"And as a matter of fact how much of the wealth of our richest classes can be said to have been justly gained? Unquestionably there are large landowners who owe their broad acres to wrong and robbery; those of them, for example, whose ancestors were enriched by Henry VIII. from the spoils of the monasteries and the religious guilds. But a still heavier indictment lies against a multitude of rich men of another order, the possessors of property iniquitously acquired in trade or commerce, or in financial gambling—the wealthy criminal classes, Mr. Roosevelt has called them. How many of these owe their opulence to dreadful deeds of cruelty and extortion in the eighteenth century, when the gospel of laissez-faire had free course and was glorified? And, to come to our own days, Sir George Lewis—than whom it would be difficult to find a better authority—writes (in the anniversary number of the 'Financial News'): 'Many of the large fortunes which have been amassed by "mushroom" financiers and promoters, during the last decades, have been built upon foundations of trickery, deceit, and fraud; and if we examine the means employed we find them little different from those of the race-course thimble-rigger.' No doubt the men who have thus heaped up riches have, as a rule, kept the windy side of the criminal law. But as assuredly they have defied the moral law, whose penal sanctions are not less real than those embodied in Acts of Parliament. Nor will the plea of 'exceptional ability' avail them. The ability which they have manifested is chiefly that of which Falstaff speaks: ability to steal well.

"But, further. To render the possession of riches lawful from an ethical standpoint, they must not only be justly acquired, but rightly used. A man speaks of *his* land, *his* goods, *his* money. They are his in a qualified sense. Absolute ownership springs only from creation. We are not absolute owners: we are stewards, usufructuaries, trustees. The right of private property is conditioned by the duty that it should be made a common good for the community which validates and protects it. Can we say, as we look around us, that this duty is adequately fulfilled? I confess that the peans raised in the newspapers and elsewhere over the prosperity of England fill me with a feeling akin to despair. England a prosperous country? Ah, no! The true test of a country's prosperity is not the superabounding opulence of the few,

but the substantial and rational comfort of the many. A man is prosperous when he possesses the means, not of bare subsistence, but of leading his life in security and comfort, according to his position; of developing soul and body; of bringing up his family decently. And a prosperous country is a country in which this is the true account of the people as a whole. The most prosperous nation is not the nation which has most manufactures, most millionaires, the largest imports and exports. The most prosperous country is the country which has the least pauperism. . . .

"The order of reason must be observed if we would make things better instead of worse.

"For man consists in reason. He alone of all the animals has perception of justice and injustice; he is, in Aristotle's phrase, an ethical animal; and by ethics I mean the science of natural morality indicating what is right and wrong, as befitting or unbecoming a rational creature. And as man consists in reason, so also does the State: 'the inner ground for its existence,' as Lasson has well said, 'is man's endowment of reason, which is the most distinctive part of his manhood.' Now assuredly it is not reasonable that the relation of the wage-earner to the wealth which he helps to produce should be such as to give him no recognised right of any kind in the product of his own labour. It is not reasonable that we should find boundless luxury at one end of the social organism and hopeless pauperism at the other. It is not reasonable that great corporations should dominate whole fields of industry, holding the workers in economic slavery, and the consumers in a thralldom hardly less galling. All this is contrary to the true conception of the State as an ethical organism, rooted and grounded in those eternal principles of right which constitute the moral law."

The author concludes with what he calls "A Programme of Social Reform."

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THE NEW LIBERALISM.

The "Daily News" has published a pamphlet entitled "The New Liberalism," which is composed of four of Mr. Lloyd George's speeches, and a preface by Mr. A. G. Gardiner, the editor of the "Daily News." Mr. Gardiner's message is that if British Liberalism is to be saved from the fate of its prototype in Germany it must be born again. This is not the first occasion upon which Liberalism has been born again—in fact, I should think that by now the process of birth is becoming a little monotonous to the Great Liberal Party. The New Liberalism of the past has become the Old Liberalism of the present, and yet another New Liberalism must be conjured up.

As a matter of fact, Liberalism cannot again be a live force because it has no historico-economic mission which under modern circumstances it can fulfil. Between the years 1650 and 1840 it might be said to have been a party with principles. During this period it was engaged in its historic struggle against Toryism, the political representative of the feudal-aristocracy.

With the coming of its definite victory, with the establishment of the undisputed political dominance of the middle-class, Liberalism becomes no longer a live political force ; it lives on negations, on a sham friendliness to the aspirations of the workers. With the assistance of the meanest deceptions, of the most heartless cruelty and political trickery, it manages to struggle along, to live from hand to mouth. German Liberalism, by being to a certain extent honest in avowing its opposition to the Labour movement, played into the hands of the militant Social-Democracy. Gladstone defined the watchword of Toryism as distrust of the people, tempered by fear, and that of Liberalism as trust in the people, tempered in by prudence. Since then Mr. Balfour has been accused of quibbling ! His accusers have forgotten Gladstone !

Mr. Gardiner admits that the victories of the Liberals in 1906 were not to be ascribed to their virtues, but to the vices of the Tories. He stated that "the reforming zeal of the country had largely gone over to the Labour Party in sheer hopelessness of a cause which seemed to be paralysed by its Whig traditions. During three Sessions this hesitation continued. The Government were engaged in attempting to remove the new buttresses of political injustice which the Tories had thrown up in the last years of reaction following the war. This was in line with the old Liberal tradition, and did not offer the country any new vision. It is true that the Trades Disputes Bill and the Small Holdings Bill were passed, but the first followed inevitably upon the Labour success at the polls, and the second did not bring conviction of a change of heart in the outlook of Liberalism. Then came Old Age Pensions, and with it Mr. Asquith moved the country with the inspiration of a new ideal of the relation of the State to the individual. But even that great act of justice did not win the country. The bye-elections still went against the Government."

With the exception of the assertion that Mr. Asquith inspired the country with a new ideal, we can, I think,

agree that this is a fair statement of the political position during the Sessions 1906-8. The Trades Disputes Bill of the Campbell-Bannerman Government was quite inadequate, and had to be substituted by the Bill of the Labour Party. The Workmen's Compensation Act was, to a great extent, but an extension of an already existing law, and on this piece of legislation the Government was weak, and had to be pushed by the Labour members and Mr. Harry Marks. The Small Holdings Bill is little short of inoperative, and the ideal behind it economically unsound. The Government attempted to win popularity by so-called Education Bills, the object of which legislation was to see that the minds of children should be poisoned by the Nonconformist method instead of the Anglican. Again they pandered to the Puritans, whose ignorance of sociology is only equalled by their assertiveness, by the introduction of the Licensing Bill. This was contemptuously rejected by the Lords, and the mass of the electorate were quite indifferent, if they did not actively agree with the Lords' action.

Meanwhile, the Unionist Tariff Reformers were busily engaged buying up either renegade or unfortunately placed Socialists to propagate the cause of Imperial Unity (recognising, doubtless, that Socialists are the only people who can make a concerted speech). The Liberal seats at bye-elections were being captured either by the Conservatives or by the Labour Party. The Conservative gains were not of the greatest importance, but the increasing power of the politically conscious proletariat must be stopped at all costs. The further growth of the Labour Party meant the further decline of Liberalism; the coming to power of a working men's party would mean the passing of capitalistic society and the coming of Social-Democracy. This development did not suit the views and interests of the gentlemen who control and finance the Liberal Party; it must be stopped at all costs. How? Should they unite with their Conservative friends and thereby accept the kind invitation of Mr. C. Arthur

Pearson's organ? The time was not yet ripe for such a procedure. No; they would take the wind out of the sails of this upstart Labour Party—they would be born again. And so it was.

Where Messrs. Asquith, Haldane and Grey and their Whig following had failed, the unprincipled demagogue, Mr. Lloyd George, would succeed. This gentleman became Chancellor of the Exchequer amidst the applause of Radicalism and Nonconformity. He, the pioneer of the New Liberalism, would put the increasing burden of taxation on the broadest shoulders. Like his German friends, he was faced with financial difficulties. The means and instruments for the production and distribution of that despicable commodity, public opinion, had demanded Dreadnoughts. It necessarily followed that these creations of the barbarism known as patriotism should be provided. The working-class movement had for years demanded old age pensions, so the minimum concession was made—viz., 5s. a week at 70. The generous motives behind this were demonstrated by the fact that Mr. Asquith, believing in the principle of a “penny each and two for three-ha’pence,” unsuccessfully proposed that old married couples should receive a total pension of 7s. 6d. per week. Old age pensions, and especially Dreadnoughts, are somewhat expensive. Consequently by the time Mr. Lloyd George had to frame his Finance Bill he was faced with a deficit of £16,000,000. He could secure this (1) by the direct taxation of the idle rich or (2) by the indirect taxation of the already over-taxed poor. Those who finance and control either the old or the new Liberalism would not permit him, even assuming that he so desired, to adopt the first method, and the adoption of the second would play into the hands of the Tariff Reformers and of the Socialists. But there was a third method, and that was to tax the historic enemies of capital—viz., the landlords—to tax a few of the luxuries of the rich and also to put increased taxation on the shoulders of the working class. The Liberal Party had no intention of relieving

the workers of any of their taxation. On the contrary, it was their intention to increase it. And how should the workers be reconciled to increased taxation? Listen; there shall answer the Great Demagogue, David Lloyd George; thusly does he tub-thump at Limehouse: "We started our four Dreadnoughts. They cost eight millions of money. We promised them four more; they cost another eight millions. Somebody has got to pay. . . . We started building; we wanted money to pay for the building, so we sent the hat round. We sent it round amongst the workmen and the miners of Derbyshire and Yorkshire, the weavers of High Peak, and the Scotchmen of Dumfries, who, like all their countrymen, know the value of money; they all dropped in their coppers."

"We went round Belgravia, but there has been such a howl ever since that it has well-nigh deafened us."

And his working class audience laughed and cheered, and thought he was a great democrat—the people's friend.

And thusly did he perorate:—

"Why should I put burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials. God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxieties which they bear with such patience and fortitude. . . . I made up my mind that in framing that Budget which was in front of me, at any rate no cupboard should be barer, no lot should be harder. By that test I challenge them to judge the Budget."

When one reflects that the purchasing power of the workers has been reduced by several millions of pounds in consequence of the Budget, one can appreciate the cruelty of these cant phrases.

