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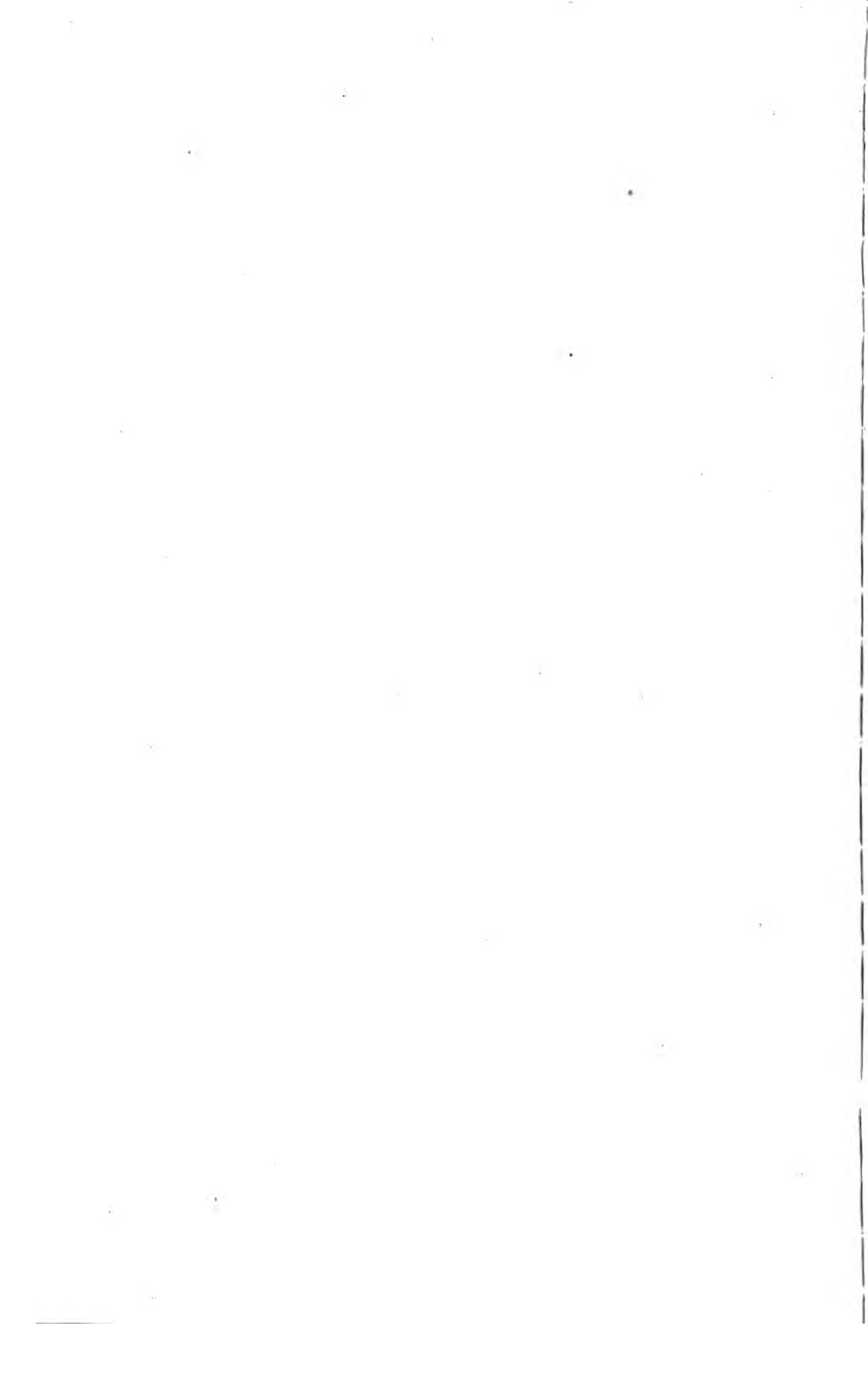
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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. XIV., No. 1.

JANUARY 15, 1910.

1909—1910.

"The wonderful year" 1909 has been called. Certainly it saw Bleriot fly across the Channel after Latham had been much advertised by our daily press as the man who was to do it. It has seen a number of aviation meetings, and many shuddering calculations as to the terrible new mode of warfare thus brought into effective being. That, in the jargon of the street, is "as far as we've got." "It's a fine morning. Let's go out and kill something," is what a witty Frenchman gave out as expressing the habit, and the habit of mind, of the English gentleman. "It's a fine invention. Someone will come over and kill us. Let's be first and kill them," is the modern version. Still, there's no need for Socialism!

Delagrangé has unhappily been killed; he has fallen a victim in this onward march of science. All honour to the men of splendid nerve who have led the way. France not only supplied the first cross-Channel flier. It has been right to the front in all the meetings. "Enough of France" wrote the "Daily Mail" a few

years ago, and declared that she was entirely lacking in a number of specified great qualities and faculties—humour among them. But, we suppose, by kind permission of Lord Northcliffe, France has persisted in being and doing.

The latest interest for us is Germany. Into the midst of the Election has come "Lord Charles Blatchford's" series of articles in the "Daily Mail." The reprint has had a great sale. It is well that the constant menace represented by the swollen and swelling armaments of to-day should be kept in view. That is common ground to reasoning men. We must not live in a Fool's Paradise. But neither must we live in a Fool's Purgatory—just as silly a place and more uncomfortable while you are in it. Blatchford has never lived in the first. I believe he is living in the second. To me his outburst is deplorable. I think it is quite honest, and that's the best I can find to say for it. It is not accurate. His bad blunders regarding the reported vast embarkation rehearsals during the last German war outcry should have taught him caution, but he blunders just as badly in stating that Krupps have taken on 28,000 more hands. He handles history as recklessly as he handles these rumours. He says that Prussia's acts of war in the Schleswig case forty-six years ago and in the Austrian case forty years ago, and in the dispute with France regarding the throne of Spain, were of the bolt-from-the-blue order, whereas the Danish dispute was a slow, dragging affair of about ten years. Prussia and Austria fought in alliance against Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein, and a quarrel about the division of the spoils led to the Prussian war against Austria. In the third case the King of Prussia had eaten a great deal of humble pie at France's instance. He had withdrawn his Hohenzollern candidate for the throne of Spain. But the Ollivier Ministry in Paris acted like a pack of idiots. At a meeting (which, by the way, Ollivier did not himself attend) they decided to send to King William an

insulting message to the effect that he must promise that never again would he make such a proposition. Bismarck may have wanted a war, but it is playing with history to ignore the fact that France did everything in its power to provoke it, and in fact, declared it.

"Vorwaerts" has of course noted the Blatchford attack. It counsels its readers that Blatchford is speaking for himself, and certainly is not representing the mind of the average British Socialist. As Blatchford pronounces for Conscription and for Protection in the same series of articles, it is undoubtedly the case that he is not a representative spokesman for us.

Apparently he cannot help it. He became jingoistic (for all his repudiation of the term) in the Boer war crisis. And so he would to-morrow, on any similar trouble arising. We must regard him with gratitude for the great amount of good work he has done, and with a large tolerance for his tangent flights. The moral is once again the old one—that each one of us must think for himself, with but slight reference to the ipse dixit of any one man. It takes all sorts to make a world—let us philosophise in that reflection.

The Lords hung up the Budget after a debate recalling the Rehoboam story of the old men all counselling one thing and the young men another. I am writing in the last week before the dissolution. At Lloyds it is said the betting is six to three that the Liberals will come in. London will undoubtedly see a good many seats transferred. I am a believer that the Government will come back to power.

There will be a large loss of Liberal seats in London probably, and rather heavy losses in the provinces; but not, I imagine, any great changes in Scotland, Ireland or Wales. The feature of the polling, if one could really ascertain motives, would probably be found to be the large number voting for Tariff Reform, not because they had looked into it, nor because of any real enthusiasm for it, but rather from curiosity to see what it would mean in practice.

The Social-Democratic Party compelled public heed in a special manner twice during the year. One occasion was that July day when they made a strong demonstration in Trafalgar Square against the visit of the Czar to Great Britain—or rather to the waters of Great Britain, for that miserable miscreant had, after all, no better reception than might be implied from the King's visiting him on shipboard, off the Isle of Wight. Bernard Shaw was very happy in hitting off the situation. At this Trafalgar Square demonstration he described the enthusiastic welcome given by our Ministers. They noted that the Little Father had knocked at the front door, so they put their heads out of the window, and assured him how delighted they were to see him, "and if you'll wait out there on the doorstep, our king will come outside and shake hands with you."

There have been many events of note in other lands during the year. In January came the exposure of Azeff, chief of the Russian Terrorists, as agent-provocateur. In February, we were reminded of some sharp continuing realities by a violent attack by the police upon Dresden Socialists. An attack upon them with which they may be more concerned is implicit in frequent declaration that they have no power to restrain their Government from a great national crime. It may be so; it may not be so. It is one of those incalculable things which are outside ordinary means of determination. For my part, the vaticinations of Bebel himself leave me unconvinced. It is not so much a matter of the numbers of our men, as of the spirit that is in them. I believe Shakespeare packed much true political and social wisdom into his declaration that war is a game which, were their subjects wise, Kings would not play at.

A public prosecutor was shot by an Indian revolutionist in February. In July Sir William Curzon Wylie was shot by Dhingra at the Imperial Institute. Dhingra was a young student resident in London. Sir Curzon Wylie's influence had been bespoken on

Dhingra's behalf by some of his relatives, and a letter asking him to call had been received, the note intimating any assistance in Sir Curzon's power. Dhingra did not call; but it may be taken there was no private grudge. The young Indian was possessed by a bitter resentment of injuries to his race; and this operating on a mind which had not reasoned out the economic relation of things, and was in a purely chaotic ferment, led him to this cruel and in deepest meanings useless murder. Apparently Morley is far less open to read the significance of any such events than he was in the eighties, when here and there in Ireland the wild frenzy of unreasoning revenge shot in flame from the gun barrel.

Early in the year there was a strike of theological students at Cairo, in protest against the continued British occupation of that country. The infamous Denshawai hangings and floggings are not forgotten. Other world-stirring events of the year have been the deposition of two Eastern potentates. In vain did King Edward—tactless for once at least—send to the Sultan of Turkey an assurance that he would receive the veneration of posterity because he had set up a Parliament. The old intriguer plotted a counter-revolution to defeat that Parliament so reluctantly granted. It failed, and he was incontinently and ignominiously deposed in April. The Shadow of God was itself shadowed in eclipse. After that why despair?

While here the tired waves slowly breaking
Seem scarce one painful inch to gain,
Far back through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

In July Shah Mahomed Ali was deposed in Persia. In that land we seem to have very narrowly escaped a deep humiliation, at the instance of our wonderful Whig Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. In the spring of the year it seemed that a most hopeful revolutionary movement in the land of Omar Khyam was being throttled by Russian arms, Great Britain

consenting to the murder, by the terms of a secret treaty with Russia. Happily, most happily, Persia struck a blow for her own salvation and the Shah was deposed. Would that 1910 might parallel these events by the deposition of the wretched Nicholas.

In the Argentine, May-Day witnessed a scene of bloodshed; strikers were shot down. May was the month of the great abortive postal strike in France. M. Briand, one time accredited as an advocate of the General Strike, became Premier of France in July. He is not the man to incline to any merciful measures towards those who were the workers' leaders in that postal struggle. One of our London dailies published a gloating article a few weeks ago on the various shifts and extremities to which those dismissed leaders were now put in the effort to make a living. The fight at least may be recalled with a glow of admiration for the way in which many young men and women, of a middle-class position, joined in it heart and soul. June saw a general tramway strike in St. Petersburg. August witnessed a great General Strike in Sweden. This proved a much more serious matter than the world was at first ready to recognise. Three countries lent assistance; but the general result was not happy. For the rest, let me refer the reader to the articles by Rothstein and Knee in the 3d. Socialist Annual for 1910, where the course of events in 1909 will be found very helpfully retraced.

One outstanding event in the home field is the decision by the House of Lords that a trade union has no power to levy its members to support Parliamentary representatives. The injunction was obtained at the instance of a railway man. Nearly all the Labour Party's funds derive from the trade unions. A system of voluntary assessment is but a poor reliance for so large a demand. The idea naturally is to secure at once the passage of a Bill to alter the law in the sense desired. The Lords, to do them justice, if once convinced that the trade unions really want it,

will pass it incontinently as they did the Trade Disputes Bill, which they cordially detested. They will spend half their breath in hearty curses, and the rest in running away from their imagined duty, with their umbrellas between their legs.

Adult Suffrage received the sanction of a second reading in our House of Commons on March 19 by 157 to 122. The Bill got no further, but the achievement was well worth the making.

The Government gave £100,000 by Supplementary Vote over and above the £200,000 previously allocated to help in grappling with unemployment. That concession may be credited to the Labour Party. Another acknowledgment due to be made is that that Party had much to do with defeating the proposals for the amalgamation of the three great British railway lines.

The I.L.P. early in the year were disturbed in their annual conference by the sudden resignation of "The Big Four," Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, P. Snowden and Bruce Glasier, the latter the editor of the "Labour Leader." The Rev. R. J. Campbell, the party's most prominent public man, appealed strongly to them to reconsider, but the resignations stood.¹

Altogether the position at the moment has its piquancy. We have Blatchford asking "Where are the Socialists?" and running round to the "Daily Mail" to look for them. We have the I.L.P. withdrawing candidates, so as to help to clear the course, and by fighting the Lords to get rid of one obstacle at a time. Simultaneously we have placards on the hoardings showing the Socialist tiger licking its lips in reminiscence of the taste of the Liberalism just swallowed. Steady, boys, steady. To adapt Tennyson it won't do to go up and down with every turn of the handle by the halfpenny daily "churnalist." It's mixing figures, but let me add that there are polar stars to guide us amid all the moment's confusions. We stood for "the world for the workers" before the Budget was thrown out. We stand for it now. We

shall stand for it after the election, however that election may result. We are not making a giant leap forward. We are not making a giant leap backward. We are breasting circumstance as ever, pulling aside obstacles, and steadily forging ahead.

It is a great moment. The duty it seems to me is simply—work. There is little use now for the Achilles who sulks in his tent. If there is a caution to be added it is, not to be too insistent upon just what the work of any other comrade should be, so long as he is working, as best he can, and in the place where he sees his duty lie. Nor to be too critical of the amount of the work, the same qualification being implied. “Wha does the utmost that he can will whiles dae mair.” In general it may be said that it is peculiarly foolish to prophesy just now. I do not feel like writing anything more under the second part of the heading 1909-1910 than is implied in what is said about the past year. That short record does its own prophesying or at any rate its own suggesting for each of us. The only thing certain is that our country and the world have need of us—of every man amongst us. To times of danger earnest men belong. And equally to times of a great hope.

F. COLEBROOK.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOT A SEX QUESTION.

The woman's suffrage controversy is a prolific source of amusement to those who see, or think they see, that the main principle involved is ignored by the disputants of both sides. Being one of those superior persons myself, being one who believes himself to see the light of reason through the prodigious dust raised by both combatants, I am naturally anxious to flaunt my superiority in the face of all by showing that I rise above the prejudices of both parties.

After this modest preamble, a short space might profitably be devoted to the admission of some of my defects. Let me acknowledge straight away, with a candour fortified by the consciousness of a solid reserve of virtue—as indicated above—to fall back upon, that I have all the prejudices of my sex with regard to women. That women act from sentiment rather than from reason—which men never do; that women are muddle-headed and incapable of thinking in a straight line; that the forced preoccupation of the majority of them with the smaller concerns of life unfits them to deal with its larger issues—in these and in all similar arguments of the anti-Suffragists I quite concur. In short, I have the average man's consciousness of superiority to the average woman, just as most women share the average woman's consciousness of superiority to the average man. Whenever a woman does or says anything which I consider wrong I lay the fault at the door of her sex; whenever a man falls into error I pity him for his lack of individual judgment, and congratulate myself that my sex, as a whole, is not implicated in his lapse. This feeling of superiority

suffers a rude shock occasionally, but the shock passes and the prejudice remains. To sum up, I am an average human.

All the more justified do I feel myself in calling attention to my superiority. In spite of all this, in spite of my clear vision of the inferiority of woman, I am in favour of Adult Suffrage. That I should be a believer in woman's suffrage, in spite of the arguments of the suffragettes in its favour and their methods of attempting to obtain the vote, distils a subtle pleasure throughout my whole being, and tickles my heart with a sense of the world's irony. The peculiar advantage of my superiority is that the arguments of the suffragettes feed it, and those of their opponents give it zest. In an argument there is no greater pleasure than that of cheerfully conceding the whole of your opponent's case, secure in the consciousness that your position is not thereby affected, and an almost equal pleasure is that of hearing the arguments of those with whom you agree on the point at issue knowing that these arguments in no way make good their case. Both these pleasures are mine.

Feeling that I may have been drawn aside from the point at issue by a natural exultation over my superior attitude thereto, I hasten to state my case. I hold that every sane adult member of a community should have a voice in its management and control, and that the mere fact of membership in a community implies this right. If an individual participates in any way in the life of a community he or she immediately becomes a part of that community, and as such should participate in its government. This is an assumption, but it is an assumption implicit in the very conception of democracy, and he who attacks it strikes directly at the democratic principle.

Therefore, I hold that the majority of the arguments of the suffragettes are irrelevant to the point at issue, and the arguments of the anti-suffragists mostly a striving after wind. The giving of the vote to women is not a sex question at all; it appears to be such

because women are at present debarred, and because the suffragettes have claimed the vote as women and not as members of the community. It is as if those in receipt of poor relief were to claim the vote on the score of their pauperism and not on the ground of their participation in the life of the community, thereby laying themselves open to objections based upon their pauperism instead of their legitimate arguments, if any, which could only be based upon their participation in communal life. All the woman's suffrage organisations except the Adult Suffrage Society, which, after all, is something more than a mere woman's suffrage organisation, have made this mistake, and have consequently met with opposition on the score of sex, which, strictly speaking, is quite irrelevant. All the shrieking of the suffragettes about woman's rights excites my mirth and all the bluster of the anti-suffragists about woman's privileges leaves me unmoved. If woman has "rights," the obtaining of them, except that of the right to vote itself, has nothing whatever to do with giving her the vote; and if she has undue "privileges" the removal of them concerns the giving of the vote no more and no less. That the working class has rights is no reason in itself that it should have the vote; that kings, princes, dukes, millionaires, and capitalists generally have undue privileges is no reason in itself for withholding the vote from them. The working class, kings, princes, dukes, millionaires, and capitalists generally all participate in the life of the community, and should, therefore, have the vote whatever their rights, wrongs, deprivations, or privileges may be. Democracy means government by the people, and this implies that every individual, whether he or she be king, queen, prince, princess, duke, duchess, male or female capitalist, working man or working woman, and whatever rights, wrongs, privileges, deprivations, whims, crotchets, absurdities he or she may possess, should have the vote, provided he or she does not carry the said whims, crotchets and absurdities beyond the limit of what is generally recog-

nised as sanity. This I hold to be a principle implicit in any theory of democracy and explicit in any conception of Socialism. It is undeniably explicit in the objects of the Social-Democratic Party at the head of its programme and rules.