In his speech at Cardiff on October 11, 1909, he announces the object of the new Liberalism in this way:—

"But if they (the Liberals) tackle the landlords and the brewers, and the Peers, as they have faced the

parsons, and deliver the nation from the pernicious control of this confederacy of monopolists, then the Independent Labour Party will call in vain upon the working men of Britain to desert the New Liberalism that is so gallantly fighting to rid the land of the oppressions and wrongs that have oppressed those who labour in it."

From this we can see tolerably well that, as the Free Trade anarchists of the school of Cobden and Bright undermined Chartism during the first half of the last century, so would the demagogic Liberalism of to-day undermine the Labour movement of the first half of the twentieth century.

Now, it may be asserted that the Government have, by land and mining royalty taxation, introduced a new principle and are paving the way for land nationalisation. But these are mere assumptions, gratuitously made, and which can be as gratuitously denied. No new principle is introduced. For the past four centuries the capitalists have denounced the landlords as being parasites on industry. Many countries where capitalistic society is as firmly entrenched as it is here have adopted the taxation of land. The Chancellor in his speeches invariably weeps over the fact that before a capitalist can secure the opportunity to function as a capitalist—that is, as an extractor of surplus value—he has to guarantee to share the spoils with a landlord. But this is not the important characteristic of capitalist production from the working class standpoint. The great secret of the appropriation of rent and interest is that no capitalist employs a wage-labourer unless he, in the long run, secures a surplus, appropriates the proceeds of unpaid labour; in fine, *functions as a capitalist*. We have no need, therefore, to thank God when the Government's supporters loudly affirm that the landlord is a burden on industry, a parasite on commerce; all they mean is that the capitalists would like to pay less rent to the landlord and less of taxes to the State, and their income would be proportionately larger.

From this it may be stated that the Government is heading for land nationalisation. This again I deny, for these two reasons : (1) The land-taxers are bitterly opposed to land nationalisation. A reference to their literature will prove this to any person doubting my assertion, who will thereby find that their object is to create a greater number of landholders ; establish free trade in land, which in turn would probably lead to the *capitalistic* monopoly of land ; (2) Because the capitalists are afraid of land nationalisation, for the very obvious reason that the process of nationalisation could not stop there.

I submit, then, that from the Labour point of view there is nothing to be thankful for in the Budget of 1909. And the Budget of 1909 up to now, according to Mr. Gardiner, is the new Liberalism.

If we investigate the attitude of modern Liberalism to foreign and domestic affairs we find that it is essentially calculated to preserve the rule of the dominant order in society. The Government has allied itself with the Czardom of Russia, thereby signifying its willingness to co-operate with a bureaucracy chiefly engaged in oppressing, torturing and assassinating its subjects who are struggling to establish political reforms successfully secured by British Liberalism. Not content with this, it invited in the name of the British people a visit of the Autocrat of All the Russias, welcoming this man to these shores against the strong protest of the whole Labour movement in this country. Despite its Liberal love of liberty, the Government by its silence expressed no disapproval of the murder of Ferrer by the Spanish Clericalism. Under its régime bureaucratic tyranny has been its policy towards the aspirations of the inhabitants of India and Egypt. Its whole foreign and colonial policy, being based on cowardice, has inevitably produced either degrading alliances or oppressive methods of administration.

And what of its attitude to the misery and toil of the workers at home ? It can only be described as

one of callous indifference. Take the feeding of school children. The Labour Party introduces a Bill which says that the local authorities *shall* feed school-children; the Government, afraid to reject the Bill, with characteristic cowardice says the local authority *may* do so, thereby shifting the responsibility on to the shoulders of the local bodies. Again, take unemployment. Niggardly doles to the Distress Committees, and a determination to do as little as possible. The Labour Party introduce a "Right to Work Bill." Under the leadership of the conservative member for Battersea, the Liberal Free Traders unite with their "enemies" the Protectionists to contemptuously reject the measure. The tragedy of the working-class family without means of subsistence must be subordinated to the economic interests of the bourgeoisie, who cling like grim death to their margin of unemployed workers. Small wonder that much excitement is created over the Budget; it may lead to the forgetting of the proletarian unemployed.

Finally, what of its attitude to the House of Lords? We cannot describe this, because we know it not. The only sign given was the Campbell-Bannerman resolution; a humorous, absurd and cumbersome plan to "curb the veto" of the Lords. The "New Liberalism" is not going to abolish the Second Chamber, an institution which has been, like the dukes, one of its great political assets. When the Labour Party and Social-Democracy are gaining ground, the political forms must not be made too democratic. The House of Lords has nothing to fear from the New Liberalism.

The foregoing, I submit, is the true explanation of the rise and the attitude of the New Liberalism. Ever ruthless and unscrupulous, Liberalism is attempting to destroy the political Labour movement. By demagogic phraseology, it would lead us into its net. But with those members of the working-class movement whose political policy is based upon economics and history the attempt will be unsuccessful.

B. MORRISON.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE STATE.

H. B. Samuels's arguments against Women's Suffrage in the October number of the "Social-Democrat" will hardly be taken seriously by anyone within our ranks, and might, therefore, be quite safely left without an answer were it not for the fact that, appearing as they do in a Socialist review, they might give quite an erroneous idea of the views of the Social-Democracy on this subject. We have learnt, if not to forgive, at all events to tolerate Belfort Bax's little eccentricities on this matter, and to dismiss his outbursts with a mere shrug of the shoulders; but even he has hardly ever seen fit to treat the subject with so much levity and superficiality.

The right of individuals to have a share in the shaping of their country's destinies, says comrade Samuels, is subject to the wider public rights. I wonder what he really means by this. I suppose he means that not all individuals are capable of exercising this power intelligently. If this is to be a reason for excluding some, then I am afraid, and even comrade Samuels will have to agree, that a good many men will have to be excluded and some women included. He gives us instances to show that where women have had the vote things are not much better than they are where women have not been allowed to exercise it. This may be a reason why neither all men nor all women should have it, why only a select few—chosen, I presume, in the public interest, by comrade Samuels—should guide their country's affairs; but it is surely rather curious to give it as a reason for excluding women rather than men from political power.

The truth of the matter is, that every Social-Democrat, the basis of whose principles must necessarily be democracy, *does* believe in the "inherent right" of every sane adult human being to take part in shaping the laws which they will be called upon to obey. Majorities may usually be wrong and minorities right, but if we are not to submit to autocracy, bureaucracy, or oligarchy, then we must allow the majority to rule. If the majority desire to frame bad laws, their will must prevail, the only comfort left to the minority being the freedom to spread their own more advanced or better opinions. The fact that women form a majority of the population, is, therefore, no argument whatever against granting them the rights of citizenship. The very same arguments used by our opponents could be urged with equal and even greater force against manhood suffrage.

When, however, comrade Samuels says that it is absurd to urge the doctrine of "inherent rights," I agree that there is an element of truth in it. That is, it is necessary for us to consider, not merely the inherent rights themselves, but also and chiefly how far they are possible of realisation and necessary, or even inevitable, under the given conditions. It would have been absurd for women's rights (in the present sense of the term) to have been urged, say, in the Middle Ages. Owing to the prevalent methods of production at that time, the economic and social position of women was such that it would have been purely utopian to have dreamed of such a thing. This brings me to the central point of the argument for the enfranchisement of women. The subject must be discussed not from a physiological, but from a historical and economic point of view. Physiologically, the woman admittedly has a different structure and different functions from the man, but the history of primitive society teaches us that, whilst these special functions mostly kept the woman from joining the men in their hunting and warlike expeditions, it did not prevent her at a later period from doing the heaviest

agricultural work and from exercising her intelligence in developing the methods of agriculture from the most primitive to more advanced ones. Primitive history also shows that in those societies where agriculture had developed under women's hands, and where it was the chief method of producing the means of subsistence, there women rose not only to an equality with men, but in many cases even to superiority in the social and, if we may so term them, the political functions of their society.

Further, whilst the chief social institution was the communal household, the women were either equally powerful or more so than the men. Thus, to give but one example, the Rev. Ashar Wright, for many years a missionary among the Senecas of America, wrote to Morgan in 1873:—

“As to their family system, when occupying the old long-houses, it is probable that some one clan predominated, the women taking in husbands, however, from the other clans; and sometimes, for a novelty, some of their sons bringing in their young wives until they felt brave enough to leave their mothers. Usually the female portion ruled the house, and were, doubtless, clannish enough about it. The stores were in common, but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such orders it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey. The house would be too hot for him: and, unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother, he must retreat to his own clan; or, as was often done, go and start a new matrimonial alliance in some other. The women were the great power among the clans, as everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, ‘to knock off the horns,’ as it was technically called, from the head of a chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors. The original nomination of the

chiefs also always rested with them.”—(Morgan, “Ancient Society,” p. 455.)

With the accumulation of property and its establishment in private hands the communal method of living was broken up, the work of the women in the household became private instead of social, and she, therefore, again took a backward step in society, her inferior position being still further accentuated by the inevitable change of descent from the female to the male line. The man, being the chief producer of the means of subsistence, was recognised as the owner of the family property, as indeed was the family itself, that is the wife or wives, children and slaves, or later serfs. The very nature of the man’s work gave him opportunity for social intercourse with his fellows and a wider outlook and interest in the affairs of his tribe or nation. This favourable position he quite naturally used to enhance his power both in the State and family. The interest of the woman, on the other hand, was centred in her family; she lost her social functions, and had but little opportunity for social intercourse, with the result that her intellect became cramped, her interests narrowed. Her state of mind and her abilities in relation to man under these conditions can be compared with the small peasant living in the depths of the country in relation to the inhabitant of a large town. Such approximately was the state of affairs until the introduction of capitalism. The latter brought about many a revolution, that in the family and the position of women being by no means the least. When sufficiently developed, its one urgent need was a plentiful supply of cheap labour, and, with characteristic disregard for all high-flown notions wherever its pocket is concerned, it flung aside all the respect, love, and cherishing which was hitherto supposed to be woman’s special due, or it kept these for just a privileged few; it forgot altogether that woman’s place was only the drawing-room or the kitchen, or that her sphere was “Kinder, Kirche, and Küche,” and forced her instead into factory, work-

shop and mine, there to undergo the most exhausting labour under the most terrible conditions. The onward march of capitalism did not stop here. By making the life of the middle-class ever more precarious it forced the women of that class to leave their narrow domestic circle and duties and enter into competition with men in many trades and professions. But it is an ill wind that blows no one any good. As regards the middle-class woman these new duties considerably increased her responsibilities, but they widened her horizon, opened educational establishments to her, gave her new interests and ideals, changed, in fact, her whole psychology. For the working-class woman it meant a terrible increase in her burdens, the destruction of her home, the separation from her children ; and yet in this very increase of her hardships she was to find her salvation. If it forced her from her home it gave her independence or the germs of it ; if it separated her from her children it gave her facilities for intercourse with her fellows ; it gave her an opportunity of appreciating to some extent the social forces working around her, it slowly taught her the value of combination and co-operation.

Forced to rely on her own exertions for her maintenance, she learnt, or is learning, also to think for herself and to trust to her own efforts to ameliorate her position, and this in its turn could not but induce in her a yearning for a wider life, for greater social responsibilities. The movement for woman's political emancipation, which is gaining wider and wider dimensions, is not due merely to the antics of a few enthusiasts or, as I suppose Bax would have it, a few misled women, but it has its basis in the economic causes which have made woman exchange her private work in the home for social work in the factories and professions.

Thus, just as capitalism contains within itself the germs of its own destruction, just as the greater exploitation of the workers as a class by capitalism is leading to the final emancipation of the worker from

the burdens of capitalism, so the increased exploitation of woman will finally lead to her emancipation, both from her political subjection and finally also from capitalism. And here, let me note in passing, that there is no need to discuss the question as to whether we have certain privileges or not. If we have them—then we say: a plague on these privileges—we desire, not privileges, but *rights*, and we shall obtain these rights not merely because some of us clamour for them, or even because they are our inherent rights, but because these rights have become a necessity of our existence, because owing to the present methods of production our work in the community has become social instead of private, and we have been forced, often even against our will, into the same economic sphere as that of men.

Exigencies of space will not allow me to develop the whole subject in greater detail, but I hope I have said enough to show that, although woman's physiological structure may modify her functions in society, it is yet the economic structure of society and the prevalent methods of production which determines her work and her social and political status in the State. This in its turn induces a corresponding modification in her abilities and psychology. Sooner or later, then, women will obtain the political rights which are their due. Already the movement in their favour is becoming pretty extensive, and the Social-Democratic Party ought not to be slow in taking advantage of this movement, as of all movements amongst the masses. By placing votes for all women and all men in the forefront of our agitation we must try and capture the movement from the leadership of the middle and upper class women, who will merely use it for extending the powers of property. I do not mean that we ought to sink the rest of our programme and simply agitate for Adult Suffrage. On the contrary, there are many far more urgent questions, but in all our meetings reference should be made to the necessity of votes for all women as well as for all men, to the

reason for this necessity, to the fraud of the limited franchise agitation, and to the harm likely to be done to the working woman by the establishment of a limited franchise. Above all, we ought to take advantage of the increased interest shown by women in social and political affairs in order to point out that the working women need the vote not for purposes arising out of any sex antagonism, which has no existence except in the imagination of a few individuals, but in order to be able to fight the more effectively side by side with men for the emancipation of both sexes from the fetters of capitalism. We know very well that women will soon get the vote, we must use our influence to obtain it for working women; and we must set to at once and educate the latter how to use it for the emancipation of their class, instead of using it, as working men have hitherto done, merely to maintain and even increase their enslavement.

Now, just a few more words to comrade Samuels and I have finished. He says: "The kind of woman whom politics will attract will be those who are scheming, hard, calculating, impatient, unloving, distrustful," etc. I suppose this must apply equally well to those whom politics attract now. Well, really, I never knew that myself and my women comrades in the S.D.P. were such monsters. Modesty will not allow me to speak of myself—but as I think of my comrades I cannot help wondering what on earth have they done to deserve all these terrible epithets? I forgot—I suppose I ought not to dare mention modesty—but seriously, now, whatever has an intelligent interest in the affairs of one's nation, or a desire to liberate humanity from its miseries, to do with qualities of that character? Are we also to understand that only a similar class of men are attracted to politics? If so, then "chuck it," my comrades, men and women, for you are branded as all that is hateful upon this earth. However, such and similar "arguments" are not worth refuting; they stand condemned as they are in the very nakedness of their absurdity. Nor is he more happy in his other con-

tentions. He himself grants that women as a whole will be an influence towards peace. Surely this ought to have been hailed by a Social-Democrat who knows, or ought to know very well, that wars in a capitalist society are only carried on for the interest of the capitalist classes whilst its burdens fall upon the working classes of both belligerents. But then, he says, suppose *all* the men desire war, as though there is likely to be any single question, even war, in which men and women will vote as sexes rather than as classes or parties. In any case, if *all* the men should be so enamoured of war, what easier for them than to use the weapons which he assumes only they will wield in order to carry it on? Then there is the awful possibility of *all* the women being in favour of war and *all* the men against. Well, I wonder what would happen now if *all* the soldiers refused to fight?

If these are the objections raised nowadays against woman's suffrage, then verily the time must indeed be ripe for it. In conclusion, we may anticipate that the position of women under Socialism is not likely to be quite so tame as comrade Samuels imagines. Our homes will certainly be *homes* indeed, but they will in all probability be of a more communal nature than the present ideal home. In any case, much of the household tasks—such as washing, cooking, and so forth—are bound to be done collectively, so that women will certainly be emancipated from the household drudgery of the present housewife or domestic servant; her education, so far from being put back to that in vogue a hundred years ago, will undoubtedly be extended, and she will be free to choose her work in the State to the same extent as men. Her work, whether domestic or industrial, will, in any case, be social. In the Socialist State the woman will therefore take her place side by side with the man as a free citizen with equal rights and privileges.

ZELDA KAHAN.

INVENTION AND ABILITY.

It is a remarkable fact that in this, a so-called scientific age, the opponents of Socialism prove themselves to be men of small intellectual calibre.

Socialists are sometimes asked the question, "What great men have been converted to Socialism?" We might reply, "Who are these great men who call themselves anti-Socialists?" With the exception of one or two purely scientific critics, such as Dr. Saleeby and Professor Kidd, there is not a single great (?) political economist who can be considered among our opponents. The rising school of political economists, for the most part young men fearful of the consequences if they pursue a scientific mode of investigation, have doubled back to Protection. All that our opponents have succeeded in doing is to bring forth such men as Mallock, who babble ancient superstitions and dignify them by calling them criticisms.

There is not a single argument used by anti-Socialists that is an original argument, and that has not been used against Socialists and Socialism during the first half of the nineteenth century.

It seems as if our opponent Mallock, having no abilities of his own, has wisely allowed his thinking to be done by the dishonoured and forgotten dead.

The words that the late Mrs. Lynn Lynton applied to the late Professor Drummond can be applied with greater force to Mallock. "What truth there is in his writing is borrowed, and what is false is his own." But the amount of truth in Mallock is so extremely small that it is just confined to the alphabet.

Mallock resuscitates the French "Rente" of Ability, but uses Bastiat's "principle" without the Frenchman's capacity and simplicity.

According to Mallock, "surplus value" is not "surplus product" or "unpaid labour," but is due to directive or inventive ability; because manual labour "cannot increase its own productivity."

The profit the capitalist makes is due entirely to his ability or to some invention he has been keen enough to introduce, not exploit. Ability is required for organisation and also for invention—ergo, argues the great critic, they are equal.

What brilliant reasoning! We might just as well say, energy is required to walk twenty miles and energy is required to eat your dinner, therefore the stomach fulfils the same function as the legs.

Given a normal human being, you must grant ability of some kind and degree. And ability, whether of the inventive or organising order, is a psychological and physiological function. These functions are the same in kind in all normal human beings, but they manifest themselves differently according to the conditions. Admitting that Mallock is intellectually honest, his conclusions are just what one might expect from the empirical method he adopts.

Let us separate "directive ability" from "inventive ability" and examine both independently.

Mallock assumes that the ability possessed by the capitalist is greater than the ability possessed by the workers, and that "surplus value" is the product of that greater ability. But that does not tell us *why* one man having greater ability than another is able to produce "surplus value." The question is, what are the conditions which render that possible? Mallock does not answer, either because he does not know or is incapable of analysis.

The greater ability of the capitalist enables him to produce "surplus value." If the capitalist had no capital, should such a contradiction be allowed, would he still have ability? A man without capital has no

"directive ability" and a man with "directive ability" has capital, therefore capital and directive ability are one and the same thing. Was there ever such muddled thinking! And Mallock has the audacity to criticise Marx. Of course, we can admit that the workers are more foolish than the capitalists, or, if it is preferred, the capitalists are shrewder. What that amounts to is this, that "surplus value" is produced by clever people exploiting foolish ones. We might agree with this proposition, but it leaves us exactly where we were regarding the origin of surplus value. To assume, as Mallock does, "that manual labour cannot increase its own productivity," and that, therefore, surplus value owes its origin to the directive ability of the capitalist, is childish nonsense. The capitalist makes a fortune not because of any special directive ability he possesses, but because the economic conditions are such that there are always men in an inferior economic position to himself, and who are automatically dependent upon him.

Is it at all possible to think of manual labour by itself being able to *produce anything*? Or even manual labour applied to natural objects? What the Socialist means when he says that "labour produces all wealth," is that labour through the medium of tools and machinery transforms the raw materials of nature and produces wealth. We shall see presently that these tools and machines are themselves the product of labour.

Manual labour, rather than not being able to increase its own productivity, is incapable of producing anything at all. And this is the kind of labour Mallock talks about.

Go back as far as we can, the implements that primitive man used in the chase and in war were the result of his own capacity to transform the raw materials of nature. In numberless instances, wherever primitive implements have been found together with them have been discovered the tools for fashioning them. In the chalk counties, where flints abound,

primitive workshops used for the fashioning of tools and implements have been discovered in great numbers.

The first tool, whatever it was, must have increased to an enormous extent the productivity of the worker. In fact, it would be truer to say that labour was unproductive until the first tool was invented. Who invented the first tool that was ever used? In all probability the worker himself.

In all ages the productivity of labour increased in proportion as improvements in labour's tools took place. The fact that to-day tools are made by one section of the workers and used by another is what might be expected in an age when the productive functions are specialised. It is but an extension of the process known as the sub-division of labour. Undoubtedly until a very recent period the special tools of any given trade were made by the workers in that trade. Without going into the matter in any greater detail it might be stated as a proposition—that all craft tools were invented by craftsmen. The shoemakers *invented* their own tools, carpenters invented theirs, and so on throughout the whole realm of craftsmanship.