But it may be urged that woman, having gained the vote, will use it to obtain her real or fancied rights. Well, and why not? Do not men, having rights real or fancied, use the vote to obtain them, and are not we Socialists constantly urging them so to do? The equilibrium of a well-organised community is secured by the action and reaction of the interests of its individual members, and the exclusion of any sane individual from participation in its government tends to destroy that equilibrium. Women, being members of the community, have as much right as men, on democratic principles, to voice their individual desires, and any State which withholds that right is not democratic. Still less can anyone who disputes it call himself or herself a Socialist.

It may further be urged that women, being in a majority, might use their preponderance to secure legislation favourable to their sex at the expense of the other. This is a theoretical objection which would probably never find an example in practice, for even upon questions directly affecting women as such there is no uniformity of opinion amongst them. In the case of woman's suffrage, for example, which has foolishly been made a sex question, there is a hopeless diversity of opinion amongst them. Even as a theoretical objection, however, it must be faced. The contrary proposition that if men only have the vote it will be, and is, naturally used to secure their own sex interests is the most obvious retort, and is the one mainly relied upon by the women suffragists. The anti-suffragists meet this by endeavouring to prove the opposite to be the case, and the fight proceeds, to the amusement of superior persons like myself. For if the suffragists are right, and each sex looks to its own interest, the vote should clearly be given to both to

secure equilibrium ; and if the anti-suffragists are right and the dominance of the male sex has led to the other being privileged, it would seem reasonable to suppose that, as the dominance of the male sex has had this result, the giving of the vote to the other would again restore the equilibrium. Unless, of course, the anti-suffragists would maintain men to be such noble altruists that they privilege women, whereas women are such sordid egoists that they would guard their own interests exclusively. I frankly admit myself to be sex prejudiced, but I do not carry my prejudices to that length. Any anti-suffragist who does can devise legitimate amusement from my argument.

Assuming these considerations to be just, however, they still fail to meet the opposition based upon female numerical preponderance, and, although I have said I regard the objection as purely theoretical, it is my duty to try to meet it. Assuming, therefore, that women will use the vote to promote their sex interests, what has the Suffragist to say, faced as he is by the undoubted fact of the numerical preponderance of women ? If the Suffragist bases his case upon the principle that every member of a community should have a voice in its management, he can only say that it necessarily follows that it is just and right that the preponderance of any sex or class in a community should be reflected in its government. The implications of democracy must be faced, and although this particular implication may be revolting to the male sex, they must either face it or cease to be democrats. Socialists who smile at the anti-Socialist argument that Socialism means government of half the community minus one by half of the community plus one have no right to groan at the government of a male minority by a female majority. But, just as I hold that Socialism does not involve the former, so do I hold that woman suffrage does not imply the latter. As a matter of fact, I believe the giving of the vote to women is likely to lead in many ways to the oppression of women themselves. Women of what is cantingly called " the

unfortunate class," for example, would probably be more hardly used under female than under male legislation in the present state of female opinion. It is an extraordinary fact, and one I would commend to the study of anti-Suffragists, that woman's verdict upon woman is generally more severe than man's. A woman generally believes a fellow-woman guilty until she be proved innocent, while with a man the reverse is generally the case. Still, this is beside the point. The methods of the Suffragists and their opponents have a fascination after all, and have beguiled me into a method of treating the question which I have just denounced. I apologise.

It will be clear from the foregoing that I regard neither the arguments of the "pro's" nor "anti's" as having much relevance to the subject; but nevertheless the position taken up by Mr. H. B. Samuels in the October "Social-Democrat" may perhaps profitably be considered. He says the question finally resolves itself into this: "Will woman suffrage be in the interest of the community?" That is, is woman suffrage expedient? He then makes out a case—and a very good case—to justify an answer in the negative. But when his case is closely examined it turns out to be not a case against woman suffrage at all, but a case against giving the vote to those incapable of exercising it intelligently, whether they be male or female. Any intelligent and well-informed Suffragist could make out a parallel case against giving the vote to the mass of unintelligent men. Mr. Samuels's argument is a powerful and sustained plea for giving the vote to all our women Socialist comrades, Mrs. Sidney Webb, the Pankhursts, etc., and an equally powerful and sustained plea for withholding it from the great mass of unintelligent men. His argument is vitiated by the same defect as that of all the anti-suffragists, namely, that it is not an argument against woman suffrage. Bax, Samuels, and all anti-suffragists realise the danger of the influx of the mass of unintelligent women into the political arena, but, to be consistent, they should equally

realise and protest against political activity on the part of the mass of unintelligent men. Their arguments as against woman suffrage have no validity, but their arguments in favour of restricting the vote to the intelligent are so brilliant that they have almost made me an anti-Socialist. That the vote should be restricted to the intelligent is a perfectly logical and consistent theory, and the arguments of Bax and Samuels are powerful and sustained pleas in its favour; but the theory is an anti-Socialist one, and would prove impracticable of application. If their case against woman suffrage is to be proved, Bax and Samuels must show reason why the vote should be given to unintelligent men and not to unintelligent women. If the vote is given to the man fool why not to the woman fool?

All arguments, whether "pro" or "anti," based upon sex differences are inadmissible if it be admitted that every individual participating in the life of a community should have a voice in its government. Besides, every argument *against* founded upon sex differences can be balanced by a similar argument *for* founded upon the same basis. For example, it is urged that women should not have the power to decide upon peace or war because they would not fight in the event of war. This, pushed to its logical conclusion, would restrict the vote to soldiers, sailors and Territorials in a country such as England, where there is no conscription! Even in militarist countries such as France and Germany it would strike out thousands of male voters. So that the argument is not one against woman suffrage only, but is an argument in favour of basing the vote upon a military qualification. And it is employed by Socialists! But the corresponding argument of the women would be that the vote should be taken away from men and given to them because they bear the pain and burden of reproducing the race. One argument is as valid or invalid as the other. One puts the man's view and the other the woman's, and while man is man and woman is woman, and there is

no third sex—I leave curates out of account—to adjudicate impartially between them, who can say which view is the right one? Mankind up to the present has taken the man's view, the ants and bees I believe take the woman's. Being like Mr. Samuels, a Secularist, and like Pontius Pilate awaiting an answer to the question, "What is Truth?" I frankly admit I do not know and never shall know on which side the right lies. Meanwhile, I respectfully suggest that approaching the question from the man's side only is just as foolish as approaching it only from the side of the woman. Both "pro's" and "anti's" commit this mistake, reminding the amused observer of those interesting toys composed of two figures which struggle violently so long as the sticks which support them are manipulated.

How do we know what the evolution of the human race may bring forth? "Woman's place is the home," says Mr. Samuels. Does he mean that by some mysterious law, natural or divine, women should be restricted to the home? He cannot believe it a divine law, for he calls himself a Secularist. If the experience of humanity establishes it as a natural law, it is nevertheless liable to alteration. Man's "place" in the simian stage of his development was in the tree, and I suppose the pro-Samuels simians protested vigorously against his leaving it. But, to be serious, how can woman's place be in the home if she is constantly leaving it for the factory and the workshop? Woman's "place" is any environment to which she can adapt herself, and only experience can show what that environment is. In Lancashire at present woman's "place" is in the factory, in Sussex it is in the home, but which is really woman's "place" I give up as an insoluble problem. If a woman can go into politics with as much success as the average male politician—no high standard this—then politics is her "place." To say she will be "scheming, hard, calculating, etc.," is to imply there are no "scheming, hard, calculating, etc." male politicians, and is really an argument

against "scheming, hard, calculating, etc." politicians, whether male or female, and no argument against female politicians as such. Before I leave this part of the subject let me entreat Mr. Samuels to state whether he considers that the women whom that political organisation known as the Social-Democratic Party "attracts" are "scheming, hard, calculating, impatient, unloving, distrustful, fond of bluster, noise, and deception, unwomanly females that are 'an abomination to God and man'"?

To sum up. In any controversy between man and woman, all the arguments of either based upon the fact of his or her being a man or a woman are out of place, as there is no possible means of determining their validity which would be acceptable to both parties; therefore, to settle the controversy, a principle must be found acceptable to both. In the suffrage question I hold that this lies in the theory that every sane adult who participates in the life of a community should have a voice in its management and control, and as this theory is the bed-rock principle of Socialism I judge the woman's suffrage question in its light. The clever man and the clever woman, the man fool and the woman fool, must co-operate as units in the community, recognising their sexual differences, but also recognising that as members of the same community they must work whole-heartedly together to bring about the better state that is to be. Women will always have their point of view, and men theirs, on questions arising out of sexual differences, but the discussion of them in a mutually exclusive spirit is a waste of time, as the point of view of each has little or no validity for the other. "First seek ye Socialism and all else shall be added unto you."

In the course of this article I have laughed equally at the "pro's" and the "anti's," and therefore, I suppose, they will fall on me together. I await both assaults with equanimity.

H. L. WOODS.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND CONVENTIONAL RELIGION.

It has been suggested by Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., that Socialism has no more to do with a man's religion than it has to do with the colour of a man's hair. "Justice" has also given expression to a similar belief. Religion, it says, is "a private matter," and as such concerns the individual alone. But I hope in the course of this article to prove that religion is a social matter, and therefore of social concern.

The vast majority of Social-Democrats, I take it, are materialists in philosophy, who subscribe to Marx's induction anent the economic interpretation of history; and who believe that matter is the genetrix and matrix of whatever is, moves, and has its being. This perspective, it will be admitted, is antinomial to the idealist's perspective, which finds the *monon*—the unity of everything—in spirit. The materialists explain everything on mechanical principles; they oppose "necessity" to the teleological posit of "design." They explain love by chemical formulæ; while "Das Kapital" is but the outcome of a mere spoonful of brain stuff.

Now, it is beyond the scope of the present article to controvert this materialistic view; rather will I content myself as a good Christian in trying to show how inconsistent with his allegiance to materialism is the Social-Democrat's belief that religion is "a private matter."

In the first place, I will pertinently inquire as to whether it is, or whether it is not, possible for me to remain a consistent Christian, and, at the same time,

subscribe to the "materialistic conception of history"? To suggest that religion *is* "a private matter" is to suggest that I can be consistent, which amounts to saying that I can be consistent if the "private matter" of my religion is also materialistic; otherwise, it is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole content. If it is true that the S.D.P., as a party, insists that Social-Democracy has nothing whatsoever to do with religion, because religion as such is "a private matter," are we not justified in asserting that an element of inconsistency has crept into the reasoning, and that religion on the contrary, is a public matter, and therefore of social concern? Furthermore, does not Marx's generalisation, with its culminating point, "the materialistic conception of history," imply a materialistic cosmological perspective as a necessary presupposition? And furthermore, does not that imply that matter—including in that category the new ether, and corpuscular monad, of modern physics—is the beginning and the end of all things; and that in consequence there is no loving God, no immortality, and no freedom of the will? Again, does not "the materialist conception of history" imply that social evolution, like inorganic and organic evolution, is to be explained on the lines of mechanical causality, and that in consequence the Christian's belief in divine ordinance is fatuous? If that is so, is it not humbug to further contend that Marxian Socialism and traditional religion are not necessarily antagonistic? If religion is "a private matter," as Social-Democrats would have us believe—and they generally refer to Christianity, the present popular religion—why, then, do some of the ablest exponents of Socialism (Bax, Ferri, Kautsky, Boudin) make it their business to ridicule it? If orthodox Christianity, and the current metaphysical notions about the universe, are opposed to a materialistic cosmological and social perspective, is it other than natural that materialists should oppose them? But Christian apologists and freethought writers do not believe that religion is "a private

matter"; otherwise, they would not have inundated us with books against, and in defence of, current religion. If everybody was to observe the "rule" that religion is "a private matter," he would—paradoxical as it may seem—never have had Christianity or any other system of religion at all. Religion is not a stable thing; it moves with the times, and the times influence it from without. Religion is "a private matter"; it concerns man and his God, and, therefore, should not be interfered with, especially when the propaganda of Socialism is concerned. To this I can imagine someone objecting. But the very existence of this man's religion—especially this complex modern religion—is due to interference from without. The religion of South Sea Islanders is dictated by primitive intuition; their "private matter" consists in worshipping fetishes. But Christian missionaries do not care a brass farthing for their "private matter." They maintain that they have a public duty and a duty towards God to perform. So they proceed to convert the South Sea Islanders to Christianity. This has been the case even in enlightened society. A similar missionary process has been steadily at work. The existence of countless parsons and preachers is a living testimony to the fact. If religion is "a private matter," it cannot be denied that its corollary, "worship," is a public matter. Still, religion and worship, in the conventional sense, are in my opinion inseparable. To the cultured, religion is an intellectual and moral commodity; and, like material commodities, a product of social and natural evolution. If this is not so, I have, at any rate, misunderstood the true import of "the materialistic conception of history." However, if I am right, I will take courage and say that those who contend that religion is "a private matter" ought to discard the philosophy of Marx. The inventor of "Parsons' turbine" is indebted to Archimedes; the St. John's Ambulance Corps is indebted to Hippocrates of Cos. Similarly with religions, their origin is in the past—it emphasises their social

nature. The Athanasian Creed has been revised, so that it might be tolerated better. Still, of course, religion is "a private matter"—but when?

To say that religion is "a private matter" is different to saying that it *should* be "a private matter." But, in any case, the hope is utopian.

In my opinion, a man's sociological perspective is somewhat coloured by the particular views he holds on the theory of knowledge and final causes—a sort of reaction, in the Marxian sense. Therefore a man who is not a materialist in philosophy cannot subscribe *in toto* to Marxism, for a good way to understand what a man is is by understanding what he is not. Marx, if I am not mistaken, was a determinist in philosophy. He invariably treated the ethical as subservient to the economic—belittling the individual ego at the expense of economic laws. In opposition to this, I shall not urge the Panegoistic view, but merely point out the significance determinism has when dealing with the private nature of religion.

Let us not forget, in the first place, that Marx, being a materialist, could hardly subscribe to Kant's "categorical imperative." It will be remembered that Kant, in his "Critique of Pure Reason," found no intellectual standing for the belief in the freedom of the will. In his "Critique of Practical Reason," he, however, found that the belief was a "thou shalt" of the moral law, and was, therefore, philosophically admissible. Now, it is my opinion that the overwhelming majority of Social-Democrats are to be found—consciously or unconsciously—subscribing to this "imperative" ethic of Kant's when propagating the principles of Socialism, for, in doing so, are they not virtually presuming that the rabble is free to choose as it wills? Personally, I believe that to assume the freedom of the will is of vital importance in propaganda. Although we may dispute it in theory, we nevertheless show by deeds that we *do* believe in the freedom of the will. Therefore a belief in determinism is pragmatically unsound. If I pretended to be a con-

sistent Marxist, I would be a determinist in philosophy; and instead of admiring the declamatory passion of our veteran comrade Jack Williams I would be constrained to laugh at him, for don't you see that from the Marxian deterministic view-point, social, as well as individual, iniquities are not things to be shrieked over, but rather things to be understood and explained?

I wish once more to repeat that religion, instead of being "a private matter," is, in my opinion, a public and organised concern. In considering the question we must not forget that we are supposed to deal with religion as we find it, and not as we would like it to be. For condemning religion as it is, I know many people who have been socially ostracised. The disputants on both sides never thought for a moment that religion was "a private matter," or else there would have been peace—perfect peace—instead. To assert that a man's religion is "a private matter" is tantamount to asserting that a man has perfect freedom of will to abstract and choose any religion he likes, provided he keeps it "private." But he *does* keep it private if some Social-Democrats are to be believed. Anyhow, he may choose ancestor worship for his religion if he wills. But keep it quiet! All this, however, appears somewhat naïve when one remembers the millions that attend churches and chapels for conventional reasons and enforced custom. In fact, I know many workingmen who are obliged, against their will, mark you! to attend chapel because their employer, who is a deacon, threatened to discharge them if they refused. And religion is "a private matter." Please observe the present tense. One moment we are told that the ideological is determined by the material; the degree reflected by the economic degree. The next moment we are told that the religious part of the ideological is a "private matter," and determined by nothing except perhaps the individual's "private" fickleness. The Marxian formula implies that the popular religion of an epoch is but the reflex of the economic and social conditions then prevailing. This reflex, however, we

are supposed to treat as "a private matter," while at the same time we proceed to modify it by proceeding to change the social and economic substratum. In other words we say, in a man's face as it were, that religion is "a private matter," while behind his back we proceed by deeds to contradict our statement. To say that religion is "a private matter," if I understand rightly, amounts to saying that a man is free to infer any religion he likes—infer Heaven and Hell, Athanatism, the existence of a merciful God—from the facts of experience and natural law as understood by science, free to exercise his mind as he wills, provided—or not provided—he observes the data of science. In short, a man's cosmic inferences are his own "private matters." But knowledge of nature is a philosophic and scientific attainment; and philosophic and scientific attainments are social products. Therefore, in the last resort, the "inferences" turn out to be social products, for in the absence of those things that have gone before the necessary conditions for the "inferences" would never have been obtained.

It is a commonplace of Marxists that the realisation of the Socialist Republic is inevitable. They insist that capitalism, in virtue of "the logic of events," must culminate in Socialism. As in the case of religion, the data from which this conclusion is inferred is existing, if not so apparent, to the anti-Socialist also. He, however, does not believe in the inevitability of Socialism; otherwise he would not oppose Socialism with the ardour he does. It is because non-Socialists and anti-Socialists cannot see the ultimate triumph of Socialism; it is because they cannot infer the same conclusions as Socialists do from existing economic facts and tendencies is the reason, I take it, why we are out to teach them. In doing so we do not for a moment treat their economic and political preconceptions, also their prejudices, as "private matters." We proceed to demolish them. So the parallel is now complete. But, someone might urge that religion is other than politics. Perhaps in degree, but not in kind.