It is necessary at this stage to see if there is any great difference between the tool and the machine. The difference between a tool and a machine is just a difference in degree. The invention of a new machine and its application to industry increases the productivity of labour. The universal adoption of the machine results in a decrease in the exchange-value of the product. In other words, the amount of "socially necessary labour" embodied in the product is less than hitherto.

The invention of a new tool or machine may and does facilitate production; the machine may even determine the *degree* of value embodied in the product, but it cannot determine the value in itself; that is the function of labour.

All production, whatever its nature might be, or under whatever conditions carried out, consists in the

transformation of raw materials into things useful. Sometimes these raw materials are the product of labour or they come direct from nature.

A piece of amorphous clay of itself possesses no value. The brickmaker, apart altogether from the tools he uses, applies certain knowledge he possesses, knowledge inherited from bygone generations of brick-makers, to the piece of shapeless clay and succeeds in transforming it into a brick.

In the same way a tanner takes a skin from an animal's back, applies to the skin certain chemical knowledge he has inherited from bygone generations of tanners, and succeeds in transforming the skin into leather.

Machinery may increase the productivity of the tanner and brickmaker, but the fact that the tanner and brickmaker *can* produce bricks and leather exists apart altogether from the machinery used.

The knowledge of how to produce these things does not reside in the machine or tool.

As I have already stated, no distinction at all, except one of degree, can be drawn between the most primitive tool and the most complicated machine. A needle in the hand of a shirtmaker performs exactly the same function as a sewing machine. Only with the latter more shirts can be made in a given time; but the knowledge of how shirts are to be made resides in the worker.

We see, then, that it is the function of all tools and machinery to facilitate production.

A general improvement in tools and machinery reduces the average "socially necessary labour" embodied in the commodity.

But the tools and machinery are themselves the product of labour, and machinery was used in producing them. A carpenter who possesses his own tools receives a wage which at no time rises much higher than the cost and standard of his subsistence, together with the maintenance of his family and the replacement of his tools. In those trades where the tools of

the labourer are many, complicated and expensive the wages are comparatively high. In reality the wages are not high, as they include the cost of maintaining the tools up to a certain standard. The labourer working with his own tools transfers his own value, which includes the value of his tools, to the product. Not only does he transfer his own value but he creates a greater value than he is himself.

In the factory no line of demarcation can be drawn between machinery, tools and labourers. These three under the conditions which prevail to-day are but economic implements.

The machinery and tools *possess no power of self-expression*, and although they are repositories of value they are incapable themselves of setting that *value free*.

The most complicated machine may have originated in the brain of an inventor ; but the invention can only materialise through the medium of labourers.

Whatever the inventor receives as a "reward" for his invention must be considered as a wage and not as surplus-value. Inventors do not invent machines every day, and it very often happens that the value of the inventor is his life's labour. The inventor may have taken twenty years to produce his machine, and his remuneration bears some relation to the time.

Under no circumstances can the inventor of a machine be considered apart from the labourer or labourers who work it. The finished machine embodies the labours of scores of men—from the first man who dug the iron ore from the earth to the last man who fastened the final nut. In the factory the machine, besides being capital, is a repository of value, and the labourers when working it transfer its value to the thing they are producing, and so set *free* the labour of all the previous labourers, including the inventor's.

No matter what the inventor receives, be it great or small, and whatever the workers receive, the receipts of the two combined are *less than the value they have produced*. The difference between their receipts and

the value they create is the surplus-value *appropriated* to the "directive ability" of the capitalist.

This is in conformity with the economic conditions which prevail at the present day, conditions which owe their origin to causes which have their ancestry in the historical past.

Under existing conditions, ability, in the form of invention, is as much exploited as labour itself.

I cannot do better than conclude with a quotation from Hodgskin contained in a lecture delivered in 1826: "The inventor deserves his reward, and so does the skilled artisan who uses the invention" "but betwixt him who makes the instruments and him who uses them in steps the capitalist, who neither makes or uses them, and appropriates to himself the produce of both."

To free the labourer and the inventor from the domination of a set of conditions they had no hand in making is the function of Socialism.

S. V. AMSTELL.

A SONG OF LABOUR.

(Air : "The West's Awake.")

When all beside their watch do keep,
Must Labour sleep? Must Labour sleep?
Alas! And well may Freedom weep
Whilst Labour lies in slumber deep.
Oh, hill and dale bloom fair and free
And rivers sing of liberty;
Yet Labour sleeps in misery,
Content to live in slavery.

Sure muscle, sinew, eye, and brain
Were ne'er devised for others gain.
The Lord, our God, could not ordain
That life should be one endless pain.
Is man to be a lowly slave,
Toiling, sorrowing to the grave?
Must he for Freedom never crave?
And never try his manhood save?

Oh, often in the days of yore
Our father's hands were to the fore
To make men free, and no man poor
On Earth's fair bosom evermore.
And must we say they died in vain,
For us to work, whilst tyrants gain
The life's blood from our every vein,
Then spurn us from them in disdain?

The women weep, the children die;
The tyrant rules us from on high.
And yet in slumber deep we lie,
Content with all, condemned to sigh.
But hark! a voice like thunder spake.
Labour's awake, Labour's awake!
Then shout hurrah, let tyrants quake,
We'll fight till death for Freedom's sake.

JOHN SCURR.

THE MONTH.

Once more the Lords have come to the rescue of the Liberal Government and have furnished them with a splendid "cry" with which to go to the country. Six months ago the Liberals were in very low water indeed, and had an election taken place then they would have been overwhelmingly defeated. They regained some of their lost popularity by their Budget—not because the provisions of the Budget were popular, but because the Lords foolishly attacked it and led people to suppose that there must be some undiscovered good in it, or they would not oppose it so fiercely.

But this fictitious popularity could not have been long sustained. Had the Budget been passed people would have soon discovered how little it meant, on one side as well as the other—how slight were the additional burdens put upon the wealthy and how much less than nothing were the reductions made in the burdens of the poor.

But the Lords in their wisdom decreed otherwise. They refused to pass the Finance Bill until the Government had made an appeal to the country. That was precisely what the Government wanted them to do. Had they, as it was generally supposed they would have done, entered strong protests against the Budget and then let it pass, they would have done the best thing for themselves and the worst for the Government. Nothing could suit the book of the Government better than a General Election just now. They have many sins of omission and commission to answer for; but by forcing an appeal to the country now the Lords are taking the responsibility for these sins upon their own shoulders. The House of Lords has rendered many a signal service to the Liberal Party, but never one of greater value than that rendered on November 30 of this present year of grace 1909.

In doing this service to its pretended inveterate foes, the House of Lords has, it is true, outraged one of the cardinal principles of the Constitution—i.e., that the control of the purse-strings by the House of Commons was absolute, and that the non-elective Chamber had no right to interfere in matters of finance. That very salutary principle the Peers cast to the winds when they arrogantly refused to pass the Finance Bill.

But the Government became accomplices in a still more serious breach of the Constitution when they decided to bow to the will of the Lords, and to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country at the dictation of the Peers. By this pusillanimity the Government have constituted the Lords the supreme authority—above King and Commons, and usurping the authority of the Crown and its Ministers.

We are now being treated to the customary fulminations against the Peers, and the forthcoming electoral contest, we are assured, is to be between Peers and people. We could wish nothing better. Unfortunately, however, we have become familiarised to this cry by long usage, and we know quite well that the Liberals have no intention of destroying their most valuable asset, the House of Lords.

The Liberals are now clamouring for the “unity of all progressive forces” against the Lords, and there is much talk of arrangements to avoid triangular contests. Well, the thing is perfectly easy. We agree that the Lords should be fought. Our hostility to all hereditary authority is perfectly well-known. Unfortunately we are unable to contest but few seats; but if the Liberals wish to prove the sincerity of their appeal for a united rally against the Lords, they will take care that there is no Liberal opposition to a Social-Democrat.

We Social-Democrats have proved that our devotion to the cause of democracy is no mere lip-service. In a fight against the House of Lords the Liberals could have no better fighters than Social-Democrats. If, then, they try to keep us out of the fighting line it will only prove that once more all their outcry against the Lords is so much humbug.

In spite of the boasted boom in trade the question of the unemployed is still an urgent one, although somewhat overshadowed by the political crisis. The unions making returns show a reduction in their unemployed, as compared with last year, of 2.4 per cent.; the figures being 7.1 and 9.5 respectively. But 7.1 per cent. is a sufficiently high proportion, and represents at least half a million unemployed if only the same proportion held good through all ranks of industry. But we know that the proportion is enormously greater among the unskilled and unorganised than in the unions.

The change of Government in Spain, as in most civilised countries, has made no material change in the situation. Imprisonments, seclusions and shootings still go on; and the reign of terror appears to be as rampant as ever in Barcelona and Catalonia generally.

The attempt of the Lady Suffragists to obtain legal redress for the alleged harm caused to them by forcible feeding while in prison was bound to fail. These women were imprisoned for breaking the law: they resolved on self-starvation so as to compel the authorities to release them. They knew very well the Home Secretary would not permit them to starve themselves to death. If he did, what a shriek there would be, what a howl! If he did not adopt the forcible feeding method he must release them; and this excuse for shortening prison terms would not only be available for dainty lady offenders, but also for the Bil Sikes's and the Jabez Balfours. The prison system needs reform, but the prevention of flighty or insane people from suicide when in prison requires no apology or amendment.

A far-away event of the month is the strike of the New South Wales colliers, whose solidarity of action has caused considerable inconvenience and cost to the princelets of industry in the premier colony of Australia. There was an opportunity for the State Government to have taken over the control of the mines, and even the ownership of them; but they preferred to enforce a capitalist arbitration on the men, and along with that to arrest many of the strike leaders. Power in the hands of the predatory classes must always be used against the workers.

The revival of apprenticeship is attracting a considerable amount of attention, and a scheme has been issued by the Lord Mayor and

a conference held to discuss it. The advocates of apprenticeship claim a great deal more for it than it has ever accomplished or is likely to accomplish. This is one of those questions where right thinking is of so much importance. For ourselves, we agree that apprenticeship is a good thing both for the youth of the country and for the production of skilled craftsmen. It has a steadying influence on boys and lads, and not the least of its advantages is that on a given day the apprenticeship ends and the workman stands forth and takes his place with his fellows at the full rate of wages. This is much better than as things are at present, when we know that boys obtain work for two or three years and then have to change about from place to place, too big for boys' work, not old enough or capable enough for men's, and even if they are able to fill a man's situation no one wants them. This it is which produces hooligans.

But the error of our good friend the Lord Mayor and those who think with him lies in the hope they have that by reviving apprenticeship, by producing more skilled workmen, and less unskilled, the unemployed question will be solved. Not at all. The very operations of the capitalist system, working along its prescribed lines, has killed apprenticeship, has need for very few skilled workers, is able to run its machinery by unskilled labour at low wages and, to crown it all, is, by its normal operations in industry, creating the unemployed. Therefore, before apprenticeship can be successfully revived, or can again be made of any serious use to the community, industry must be carried on along far different lines—upon lines where the nation controls, and the workers receive the result of their labour; along lines when beautiful work will be eagerly sought and eagerly taken up.

CARNEGIE'S HELL.

A STUDY OF THE PITTSBURG WORKERS.

Well might Andrew Carnegie write articles attacking Socialism, well might he denounce Socialists and their doctrines—for to Carnegie and his like Socialism is a danger, a positive danger. And it is well that it should be so.

While Carnegie is writing articles admonishing the workers to be virtuous, thrifty, sober, and industrious, he is at the same time reaping profits, by the most damnable methods, out of the exploitation of his crushed slaves in one of the blackest plague-spots on earth.

Recently, the Russell Sage Foundation financed an investigation, which was called "The Pittsburg Survey," by thirty expert sociologists. The results were published in an American magazine called "Charities and the Commons." They carried on their investigations for twelve months, and some of the disclosures they made are terrible in the extreme.

"Chicago may be Hell with the lid off," says a Yankee wit, "but Pittsburg is Hell with the lid on." And certainly there is very little to choose between these two great cities—products of capitalism.

Pittsburg is an international city. Its population is made up of Slavs, Italians, Poles, negroes, Irish, Scotch, English, Germans, Jews, Syrians, Bohemians, Japanese, Indians, and Americans. Of its half-million population, only 33 per cent. were born of native parents, 39 per cent. were born in this country of foreign parents, 27 per cent. are immigrants. And it is as medley a crowd of immigrants as any city affords.

Here is the roll-call of the nations—taken from the books of the Carnegie Steel Company:—

Austria-Hungary—10,421. Including Slovaks, 6,477; Hungarians, 1,323; Croatians, 1,223; Poles, 611; Roumanians, 410; Germans, 135; and Bohemians, 45.

Russia—2,577. Including Poles, 1,644; Lithuanians, 476.

British Isles—2,010. Including England, 1,436; Ireland, 237; Scotland, 137; Wales, 100.

Sweden—287.

Bulgaria—58.

France—52.

Turkey in Europe—26.

Roumania—24.

There are two interesting articles about the Slavs of Pittsburg. It is a significant subject. For these people have not learned English; instead they have developed a language of their own. It is not Russian nor Bohemian, nor Hungarian—but all these people understand it. It is a sort of Slavic "pigeon English."

And beside this host of foreigners there are about 50,000 negroes in Pittsburg; 27,853 in 1900, just twice as many as in 1890. The negro population has doubled every ten years since the war. This by itself is a problem to make the people of any city think.

Pittsburg has also 22,185 wage-working women, exclusive of agriculture and domestic service. And this number is rapidly increasing.

Industrialism, the race tangles of immigration, the increasing negro population, and the women in the factories are the great problems of all American cities. Pittsburg is not exceptional in these matters, but typical. And the Survey is a record of what has been done to solve these problems.

Robert A. Woods has an article on the history of Pittsburg. There is much reference to the Industrial War. In no other city of the country have the bosses fought so bitterly and so successfully against trade unions. Since the organisations of the steel workers were broken in the great Homestead strike there have been no successful unions in the region. What this lack of organisation means to the people who live in the steel district is stated in the next article, "The New Pittsburgers," by Peter Roberts:—

FOREIGNERS WORK LIKE SLAVES.

"Foreigners, as a rule, earn the lowest wages and work the full stint of hours. I found them in the machine shops working 60 hours a week; at the blast furnaces working twelve hours a day for seven days in the week. The common labourers in and around the mills work 72 hours a week.

"The lowest wage I found Slavs working for was 13½ cents an hour. The wage of common labour in the average mill is 15 or 16½ cents. The day labourer around the furnaces gets from \$1.65 to \$1.98 a day.

"But the newcomers know nothing of a standard of wage, and when work is scarce they will offer to work for less than is paid for common labour. Such was the case of a band of Croats who offered their services to a firm in Pittsburg for \$1.20 a day. When the superintendent heard it he said, 'My God, what is the country coming to? How can a man live in Pittsburg on

\$1.20 a day?' The foreman replied, 'Give them rye bread, a herring, and beer, and they are all right.' [I have known a coal operator in the anthracite fields to pay Italians and Slovaks 90 cents a day, and ask neither what was the country coming to nor how they could subsist.] More, the Slavs will consciously cut wages in order to get work. A man who knows something about blacksmithing or carpentering will work at a trade for \$1.65 or \$1.75, when the standard wage may be \$2.50. They count their money in the denominations of the fatherland, and estimate its value according to old country standards. I have known foremen to take advantage of this."

RACIAL HATRED HELPS EMPLOYERS.

"My belief is that certain employers of labour have reaped advantage from racial antipathies. The Pole and the Lithuanian have nothing in common, and each of them despises the Slovak. Foremen know this, and use their knowledge when foreigners are likely to reach a common understanding upon wages or conditions of labour. All these conditions have helped to make it less difficult for factory operators to keep open or non-union shops in Pittsburgh. The constant influx of raw material from backward nations into the industries of the city has had somewhat the same effect as the flow of water at an estuary when the tide is rising. All is commotion. It will continue to be so as long as the inflow of Slavs and Italians continues as it has in the last decade. But when they have become permanently placed and their average intelligence and grasp of American conditions rise, racial prejudices will give way to common interests. When this time comes, Pittsburgh will witness the rise of stronger labour organisations than were ever effected by Teuton and Kelt."

"Many work in intense heat, the din of machinery, and the noise of escaping steam. The congested condition of most of the plants in Pittsburgh adds to the physical discomforts for an out-of-doors people; while their ignorance of the language and of modern machinery increases the risk. How many of the Slavs, Lithuanians and Italians are injured in Pittsburgh in one year is not known. No reliable statistics are compiled. In their absence people guess, and the mischief wrought by contradictory and biased statements is met on all hands. When I mentioned a plant that had a bad reputation to a priest, he said, 'Oh, that is the slaughter-house; they kill them there every day.' I quote him, not for his accuracy but to show how the rumours circulate and are real to the people themselves. It is undoubtedly true that, exaggerated though the reports may be, the waste in life and limb is great, and if it all fell upon the native-born a cry would long since have gone up which would have stayed the slaughter."

Mr. Fitch has an article in which he recounts interviews with some of the men of the factories with whom he became friends:—

"Jack Griswold is a Scotch-Irish furnace boss who came to America and got a labourer's position in a Pittsburgh blast furnace

when the common labourer force was largely Irish. Those were the days before the advent of the 'furriners.' I sat in Griswold's sitting room in his four-room cottage one evening, and he told me about the men who work in the furnaces, and about the 'long turn.'

" 'Mighty few men have stood what I have, I can tell you. I've been 20 years at the furnaces and been workin' a 12-hours day all that time, seven days in the week. We go to work at seven in the mornin' and we get through at night at nine. We work that way for two weeks, and then we work the long turn and change to the night shift. The long turn is when we go on at seven, Sunday mornin', and work through the whole 24 hours up to Monday mornin'. That puts us on to the night turn for the next two weeks, and the other crew on to the day. The next time they get the long turn and we get 24 hours off, but it don't do us much good. I get home at about half-past seven Sunday mornin' and go to bed as soon as I've had breakfast. I get up about noon so as to get a bit o' Sunday to enjoy, but I'm tired and sleepy all the afternoon. Now, if we had eight hours it would be different. I'd start to work, say, at six, and I'd be done at two, and I'd come home, and after dinner me and the missus could go to the park if we wanted to, or I could take the childer to the country where there ain't any saloons. That's the danger—the childer runnin' on the streets and me with no time to take them any place else.' "

STORIES OF THE WORKMEN.

He tells this story of a man named Barr :—

"The thing on which Barr seems to have the strongest convictions is the plan of the United States Steel Corporation of issuing stock to employees.

" 'The men have been fooled by this proposition,' he declared, 'and they really believe that the corporation wants to do big things for them in offering such liberal dividends. But let me tell you something that maybe you haven't noticed. The first stock issued in 1903 was followed by a slashing cut in wages in 1904, and it amounted to a lot more than the extra dividends. It's only a scheme to fool the men. They take away in wages more than what they give in dividends, and they will do that every time, so that the corporation is always ahead of the game. But that isn't the only thing ; it ties the employees down to the corporation. They've got to stay in its employ at least five years from the time of getting the stock in order to enjoy all of the benefits, and even then they won't get the extra dividends unless they have shown what the corporation calls a "proper interest" in its affairs. It's a fine scheme for keeping out unionism and keeping the men from protesting against bad conditions.' "

Perhaps the most interesting article in the collection is that of Margaret F. Byington, on Homestead. It is a sordid picture of Mr. Carnegie's backyard. He succeeds fairly well in his posing

as "The Friend of Man," but it would be well for his admirers to read this description of his own town. The source of his wealth, Homestead, stands for the most decisive defeat ever inflicted on organised Labour in America. There is no agitation in the Carnegie domain. "If you want to talk in Homestead you must talk to yourself." The "gag rule" is a reality, as this quotation from Miss Byington will show :—

"Recently considerable agitation in regard to the subject (reduction of wages) was aroused by the preaching of a minister, who is a Christian Socialist. While many of the men were keenly interested in his theories, there was so much opposition among the conservative members of the congregation that finally he was obliged to leave. I was told that in one of the first committee meetings to discuss the situation his position was approved by the workingmen, while opposition was expressed by two men who served corporations in a professional capacity."