Religion is the politic of heaven; it colours the individual's social politics; it shapes his views on women's suffrage, and the repudiation of the National Debt.

Religion is an attitude suggested by cosmic emotion. The part of the cosmos which plays the most important rôle in the formulation of the attitude is the planet earth; and still more important is human society, and human beings. The cause, or antecedent, is universal and social; the result, or consequent, is particular and individual—both antecedent and consequent are conjoined; they appear almost simultaneously. There is no privacy in the universe; the law of causality pokes its nose everywhere.

Religion—or what we may call the raw material of religion—is forced upon the individual from without. It stimulates reflection, and a philosophy and religion is formulated. To himself, a man is what he thinks; his thoughts constitute his life. The moment he ceases to think he becomes an automaton. It would be considered foolish to suggest that human life is a private matter; modern jurisdiction contradicts the notion. But according to Social-Democrats the religious part of a man's life is “a private matter”; while the rest of his life *per implication* is public. Experience, however, contradicts all this. A belief in God, in my opinion, is no more “a private matter” than is a belief in the Budget. Both beliefs are dictated by individual and social circumstances. An Atheist's inability to believe in the Christian God is no more “a private matter” than is the devout Christian's incapacity to believe otherwise. Both conditions have been brought about by temperament, influenced by social circumstances. While mechanical inventions are in the twentieth century, popular religion is still in A.D. 300. Would this be so if religion had been regarded as “a private matter”?

My inability to believe that the Tory faction will bring about the millennium is no more “a private matter” than is the Tory working man's failure to understand that Socialism will prove to be his

economic salvation. If a child happens to be born of Christian parents he will be taught the Christian religion. The child has no option to choose between Agnosticism, Christianity, or anything else. What he shall be taught depends upon the parents. If religion is "a private matter," one would expect parents to drive their children into the library, where they might pick up the "private matter" that suits their untampered taste. But experience teaches us that the great mass of children are driven to church instead. This treatment may, however, be assigned to a misunderstanding of the true nature of religion as understood by Social-Democrats. Knowledge or understanding is again a social product. Like religion, its degree is continually changing. Before religion can be "a private matter," it must, first of all, be a private product. Martin Luther and King Henry VIII. never treated religion as "a private matter." General Booth, Dr. Clifford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. G. W. Foote, and Mr. Joseph McCabe, *do not* treat religion as "a private matter." Bruno and Ferrer did not look upon religion as "a private matter"; neither did their murderers. Mazzini and Comte recognised that religion is essentially a social matter. Jesus thought similarly. Rome at one time made a fair bid to socialise religion. Day by day, Socialists are to be found trespassing on one's private beliefs. The Home Secretary might say that it was out of respect for his private beliefs that he gave orders for the confiscation of "Justice." But do we respect his private beliefs? The Featherstone Fenian might have given a similar reason for his delinquency. Private beliefs—whether religious or social—are inseparable from deeds. To say that a man has freedom to enjoy his private belief, but that he must not translate them into action, is to make a huge Wormwood Scrubbs of society. When a majority in favour of a belief is obtained that majority invariably proceeds by action to demonstrate its dominance. The Christian Churches are made up of innumerable people with

"private" beliefs. Still, we have no great love for religious institutions, which means to say that we as Social-Democrats have great respect for isolated "private" beliefs; but as for respect for the aggregate of the very same beliefs we are not so certain.

Now, it was the "private matter" of the Rev. Smyth Pigott to become the father of "Power" and "Glory." But the Agapemonites are in a minority, with the result that Pigott is persecuted. Society has no respect for this "private matter," while it respects convents and nunneries. The other day Pastor Wise was imprisoned for his "private" belief.

Nobody besides Socialists believe that religion is "a private matter." Christianity is no more "a private matter" than is Liberalism or Socialism; or, better, one's belief in Socialism. One's belief is being continually interfered with. To condemn Christianity is to condemn Christians. To condemn sweating is to condemn sweaters. To whip the Church is to whip church-goers. As I said before, Social-Democrats have no great respect for the organised Church; still, they have great respect for the organised "private" beliefs that go to make up the Church. If we respect men's "private" beliefs, to be consistent we should also respect the medium through which those "private" beliefs are expressed—to wit, the Church; and whether the Church as constituted to-day is an obstruction to the development of those forces that make for the social revolution it is not my business here to inquire into; but if it is an obstruction, the duty of Social-Democrats is plain. I, however, in concluding, will maintain once again that although religion should be—if it ever could be—"a private matter," it is, at any rate, *not* "a private matter" to-day.

HUW MENAI.

MEDICAL TREATMENT OF LONDON CHILDREN.

After long delay the London County Council have decided that the care of the bodies of the children, for whose welfare they are responsible, cannot be shirked altogether. At their meetings of November 23 and 30 they made certain experimental arrangements for the medical treatment of school children.

In view of the importance to the community of the health of its children, and particularly in prospect of the approaching L.C.C. elections, it will be useful to inquire into the state of affairs with regard to the health of London elementary school children, and to examine the proposed arrangements in the light of the statements of the special sub-committee, so as to see if the proposed experiment is a wise one and likely to prove successful.

As may be seen from a statement published nine months since, the physical condition of a great part of London's three-quarters of a million elementary school children is simply deplorable. It is manifested chiefly in the prevalence of teeth, eyes, nose and throat, and ear troubles. No systematic dental examination has yet been carried out, but from examinations which have been made in particular schools, as well as from army statistics and from general observation, it may fairly be concluded that, practically speaking, the child who does not suffer, more or less, from defective teeth is the exception and not the rule; it will be no exaggeration to say that over 100,000 children are in immediate and pressing need of the dentist's care. Inspection

of vision has been going on since 1900, and the number of children whose eyes require attention is put down by Dr. Kerr as at least 60,000; the same authority estimates that some 7,500 children are suffering from discharging ears; while no less than 1,179,934 attendances are lost every year owing to the prevalence of ringworm. These figures speak for themselves, and represent a great deal of suffering, and a serious loss both to individual children and to the community at large; a loss, moreover, that is constantly going on during every month that passes before adequate remedial measures are taken. Bad teeth, for example, lead to stomach troubles, as there is not only a loss of masticating power, but also constant absorption of poisonous matter. Suppurating ears lead to deafness, with its attendant loss of intelligence, and the disease may gradually extend to the cranial cavity, to result in abscess of the brain or general blood-poisoning or the sudden supervention of fatal meningitis. Such dangers of neglect and delay surely need no elaboration, they must be patent to everyone.

The existing accommodation provided by hospitals and dispensaries has been found to be inadequate to deal with this state of affairs. Moreover, it has been reported that very serious difficulty exists in taking advantage of such facilities as are provided because of the loss of time to parents in accompanying their children to a hospital, and because of the necessary expense of fares and so on. It must also be pointed out that children lose a great deal of school-time and may be injuriously affected by the conditions which too often prevail in the hospital waiting-rooms. The London Teachers' Association, for example, states that it has objections to children spending long hours, often hungry and damp, in hospital waiting-rooms, and suggests that centres should be provided for examination.

Dr. Kerr, the Medical Officer (Education) of the L.C.C., has definitely reported that "The cases of defective vision could be treated at a very much less

expense to the whole community in school clinics than in any other ways"; and, in reference to suppurating ears, that "The treatment of these cases would be careful examination by the surgeon; then . . . daily or even more frequent cleansing by nurses. . . . The doctor would probably see the children once a week. This kind of work the ordinary doctor cannot afford time to do. I have in the past tried conscientiously to follow out the treatment at hospital, but found it quite impossible to get the patients to attend, and soon found myself unable to give up the time. The work is very uninteresting, but there is no doubt about the excellent results obtainable. *These results would be got at the school clinics, and I do not think that they could be got by this class of patient anywhere else. . . .*" While he also reports, "Probably dentistry would best be practised as part of the work of the school clinics which are suggested."

Following out these reports, and as a result of their own inquiries, the Special Sub-Committee reported to the Education Committee that "The Council should establish school surgeries or clinics at which treatment should be provided by its own medical officers." This report was signed by a majority of the members present at the final meeting of the sub-committee, although they did not constitute a majority of the whole of its membership, two members being absent. The Education Committee preferred to recommend "That the Council should make arrangements with the existing hospitals and dispensaries." However unwise it may be to repose confidence in names, the list of signatories to the sub-committee's report carries a good deal of weight of expert opinion behind it, and it may be interesting to include it. The list is as follows:—

Miss N. Adler.

A. A. Allen.

Dr. R. M. Beaton.

Norman G. Bennett (British Dental Association).

Robt. J. Bland (Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital).

Dr. H. Morley Fletcher (St. Barts. Hospital).
Sir Victor Horsley (British Medical Association).
Douglas Owen (London Hospital).
Dr. A. Salter.
Graham Wallas.

Despite the opinion of their own medical officer, and of the obviously well-informed report of the above ladies and gentlemen, in the face of the weight of evidence adduced during the inquiry, and in total disregard of a strong protest from the British Medical Association, the Council have agreed to the suggestion of the Education Committee, and have altogether refused to entertain any idea of the institution of school clinics. Instead of adopting a method which would be convenient, both to the children, their parents and the teachers, which would be efficient, and which would enable the popular representatives to control the methods of expenditure of public money, the Council, after long negotiations, have succeeded in persuading certain hospitals to extend their services free, so that, as they say, 16,000 children will be provided with medical treatment as regards eyes, nose and throat, and ears. They have entered into agreements with eight other hospitals by which another 16,000 will be similarly treated at a cost to the Council of £4,000 a year, and they propose to set about seeing what can be done for another 5,000.

Now, in the first place, it must be observed that one class of defect, and that the largest and perhaps the most serious, is left entirely unprovided for; the Council have not even instructed their committee to formulate a scheme for dealing with this vast mass of dental defect. In the second place, having regard to the figures already quoted, it is plain that the Council have deliberately whittled down the numbers of the children actually requiring treatment for the diseases which they congratulate themselves on having provided for. When all arrangements are made 37,000 children will be treated if the scheme works well, but almost

as many more will be quite neglected except for the uncertain operation of private enterprise. Further, despite the evidence as to the difficulty and expense of attendance at hospitals, the Council have refused to insert any clause in the agreement which would provide for the fixing of hours at which working-class parents could attend with their children without losing working time. Even with the greatest care, it is obvious that children themselves would lose far more time than if they were treated in school clinics, and when a clause is inserted which reads, "That the hours of attendance must be made to suit the convenience of the hospital," it is plain that the Council do not greatly care for the comfort of their poorer constituents nor for the welfare of the unfortunate children under their control. They have not secured the right to inspect even the waiting-rooms provided for the children, and recollecting the opinion of the Teachers' Association, and judging from experience in the past, a fear as to subsidiary troubles resulting from their condition may well be justified. Apart altogether from this, however, it is not a good thing to contract with regard to children's bodies, and to pay several thousands of pounds annually while the contractors are allowed to stipulate, "That no grant given shall entitle the L.C.C. to representation on the governing body of the hospital, nor to interference in any way with the work of the departments concerned."

In this matter, as in others, the needs of the children seem to have been lost sight of by most of the members of the Council in their dread of the bogey of Socialism, which they see lurking behind even the most obvious of their public duties. The present arrangements are stated to be only experimental. Would it not have been as easy to experiment with the school clinics, which it is agreed would treat the children more cheaply and more effectively? The method must be adopted sooner or later, and needless suffering and waste is caused by trying other means and waiting until they break down once more. The medical aspect

of the Council's educational work must be brought forward very prominently when the time comes to settle who shall have the care of the children in the future. It should be one of the strongest planks in the programme of the Socialist candidates, and should form the basis of much useful "heckling" of other candidates. Our aim should be to make so strong a public opinion on the subject that it will be raised as much above party politics as is now the teaching of the three "R's."

JACK GIBSON.



HAMPERING EDUCATION IN POLAND.—There existed in Poland a society for the payment of school fees. Its activity was limited to the payment of the necessary fees for pupils of primary and middle schools, whose parents could not afford to pay. On September 2, this society with all its branches was forcibly dissolved. The pretext for this violent deed was that the society had violated its statutes in an address to the public appealing for funds. This violation was detected in the expression that a part of the sums collected "would be used for middle schools and other aims of the Society." The Russian administration alleges that according to its statutes the Society has no right to subsidise schools but only pupils. Everyone understands that this is only a pretext, and a very clumsy one, to interfere with the efforts of the Poles to spread enlightenment among their youth. This absurd counter-action to national enlightenment is being manifested by other measures as well. For example, one M. Kozminsky, a Russian School-Inspector at Warsaw, who contrived by his broad-mindedness to become popular among the Poles, has been dismissed from his post. All these persecutions are caused by the fact that the official schools in Poland, having been turned into special Russifying factories, are very unpopular, while the Polish schools, notwithstanding all the inimical pressure exercised on them, prosper and spread.—"Free Russia."

THE MONTH.

Churchill and Lloyd George, called by F. E. Smith the Heavenly Twins, have been very active this month; quite the chief platform powers of the party. Churchill, particularly, has insisted that the Lords are to lose their veto on ordinary as well as finance legislation.

Churchill, at Dundee, answering Socialist interrupters, has declared that Socialists have not the wit or power to do anything effective to carry their programme into execution. F. E. Smith has turned to John Burns, describing him as "much more of a Tory than I am," and as reluctantly forced to follow Lloyd George and Churchill.

If it be desirable that small cultivators should give long hours of toil to the development of their holdings, the reward of possession should be within their reach, says Balfour's election address.

Asquith, during the month, has pronounced definitely for Home Rule.

Socialists should keep this paragraph. The "Daily Mail," Jan. 7, reminds its readers that Asquith, at the Holborn Restaurant, on June 24, said: If it be a fact—and I admit it is to some extent the fact—that there is an element of unearned value in other forms of property besides land, that is an argument not against taking the unearned value when you find it there in the shape of land, but it is an argument in favour of taking it in other cases also.

"He was in favour of the nationalisation of the railways." Thus Churchill, at Dundee, on Jan. 5. Lloyd George had earlier

said : Nationalisation of the land must come, but you must proceed by easy stages (Sept. 29). The Advocate-General, Mr. Ure, has said : These modest-looking taxes (the land taxes of the Government) involved a principle that the land of the country in truth belonged to the nation.

Balfour has at last got on to the platform. His leading speech gives great chances to Winston, who does not love him. He lately talked of Prime Ministers—"from the great William Pitt to the small Arthur Balfour."

That Germany's military methods are a standing menace to this kingdom no reasoning man can doubt. Whether there is any special danger at this moment is another matter. But the feeblest possible way for an ex-Premier to treat the matter is to do what Balfour does. He says : "Go to the lesser Powers of the world." They practically agree, he tells us, that we shall have to fight Germany. He hastens to add that he doesn't agree with them.

Fancy either Palmerston or Disraeli, or Russell or Peel asking Britain to take its lead not from him, but from the lesser Powers of the world. And suggesting that their opinion was probably right. And adding that he did not agree with it.

Asquith has at once flatly denied that there are any evidences of such reasoned conviction among the lesser Powers—or those entitled to speak for them.

No Socialist need be told that Free Trade is a negative economic virtue. It does not guarantee well-being. It is consistent with adulteration of goods and every kind of devil-take-the-hind-most cut-throat competition. Its stalwarts included strong anti-Factory Act men. All that is proper to bear in mind. It is no argument for Tariff Reform, however, and we, not less than our German comrades, may well loathe that slimy, lying thing—that great opportunity-bringer for all the wangers and manipulators of markets. Never forget that behind the tariff grows the trust. We shall have trusts enough to illustrate and facilitate the argument for the transfer of business to the people without fostering them unnecessarily.

A voter in the Harrow division issues a timely reminder of one of the obvious things often overlooked, that the rich man's food consists of the most delicate of English fish, the very best English meat, English game and dairy produce, English fruit and vegetables grown to perfection in his own garden. His breakfast toast and dinner roll will be about the only things directly affected by the proposed duties on food. The food of the wage-workers, on the other hand, consists almost entirely of inferior but cheaper imported meat, bacon, eggs, butter, cheese and bread (or corn), and all these are to be taxed.

As a rule, "taxing the foreigner" is a fraud. Tea and tobacco may illustrate to-day. Mincing Lane brokers will sell good tea "in bond," that is tea that has not yet paid duty, at 9d. or 10d. per lb. That same tea will be retailed at 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. The consumer pays the duty of 5d., and of course also pays the fair profit of the wholesale and retail dealers! The workers pay about 40 per cent. tax on their tea; the rich man pays about 12 per cent. tax.

Brokers will sell tobacco at 2d. per oz. "in bond," not having paid duty as yet. That same tobacco will retail at 6d. or more. The smoker pays the 3d. duty as well as paying the handsome profits of the wholesaler and retailer.

A few years ago Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (as Lord St. Aldwyn was then called) put 2s. duty on corn. Later he took it off. "I thought that small duty would not raise the price," he said, "and I frankly confess I was mistaken."

As to manufactured goods—in general, British goods are the best. Now, the rich man in Great Britain always wants the best. He wants the home article, therefore. It is the man with the small fixed income, or the varying but small income, who must be content with inferior and cheaper imported goods. So, again, the tax on manufactured articles would hit the poor man and hardly touch the rich.

Indifference to life and limb in trade has been strikingly evidenced in the display of cotton-wool in drapers or other estab-

lishments. It looks Christmassy, of course. The jury decided that it was this cotton-wool—fired by the bursting of an electric globe—which caused the fire at Messrs. Arding and Hobbs's, wherein eight people perished.

The jury praised the buyer, Mr. Noakes, but had no word of praise for poor Neighbour, the carver. And there seems no doubt at all that he could have saved himself, but that he chose to give his last moments to running about to warn others and to assisting a young woman on to the ladder.

Leopold may now be King of Hellgium. The world in general seems disposed to think his successor will be a better ruler. The Socialists of Belgium raised their defiant note, and there were many cries of "Vive la Republique" in the earliest accession scenes.

Sir Christopher Furness, speaking at West Hartlepool, gave striking revelation of what has apparently all along been in his mind as a correct description of wage work under ordinary conditions of capitalism. He asked if his profit-sharing workmen would like "to go back to the simple wage system—the system under which you are utterly without an interest, or even a word in the affairs of the great establishment where your life's work is done; the system under which you are. . . harassed by bitter controversies, living always in an atmosphere of care, worry and fear?"