The congestion in Homestead is awful. "Here, in houses huddled together, where the totally inadequate sanitary provisions and overcrowding are comparable to the worst sections of a great city, we find now the homes of the Slavs. Courts where 75, or even in a few instances more than 100, people are dependent for water supply on one hydrant, and houses with an average of four or five persons to each room are frequent."

There are no playgrounds in Homestead. No entertainments for the adults.

Mr. Carnegie has given the place a public library, but it stands on the hill, where the superintendents and clerks and foremen live. It is out of the reach of the workingmen. Anyhow, they work twelve hours a day.

The town of Homestead is divided into two boroughs. The one, in which are situated the properties of the United States Steel Corporation, pays taxes at the rate of $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The other borough, where the workingmen live, pays at the rate of 15 millions. They can afford it better than Mr. Carnegie.

There are 50 saloons in Homestead, and this is supposed to be a reproach to the workingmen—for these saloons are in their borough. But the wonder to me is that there are not more, for—again I am quoting Miss Byington :—

"People still pay a neighbour 50 cents for the privilege of getting good water from his well, instead of insisting that it be provided by the borough. A river, polluted by the sewage of many towns above it, and by chemicals from the mills strong enough to kill all the fish, furnishing the drinking water for the town."

CARNEGIE'S OWN CITY.

The sanitary conditions of Pittsburg are as bad as medieval.

One hundred and twenty-nine towns and boroughs are dumping sewage into Pittsburg's water supply.

For five years past there has been no annual report of the Bureau of Health.

Pittsburg, compared to other cities of its size, has the highest death-rate per 100,000 in typhoid fever, diarrhœa, enteritis, pneumonia and bronchitis.

There were 5,421 cases of typhoid fever in Pittsburg last year, and 622 deaths. Typhoid comes from lack of sanitation.

The Pittsburg Survey studied 1,029 of these cases; 187 wage earners lost 1,901 weeks' work.

Pittsburg has a school system dependent on ward taxation.

Ward 2 has 363 pupils, and assessed property valued at \$37,491,708.

Ward 31 has 1,173 pupils, and only \$3,074,085 of assessed property. Three times as many children, and not one-tenth the taxable property. In Ward 31 there is \$41 worth of school equipment per child, in the Ward 2 school equipment per child reaches \$1,033! It is needless to say that Ward 2 is not a poor man's ward.

The "Literary Digest" (New York), commenting on the articles, says:—

"It was found that as high as 50 per cent. of all young foreigners who come to Pittsburg contract typhoid fever within two years of their arrival. Employment agencies, under no adequate supervision, were discovered in some cases to be carrying on an infamous business. In one part of Homestead, near the Carnegie Steel Works, it was found that one baby in every three died before seeing its second birthday. Worst of all is the frightful toll of life taken by accidents. A Japanese veteran of the recent war told one of the investigators that 'he looks upon his experience upon battle-fields as quite commonplace compared with his experience in the steel-mills.' Over 500 men are killed every year in the course of their work, and an unknown number seriously injured. The victims are usually the pick of the men; they are the young men; half of them are native-born; 51 per cent. have families, and 30 per cent. more are single men who partly, or wholly, support their families. The money loss to Pittsburg from this destruction of its workers is declared to be enormous, and the city is told that it can well afford to spend millions in devising ways to stop it.

"Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, director of the survey, scores the negligence of the city thus:

"Faced with its great task of production, Pittsburg has not set itself to the thrift of self-knowledge. When half a thousand people were dying each year from typhoid fever, the movement to clear the water-supply was blocked and exploited at every turn. Half a thousand workmen are now killed each year in the industries of Allegheny County, and yet the public has not taken the

trouble to sift the accidents through and see which can be prevented. Nobody knows how many men are seriously injured every year ; nobody knows how many men and women are beset with trade diseases. Nobody knows how much the community is paying for such wastes as these. Nobody knows how far the sweeping off of human integers into hospitals, and gaols, insane asylums, brothels, and orphanages, could be checked ; the guesses of the town's best men are that much is needless. Pittsburg is a town which does not know the number of its children of school age, nor the physical status of the children of its classes ; it is a town which, for five years, did not so much as demand a report from its health department. In such an arraignment, we must bear in mind that there are notable exceptions in one phase of social concern or another to this lack in Pittsburg's self-knowledge, and that Pittsburg is not merely a scapegoat city. It is the capital of a district representative of untrammelled industrial development, but of a district which, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, for vigour, waste, and optimism, is rampantly American.' "

THE REVIEWS.

BELGIUM AND THE REFORMS ON THE CONGO.

Emile Vandervelde has the following to say in this month's "Contemporary Review" on the above:—

At this moment, when there is in England a movement for the defence of the natives of the Congo which recalls in extent the humanitarian campaigns of former days against slavery and the slave trade, it may be interesting to give the point of view of a Belgian who is in pursuit of the same object, who has for ten years unceasingly denounced the abuses and crimes of the Leopoldian régime, and who thinks that Belgium owes it to herself and to her international good name without delay to put an end to the system which is most deservedly provoking the reprobation of the civilised world.

When I went for the first time to the Congo, in the summer of 1908, the Belgian Parliament had just decided on annexation. The independent State had ceased to exist; the new régime had not begun; and, profiting by the interregnum, I was able to take account of the true situation better, perhaps, than I could have done at any other time. The agents were not afraid to speak; the official books were open to me; the natives—I had a good interpreter—came with every confidence to tell me their troubles and their complaints.

On the river, however, at stations such as Irebu, Coquilhatville, or Lisala, these complaints were neither very numerous nor very acute; they referred generally to the heaviness of taxes on food—fish or kwanga—and to the difficulty the taxpayers experienced in procuring coin.

But it was quite another thing when we penetrated into the rubber forest, and for 15 days traversed, on foot, the district of the Mongalla, which has been made so notorious by the atrocities of the Société Anversoise. It is well-known that, following on the discovery of these atrocities, the Congo State, in order to satisfy, or to appear to satisfy, public opinion, declared the Société Anversoise to be deprived of its powers of exploitation, and itself undertook the collection of rubber in the district, whilst agreeing to deliver

it at four francs a kilogramme to the contracting society, who sold it in the Antwerp market at eight or nine. This new régime, however, only slightly improved the situation. The abuses and exactions continued. Lieutenant A., a Belgian officer, who had been put at the head of the zone, made it produce 60 tons of rubber a month for two years, but the illegalities he committed in achieving this result caused the missionaries of Upoto to lodge a complaint against him in the Courts, and in 1908 the tribunal of Mobeka pronounced judgment against him by default, which wound up with the following extraordinary qualification:—

“The prisoner, having committed, or caused to be committed, more than 60 assassinations, should be condemned to death, but as *long residence amongst the natives must have deprived him of all sentiments of humanity (!)* it would be fair to give him the benefit of extenuating circumstances, and to inflict only twelve years' penal servitude.”

The American Consul, Mr. Smith, in his journey through this region of the Mongalla in 1907, stated that the natives were obliged to remain 15 to 20 days per month in the forest to be able to provide the quantities of rubber demanded of them. As a result of his report the taxes were reduced, first by one half, then by two-thirds; instead of going into the forest every month the men liable to labour did not have to go oftener than once in two months, and then once in three. But in spite of these extenuations, which, indeed, were partly counteracted by the increasing rarity of the available vines, the repugnance of the blacks to the rubber work was only accentuated, and I can still hear the young chief, his head dressed with young parrot's feathers, saying to us, at the time of our journey to U'Gali, with the vigorous approval of his men:—

“Bonla Matari (the State) may ask everything of us that it will, food, carriers, men to make roads, but we refuse to go again into the forest to make rubber.”

And that this aversion of the natives to go on journeys for rubber was a quite general phenomenon, both in the Abir and the Equatorial district and in the Mongalla, was finally confirmed by the concurring testimonies of the officials whom I had occasion to meet. All declared . . . it was inevitable that the output of rubber must fail to an enormous extent.

I was able also to verify to what degree these predictions were well-founded when I returned to the Congo this year in order to plead in the case of the Kasai Company against the Rev. Messrs. Sheppard and Morrison at Leopoldville. From 1907 to 1908 the export of rubber from the Congo—including the French Congo—had already fallen in value from 43,982,748 francs to 30,779,500 francs, a decrease of nearly 15 millions. In 1909 the fall has certainly been still greater.

So that, even apart from all considerations of humanity and sentiment, the system of forced labour for rubber was doomed to

disappear, for the same reason as slavery in other countries, *because it did not pay any more* ; because, from an economic point of view, it yielded decidedly inferior results to those which, after a longer or shorter period of transition, may be expected from free labour.

The programme of the Belgian Congo Budget for the period 1910 inaugurates—or, more correctly, announces the intention to inaugurate—a very different economic policy from that which has been carried on since 1892, to the great misery of the native populations, by the sovereign of the independent Congo State.

The Colonial Government, indeed, maintains the principle of ownership over vacant territories, and no one, says the programme, can contradict it, because this principle is sanctioned by the legislation of all the other colonies. But henceforward, instead of itself harvesting the natural products of its domain, the Government will gradually abandon the collection of the products, which are principally rubber and gum, to private initiative. As to the application of these new regulations in all the districts where the exploitation of the domain has been abandoned, the natives will have the right to collect the natural products of the soil and sell them to individuals ; lands will be sold to individuals for the establishment of warehouses where traffic in all the products can be carried on. The 5,000 francs licence created by the decree of February 1, 1898, will be suppressed, and a moderate fixed contribution per kilogramme will be substituted.

The application of the new economic régime will induce a profound modification in the fiscal legislation. The present tax is collected in money, in food, or in products. The diffusion of coin and the extension of commerce will allow of a decision that in principle the tax shall be collected in money, with the reserve that the necessary measures shall be taken in certain cases for the tranquillity and welfare of the populations.

It will be seen that nothing short of a complete transformation of the old Leopoldian régime is contemplated. But this transformation the Belgian Government proposes to effect only gradually, limiting it to the domain of the State only.

To begin with, it is proposed to carry out the reorganisation in three stages : (1) From July 1, 1910, in the districts of the Lower Congo, Stanley Pool, Kwango, Katanga, Ubangi, Aruwimi, and the Oriental province, etc. (2) From July 1, 1911, in the districts of Lake Leopold II. and of the Equator, which before the annexation were the *Domaine de la Couronne*, and to-day form part of the domain called National. (3) From July 1, 1912, in the rest of the territory, and especially in the Welle.