The Church Socialist League has issued a manifesto as a timely word for the election. In the metropolis alone there are, it says, 100,000 children whose daily bread is not assured. It urges that candidates should be asked to pledge to demand the creation of a National Labour Department; the raising of the school age to 16, with maintenance, through the education authority, for those children whose parents are unable to provide it; the 48 hours week; the regulation of casual labour, and maintenance and special training where necessary; insistence upon drastic reform of the housing of the poor; the breaking up of the Poor Law as demanded by the Minority Report of the Royal Commission; recognition of the "right to work," and a wide expansion of municipal enterprise in all departments of productive and distributive industry.

Over 400 hands received notice to leave the employ of Messrs. Huntley and Palmer, Limited, of Reading, on Thursday, Dec. 9. Included in the number were 155 men, and of these 22 were members of the Reading branch of the S.D.P. Two of these were candidates at the recent Borough Council election, our comrades Harris and Wilkins. Harris had been twenty and Wilkins eighteen years in the firm's employ. A demonstration was held in the Corn Exchange, about 1,200 being present, the proprietor of the local Conservative paper presiding. A strong resolution of protest was adopted unanimously.

A recollection of William Palmer, of Reading, one of the larger-minded of the old-time capitalists. In a speech in Reading Town Hall he said: "I always thought that when working men got the vote *they would use it.*" Apparently he did not think that such use of local votes *by* people in his factory's employ, *for* people in that or like employ would be followed by dismissals, and to do his memory justice, it is doubtful if it would have been in his day. Of course, the present proprietors are not thinking of the politics of anyone they dismiss at all! The Reading comrades, however, call attention to the strong disproportion of S.D.P. members in the batch who are put off.

The S.D.P. bazaar was held at the Caxton Hall the week after Christmas, with Lady Warwick, Conrad Noel, and others assisting by opening speeches. The result is not quite worked out, but will be a very useful aid in the Parliamentary fights, and could not possibly be more timely.

FEMININE IDIOSYNCRACIES.

Mr. Belfort Bax is to be congratulated on his courage in plainly stating, for the first time on record—though the fact is sufficiently obvious—that females seem to be “always thinking of their sexual organs.” From the little girl who, if you only casually glance at her, immediately pulls down her frock, to the woman who reads an erotic significance into the most commonplace remark, their whole lives are apparently coloured by chronic sex-consciousness. Indeed, they take but little interest in, and are soon bored by, any topic or pursuit in which “love” or gallantry has no part, and pretty soon forsake the company of men who allow themselves to forget that they are women.

This would be right and proper enough but for their nauseous pretence that it is not so, and the constant endeavour to appear as if sex played no greater part in their lives than in men's. In reality, they would be the first to complain if their privileges and prerogatives were ignored, and men were to cease doffing their hats, bowing and smiling, flattering and complimenting, and generally deferring to and giving them the advantage, whenever they are nominally on a footing of equality. And what would they say if their present ostensible aspirations were logically put into practice, and they were compelled to dress in male attire, with no chance of studying the “latest fashions,” to take their turn at navvying and scavenging, or, as formerly, to crawl half-naked in coal mines and be whipped if they fell asleep in factories? Indeed, I suspect that at heart they are not altogether proud of the “rights” they have already won, such as the right to fight with men for a seat in a tram on a cold winter's morning, which they would often not get at all but for man's instinctive sense of courtesy, in spite of rebuffs.

The fact is, a woman's whole nature and all her actions are dominated by the sex instinct in a manner and to an extent not approached in man's. In everything she does she has an eye to its bearing on her sexual nature. One can immediately tell whether a girl is in love, or engaged, by her demeanour towards other men. If not, she is all smiles and interest; otherwise, supremely and ostentatiously indifferent. Neither work, reading, recreation, nor travel have any value in themselves, but only as leading to some romantic experience. How many young ladies give up accom-

plishments such as drawing, fancy needlework, or even music, as soon as their main object, the capture of a husband, is accomplished! Similarly, no meanness or deception is bad in itself, but only if it may lead to any unpleasantness to, or exposure of, the woman concerned in it, for she is, above all, a slave to outward conventionality. She willingly acquiesces in the male thesis that, no matter how bad her character in other respects, if chaste she is "virtuous."

Women are, indeed, so different from men in almost every respect that their qualities may almost be said to be the exact opposite to those of the latter. In any given circumstance, the procedure of a woman is usually the reverse of that which a man would follow. If she is disappointed she kills herself, so as to "wring his bosom" (when, in reality, he is jolly glad to get rid of her); if the man is disappointed he kills the girl. Man is usually amenable to reason; it is proverbially useless to argue with a woman. Personally, I always agree with anything she says, no matter how absurd her contentions, and, as for her actions, I simply do not consider her responsible for them. If man is more wicked, he at least can sharply distinguish between right and wrong; woman has but a rudimentary conscience, if any, properly so-called, at all. A man can only unblushingly lie after long practice, a woman can rattle off "fibs" by the dozen without a flinch. An utterly false slander is sweeter to her than one based on fact. Who ever knew a girl to say "yes" when asked for a kiss? Indeed, according to one novelist, she will tell a man she "hates" him in the very act of accepting his offer of marriage.

As for the rules of morality made for woman by her masters, she can neither comprehend nor appreciate them, and unless thoroughly drilled and subjugated, asserts her independence of them at the slightest opportunity. She delights in exhibiting every inch of her body that law or fashion allows, and despises her greatest asset, virginity, as much as man prizes it. In truth it is of no value to her at all, rather the reverse, and unless it were hedged around with such a triple wall of pietistic, conventional and legal defence, would be thrown away incontinently at the first solicitation. As it is, this "priceless jewel," which poets have raved over in all ages, which in melodrama a woman would rather die than give up, and which if it could be openly sold would fetch in cold cash probably at least £1,000, is daily disposed of for 5s., 2d., or, in most cases, nothing at all, notwithstanding the disgrace, misery and perhaps death that may follow from exposure.

Indeed, while maintaining such a rigid outward attitude of horror towards any assault on their chastity, women studiously avoid the most obvious means of protecting it. Their dress is not only no protection but a positive incentive to amorous advances, and it is a curious fact that while males are quite superfluously protected by thick and impervious attire, females, especially at the

age when they most need it, not only wear flimsy stuff, which is no defence against either climatic or other adverse influences, but frequently nothing whatever in the most vital region. Evidently, however much women value their "honour" in the abstract, they are careful not to prevent the possibility of its being assailed, and, as a matter of fact, as all newspaper reports show, no girl spontaneously complains of any such assault, unless perhaps through jealousy of some rival. Here, again, woman is overwhelmingly the creature of her sex. There is nothing in males, either physically or mentally, corresponding to virginity in woman, any more than there is to a small girl's affection for dolls and babies, a maiden's coquetry and appetite for novel reading, or a grown woman's love of finery, her long periods of confinement and nursing, and her special ailments and to "equalise" the work of both, either at school or in the factory, under the pretence of giving woman her "rights," is simply to impose on her even further burdens and disadvantages than those she already labours under. Nothing, indeed, could be more unnatural or preposterous than the present craze among women for becoming mere imitations of men, when every genuine sentiment and fibre of their being protests against it.

As Geoffrey Mortimer (I think) has finely said; "The whole of woman's body is one prayer for love," and to desecrate this fairest work of creation, this delicate, capricious, self-abandoning bundle of nerves, who, to use her own frequent phrase, "does not know her own mind," and "needs someone to lean upon," by forcing her to compete with the coarse, strong, tough frame of man, with his egoistic and tyrannical instincts, is a task which may be worthy of laissez-faire Liberalism but certainly not of Socialism, whose aim should be rather to withdraw her from all work that can be done by men; and to substitute for it ample rest and leisure, also granting her every privilege to which she is entitled by virtue of her abounding love, her weakness, her sufferings, and the all-important rôle she has to play in the propagation and rearing of the race.

After all, the chief of woman's rights is the right to the protection and support of men, without which she is helpless. Give her the vote by all means, as also anything else she asks for. It will only mean, as experience in other countries has shown, doubling the man's. It is even doubtful if in purely sexual questions her influence would count for anything. Women, as a class, have never originated or brought about any reform whatever, and as to demanding that betrayers shall share the disgrace of their victims, the probabilities are all the other way, since women are notoriously harder than men on the peccadillos of their own sex. They are incapable of originality, as is proved by the primitive way in which they do everything unless men come to their aid by invention or advice. That, as an American professor has lately said—who no doubt will share Mr. Bax's ostracism by women for telling them the truth—woman is but a savage at heart, is shown,

not only by her love of gewgaws, but by her passive acquiescence in any conditions, her toleration of every vice and crime of man, and her own barbaric ways if left to herself; witness her bestial method of nursing infants, and of cleaning fire grates and sanitary appliances, the associated visits of school-girls to the lavatory, and their amusement at the indecent words and actions of boys. She also, notwithstanding her supposed tenderness, cheerfully assents to the torture of seals and ospreys that she may be decked out in their spoils, to the cruel and disgusting docking of dogs' and horses' tails, and, if drowning a mouse or kitten, will take it out of the water at intervals "to see if it is dead."

Women should demand, not more work—they have always had far too much of that—but more play; not further burdens but the lightening of those they already bear. This would be an intelligible cry, but the desire for "equal opportunities of labour" when they have hitherto enjoyed not merely equal, but far superior opportunities, is comic in its inanity. Women are already nominally on a pedestal, they are even referred to as "ladies" (the feminine of "lord"), when males in the same social stratum are merely "men"; they should insist on being practically so regarded, or rather as queens, the acknowledged superiors of men, irresponsible creatures, not to be judged by masculine standards at all, nor even their own. For even these would fail. One might as well try to direct the flight of a butterfly. For instance, any woman would like to have plenty of money. Yet a pretty girl, once seduced by, and therefore in love with, some hulking ruffian, will cheerfully go on the street and hand him over all her earnings, perhaps £20 a week, when her only recompense is blows and curses. A woman beaten black and blue by her villainous husband will beg the magistrate to be merciful to him. If a boy is whipped for throwing stones at a little girl, it is she who cries, or, at any rate, suffers most.

The true right of women is to have everything they want without making any return except what their love prompts. This is their only reasonable and logical demand, and should be the object of their efforts.

EVACUSTES A. PHIPSON.

LOMBROSO'S WORK.

THE death of the great Italian criminologist, Cesare Lombroso, on October 19 removed from the world one of its foremost scientific men and one who had the good or bad fortune to be almost always the centre of some controversy. Every discovery, every theory, almost every hint of his, was at once hotly attacked and as hotly defended. This kept him constantly in the public eye; but it was due not to self-advertisement, but to the inherent character of his work. Says Dr. A. Drzewina, the author of an appreciative notice of the Italian alienist in the "*Revue Scientifique*" (Paris, October 30):—

"To the great public, Lombroso was known particularly as the author of the 'criminal type' and as the inventor of the 'born criminal.' The hypothesis of a criminal type appeared at the outset paradoxical. . . . 'To solve the problem of the existence or non-existence of a real necessity in crime,' said he in the preface of his book, 'it is necessary to make patient and complete investigations on the moral and material conditions of these unfortunates, on their intellectual faculties, on their natural dispositions, on the education that they have received, on the physical influences that they have undergone, and on the inclinations aroused in them by a maleficent heredity.' So, in his '*Homme Criminel*,' he brought in the most various factors; he investigated the pathological anatomy and the anthropometry of crime; the anomalies of the criminal's skull, of his brain, viscera, skeleton, and physiognomy; and he ended by studying criminal biology and psychology. The nucleus of his theory is that there are striking analogies between lunatics, savages, and criminals. Like the savage, the criminal has thick hair but little beard, often a very brown skin, oblique eyes, small skull, well-developed jaw, retreating forehead, and large ears; like the lunatic, he is short-sighted, and has lesions of the brain, liver and heart. . . .

"In every country the number of criminals depends on determinate factors—alimentation, alcohol, instruction, religion, well-being, heredity, age, sex, civil status; each exerts an influence, as do also climate, topography, and race."

Lombroso's ideas, as developed by his pupils, have given rise to the "Italian school," whose teachings, according to Dr. Le-grain, may be reduced to three principles—that the criminal is a physically as well as mentally deformed person; that there are physical marks or "stigmata" of crime from which the status and peculiarities of the criminal may often be deduced; and that all the criminal types so distinguished may be gathered into one group—that of the "born criminal." The born criminal is pre-disposed to crime, and can no more escape it than an epileptic can escape epilepsy. Criminals of all races, on this view, tend toward

a uniform type resulting from morbid degeneration. To quote further :—

"It may be seen what a revolution such ideas were likely to produce in psychiatry, anthropology, legal medicine, jurisprudence, and public opinion. From the moment when we consider a criminal as a degenerate, a diseased person, it becomes absurd to punish him. 'Jurists reproach me,' said Lombroso, 'with reducing criminal law to a chapter in psychiatry. . . . This is only partly true. For the occasional criminal I advise the common law. As for born criminals and the criminal insane, my proposed changes simply add to the security of society, since I demand for them perpetual detention—that is, prison for life in everything but name.' . . .

"But although Lombroso's ideas on insanity and criminality were received enthusiastically by a large number of criminologists, philosophers, and sociologists, they met also with active opposition. He was accused of hasty inference, of errors of fact. His statistics, it was said, had too many exceptions to force conviction. . . .

"Another theory of Lombroso's made still more of a noise—that of the connection between genius and dementia. . . . He accumulated facts to show that men of genius present clear symptoms of degeneration—that genius is of the same essence as madness. . . .

"This roused violent protests. . . .

"Nevertheless, scientific men, even those of great reputation . . . while criticising, as we have said, the exaggerations of his theories, could not but admire the intellectual movement due to such a 'sower of ideas' as Lombroso, and to bow before the revolution created by him in contemporary criminal science. 'The numerous objections,' says Grasset, 'that have been made to Lombroso's work have been directed against its exaggerations, against the too great generalisation of his ideas; but they diminish not at all the great interest that attaches. . . . to the serious question of the relationship of criminality and insanity.' Anthropologists are unanimous in recognising that to Lombroso is due the evolution of criminal anthropology, which looks forward to a complete readjustment of our codes and the overturn of our penal systems. His influence has been compared to Haeckel's and Tolstoy's; his name is an authority in the criminal courts and in medical lecture-rooms.

"In the words of Professor Lacassagne. . . . 'Everywhere his work is known and valued, not only because of the importance of his teachings and the interest attaching to them, but still more because his was the merit of continuity of effort, and especially because he was an apostle of pity for the unfortunate, of justice for the disinherited. He was a physician of the mind; he breathed forth a new spirit.'"—Translation made for "The Literary Digest."

THE REVIEWS.

THE CONFLICT OF COLOUR.

THE BROWN MAN OF INDIA.

B. L. Putman Weale writes on the above in this month's "World's Work." He says:—

EAST IS EAST, WEST IS WEST.

One of the ideas which it is the hardest to get Caucasians properly to understand is that the Asiatic is not delighted with justice *per se* as the white-skinned man pretends to be, that the Asiatic really cares but little about it if he can get *sympathy* in the way that he understands sympathy. It is the real reason why every Asiatic in his heart of hearts prefers the rule of his own nationals—bad though it may be—to the most ideal rule of aliens; when he is ruled by his own countrymen he is dealt with by people who understand his frailties, and who, though they may savagely punish him, are at least in sympathy with the motives which have prompted his delinquencies. They will always carefully consider such motives, and will never attempt to impose a scheme of life conceived in other latitudes, and natural only to those latitudes, whenever experience shows the folly of it. The thermometer, if men only knew it, is one of the greatest political guides in the world; and in front of English statesmen, at least, there should be spread thermometric charts to know how to manage the ship of State. Thus, only a maniac among Asiatics would have ordered that fatal step, the partition of Bengal—for the simple reason that, no matter how just and sensible that step might be from an administrative point of view, it could only be an act of folly from the point of view of men who attach almost childish importance to tradition and custom.

The grand plea, then, of the white man is that he is just, that he dispenses absolute justice where he rules, that he attends to all measures with scientific accuracy, and that his presence should therefore be welcomed; this grand plea is looked upon as only stupid, both by Asiatics and those who really understand Asia. It totally ignores the only really essential fact regarding Europe's

mastery over a large portion of Asia, which is that the European is disliked because he is a European—that is, because he is a man who, when set in authority over Asiatics, cannot understand their point of view, and who acts as if latitude and longitude were only geographical and not political terms of the highest importance.

HATRED ONLY FOR THE OPPRESSOR.

For it is a fact that the East is changing, just as the rest of the world is changing; and one of the most remarkable developments which has come in recent years has been the widespread realisation that the race-hatred in Asia is largely the hatred of the "under dog" for the powerful beast that stands growling over him. Release the under dog from his ignominious position, and at once it will be seen that much of so-called race-hatred is really only the sullen and transitory anger such as a beaten animal necessarily indulges in. Europeans were probably never hated more in Asia than in Japan (where there is immense pride of race) before the treaties had been revised, vexatious disabilities removed and the international status of the Japanese afforded full recognition. It is true that to-day the European may still be disliked among some classes of Japanese, but he is certainly no longer blindly hated simply because he is a white man. Similarly in China there has lately been an immense change of opinion—a really wonderful change, considering that the Chinese treaties have not yet been revised, and that the European still often acts very inconsiderately. The change in China has been undoubtedly entirely prompted by the general recognition of the fact that no longer will "the gunboat policy" be lightly indulged in by any European Power.

Just as there have been transformations in Japan and China, so is it certain that in India a remarkable development is quickly being recognised as a sign of the times. Briefly, the bureaucracy has become the sole enemy—leaving the army, the merchant and the nondescript classes at most only disliked—because it is generally understood that the bureaucracy is primarily responsible for the state of affairs hurtful to the pride of every educated Indian. In other words, the general hatred of the European is being rapidly narrowed down to a particular animosity toward those who usurp the reins of government. It becomes thus to-day a much more easy matter than it was 50 years ago to find the proper solution, for India of the twentieth century is not India of the nineteenth century.

. The next few years should simply afford a valuable breathing-space during which political England will have to make up its mind whether it is worth while attempting to retain India as a portion of the British Empire on much the same terms as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, or whether again the

whole strength of the Empire is to be exerted to try to keep three hundred millions of men in bondage.