On the other hand, the reorganisation proposals apply only to the State domain, and not to the territories conceded to particular companies, such as the Abir, the Anversoise, the S.A.B.,

the Great Lakes Railway Company, etc. With regard to these the Government confines itself to the remark that, whilst respecting the rights acquired, "it will ultimately examine whether there is not occasion to make fresh arrangements by agreement with the persons interested."

Such are M. Renkin's proposals. They have been well received generally by Belgian public opinion, and it seems that in England their publication has not failed to produce a certain unbending.

For this reason (the amelioration of the condition of the natives) I would say that we, a certain number of Belgians who entertain the liveliest sympathy with the leaders of the Congo Reform Association, have been, and shall remain, side by side with them in demanding the total abolition of the Leopoldian régime; we shall not cease to tell our fellow-countrymen that they must make sacrifices in order to repair an evil which they have wrongly too long tolerated; we shall raise no objection, quite the contrary, to the convening of a fresh international Conference to revise the Acts of Berlin and of Brussels, so far as the Congo Basin, subject to these Acts, is concerned; but if any attempt is made to turn this conference against Belgium alone, if anyone wilfully shuts his eyes to what is going on, for example, on the French Congo, and if there is any secret idea of bringing about a division of the Congo, amongst the Powers, the Belgians will be found united in a protest against what, to their eyes, would be an unjustifiable aggression.



THEN AND NOW.

Mrs. Frederic Harrison writes the following in the current "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The close of a year, the approaching dissolution of Parliament, the possibility of a change in Government, give pause and invite to a consideration of the present situation, and to a comparison of the Feminist movement when the Liberals took office four years ago with their position to-day.

It is not often realised for how short a time that movement has been at work. Forty years back from 1905, or 44 from to-day, will cover its operations. That seems a long time to the women who have worked for this particular end, though in truth it is but as yesterday in the history of political changes. How many years, how many centuries, has it taken men to win political freedom! while the Suffrage question, as at present understood, dates from about the time of the French Revolution. That women were not asking for a simple extension of the Suffrage such as we have seen in successive Reform Bills, but that they were asking for a revolu-

tionary recast of society of a kind new to historical experience, does not seem to have occurred to them, nor that such a change must inevitably take very many years to bring about. They had first to convert women, then to convert men. Have they persuaded the majority of the women of this country that votes are essential to their freedom and progress? Have they converted men?

In 1905 the Feminist movement stood with considerable achievements behind it. The older Suffragists had realised that before any real progress could be made, women must have education, and the middle-class woman had no education worthy of the name. It is not too much to say that the movement which gave us high schools for girls and built and endowed colleges for women was initiated and guided by women who desired the vote. The establishment of high schools was a great boon to a large class of women, who found it impossible to get an adequate education for their daughters owing to the cost of good girls' schools, and the still greater cost of private teaching at home, while the Utopia of colleges for women was but a dream. It is not to be supposed that all women who worked for these great schemes were Suffragists; it may be claimed that the pioneers and leaders belonged to that movement.

The Feminist Party, then, in 1905, stood, as I have said, with solid achievements behind them. They had tried on several occasions for the Parliamentary vote, and had almost won it, but at the last moment the insincerity and half-heartedness of their reputed friends lost them their victory, as they supposed. In spite of repeated failure they commanded respect for the courage, pertinacity, ability, and levelheadedness they had shown, and this from all political parties, even those who entirely disapproved of their campaign. The militants at that time were few, free-lances who helped to make the situation more lively, but who were a negligible quantity. The chances of ultimate success for the cause had never seemed so good.

What is the situation to-day? It is a question whether the militants do not now exceed in number the constitutional women—conversions of late seem to have been rather on that side. The money-bags are certainly on the side of the militants, who spend lavishly on street pageants and sensational advertisements. We hear that the public meetings of both sections are thinly attended unless there is some unwonted attraction; certainly there is less serious effort to convert and instruct the general public. To annoy and obstruct is not to convince or to inform.

FOR RUSSIA: A STORY.

When Véra Pavlovna read that last letter of the pile Signora Lombardi told her was hers, she went as white as if the hand of Death in that moment had clutched her being. The main-spring of the machinery of her life seemed to snap in one moment. White, stricken, she sat motionless, the sheet in her hand, her eyes on its envelope. For years now her emotions had blazed at white heat; she was only a girl when the fire should be gently kindling—and now, in one moment, the light went out.

Something, however, came to pass, afterward. Have you ever noticed, after a paper has burned to blackness, a spark suddenly appearing and firing up the ruins? Have you ever heard a clock give a gasp of ticking or a discordant last sound after the break? So the machinery of Véra's being gave its last ungoverned cry, the fire of her emotions sent up their final spark and supplied the newspapers with a column.

And yet the day had begun so normally. Nikolenka had risen early, had brought her coffee, and then, sketch-book in hand, had gone out to work. Later she, too, had forsaken her bed, and, being happy for the first time in six long suffering years, her old spirits had revived, and as she dressed she felt more and more like the old Véra who had come years before, a rich petted girl, to this same loved Florence.

But then—she laughed at the memory—she had stayed at the Hôtel de la Ville, not in a single room of Signora Lombardi. She shrugged her shoulders over her clothes, also; they seemed a collection from the rag-bags of Russia. But what mattered it how one lived or how one dressed in these days of revolutions?

Singing a little French song, she lifted her slender white hands to arrange her hair before the small round mirror which stood on the chest of drawers in the one room which served as living room, dressing room and studio for her husband.

"Now I have Nikolenka," she thought, "so what matter, since he loves me?" and she pulled her hair about. It was very dusky, and as she arranged it over the brow in the way Nikolenka best liked, it added its note of mystery to the strange, almost prophetic-looking little countenance. The wild dark eyes, with

their expression of seeing far out and beyond the horizon of everyday vision, the pathetic curve of the large, sensitive mouth, the thoughtful brow, seemed to announce from their dusky frame that here was one whom the stage manager of life's comedy had assigned to the rôle of tears, and her movements, too, as she arranged her hair, were entirely without those impulses of coquetry which seem to animate every daughter of Eve when she touches hair or hairpins.

Véra Pavlovna's dressing was rather the necessary act of a woman whose thoughts are on other things, and not light things, either. And yet she was almost beautiful—a little intense thing whose whole being seemed vibrant, an instrument to be played upon by any masterful emotion.

Suddenly, however, she laughed like a child, and its echo seemed to cry, "I might have been such a merry girl, a merry girl; happy, oh, so happy!"

"Nikolenka!" she cried, "Nikolenka!" for, the door behind her opening, a face had suddenly reflected itself side by side with her own in the glass.

"Nikolenka! Nikolenka! stand still!" she cried, and, laughing, moved about until her cheek seemed to press close against that of her husband.

"I embrace you, Nikolenka! I embrace you!"

The second face was a strange one, so entirely puzzling and enigmatical in expression that words retreat before an attempt to describe with any portraying adequacy its clear-cut, handsome features framed by a shock of light hair in artistic disorder, and which, either because of repression of nature or acquired caution, possessed the appearance of being trained to conceal all inner feeling.

The effect of the two faces, so momentarily in reflected proximity, was a strange one, mystery seeming to covet the poetic features of the woman, lodging in the great dark eyes, vibrating the wonderful hair, wandering about the curves of the mouth of strength and pathos, drooping the eyelids and then lifting them, enigma writing itself in those of the man, so definite in outline, so firm, so absolutely emotionless and controlled in expression.

As the sun pales the moon at daybreak, the masculine one of definite cutting forced its indefinite companion into the position of almost a shadow, and its personality suddenly faded.

Nikolenka laughed, too, but there was nothing merry about it.

"What a child you can be," he said. His voice was controlled, and a little deliberate.

"Véra," he said, and drew near; "Véra!"

She ran from the glass man to the real one, and, throwing herself into his arms, clung to him like a child, lifting her face for kisses. With one hand—it was a handsome, well-shaped member

—he caressed her gently, with the other he lifted her chin and rested his fingers lightly across her laughing lips.

"Nikolenka," she whispered, her eyes full of a never to be entirely answered questioning: "You love me? You love me?"

A caress was his answer, but in his cold, blue-grey eyes there was a look which was almost impersonal, a critical contemplation of the crimsoning of her cheeks, the glowing of her countenance, the rising and falling of her throbbing breast, which was singular.

He held her close, he kissed her cheeks, her eyes, her lips, and then, loosening his hold, but in the reluctant, almost self-denying manner of a man who would linger, his arm still about her waist, he led her to the table arranged at one end of the huge studio, and which served for writing as well as for eating purposes.

"I have an hour, Véra Pavlovna," he explained, and opened his watch case. "It is nine." He turned his face toward her. "At ten I go to the Academy. We can examine the paper now," and he drew a packet from an inner pocket. "Are you willing?" He raised his eyebrows.

In a moment Véra was a new woman. Her slight figure lost its vibrancy, and capacity mastered emotion. She drew forward pen and ink, and like two confidential comrades they read, discussed, and annotated letters and papers, the man's attitude flatteringly deferential, and encouraging confidence.

They were Russians, and their talk, straying now and then to the personal, revealed them to be refugees, in exile in Florence, members of the same secret revolutionary organisation, who, meeting in Switzerland, at Zurich, after a short impassioned courtship had married and later come to Florence.

Véra was one in whom thought ever struggled for expression, and it followed that her speech was fluid. Nikolenka, on the contrary, was of rarer breed, a listener. Playing his own part, he encouraged her confidence to full growth, checking now and then a thought, clipping extravagance of expression as the gardener trains the wayward branches of a shrub or luxuriant output. Like the gardener, also, Nikolenka induced the growth of this confidence by a look, an interrogation, and, rarely but subtly, by a caress or compliment.

Then her eyes would glow, her mouth tremble, and her whole slight figure reciprocate with a quiver of passion. She had much to say, and her enthusiasm, her ardour, her outcry against wrong made for her such visions against the horizon that reality too often stood there overshadowed.

The things they discussed in that high-ceiled, great windowed old room of Florence were not light ones. They had for subject matter affairs of life and death of international importance, principles of social well being and the ruler and existence of a nation in revolution. Véra's ardour warmed to a heat which fired her to confidence after confidence.

Once, when she spoke of Russia as a world power, her husband warmed also, a light suddenly flaming in his cold, strange face. Then catching herself, Véra blushed and ceased to speak.