A RED FLAG OF WARNING.

There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that should the latter course be attempted one day—it may be only in the year 1950, or perhaps not until the year 2,000—India will be lost to England, and one of the greatest experiments ever made in the political history of man will end in nothing. But the latter alternative is the more unlikely of the two to occur, since the spirit of compromise is already in the air and middle ground can easily be found. Swadeshi, boycott, bomb-throwing—these rebellious movements of the brown man under the yoke of the white man are only temporary symptoms of grievous complaints; they are the howls of the under-dog for the time being securely pinned down by the British bull-dog.



MONARCHICAL SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

Elmer Roberts writes on the above in the current "Scribner's Magazine." He says:—

Americans are acquainted with the aims of the Social-Democratic Party, the revolutionary Socialism of Germany, with three and a-quarter millions of voters, organised, irreconcilable, aflame with zeal. That might be called the paper Socialism in Germany. Perhaps "paper Socialism" is too light a phrase to use toward a force so formidable and so implacable. It is, however, the doctrinaire Socialism of Germany that has not yet passed a law, nor administered a parish. The Socialism in being, the only collective ownership of mines, railways, lands, forests, and other instruments of production, is monarchical Socialism, existent by acts of the Crown in co-operation with conservative Parliamentary majorities.

The Imperial Government and the Governments of the German States took profits in 1908, from the various businesses conducted by them, of \$277,385,000. Estimating the capital value at a 4 per cent. ratio, the value of the productive State-owned properties is \$6,933,627,375. Roundly, the Governments operate dividend-yielding works, lands, and means of communication worth \$7,000,000,000, and the Governments continue to follow a policy of fresh acquisitions. Taking the federated States together, 38 per cent. of all the financial requirements for governmental purposes were met last year out of profits on Government-owned enterprises. Including the Imperial Government, a new-comer with relatively few possessions, one-quarter of all the expenses of the State and the Imperial Government on Army, Navy, and all other purposes were paid out of the net profits on Government businesses. Among the undertakings are no tobacco, spirit, or match monopolies.

The miniature ducal monarchy of Schaumburg-Lippe, with a population of 44,992, and an area of 131 square miles, made \$206,150 from property owned collectively, or 5 per cent. of the requirements of the State. The still smaller principality of Reuss the Elder, with 122 square miles area, and a population of 70,603, has an income of \$10,000, the smallest actually and the smallest in proportion of any of the German States. The little neighbour of Reuss, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, has \$350,000, or close to one-half all the public requirements, derived from State domains and mines. Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen draws 33 per cent. of the Budget from farms and forests; Oldenburg, 22 per cent.; Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 49.14 per cent. But it is the great States of the Empire where State management of large properties shows the more important results. Bavaria pays 39 per cent. of all the administrative costs from public-owned properties; Saxony, 31 per cent.; Wurtemberg, 38.7 per cent.; and Prussia, 47.36 per cent. Prussia, which forms about five-eighths of the empire, has a constantly increasing revenue from State-owned enterprises, which yielded, in 1908, but returns of about \$85,452,000: the average income per capita was 81.1 marks, while the average per capita taken in taxation was 8.7 marks. In that year the State, owing to extensions in canals, railways, and other public works, raised by loans what amounted to an average per capita of 7.1 marks. The State income from public properties amounted, in 1908, to somewhat more than the total income from taxation and from borrowings. The railways were the largest source of income, and netted \$149,755,000, or about 8 per cent. on the total invested by Prussia in its railway system since the State began to buy and build railways in 1848-49. Prussia derived from other sources, from its Crown forests, the leased farms, the iron, coal, potash, salt, and other mines, the porcelain factories, banking, and a variety of less important industries, \$26,900,000. The policy of Prussia, which dominates the Empire, is strongly in the direction of increasing the participation of the Government in industrial enterprises. The Prussian legislature, acting upon a recommendation of the Emperor, in the speech from the Throne at the opening of the Diet in 1906, passed a Bill extending widely an old Act giving the State the right to take over at a valuation any discovery of mineral riches on private lands.

Besides the productive ownerships of the Empire, and of the individual States, the cities of Germany have gone deeply into street railways, gas, electricity, water works, slaughter-houses, market halls, cold storage, canals and wharfs. Thus the republic of Lübeck pays 18.29 per cent. of its expenses from such sources, Hamburg 4.25 per cent., and Bremen 6.07 per cent. It is a fact of some interest that the republics among the States of the Empire are far more backward in communal ownership than are the monarchies.

This structure of collective ownership, which I have called monarchical Socialism, rests upon a way of thinking in Germany which differentiates the social and political conditions there from those of any other great industrial State. The representatives of the monarchical principle in association with the conservative classes have accepted this way of thinking, and it has entered into the very texture of their ideas of government, and is supported by the great orthodox economists, such as Schmoller and Wagner. The policy of acquiring and managing industries, lands, mines, and means of communication by the Government is so vital and living a part of the German Empire, the subordinate States and the parishes, that it is slowly making Germany fundamentally different industrially and politically from the United States, Great Britain, France, or any country that comes into comparison with Germany.

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THE ELECTION AND ITS LESSONS.

The great fight is over, the general election of 1910 has been fought and has practically ended in a draw. The Government were delighted when the Lords suspended the Budget ; delighted to be provided with such a "cry" with which to go to the country, and with the opportunity of glossing over their misdeeds by an appeal to the people against the Peers.

It must be with a feeling of chagrin that the Liberal chiefs review the result of this appeal, and find themselves—but for their faithful vassals of the Labour Party—entirely bereft of their majority. Apart from the question of the House of Lords and the Budget, Tariff Reform has won all along the line. But for the mass of working class voters diverted from Socialism to the Liberal side in order to save the "Socialistic Budget" and deal a blow at the Lords, the Tariffists would undoubtedly have secured a majority. Leaving the Irishmen out of account, the Government have a majority of 40. But the Irishmen may be counted

on the Government side as against the Lords, and this would give them a majority of 122. This, however, does not mean that the Government has a majority on every question which was made an issue in the election. The Irishmen would join with the Labourists in supporting the Government against the Lords; but the Irishmen are by no manner of means enthusiastic supporters of the Budget, nor are they Free Traders, and if, on any fiscal question, the 82 Irishmen joined the Opposition, that would put the Government in a minority of 42. It is scarcely likely, in the circumstances, that the Government will dare to attempt any very drastic measures, even if they had wished to do so. The election has been for them a drawn battle.

However it had gone, the election was of no moment to us as Socialists, so far as its main issues were concerned, one way or the other. We are against the House of Lords, and in favour of its abolition, because we are democrats, because the hereditary principle in government is an absurd anachronism, and because any Second Chamber is either useless or mischievous, or both. In a contest, therefore, between the Government and the House of Lords simply, we Social-Democrats should, perforce, be against the Lords. Moreover, as between Free Trade and Protection we, without in any way subscribing to all the nonsense indulged in by Free Traders, are opposed to Protection.

So far as the immediate issues of the election went, therefore, we were rather on the side of the Government than on that of their opponents. These issues, however, were but of minor importance, and by comparison with the great class issue which we have striven to push to the front on every possible occasion sink into complete insignificance. The House of Lords may be remodelled—nay, it may be completely abolished—and the House of Commons, with a possible revision by referendum, may be supreme, and yet no change whatever may have taken place in the lot of the

worker, except to rivet the chains of capitalism more firmly upon him. Free Trade may continue to flourish, or Protection may reign supreme, and the worker will continue to sweat and toil and suffer, condemned to sell himself day by day for a bare subsistence, and only most happy when he can find a customer.

The actual issues of the election, therefore—the questions on which the contest was actually fought—were, from the point of view of the working-class, and from our standpoint as Social-Democrats, of only infinitesimal importance. Yet they served to divert the working class elector from the all-important class question, even in the constituencies where he had a chance of voting on that. For the striking feature of the General Election—the one outstanding fact that presents itself amid all the changes and surprises—is the failure of every independent candidate, Socialist or Labour, in a triangular contest.

For nearly thirty years now, in season and out of season, we Social-Democrats have been propagating the principles of Socialism ; and the effect of our efforts, though largely imperceptible, has really been enormous. We have practically converted the general body of organised labour to our principles. There is scarcely a trade union of any importance which has not by its representatives endorsed the fundamental principles of Socialism as expressed in the programme of the Social-Democratic Party ; such a body as the Miners' Federation of Great Britain—perhaps the largest trade union organisation in the world—has declared in favour of Socialism at its annual conferences, as has the most representative body of trade union opinion, the Trades Union Congress.

There can, therefore, be no doubt of the extent to which Socialism has permeated the ranks of organised labour. And yet, when the opportunity presents itself of voting for Socialism in a political election, the opportunity is rejected. Why is this? Why is it that in some forty constituencies in which a Socialist or a

Labour man has been contesting against both Liberal and Tory, either the Liberal or Tory—in most cases the former—has been elected, and the Socialist or Labour candidate has been rejected ?

When the question only concerned the candidates of the Social-Democratic Party our good friends had an answer pat and ready : We were much too extreme ; too narrow ; too sectarian ; too intolerant. Instead of winning the organised working-class we had alienated them, especially by our hostility to trade unionism. And this in spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of our members are trade unionists, and active and influential trade unionists, too, in most cases.

That answer, however, will not serve in the case of the Labour candidates who have been rejected in this election. There were some thirty of these rejected in triangular contests—opposed by both Liberals and Tories. In many cases they were not Socialists at all ; in every case they had the nominal support of the local working-class organisation at their back ; in most cases they had the endorsement of the national Labour Party ; and yet they fared every whit as badly as did the Social-Democratic candidates. Evidently it was not the extreme or sectarian and intolerant form of their Socialism which accounted for their defeat. In many cases it will be found that the trade union which was responsible for putting forward and financing the Labour candidate had a controlling vote in the constituency. And yet the Labour candidate was defeated—beaten by the votes of the very men who had endorsed and were paying for his candidature ! How did that come about ? That is the question.

The reason, to my mind, is self-evident. It is not because the working class are opposed to Socialism that they have declined to elect our candidates, but because they have been persuaded that they can get Socialism, or as much of it as is practicable at present, by voting Liberal. And that had certain advantages.

The Socialist candidate might have no chance, in which case a vote given to him would be thrown away, and might, moreover, serve to "let the Tory in." The latter contingency was too dreadful to contemplate. Far better to make sure of the half-loaf offered by the Liberals—even though that half-loaf should turn out not to be bread at all, but a stone—rather than risk getting nothing at all by letting in the hated Tory. That was the argument hammered at day after day, dinned into the ears of the workers persistently in every constituency in which there was a Social-Democrat. The result was that the Liberal, in most cases, was elected by a majority consisting chiefly of Socialist votes; and where the Liberal failed the Tory managed to scrape in by a narrow majority in spite of the Socialist votes given to his Liberal friend and opponent. That was the situation so far as our candidates were concerned, and it is not too much to say that in at least seven instances our candidates were defeated by the votes of sympathisers who lacked confidence, and that, had there been no Liberal in the field in those places, our candidates would have won with large majorities.

But if those arguments and influences could have such an effect on Social-Democratic candidatures, they would clearly have as great, or greater, an effect on Labour candidatures. As a matter of fact, in most cases they had a greater. It must be borne in mind that the Labour candidates were better equipped for the electoral struggle than were our men. The Labourists had more money and a numerically stronger organisation, and yet they fared no better than we did. And there was no reason why they should. We, at any rate, while carrying on our Socialist propaganda, had not failed to call attention to the sins of omission and commission of the Liberal Government, and to emphasise the everlasting truth that for the workers there is nothing to choose between any of the capitalist political factions, and that the only hope for the workers, politically, lies in independent political action—independent of and hostile to all capitalist factions.

The Labourists, however, in spite of the fact that their very existence as a party was due to the dawn of a glimmering class-consciousness among the workers; a perception of the real object and aspirations of a working class political party; lost no opportunity, for four years, of glorifying and extolling the Liberals.

The result, of course, was that their followers could not see that there was anything to choose between them and the Liberals. When, therefore, the election came, with such living issues as the House of Lords and the Budget, the bulk of the electors among those who had been got to agree upon the fundamentals of Socialism voted Liberal rather than risk letting in the Tory, and defeating the great democratic and Socialistic Budget.

The result, as we have seen, is that independent candidatures of any kind have been entirely snowed under in the election. The hope born with the S.D.F. nearly thirty years ago, and revived by the formation of the Labour Party some ten years ago, of an independent working-class party in English politics has been once more extinguished by the General Election. The British working class, convinced of its own subject position, convinced of the need of an economic revolution, is not yet conscious or confident of its own power politically, and is not yet detached from the capitalist Liberal Party. For that fact—the transcendent fact of the election—the Labour Party are largely to blame, for their toadying to the Government. The only asset of the Labour Party—having refused to agree to principles and having repudiated any programme—was independence; and that they have bartered for the privilege of retaining a few seats in Parliament at the goodwill of the Liberals.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the Liberal Party have marched. In this country, as we have been more than once reminded, we have the most astute governing class in the world, and the Liberals are the special representatives of the present dominant class. They are astute enough to discern the

tendencies of popular opinion; to detect which way the wind is blowing and to trim their sails accordingly. And that is what they have done with a considerable degree of success in this election. In any constituency where the Socialist movement was strong they did not violently and aggressively attack Socialism. Oh, dear, no. On the contrary, they expressed a most lively sympathy with Socialist ideals. But those ideals could only be realised in the far distant future, and, in the meantime, progress towards those ideals could only be made along the road which Liberalism had prepared and was preparing. Therefore, the defeat of the Liberal was a defeat for Socialism. It was better, therefore, to vote for the Liberal, even though he was theoretically opposed to Socialism, than to vote for the Socialist—or the Labour man—who had not even the remotest chance of winning, and whose intervention in the election might have the disastrous effect of letting in the Tory, and thus at once defeating both Liberalism and Socialism.

Unfortunately this line of argument found favour with a large number of avowed Socialists, and was supported—unwittingly, maybe—by those who advised Socialists to vote Liberal in constituencies where there was no Socialist candidate, on the assumption that the Liberal Party really is the better of the two. And this, notwithstanding all the teaching of experience, which has gone to prove the absolute truth of our contention, that there is nothing whatever to choose between the capitalist parties from a working-class or Socialist standpoint. That does not mean that Socialists should *always* abstain from voting where there is no Socialist candidate in the field, and should *never*, under any circumstances, vote either Liberal or Tory. But it does mean that when a Socialist vote is given to either Liberal or Tory, it should be so given simply as a matter of party tactics, and not on the ground that the one party is better than the other.

Once this latter is admitted, once it is assumed that there is an important reason, apart from party tactics,

for voting Liberal, that great harm to the cause of progress would result from the defeat of the Liberals—once admit that, and it naturally follows that all Socialists who are influenced by that reasoning will, even where a Socialist is standing, vote Liberal, for fear that by voting for what they believe in they will simply be wasting their votes and letting in the Tory. And, as a result, their action usually fulfils their anticipations, and they, by voting Liberal, put their own man at the bottom of the poll.

That, of course, would not happen if we had even the Second Ballot, to say nothing of Proportional Representation, but so long as the single ballot works so admirably for the "Ride and Tie" parties as it has hitherto done, and especially in this last election, neither party is likely to display any zeal for altering it.

For that is exactly what has happened in all industrial constituencies on this occasion. Wherever the Liberals have won they have won by the votes of working men who are more Socialist than Liberal, but who were afraid of "letting in the Tory." And the Labour Group and avowed Socialists are mainly responsible for the defeat of Socialist and Labour candidates in the triangular contests in which they have been beaten. Trade unions and trade union officials have refused to support their own nominees against this great and good Asquithian Government, of whose greatness and goodness they had been so eloquently and persistently assured by the men whom they had paid to represent them in Parliament. Surely never before was there so great a betrayal!

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, writing in the "Labour Leader," says that "The party has paid dear for the Pyrrhic victory in the Colne Valley." I should say, on the contrary, that the party and Colne Valley, as well as ourselves, have had to pay dear for the truckling and trimming, the fulsome eulogy and enthusiastic support of the Government by the Parliamentary Group of the Labour Party. If the Liberal Govern-

ment and the Liberal Party were so good, so earnest, so zealous for the workers' cause, so determined and enthusiastic for political and social progress, how unreasonable and, indeed, mischievous it was to put any Labour candidate in the field against them anywhere!

That was the quite natural conclusion arrived at by the rank and file of the Labour Party—chiefly Socialists by conviction. The more so as the Liberals had kindly allowed the Labour Party to retain practically all the seats they had previously held.

No party, except an intransigent set of wreckers like the S.D.P., could reasonably oppose so good and generous a party as the Liberals. The result is that the Labourists were as badly beaten in every triangular contest as were the "wreckers," and they do not hold a single seat—outside that *we* conquered for them in South West Ham, with Will Thorne—except by the goodwill and on the sufferance of the Liberal Party. They have ceased to be an independent party. The Liberal Government holds them in the hollow of its hand.

The Labour Group returns to Parliament stronger in number simply by virtue of the accession to its ranks of the Miners' representatives. Apart from this fictitious strengthening of that particular group, the actual representatives of Labour are seven less than in the last Parliament. But this numerical reduction is by no means the full extent of the loss which Labour has sustained. As was predicted would be the case when the Miners decided to join the party, this strengthening of numbers means a weakening of position. It is not that the Lib.-Lab. members have ceased to be Liberals but that the Labour Group has become part of the Liberal Party. Of the forty members now forming the Labour Group in the House of Commons, at least twenty-four are Liberals! The Socialists in the group are Barnes, Clynes, Duncan, Hardie, Jowett, MacDonald, O'Grady, Parker, Pointer,

Roberts, Seddon, Snowden, Thorne, Walsh, Wilson, and Wardle. I imagine, at least, that none of these would deny the soft impeachment. But the fact remains that at least two-fifths of the Labour Group are Liberals; and it must be borne in mind that it is the Parliamentary Group which decides the policy of the Party. Therefore, the erstwhile "independent" Labour Party is now essentially a Liberal-Labour Party, and occupies precisely the same position in Parliament as was occupied by Broadhurst, Wilson, Fenwick, Burt and their colleagues, years before the Labour Party came into existence. That is the net result of ten years' political activity on the part of the organised workers—drawn, as they have been, off the track of aggressive revolutionary Social-Democracy and of working-class emancipation by the will-o'-the-wisp of mere Labourism.

H. QUELCH.

THE INVENTOR (?)

"In proportion as man works in co-operation with man the psychical triumphs over the physical."—THE WRITER.

As Socialist propagandists we are often asked : What will be the status and reward of the inventor under the Socialist régime ? In asking this question it is assumed : (1) That under the capitalist system the inventor receives his due reward in honour and payment, and (2) That the inventions are made by the individual, apart from and without the aid of society.

Neither of these assumptions have any foundation in fact. Let us take the second part of the proposition first. It may be laid down as an irrefutable truth that every invention is conditioned by previously existing inventions, without which and society it could not be. Even the inventive faculty in the individual is developed in and through the community. Before proceeding further with our argument, it may, perhaps, be as well to point out that Charles Darwin propounded the theory of evolution in biology, Karl Marx in economics, and Herbert Spencer in "universal" evolution. Everything progressing from the simple to the complex, from the imperfect to the perfect, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. This "law," then, applies to all the inventions and discoveries of man, from the simple pin to the invention in making—the flying machine. Let us take a concrete case—the locomotive. This, we are taught, was "invented" by Stephenson. Yet Stephenson did nothing of the kind. In fact, Stephenson's individual share in the invention of the locomotive is, on analysis, infinitesimal. It was being

evolved hundreds of years before Stephenson was born.

It is not known who actually conceived the idea of railways, though we find mention of them in earlier centuries. A Mr. James Gray, of Nottingham, having seen a tramway which connected the mouth of a colliery with the shipping wharf, said to the engineer in charge of the line: "Why are not these tramroads laid down all over England, so as to supersede our common roads, and the steam engine employed to convey goods and passengers along them so as to supersede horse-power?"

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth there was the same activity regarding locomotives as there is at the present time in air-ships. In 1781—the year of Stephenson's birth—Erasmus Darwin (grandfather of the famous Charles Darwin), in his work "Botanic Garden" wrote the following:—

"Soon shall thy arm, unconquered Steam, afar
Drag the slow barge or drive the rapid car,
Or on slow waving wings expanded bear
The Flying Chariot through the fields of air."

It is claimed that the first steam locomotive engine which carried passengers was planned by one Nicholas Joseph Cugnot, a native of Lorraine. In 1769 he constructed, at public expense, a steam-propelled carriage to run on common roads. It was mounted on three wheels only; the front one being the driving wheel. It carried four passengers and travelled a little over two miles an hour. The following year, however, he built another with which he made several successful trials in the public streets, and was rewarded with a pension by the Government.

The author of "Rapid Transit" says: "In this country steam-power to wheeled carriages occurred to Dr. Robinson, by whom it was communicated to Watt in 1759. Some time subsequently the latter made a model of a high-pressure locomotive, and described its

principles in his fourth patent in 1784, which, among certain improvements, specified a portable steam-engine and machinery for moving wheeled carriages. His friend Murdock, in 1787, made an engine which was employed to drive a small waggon round a room in his house at Redruth, in Cornwall. Amongst those who saw it was Richard Trevethick, who, in 1802, took out a patent for a similar invention. Symington also exhibited a locomotive in Edinburgh in 1787, and eight years later worked a steam-engine on a line of turnpike road in Lanarkshire and an adjoining county. The locomotive of Trevethick and Vivian, 1802, on the Merthyr tramway, drew a load of ten tons at the rate of five miles an hour. But one of Trevethick's locomotives blew up—an accident which did much to create distrust of their use."

Stephenson's locomotive was the outcome of Watt's steam-engine, which in turn was a further development of Thomas Newcomen's, who was assisted by John Cawley, both of whom were preceded by Captain Thomas Savery; not forgetting Humphery Potter, the Cock Boy, as he was called, whose duty it was to open and close certain valves on the steam-engine at stated intervals, and who, to escape the monotony of his toil, contrived, by means of bits of string, to make certain parts of the engine open and close the valves at proper intervals. This extraordinary feat he actually accomplished, "thus for the first time rendering the steam-engine a piece of mechanism self-acting."

A story is told about this cock boy that one day his foreman, on passing through the yard of the works, found young Humphery playing marbles with some other boys, and on passing into the engine-house saw the contrivance above described. He immediately discharged the boy for neglect of duty. And then at once set to work to perfect the boy's idea, and eventually took out a patent for it. Whether this story is true or not, it is well known that many discoverers in mechanical and other sciences are robbed of their ideas in this fashion.

We have only mentioned a few of the men who helped to make it possible for Stephenson to construct the "Rocket." Yet there are hundreds, indeed, thousands, who have lived in different parts of the world who have added their quota. And so we may gradually trace its origin back to the Æolipile or Ball of Æolus, invented in the third century before the Christian era by Hero of Alexandria. It is described as a "scientific toy," "in which its inventor contrived not only to employ steam for the first time as a motive power, but so to apply it, even sportively, as to produce at the very outset what was virtually the crowning achievement of the perfection of the steam engine twenty centuries afterwards—the revolutionary movement" (Kent).

Thus we begin to see that Stephenson's share in the production of the locomotive is travelling more and more backward in our perspective. Yet it will have to recede further by the time we have ended our inquiry. To proceed then : Did Stephenson invent or discover the following : Coal and its use to man ; or iron, its use and mode of working it up ; or moulding into the required shape ; or copper, or zinc, or that a definite proportion of copper and zinc would form a durable metal—brass ? Did he invent the lathe, anvil, hammer, crane, crucible, boiler, nuts, bolts, rivets, glass, lubricants, and a thousand and one things of similar nature ? Did he discover mathematics, statics, hydrostatics, dynamics, pneumatics, mechanics, geometry, chemistry and innumerable other branches of science ; all of which are necessary for the construction of the locomotive ?

Let us for the moment assume that he did. And that he built, by himself, a railway engine. Of what use would it be without the application of steam ? Did he invent that ? Again, the locomotive runs or moves on wheels. Did he (and perhaps this is the strongest argument advanced) invent the simple (?) wheel ? Alas, this invention is lost in the obscurity of the remote past. *Yet take away the apparently simple*

wheel and all the machinery in the world immediately becomes absolutely useless!

This may seem an astounding statement to make; nevertheless, on due reflection it will be found to be correct.

From our investigation, then, we find that Stephenson's share in the realisation of the locomotive is reduced almost to vanishing point—being as it were, on the last analysis, “microscopical”—that it is not the product of an individual, or a hundred individuals, but a social product; being the outcome of the combined genius of millions of men who have lived throughout thousands of generations, finally becoming of practical service to mankind through the genius of Robert Stephenson, owing to the improvements he introduced into its construction. Nor did its evolution stop here; as there is no more comparison between the railway engine of to-day and that built by Stephenson than there is between the “Velocipede” and the pneumatic cycle. This in no way lessens the credit and honour due to Stephenson; or any other benefactor of humanity. But we will consider this point later.

Let it be definitely understood that these conclusions apply, not only to the locomotive, but also to all inventions and discoveries in art, science or literature ever achieved by man. All the great thinkers the world has known are driven to form the same conclusion. Take, for instance, Herbert Spencer, the arch individualist, and see what he has to admit. “Without further argument it will, we think, be admitted that the sciences are none of them separately evolved, are none of them independent, either logically or historically, but all of them have, in a greater or less degree, required aid and reciprocated it.”—“Genesis of Science.”

Professor Tyndall, “Lectures and Essays,” says: “Newton's passage from a falling apple to a falling moon was an act of the prepared imagination, without which the ‘Laws of Kepler’ could never have been traced to their foundation. Out of the facts of

chemistry the constructive imagination of Dalton formed the atomic theory."

He further says : " It is now generally admitted that the man of to-day is the child and product of incalculable antecedent time. His physical and intellectual textures have been woven for him during his passage through phases of history and forms of existence which lead the mind back to the abysmal past."

W. M. Flinders Petrie, the great Egyptologist, writing in Harmsworth's " History of the World " (recently issued), Vol. IV., p. 2,369, has the following remarkable passage : " In every department of man's activities we see, then, the same continuity that belongs to life itself. A really new *thought* or *invention* is very rare ; each step is conditioned by the past and could not have been reached without previous movements that led up to it. In every respect, physically, intellectually, spiritually, man is the ' heir of all ages,' and his future welfare is in giving the fullest effects and expansion to his glorious inheritance."

And so we might go on producing evidence in support of our case, but enough, we think, has already been advanced, so we will now turn our attention to the inventor's reward under capitalism.

JNO. RHIND.

[The next portion of the article deals in detail with many inventors and the reward they received.]

(To be Continued.)

IMPERIALISM IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

Civilisation is a wonderful thing, a thing to wonder at in every sense. We learn from the story books that pass for histories how Egypt, Greece and Rome were each in their turn great civilisations; and the overwhelming mystery of Egypt, the glory of Greece, and the majestic splendour of Rome are each in turn held up for us to gaze upon. To Social-Democrats, however, the picture has other aspects that are, in the main, kept out of sight by our high-minded tutors, to the end, perhaps, that we may emulate the good of those ancient States, and, being ignorant of the bad things in them, be saved from the temptation of imitating them.

Such a policy is, doubtless, the acme of wisdom from the standpoint of the bureaucrat, but it is the abyss of folly from the democratic standpoint, since the greatest asset of to-day consists in our knowledge of the follies of the past. Only by seeing the mistakes of our predecessors is it possible for us to avoid them in our own actions, and in avoiding such mistakes and follies attain that happiness that all men seek. Let us, therefore, reflect for a moment on one or two of the vices of the ancient Empires.

One vice in particular is common to all three—they all suffered from the imperial policy. It is surely not without significance that imperialism became the definite policy of each country when the development of the nation had, apparently, reached its maximum. Our tutors, the modern bureaucrats, would have us believe that imperialism is the rich blossom of a fruitful growth, that the adoption of an imperial policy denotes

greater national vigour, internal prosperity and goodwill to all men. But as a fact it is, of course, the antithesis of the proposition that is correct. Consider Egypt for a moment.

In the time of Rameses "the Great," Egypt had already reached the maximum of splendour in her art and in those activities that make for the happiness of man. Her art by that time, indeed, thanks to the priests, had become stereotyped, as, too, in a large measure, had the daily life of the people, their going out and their coming in being regulated by custom that had the authority of the gods, and the breaking of which was equal almost to blasphemy. In a word, the hand of the hierarchy lay heavily on the people, blighting their life, stunting their development, and, as is the manner of hierarchies, squeezing from them the uttermost grains of life. For the people life held no golden promise, and the world was a place where men toiled and wept. From the point of view of the hierarchy, however, all was well, for their servants were obedient, and the storm was not to come in their time.

But in the meanwhile it had become of paramount necessity for the wealthy lords of the land to have labour that should be cheap and plentiful. There was not enough in the land itself, and they cast their covetous eyes abroad and proclaimed imperialism and the greatness of Egypt as being the will of heaven. They went forth, therefore, and slew men and women and children, and those whom they spared from the sword they reserved for the slave-driver's whip and the market where women were bought. Egypt had become a great power, and, urged by the lust for empire, she swept upon her ruthless way, carrying fire and sword and famine in her hand, and leaving the blackness of despair where before her coming there had been a smiling and happy land.

Egypt was a great civilisation, and she was civilising her neighbours and showing them how to tread the road of progress. It was necessary, of course, that her conquered peoples should be guided in their stumbling

for the light, and this gracious office was reserved for mercenary soldiers, for noble lords sent as governors to the provinces, and ably assisted in their noble efforts by a host of merchants—of the Manchester school—and their attendant slaves. And the benefits of Egyptian civilisation were truly very great, but strangely enough the conquered peoples alleged they were oppressed, and broke into fierce revolt against what they called the tyranny of the foreign yoke. The gods of the conquered people were outraged, their temples desecrated, and they themselves held in contempt by their benefactors as an “inferior race.” But they were, of course, being civilised, although in the process many died; some died of blows inflicted by their rulers; some of hearts that broke because of insults they were powerless to avenge; some, and these could be counted by the tens of thousands, of famine that their oppressors did nothing to assuage, while others died the death of martyrs.

Many were the deeds of devoted and disinterested heroism that those evil days saw—deeds, it is true, that nowadays we deplore, but which were quite inevitable in those ancient times. What course had the conquered peoples, without rights and without means of having their sufferings relieved and their wishes realised, but to strike at the most vulnerable point of their conqueror’s armour? So it sometimes happened that the governor of a province departed suddenly to the land of shades. It was unfortunate, and to-day we deplore the fact that such things should be necessary. But while we deplore and shudder at the necessity, we must commend the deed and pay grateful homage to the doer, who died a martyr’s death for the happiness of his fellows and the honour of his country’s outraged gods. Ancient Egypt is remote and far away and fading into the dust that covers the things of long ago; but from out the dust and mystery of time there shines warmly upon the beating hearts of living men the glory of a people struggling for the liberty that all men love.

The imperialism of Egypt was born in an effete and bankrupt age ; the land had come under the curse of a hierarchy and a bureaucracy ; the generous impulses of democracy had been strangled in their birth. It remained for one more crime to be committed before the end, and, with the guile that distinguishes the statesmen of Rome and Britain, the mind of the people was debauched to the end that they might go forth and conquer for their masters. Thus imperialism was born, and has ridden roughshod over the peoples of the earth for many bloodstained centuries. Imperialism robs men of liberty, and liberty is life.

MATTHEW F. BOYD.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

In the January number of the "Social Democrat," H. L. Woods discusses at great length the theory that "every sane adult who participates in the life of a community should have a voice in its management and control." I am willing to confess at the outset that theoretically and in the abstract I agree with this, and were it possible to start an economically free community or society now I would willingly sign such a charter.

As practical people, however, what we have to consider is whether the granting of the Parliamentary vote to women now would be a benefit or an evil, and from the point of view of a citizen as well as a Socialist—desiring revolutionary changes—I am forced to the conclusion that women and the State would suffer and not benefit *in any way whatsoever*. To avoid repetition, I refer readers to my article in the October number of this review for my reasons, arguments and facts.

I am called upon, however, to answer several questions and statements by Mr. Woods, and gladly avail myself of the opportunity to do so. I am asked to show my reason "why the vote should be given to unintelligent men and not to unintelligent women." "If the vote is given to the man fool why not to the woman fool?" Are we to understand that Mr. Woods believes that a double dose of damn-foolishness is better than a single dose? Is it better to have more folly than less? This I will say, that there are possibilities and potentialities* about the male fool, whereas concerning the female—the less said the better.

* He is certainly a possible and potential soldier, sailor, policeman or scavenger, at least.

Seriously, though, let us take the average working-class young man and young woman. I have had some experience of young women in drapery and dress-making houses, in tailoring, in cigar-making, ties, boxes, feathers, jam and pickles, and have seen the factory girls of Yorkshire and Lancashire. I have also studied the young man of these businesses and industries, and on the whole there is little in his favour as regards public spirit, political knowledge or intellectuality. But there is this vast difference, that whereas the women seldom change the men nearly always do. Their hopes, desires, ambitions and day-dreams are different. Their sex instincts are awakening. The women are hoping and longing, more or less obviously, for "the man" who will make their homes and endow them with "matrimonial bliss." The young man looks forward, more or less bravely, to the time when he shall be able to earn more, to be more independent, more dominant, more worthy of a good woman, more worthy and more respected as a man and a citizen, a "protector of his home and a defender of his country." His horizon is clouded with coming responsibilities, fears and troubles; his sex instincts give him no encouragement, no courage and no hope. On the other hand, the woman generally looks hopefully forward in the knowledge that her sex charms alone are nearly always sufficient to ensure her a comfortable future, and at the expense of the male. This feeling of hopeful security pervades her whole being; her thoughts flow into the future, a future with no public questions, no politics, no parties, and no interests or desires except to hold and keep her home, her husband and her children. That is why I would give votes to unintelligent men and not to women, intelligent or otherwise. It is a sex question and nothing else.

That is why I repeat that *woman's place is in the home*. Because the competitive system has cursed her and compelled her to earn her bread in the factory, the mill or elsewhere, shall we say that "woman's place is in any environment to which she can adapt herself"? Most

certainly not. Woman may have to adapt herself to a good many environments yet, especially if she gets the Parliamentary vote and tries to use it as a weapon to improve her economic position. If she is able to achieve this it must inevitably be at the expense of certain forms of male labour, which will assuredly assist in intensifying the sex-consciousness and sex-antagonisms.

Personally, I would rather see the class struggle carried on by men than the sex differences and struggles continue in the industrial field.* I want to see men fighting to obtain sufficient to keep a wife and home and family, and so make the sexes less keen and less unscrupulous in competition.

And now, may I say that I do not suggest for a moment that the Social-Democratic Party attracts women who are "scheming, hard, calculating, impatient, unloving, distrustful, fond of bluster, noise and deception, unwomanly females that are an abomination to God and man"? What I said was that *politics* would attract such. Socialism is not politics, as politics are understood, and never can be. Socialism is a religion, ideal, crusade, principle, message, and movement that calls for the very best that is in us, and that not for our own benefit but for future generations. Once give woman the Parliamentary vote, *equal political power*, and she becomes a counter in the game, one to be cajoled or bought or bribed, and even used for these purposes by party bosses, intent at winning at all costs the coveted place, position or power. Women would then (no less than men) assist the plans, schemes, manœuvres, distractions and deceptions inherent in party politics; and so I say that womanly women would steer clear of the vortex, leaving the way open for those females, of the sort I described, who would there find an outlet for their particular qualities and natures. Municipal politics do not offer the inducements

* Of the very serious physical and psychical consequences to the race I will not speak now.

that imperial and national powers would create, and that is why, I submit, we hear and see so little of women who have votes but no interest and no effect.

H. B. SAMUELS.



[We have received a numerously signed protest against the article in our January issue by E. A. Phipson, on "Feminine Idiosyncrasies," which the protestants describe as "an extreme expression of the dregs of sensualism stirred by sex animosities" and "an insult to women." We would point out that the "Social-Democrat" is a magazine for men and women, not for school children; and that it is impossible to discuss the question of social, economic and political equality between the sexes without any reference to the actualities of sex differentiation.—ED. "Social-Democrat."]

INFERNO !