"Véra Pavlovna," her husband cried out, "why do you stop? Am I to be told so much and not all—I, Nikolenka? What more did Ivan Posenak confide in you? Tell me."

Véra drooped over her letters.

"Tell me," said Nikolenka. She looked up quickly at his tone and hesitated.

Ivan Posenak had not sworn her to secrecy; no. He had not forbidden her to tell her husband. He held Nikolenka as a friend. Others, however, had made protest.

"What do we know of him?" they asked. "What do you know of him, Véra Pavlovna? He belongs with us, yes, but in matters of life and death——"

Véra was silent then, as now with her husband. Nikolenka was Nikolenka. That was all. She knew nothing of him, but he was Nikolenka, and she loved him, her husband. As she had given her one self wholly to Russia, she had given her other to Nikolenka. He held her body and soul. A cold glance from him—and he could give it—was more freezing than the ice, more cutting than the blows she had endured in a Russian prison.

"Véra Pavlovna," he repeated. The coldness of the tone struck her heart and chilled it. He drew away his hand from her own, not roughly, gently but entirely. Certain natures can thus withdraw affection even more effectively than others can strike a blow.

She caught it again with passion, but he withdrew it without response.

"Véra Pavlovna," his voice was charged with hurt and reproach, "did I not warn you that I can love well, but"—she nodded, her head drooped—"love only where I am warmed by a trust which is absolute?" Then he narrowed his eyes, he surveyed her sternly, as we do a child we have threatened. "Why should Ivan Posenak not trust me also?" he asked in a cold fury, "and why do not you, Véra Pavlovna—tell me, tell me!"

"No, no, Nikolenka, it is not that." She flung out her hands in protest. "No one doubts you, and surely never I, dear—never Véra Pavlovna," and she laughed. "Are not my deeds known all over Europe? Would I marry where harm could come to Russia?"

But unmoved he stood silent, cold and offended. She struggled to appease.

"Only, dear Nikolenka," she cried, her voice a supreme caress of loving apology, "as yet you are but known for opinions, not deeds. Your chance is to come; mine came first, that is all."

She held out her hand, but there he stood, sulky, his head sunk in his shoulders, his lips protruding in scorn. Her eyes sought his and gazed eagerly.

"I must be trusted," he said, and half turned. "Ivan Posenak does not trust me, nor you, Véra Pavlovna, you."

She felt for his hand, but he would not suffer her to find it. Then she clutched at it and held fast. He almost pushed her away. It was his first roughness, and she quivered.

"Why does Ivan confide in you, not me?" he asked. "Why are you more to the Committee?"

Was he jealous? Her eyes dilated with that new-born fear.

"Listen, Nikolenka," she cried. "Listen," and a wild look flashed in her face. "It is cruel, cruel that you ask that of me, Véra Pavlovna. Was I not two years in the prison at Kief? Do you think," she leaned forward, "that a girl, a rich girl, too, a petted girl, one who had all life offers, who has lain in a Russian prison two years for her country, who has," she gasped, "borne what I have borne, can ever be false to her cause? Look—look," she tore back her blouse. "See, Nikolenka, see, the stripes, the blows! I bore them all, all for Russia, and what had I done?" Her tone became quiet. "I went one day to the home of my old governess, that was all, with my parents' permission, only to see her. There were papers found there, and they took me, too. Poor old Anna, she died there in Kief, in that prison. I could not help her, poor Anna. I was a revolutionist, yes; one visit to my father's factories made me, but I had nothing to do with that printing press, those papers, nothing. Oh, my husband"—her eyes dilated, and she ran and clung to his arm—"there are those who say they are glad when they come to the prisons, for there they may at last sit still and not fear danger. But I? I had never feared, and in prison all is gray, gray, gray." She clutched at her heart and shivered. "There were flowers then in the fields, Nikolenka. I love flowers," she said, very simply. "There were the dogs barking, Nikolenka. I had six, and we roamed together in our old forests. There were the birds, Nikolenka. I love the birds, too," and her voice caught in a sob. "There were my parents. They were always good to me, always. I saw things, Nikolenka, I suffered things which robbed me of my girlhood. I saw men, women, children shot down in the name of the Czar and of Christ!" She rolled the words on her lips with scorn. "I saw blood and filth and shame and cruelty and," she flung out her hands in repudiation, "I saw Russian law! The Committee knows this, Nikolenka."

Her face flushed and she hung on his arm, clung with sobbing desperation.

"I think," she said, in a voice so sweet and low that it might have brought tears to eyes other than those of Nikolenka—"I think if there were a God in Russia even He might trust me, Véra Pavlovna."

Her husband, standing there, enduring her caress, listening, unrelenting, maddened her.

"And you." She caught his hand. "Every day I love you more, more, Nikolenka. When my parents sent me forth I had nothing, but now I have you, you, you. Oh, Nikolenka, of you our Russia even may be jealous."

His sulkiness lessened, and her face relaxed in response.

"I must go now," he said, and loosened her arm; then he turned.

He had not kissed her, he had not kissed her! She swayed between the forces of conflict, and he moved away.

"I will prove by my trust how I love you," she cried. "Nikolenka! Nikolenka!"

There was surrender in her voice, and he turned. The look of the man was like heaven after the opposite to her, and drawing close she told him all.

We all now know the plot. It was well planned, safe at every point. A Cossack had been suborned. The Czar was to die in May. She gave him even the date.

Then Nikolenka opened his arms and drew her to him entirely. He gave her caresses such as she never before had received from him. It seemed to her as if he would reward her trust with the whole warmth of his being.

"It was only a test, dear one," he whispered, his lips against her cheek, "only a test to try you. Now I know that you trust me entirely and utterly, and my love, all my love, such as it is, is yours."

In that moment it seemed to Véra that she should die of the joy. She was to meet him at twelve in the Piazza Signoria, and they would dine at a little past noon. As he left, her voice took up the little French song and she ran back to the mirror to re-arrange her toilet.

The song again stopped short, for again Nikolenka's face was reflected in the mirror, this time as he passed in the street. Was that her husband? Véra started. She had never seen that expression. Was it exultant? Why not? Did he not love her also? Had he not proved her? And yet——

"*Avanti*," she cried when a knock a little later came at the door.

The *portiere*, a tall thin woman with sallow face and dark eyes, entered and placed the morning letters on the table. They had come before the Signor had departed; she had just run out for a moment, but what matter? He could read them quite as well later. Véra had another opinion, and the *padrona* departed furious.

"These Italians will never stand a criticism," she thought, and approached the table.

Her husband always secured his own letters, but to-day two for him lay in one pile, six for her in the other. Without glance-

ing at the addresses she opened the envelopes of her own with a hairpin and read, laying aside one, and picking up the succeeding.

Just as she opened the last the *portiere* came again on an errand, and when she returned from the door she took out the sheet without noting the address on the envelope, and that was the one. It was an hour before she moved. One watching would have said that her death blow in that moment had struck her.

The studio boasted one picture, a portrait of Véra herself, well done by her husband. Going to a drawer, she brought out a red scarf of silk. Then she went to the table and with almost firm hand wrote a few words on the reverse of the letter. Then she pinned it to the scarf and threw it across the easel.

In a black dress, a black hat, she then went out. At the corner sat a withered old woman selling flowers; at sight of Véra she set up her cry.

"One red rose, nothing else." Leaving a lira in the astonished fingers, Véra pinned the flower on her breast, where it glowed red, like the blood which had flowed in Russia. Then she entered a little shop near by, one where her husband bought what he needed for his studio and for his models. The old man kept everything, and she paid exactly what the keen-eyed old Egisto demanded and came out with her purchase.

The whole world knows how busy is the Piazza Signoria at noon. There are people of every nation crossing, recrossing, wandering round. The English lady in her trailing skirts, the American with her do-or-die face, the German on the arm of her lord, the straggling Italians, the wagons, the cabs, the diners on the pavements.

Nikolenka looked right and left. The gun had sounded noon long before, and the sun was travelling away from the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia dei Lanzi.

Why did Véra not come?

He sat down on the steps of the Loggia. A Russian passing stopped and chatted. It was Ivan Posenak. Nikolenka listened, listened, listened, in that strange impersonal way of his, but his eyes wandered in search of Véra, for he had risen early and wanted his food. In a flash he was on his feet, his hand waving in greeting.

"There she is," he cried, and he pointed to the slight black figure advancing across the square toward the Loggia and her husband.

She fired the moment his eyes were upon her and fell, the rose crimson on her heart, amid the havoc of men, women, motor cars, cabs and buses.

"There was no cause whatever," Nikolenka with white face assured the police. "We never quarrelled. I left her happy, quite happy."

Ivan Posenak pressed forward to confirm this.

"We parted as ever." Nikolenka spoke with convincing sincerity, and Ivan nodded. He turned to the crowd. "She was two years in prison in Kief; the amnesty of October released her. It crazed her brain," and Nikolenka bent over her, like a man almost paralyzed. *Ah, si si*, they could all believe that, believe it easily, and the Misericordia bore her away through the talk.

When Nikolenka found himself again in the studio the red scarf on the easel called him at once to the letter.

"I read this by mistake," wrote Véra; "the Signora gave it to me for mine. I did not look at the address before reading, believe me, Nikolenka."

That was all.

In the waning light of the sun which, departing, flared colour high about old Florence with a new tragedy added to her many, Nikolenka read the letter, sitting in the chair before the portrait of Véra.

Here it is, word for word :

"Your last information received. Acting on it we have arrested many revolutionists. It is too soon to arrest your woman. It is advisable to obtain further information as to her intentions first."

The signature was that of the secret police of Russia, and it was addressed to their own political spy, the husband of Véra Pavlovna.

Nikolenka rose.

He removed the red scarf, and turned the portrait from him. Then, the mask tight over the face of all emotion, he wrote—this time in cipher—an account of the plot against the Czar; he gave names, dates and mention of the Cossack, and cited his wife as authority. Without a pause he added : "As my woman shot herself at noon and died an hour ago in the hospital my usefulness here is ended."

He folded the sheet, placed it in the envelope which he addressed and stamped. Then firmly he went to the easel and placed the picture in its normal position. The eyes from out the mystery of that face and hair seemed to challenge him. He looked at her long, narrowing his eyes as if he were but an artist studying his own handiwork.

"For Russia," he said, and for that one moment his voice quivered.

EVA MADDEN (in "Current Literature.")

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