Have you ever read how the poet bold,
With a pagan shade from the days of old
[Like the man from Cook's who shows the sights, ^b
And by instruction adds delights],
Went forth to see through a dismal wood
The place where those who are not quite good
Will end their days, or rather, begin,
For there is no end to the terror of sin ?
This place revealed to the poet's ken
The torture dealt to the souls of men
Who, wicked deeds had done on earth,
As well as those who from their birth
Had never heard of a God of Love,
Designer of Hell, as of things above.
Of course our news of Hell is scanty
But sometimes through a man like Dante
We get a glimpse of the horrid place,
And see the demons with grimace,
With horns and hoofs, and tails and forks,
Fulfilling their appointed works,
On retributive justice bent
By God-Almighty's wise intent.
I do not wish to dwell with thee
On the horrid deeds performed with glee
On the souls of men who dared to think.
'Twas much as when those given to drink
Are seized with a dose of Delirium T's—
It causeth the marrow and vitals to freeze.
Some writhing in torment enveloped by fire,
And all without Hope tho' endowed with Desire.

In such a place by poet's song revealed
Would I abide, than dwell with heart congealed
On mother earth with ears deaf to the sound
Of Labour mocked and trampled on the ground,
With eyes so wilful blind that will not see
The toilers spoiled and doomed to misery,
The children starved and women bought and sold
And offered up as sacrifice to gold.

Could I command the poet's song
A clarion voice full loud and long
I'd raise that all the world should hear,
And from all quarters far and near
I'd lead men forth such sights to see
Exceeding e'en Hell's misery.
I'd take them where an ancient dame,
To mankind's everlasting shame,
Had toiled all through the weary night
Till, with the winter's morning light,
They found her dead, aye, stiff and cold,
Another sacrifice to gold.
I'd lead them to the council school
Where starving, shivering on the stool,
They'd see the weazened little ones
We're training as the Empire's sons.
And then we'd go to the festered slum,
The half-way house to Kingdom-Come,
If we could view the faulty drain
And reeking walls we should see again
The manner the gold-god claims his own,
For Vampire-like on the flesh and bone
Of the poor he fastens, till their pangs
Are at end for aye by his leech-like fangs.
Oh, yes! I would show the full fruition,
The glorious harvest of competition
For that which is vital to sustenance.
I'd show how the babyhood of the nation
Is tortured and murdered in order that Pelf
Might reign on its throne in its Kingdom of Self.
"Come on!" I'd cry, "Let's see the slaves
Who sing 'Britannia Rules the Waves.'"
Who toil in factory, mine and field,
And then, though making Nature yield
Her richest store in bounteous meed
So often die in direst need,
Robbed of their bread, robbed of their health,
Robbed of their work, the Commonwealth.
And next we'd go with Mrs. Grundy,
That is of course if it was Sunday,
To church and see the good folks pray
And get their sins all wiped away.
Then, with the Bishop sleek and fat
Still in the eye, I'd order that
The unemployed should pass along
And sing their mournful, hopeless song,
"We've got no work to do." Know why?
Because they've made more than they buy.
In ignorance they've made the wealth,

In ignorance they've lost thro' stealth
That which is theirs. Can any man
Conceive, invent or form a plan
More likely to breed rogues and fools
Than competition which now rules ?
I'd show them the miner plying his pick,
When he hears a sound and his heart turns sick,
As he thinks of his loved ones and his fate—
For the mine won't pay to ventilate.
Together we'd view the bastille cold,
For orphan young and the toiler old,
Where British homes are broken up,
Where worn-out workers have to sup
On skilly broth and the meanest fare :
"Abandon hope, ye who enter there."
The soldier slain and the sailor drowned,
Or in gunboat trapped as she runs aground.
All victims to the greed of gain.
I'd show them the torture, agony, pain,
Of capitalistic greed I'd tell,
And a picture 'tis of the blackest hell ;
For what worse hell than to starve in sight
Of the food created by our might ?
When boots and clothes made by ourselves
Are stored upon the warehouse shelves,
Whilst we stand idly by and moan !
Oh, workers ! have what is your own,
Demand your rights and claim as men
The right to live, and then again
We'll make the valleys laugh with corn,
And as the skylark greets the morn
We'll greet the day that is to be
Of Socialist Democracy.

BENJN. E. TRAYNER.

THE MONTH.

The great event of the month has been the General Election. That was the culmination of the "great constitutional crisis" brought about when the Peers refused to pass the Budget. Submitting to the dictation of the House of Lords, the Liberal Government dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. It was just what they desired, this obduracy of the Lords, and they were delighted that the Lords had so clearly delivered themselves into their hands.

But the verdict of the country has been a somewhat equivocal one, and can scarcely have given unbounded satisfaction to those who were so delighted with the opportunity for asking for a verdict. The Liberal majority of 205 over all other parties has disappeared, and they find themselves equally matched by the Tories—each of the two historic, capitalist, parties holding 274 seats; while the Labour Party muster 40 and the Irish-Nationalist and Independent Nationalists number 82.

Counting the Labourists in with the Liberals, as it has become customary to do, and leaving the Irish out of account, the Government has a majority of 40. But the Irish are not likely to agree to be left out of account, and so, counting them in, the Liberals claim for themselves a majority of 122 against their nominal opponents.

Mr. Featherstone Asquith asked for a mandate against the Lords. So far as England is concerned he has certainly not got it; but taking the "Celtic fringe" into account, as well as the Irishry, who are avowedly in revolt against the British Government in any circumstances, he can claim to have a solid majority in favour of restricting the powers and privileges of the House of Lords. The Irishmen would not, any more than the Labour Party, hesitate to support the Government in an attack upon that undemocratic

institution, but when it comes to other matters, and especially the Budget, the Government may find the Irish Party but a broken reed.

As to the Labour Party, that in the circumstances has no rôle to play. It is just as much a part of the Ministerial Party as the Liberal Unionists are part of the Tory Party. The balance of power in the new Parliament, therefore, rests with the Irishmen, and they may at any time, in collusion with the Unionists, upset the Ministerial apple-cart.

We Social-Democrats have fared badly at the polls. Not because the people are opposed to Socialism, but because they preferred to vote Liberal rather than risk letting the Tory in by voting Socialist. That is bound to happen in triangular contests so long as people think there is a difference between Liberals and Tories, and so long as we have the two-party system, with the single vote and no second ballot.

The Liberals got votes in the industrial districts chiefly on three grounds: The Budget, the House of Lords, and Social Reform. On each ground they obtained votes by false pretences. The Budget meant the imposition of still heavier burdens on the working-class; there is no intention to do anything more than "reform" the House of Lords, and thus make it a still more formidable obstacle to progress; and the so-called programme of Social Reform is, in the main, a fraud, a delusion, and a snare.

The past month has seen the inauguration of the first item in this programme of Social Reform, in the shape of the Labour Exchanges which have been opened—or taken over—by the Board of Trade, in London and the principal provincial towns.

These so-called Labour Exchanges, or Employment Registration Offices, as they should be called, bear no relation to the Labour Exchanges, or Bureaux, persistently advocated by the Social-Democratic Party. These latter, as proposed by us, were institutions modelled on the "Bourse du Travail" of Paris, provided by the municipalities or other public authorities, and managed and controlled by the trade unions, in which these bodies had their offices and meeting places and could carry on their work and organisation.

Such institutions were to fulfil for organised Labour the same functions as the ordinary bourses or exchanges performed for capital, and their establishment meant giving the trade unions a status in the body politic such as they have never yet occupied; it meant making the municipal administrative authorities serve the interests of organised Labour instead of organised capital, as heretofore.

Our proposal, however, met with but scant support from the trade unions themselves. They have never fully appreciated the power which they might, if they chose, exercise through the public authorities. Now we find them, in many instances, actually welcoming these sham Labour Exchanges, which are nothing more than employers' registry offices, and may, if not carefully watched, easily develop into blackleg agencies.

The Liberal papers made a great to-do over the opening of these Exchanges. It was as if they signalled the beginning of the millennium, and there is no doubt that the tremendous advertisement given to this great "social reform" won thousands of votes for the Liberals in constituencies in which the evils of unemployment have been experienced. They have pretended that to provide registry offices in which the unemployed could put their names down was to provide work for the unemployed and to solve the problem of unemployment.

There was great jubilation over the fact that at one London Exchange an unemployed compositor was provided with an employer immediately after he had registered. It was wonderful! He just went in and put his name down. Before he had left the place an application for a compositor came from a master printer. The man was despatched to the job and got it at once. And working men read this wonderful story of the efficacy of a Labour Exchange, and bless the beneficence of a Liberal Government which has provided such useful institutions. It does not seem to occur to them that there are hundreds of unemployed compositors "signing on" at the L.S.C. offices every day, and that, in any case, the job for which the master printer required a compositor would not have been left undone had the Labour Exchanges not been in existence.

Another great chunk of social reform, which, however, has not yet materialised, is what is called "insurance against unemploy-

ment." Of course, what is meant is not really insurance against want of employment any more than life insurance is insurance against dying. It only means that by the regular payment of a premium the payment is provided of a certain sum per week in the event of the "insured" being out of work. This, of course, is nothing more than is done at the present time by most trade unions, excepting those among "unskilled" workers. Practically every other union provides unemployed benefit for its members for a stated period.

Only three industries are to be included in the Government scheme for a beginning—building, shipbuilding and engineering. All branches of these industries are to be included, the estimated number of workpeople concerned being two and a half millions. The contributions are, it is stated, to be twopence from the worker, man or woman, twopence from the employer, and twopence from the State. The estimated "benefit" is to be from 7s. to 8s. a week for three months; but there must not be a too frequent demand for benefit from any individual, or that individual will be handed over to the Poor Law—or the police!

It will be seen that the premium represents much more than is paid into a union for unemployed benefit, while the "benefit" is not nearly so great as that provided by most unions. On the other hand, however, all grades of workers, in the industries affected, are included; not merely the skilled workers. A much better arrangement than that suggested would be for the State to supplement the funds of those unions which give unemployed benefit—to the extent of the amount otherwise subscribed to an "insurance fund," as well as the amount of the employers' contributions, which the State would collect. There could still be the "insurance fund" for those who were not in the unions.

The effect of the plan we suggest would be to aid and strengthen the unions; the effect of the Government scheme will be to weaken them. It is matter for regret that trade unionists should not be more alive to the interests of their organisations than they have shown themselves in this connection.

When all is said and done, however, this so-called "insurance against unemployment" is only a makeshift. It does no more to reduce the numbers out of work than do the Labour Exchanges.

It only means providing the out-o'-works with some of the barest necessities till such time as some capitalist requires their services, Real insurance against unemployment would take the unemployed out of the capitalist labour market altogether and afford them the opportunity of being self-supporting.

The Labour Party has been seriously concerned with its means of existence. Accustomed as its members are to sneer at economics, and to protest against the materialism of the Social-Democrats as too sordid, gross and unethical for their spiritual, lofty and idealistic souls, they have been forced, by the stern logic of events, to recognise that the basis of everything mundane, even a highly ethical and spiritual—not spirituous—Labour Party, is material. The judgment in the Osborne case threatens to cut off their supplies, and they are clamorously demanding legislation to restore their party to the statu quo ante-Osborne. They might as well spare their breath. The jubilation with which that judgment was welcomed by Radical and Liberal, as well as Tory, journals should have warned them. They may be quite sure that no capitalist Government will pass legislation which will practically make it obligatory for the trade unionists to maintain an independent political party. A Labour Party drawing its sustenance from trade union funds, may, as we have seen, succumb to the flattery and trickery of the bourgeoisie; but at least it has the means to be independent. A Labour Party which has to depend on a capitalist party for its pay would be a hopeless and helpless invertebrate. But that is the kind of Labour Party the Liberals want. They have the utmost contempt for the present Parliamentary Labour group; when the sustenance of the Labour members once more devolves upon them they will, except in a few instances, allow them quietly to drop into oblivion. They will certainly do nothing to make the Labour Party really independent.

Mr. Blatchford's latest excursion into jingoism did no one any good except the Liberals, and nobody any harm except ourselves. There is no question that many people voted for the Liberals because they were all for peace and against us Social-Democrats because we were all supposed to be "Blatchfordites"—jingoese, Tories, Imperialists, and "war scarers."

The Labour Party Executive in their report are at pains to dissociate themselves from Mr. Blatchford, and to express their

profound belief in the pacific intentions of Germany. As to the latter, they may be right, although it is well known that none do so much harm as well-intentioned people, and the road to hell, we are told, is paved with good intentions. But if they are right their protests and condemnations should not be directed to Blatchford, but against their allies, the British Government.

If Blatchford is wrong then Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Asquith, Mr M'Kenna and all their colleagues are wrong. It is they who are the "practical" war-scare-mongers, not Blatchford. They are spending millions to protect us against a danger which has no existence, wasting the national substance in riotous armaments which are totally unnecessary. Why don't the Labour Party call Asquith and Co.—who have the power and responsibility—to account, instead of wasting their time and their breath in denouncing Blatchford, who, right or wrong, and whatever influence he may exercise, has neither responsibility nor power?

Our Lib.-Lab. pacifists are beyond our comprehension. Pacifists of the Hervé type we can understand. With them patriotism is a crime, and it is the duty of the proletariat to fight to destroy patriotism and nationalism, to fight against, not for, "la Patrie." That is a tangible position to take up, and one for which in certain circumstances we have considerable sympathy, although we are internationalists, not anti-nationalists.

Pacifists of the Tolstoyan school also we can understand. To be passive under any circumstances; to offer no resistance in any conditions; to "resist not evil"—all that is quite understandable, and even admirable, although we do not agree with it. What we cannot understand is the mental attitude of those who, believing in national autonomy, in the right and duty of national self-defence, and even, if need be, of insurrection; who yet do not see the need of putting the national defence on the most democratic basis possible, as well as in a state of efficiency, while pursuing a policy aimed at eliminating all needless provocatives to war.

The sympathy of Social-Democrats, in common with that of the rest of the people of this country, will have gone out to the people of Paris in the terrible ordeal they have had to undergo through the rising of the Seine. That calamity has involved many thousands

in terrible suffering and privation, but it has been borne with a fortitude and met with a resource which have won for the inhabitants and administration of La Ville Lumière the admiration of the civilised world.

The British Government in India never seem to weary of wrongdoing. By their latest acts of despotism and unreasoning tyranny they are laying up for the future such trouble as will make that of the past pale into utter insignificance. India, indeed, seems just now to be offering an illustration of the proverb about those whom the Gods intend to destroy.

On February 7 a number of comrades and friends gathered at Golder's Green Crematorium to bid a last farewell to our old comrade and fighter Frederick Lessner, who had died on the previous Tuesday. Lessner was one of the last of the Old Guard of the stirring times of 62 years ago. He fought a good fight, he had kept the faith, and now, in his 85th year, he has finished his course.

ENGLISH LIBERALISM AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

J. Köttgen, writing in the "Neue Zeit" on this subject, gives a résumé of the period of legislation which has just come to an end. It is, he says, a mistake, though a very common one, to attribute the social reforms brought about during this remarkable period to the Socialistic tendencies of the leading Liberals. For it is not this "Social-Liberalism" (its reactionary foreign policy prevents any other name being given to it) which is the driving force behind the reforms, but the fact of the workers having formed themselves into an independent party, which threatens the existence of the Liberals, and forces them to do all in their power to propitiate the proletariat. The social-political keenness of the Liberals will cease as soon as they have realised the impossibility of bringing back the workers into their camp. When the Liberals were returned to power with their enormous majority in 1906, they were not a little taken aback at the great increase of the Labour Party. They tried to think how to get rid of this dangerous competitor. It is easy to understand the energy with which they set to work to pass the Trades Disputes Bill, in hopes that when the danger which hung over the heads of the trade unions was removed, the latter would lose the impetus towards independent political action. Another attempt of the Liberals to ingratiate themselves with the workers was the abolition of the property qualification for Justices of the Peace, which qualification formerly made it impossible for working men to fill these honorary posts. So on the elevation of John Burns to the rank of a Cabinet Minister there followed numerous appointments of trade union leaders as J.P.'s.

Here may be mentioned that also the Conservatives have taken great trouble during the last four years to draw the representatives of Labour into the Tariff Reform camp, by offering well paid posts to leading trade union officials. These attempts met with no success, as the leaders of the unions are thoroughly honourable men.

Köttgen goes on to show how Asquith, who at one time could not appear at a public meeting without the cry of "Featherstone murderer" being raised, has managed during the last two years to live down the memory of that terrible event, which he, himself, attributes to an unhappy misunderstanding; and this desire on the

part of the Prime Minister helps us to understand why it is just *he* who is the one to take the path of Social-Liberalism which has destroyed the imperialistic wing of the Liberal Party. It is not true to say he is led by the nose by Lloyd George.

Also in the third Parliamentary Session, the driving force was the fear of the independent action of the workers. This has led to old age pensions and to the passing of the Miners' Eight Hours Bill.

Köttgen goes on to speak of the Budget and to describe the conflict with the House of Lords. He then continues as follows: "If the Liberal tactics have succeeded in making the constitutional issue, upon which it can live for several years, into a question of the day, their expectations with regard to the effect of their social reforms on the policy of the masses of workers have only been realised to a limited extent. The magnetic power of Liberal policy has indeed exercised a mighty influence on many trade unionists, and at the time when the antagonism between the Liberals and the Lords was coming to a head, it sometimes appeared as if great portions of the masses behind the Labour Party, with their leaders, would again be drawn into the Liberal whirlpool. The Socialism which works against this tendency is in England not a very robust entity. The word Socialism is an elastic idea; for the Englishman does not only apply this term to the Social-Democrat, but also to all those politicians whose red or reddish party colour is gradually obliterated in the blue of Liberalism. Thus it happens that a Budget is termed Socialistic which does not contain a single item which would in principle offend against anything which has been done or proposed by bourgeois parties in Great Britain or other countries. A great united Social-Democratic Party, as it exists in other countries, and which would determine as to the Socialist or non-Socialist nature of any regulation, is, as the 'Times' pointed out in an excellent article some weeks ago, wanting in England. The prevailing confusion of conceptions can only be an advantage to the Liberal Party; on the bridge between Socialism and Liberalism there is room for a whole army of half-and-half individuals who belong to the Labour Party. Will the Labour Party develop into a great united Social-Democratic Party? The forces which make for such a development are to-day stronger than ever before. The decision in the Osborne case, which forbids the unions to impose obligatory levies for Parliamentary purposes, has not only broken up the financial foundation of the party but also cleared the way for the active Socialist elements within it. Henceforward the Labour Party must rest upon a voluntary foundation. It will probably sooner or later lose a number of those trade union elements who only follow unwillingly and who form a drag upon the free action of the party; against that the Socialistic members will now get the upper hand and give to the movement the decided direction which will finally draw it from the predominating Liberal mode of thought. The Labour

Party intends, indeed, to urge upon the new Parliament a Bill to resuscitate the old right of the unions to levy contributions for political action. But no one can seriously think that the Liberal Party—let alone the Conservatives—would make such a heroic sacrifice to the party in competition against them. The germs of a sharp antagonism between the proletarian and the bourgeois parties are already present, and the soil in which they will grow up, is, in spite of the social policy of Liberalism, not unfavourable to a fruitful development. Give the English Liberals one or two more years and they will have reached the limit of their possibilities. They will no longer be able with constitutional questions alone to delude anybody. The drying-up of the Social-Liberal fountain will be the introduction of a new and hopeful period of development for the reorganised Labour Party."

Finally, Köttgen just touches upon the question as to how the policy of the English Liberals is likely to influence the attitude of Liberals in Germany. Here he is of opinion that while it would be too optimistic to suppose they will follow the example of their friends in England and make peace with the workers at the expense of the furious landowners, yet it is probable that the present events in England will not be without some influence on German Liberals. Seldom lately has a political struggle been watched by all other countries with the same eagerness as this one. And a people so receptive to impressions from without as the Germans are not likely to remain quite uninfluenced by it.

THE REVIEWS.

THE WORLD'S BLACK PROBLEM.

Mr. B. L. Putnam Weale writes the following under the above heading in the current issue of "World's Work":—

There is, perhaps, nothing quite so cruel in the whole world as the law which has given to over one hundred millions of human beings coal faces and bodies, thus so distinguishing them from the rest of the human family that this colour is held to be the "mark of the beast."

In European climes, where the black man is only a creature imagined and not generally seen or understood, it may sound like an overstatement to speak of the negro in such uncompromising terms, but in the two Americas, in Africa, and along the vast Asiatic coast-line the coal-black native is almost universally considered as a man utterly separated from the rest of the world's inhabitants, and therefore not far removed from being accursed.

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The black man is something apart—something untouchable. This was so much felt, even by the vast crowd of Chinese miners who thronged the Rand during the five years of Yellow-labour experiment, that few readily stooped to having relations with Kaffir women, in sharp contrast to the behaviour of Chinese immigrants in the Straits Settlements, Burmah, Java, and Sumatra, where they readily mate with many varieties of brown maidens, and are abnormally proud of their offspring.

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Nor must it be forgotten that there is an ethical reason for this profound aversion. The black man has given nothing to the world. He has no architecture of his own, no art, no history, no real religion, unless animism be a religion. He has reared no enduring monuments, save when they have been forcibly directed by the energies of other races. The black man—the negro—is the world's common slave. He has been a slave in Asia far more than he has ever been a slave in America, for his slavery in the cotton-growing

States lasted but a few short decades, whereas in Asia it has certainly endured for three thousand years, if not twice or thrice as long.

If it is true that the black man is the object of common hatred of all the higher races in the world, then the black problem must finally become the world's greatest racial problem, though not, perhaps, until much time has elapsed and the negroes have immensely multiplied. This problem will be as troublesome to the rulers of the British Empire as it will be to the rulers of the great American Republic; in fact, it will be a problem for all European Powers who have acquired the rights of eminent domain in the black man's lands. For the black man is a great breeder of men, and in a few scores of years, when he has in Africa the same ease and security of life as he has to-day in the Southern States of America, he will be multiplying prodigiously. How to keep races pure from his contact will be a great problem.

Nobody really knows how many negroes there are in the world; it is supposed that with the cross-breeds there are about one hundred millions. Accepting this figure as correct, and accepting also the calculation that white doubles in eighty years, yellow or brown in sixty years, but black in forty years, then it is evident that by the close of the present century the blacks will have so greatly multiplied that, like the Japanese of the present day, they may attempt to force themselves where they are not wanted. There will be an overflow—an overspilling of black men. By the end of the present century there should certainly be three hundred million negroes in the world, a number terrifying in its possibilities in view of special considerations.

For by that time it may be assumed that, should Europe's overlordship of Africa remain more or less undisturbed, the black man will be educated, and either Christianised or Islamised in mass. The whole vast African Continent will also be intersected by tens of thousands of miles of railway, and many other improvements will have made this great region bear a very different relation to the rest of the world. There may be then an entirely different connection between the western coast of Africa (where the slaves used to come from) and the eastern coast of America, since the coasts of these two continents are separated by only half the expanse of waters that separate Eastern Asia and America. Brazil, which is only a thousand miles away from West Africa, will most certainly be forced to put up exclusion laws such as would satisfy the most rabid Californian of to-day. The ten million negroes of the Southern States of America should, in a hundred years, number some forty millions of souls, and the Black Belt of to-day will then be truly black.

It is quite conceivable that intercourse such as to-day exists between England and Canada and England and Australasia may one day exist in a modified form between the blacks of America and the blacks of Africa. There will be societies and unions and churches and other bonds. Undoubtedly in those future days fresh efforts will have to be made to keep the negro in check and confine him in such a manner that he will not be able to drag down the white races.

THE NEGRO AS A COLONIAL PERIL.

It is not, however, so much in transoceanic activity that the negro of the near future will be feared as in his activity in Africa and Arabistan in combination with other races.

It is probable that his political activity will be a greater cause for anxiety than his infiltration into regions from which he can very easily be excluded by artful measures. It is where he stands entrenched on his own soil that he is really to be feared. Already South Africa has its colour problem, arising from the fact that though there are many whites there are far more blacks, who retain strong tribal organisations. This problem, while not yet as vexatious as the problem in the Southern States of America, is bound to become more and more complicated from year to year. In North America, come what may, the whites should always have a large numerical superiority, but in South Africa the position will always be the reverse.

To-day in South Africa there are about one million whites settled among seven or eight millions of men of the Bantu race. The probabilities are that this proportion of seven to one will be steadily maintained in spite of all white emigration, since the Bantu race breeds very much faster than any white race, and should actually increase its fecundity as the ravages of disease are steadily lessened. The distinguished writer, Olive Schreiner, in a remarkable letter written on the eve of the unification of South Africa, pointed out that the handling of the Kaffir problem would finally be the making or unmaking of South Africa, and that only by devoting the best thought to the matter would great dangers be eliminated.



THE FORCES BEHIND THE UNREST IN INDIA.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal writes the following in the "Contemporary Review" under the above heading :—

The present problem in India is the direct fruit of the history of the British administration of that country for the last two

hundred years. It is the creation of (1) English education; (2) British laws and methods of administration; (3) increased facilities of inter-communication; (4) growth of the vernacular press; and (5) foreign travel, for educational purposes, by the classes, and, in the ordinary course of service or business, by a section of the masses. The necessary result of all these has been (a) the awakening of a new desire for freedom and national greatness in the classes; (b) the breakdown of the old ideas of social order in the masses; and (c) a general disillusionment of both the classes and the masses alike in regard to the physical or moral superiority of the rulers of the country over the ruled.

The new spirit of freedom, first quickened by English literature and European history, found its earliest expression in a movement of religious and social revolt represented by Brāhmo Samāj. This new sect of Protestant Hinduism started with a denial of the authority of scriptures and priests to determine man's faith, and repudiated the claims of caste and custom to regulate his domestic or social relations. It proclaimed a gospel of personal freedom never heard in India since, perhaps, the days of Buddha. It was practically an adaptation of the spirit and philosophy of the French Illumination to a theistic or deistic creed, partly allied to the ancient Upanishads of the Hindus, and partly to the Unitarian Rationalism of Europe. It made but few converts, but the moral and intellectual influences of a movement of religious and social protest are not to be measured by the actual number of people who openly accept its creed or join its organisation. Though few in number, the Brāhmos became really a leaven that leavened the whole lump. The influence of this movement of Rationalism in India is seen in the increasing relaxation of old social discipline, and the toleration with which society has commenced to connive at the violation of its ancient rules and regulations. It is also seen in the numerous attempts—made, indeed, in the name of orthodoxy itself—to adjust ancient dogmas and current practices to the needs of the modern intellect and the new social ideals. What the Brāhmo Samāj did so largely in Bengal was done in the other provinces by the Arya Samajes and the Prarthana Samajes. There has thus been a general movement of freedom all over the country.

Self-government has from the very beginning been the ultimate political goal of the National Congress. The demand for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils upon an elective basis, for the separation of the executive and the judicial functions of magistrates and the introduction of the system of trial by jury, for the repeal of the Arms Act, and the admission of qualified Indians to the volunteer corps—all these were an index to this ultimate goal. The ideal, however, was as yet too nebular to call

for any speculations concerning the relations of self-governing India to the British Empire.

Outside the political activities of the Congress, a movement of social and religious reaction was in progress all this time. The earlier religious and social revolts had been prompted very largely by European thoughts and ideals. This religious and social reaction was essentially the protest of Indian race-consciousness against the domination of foreign culture. The conflict was not really between the conservative and progressive forces of society, as it has been usually misinterpreted; but it was a conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

In considering the present Indian unrest it must always be borne in mind that it is this nation-idea which lies really at the root of it. This nation-idea is not a mere importation from Europe, but essentially a natural native growth, to which the conditions created by British rule have made material contributions, but which owes its origin to that great Indian Renaissance which has followed the discovery of Sanskrit, and the fruitful investigations into the culture and civilisation of India which this discovery has led to. It is a part of the general awakening of Asia, which is rising up in a determined protest against the intellectual and moral, no less than the commercial and political, domination of Europe. It is already a mighty moral force in the country, visibly shaping and moulding, not simply people's political or economic ideals, but also their social life and laws, and which is even pressing the sacred symbols and mysteries of their religion into its service. Towering above the old rivalries of creeds and cults there stands to-day a new creed in India, the creed of Nationalism, and a new cult, the cult of the Mother.

This so-called unrest is not really political, though it is its political activities, and even excesses, that have brought it so prominently to the notice of the outside world. It is essentially an intellectual and spiritual upheaval, the forerunner of a mighty social revolution, with a new organon and a new philosophy of life behind it. It is the summing-up of a long course of past historic evolution in India. It is neither religious in a narrow sense of the term, nor secular as secular is understood in the current thought of the world, but a strange blending of the spiritual ideal with the material contents of life. It is an application of the ancient theosophy of the Vedanta to the complex relations and realities of the practical life. God-in-man has been the eternal quest of Indian thought. . . . The revived Vedanta seeks the same eternal truth, not in the abstract, but in the concrete, not in a negation of social life, but in its realisation and fulfilment. Its message is the perfec-

tion of humanity through a reconstructed social and civic life in the light of lofty spiritual philosophy. This is the inner meaning of the present ferment in India.

It represents the travail of a new birth—the birth of a rejuvenated India, preparing to enter the larger and saner life of a renovated humanity which the new Asiatic Renaissance is slowly leading to. The European Renaissance, to which the modern world owes so much of its present progress and enlightenment, has been exhausted. Humanity is on the threshold to-day of a new era and a new Renaissance, the inspiration of which is coming from the recovered thoughts and ideals of the long-neglected East.



THE LONDON LOAFER.

Says Mr. Pett Ridge in the "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The London loafer is manufactured either just after the age of 14 or at about the age of 17. I am acquainted with towns where he is more conspicuous than in London, and this seems to be due to the fact that in certain places the docks are handier; the loafer's nearest desire to manual labour being that he should be allowed to fetch and carry (and, indeed, he possesses no sort of ability for any other occupation), he is compelled in London to go to the wharves near to Tower Bridge on the Surrey side, or farther away to Canning Town. London misses something of the picturesque by reason of the remoteness of docks; it also, to some extent, loses sight of the loafer, and London, no doubt thankful for this, runs the risk thereby of discrediting his existence. . . . In London you find the true loafer; the man who has thoroughly acquired the art of sauntering, and, assuming an air of discontent, nevertheless secretly has a great affection for the life. It does not require a considerable flight of the imagination to guess at the pleasures. There are no strict hours of duty; apart from the police, no foremen or overseers; exhaustion from physical labour is not experienced; little need for concentration of the mind; it is by no means imperative that care be given to costume or general appearance. But for the fact that certain discomforts of the profession frighten us we should all be joining late to-morrow morning.

. . . . In many cases of my acquaintance the loafer has a wife who works, works hard and through long hours, and here his source of income is apparent, exciting no curiosity. But there are a quantity of instances where, so far as I can gather, no income whatever arrives, and yet the man is able to go on living; he obtains drink, food and tobacco, and he sometimes talks of backing

horses. . . . Answering inquiries, he says that he manages to rub along, that there is always a chance of running across a stroke of luck, and now and then an odd job crops up. The only odd job I have seen him perform is that of looking after a horse and cab, and accepting for the service the sum of one penny; this occupation has, I assume, been affected by the presence of the taxi-cab, which has its eccentricities, but is not liable to take fright and run away. If he does obtain a few coppers he disburses them at once, and he spends them exclusively on himself. Friends may sometimes treat him to refreshment, but I take it that this form of generosity expects to be reciprocated, and certainly he never treats back. He talks wistfully of a regular job of work, and I have frequently looked on whilst well-intentioned folk obtained one for him (sometimes, in order to make room, displacing an industrious person), and I rarely see him remain faithful to a task for more than a couple of days; he has a large bouquet of excuses, from which he can make a selection. Out-door life, the walking exercise insisted upon by the Metropolitan Police, and spare feeding keep him, as a rule, in good health, and you will seldom find him in hospitals. Also, you are unlikely to encounter him in the prisons. He does not steal, because this would necessitate an adroitness and an ingenuity altogether foreign to his nature. In the London thief, I confess, I find a good deal to admire; he engages on a duel wherein the opposite forces are as disproportionate as those which face a bull in the ring on Sunday afternoon at Seville, and if he triumphs the moments must be golden in more senses than one. He has to watch his personal fitness; his mind must be correctly wound up. It is a good deal like wicket-keeping. He must be on the alert for a considerable space until opportunity comes; when it does arrive, when the owner of property steps incautiously beyond the crease, the occasion has to be snatched.



THE MOANING BABOON.—A baboon in the heart of Africa came upon a camp-fire that had been built by some hunters. The night was chilly and the baboon hunkered before the fire with expressions of satisfaction for the grateful heat. After a while, however, the fire died down. Broken branches were lying all about, but the baboon did not know enough to gather them and toss them on the fire. He crouched before the ashes, shivering and in discomfort, moaning piteously. How nearly the average labourer acts like this baboon! He feels himself dependent on others for his job, for his life; and when things go wrong with him shivers and moans, when the means of relieving his want and supplying his comfort lie all about him if he only had the sense to apply them. What wood would have been to the fire for the baboon, public ownership of the means of life, obtainable through the use of the ballot, would be to the labourer.—“Appeal to Reason.”

UNEMPLOYMENT : A TRAGEDY IN LITTLE.

Franklin Murdock crossed the threshold of the room. He was an agile man of forty or thereabouts, erect, a trifle pale, with dark hair just turning to grey. His well-worn suit of blue serge was dusty from his day's tramp, but it had that morning been well brushed. He had started in the morning, alert and eager, to look for work. Now, at six in the evening, he was tired, anxious, and hungry. He looked round the room with despair.

It was a dull, comfortless apartment; the furniture consisting of a table, a couple of chairs, and a veteran sofa that could not be pawned. The mantelshelf boasted only a cheap alarum-clock by way of ornament, and a paraffin lamp afforded just light enough to lay bare the crudities of the only picture: a badly-got-up lithograph with a calendar printed beneath, the gift of the local grocer, which served the double purpose of reminding the household of the flight of time and their debt to him. The dismal apology for a fire fitfully smouldered in the grate, spreading neither cheerfulness nor warmth. Still, in spite of its bareness and ugliness, in spite of the semi-darkness and the carpetless floor, an air of domestic pride pervaded the place, for it was spotlessly clean. His wife, a dull, listless little woman, rendered so by the months of struggle against poverty, looked eagerly at Murdock as he hung his coat behind the door.

"Well?" she said, "what luck?"

He drew a chair towards the fire, and, having sat down, answered the woman's query.

"None," he said, bitterly. "I'm beginning to think I'm not wanted. Have you got anything to eat?"

"Yes;" replied the woman, "Mrs. Roberts sent us in a loaf and a bit of cheese."

He looked up with appreciation.

"That's kind of her. She hasn't too much herself, I know. Let's have it, Mary. I'm hungry. Haven't had a bite all day. It's maddening, I tell you, to tramp about all day with nothing in your stomach, willing to work, praying almost for work, and not getting it. They don't want 'em over forty. I met Joe Rogers. He's doing next to nothing. He offered to buy me a drink. I've never touched the stuff, thank God. I told him I'd rather have the money. Here it is."

He threw three pennies on the table.

"Take it, it'll buy a bit of food."

"Did you go to see Mr. Alcott?" asked the woman after a pause.

"Yes, I went to him, the swine, and he laughed at me! He was warm, strong, and well-fed. I was cold and weak from want of food, and he *laughed* at me. 'Why, my good man,' he said, 'we can't employ *you*. Why, you're unemployable, that's what you are.' Then he leaned back in his chair and laughed and said: 'You couldn't earn your keep; you haven't an ounce of strength left in you.' I could have strangled him."

He swallowed a mouthful of food viciously.

"Don't lose heart, Frank," said the woman, "all will be well in time. Trust in God, and all will be well."

"I begin to lose trust in everything," rejoined the man. "Eight months to-day. Every day of those eight months I've spent in looking for work. As I've tramped the streets the wealth of the city has mocked my hunger. I've felt an outcast, a stranger. I go into a shop and ask for work, and it is denied me. I walk on through the pitiless rain, and go through the same thing again, with the same result, every day for eight months, till I feel that it's all hopeless, and there's nothing for me but the work-house—or the grave."

"No, Frank," his wife said, pleadingly, "keep on trying. 'Never say die' was your old watchword."

"The watchword has been beaten out of me," he replied. "Eight months! In that eight months I've seen the home I toiled for go bit by bit to the pawnshop. I've begged for work, and been told I'm unemployable! I'm a skilled mechanic, a teetotaler, I've been thrifty and careful all my life—but I'm forty-two! Don't you know," he shouted at her; "there's no room for a man that's over forty! He's only fit for the scrap-heap. I'm sick of it all."

"It's a shame," said the woman, "a shame. There's one thing to be thankful for: there are no little ones to share our misery."

"That's a blessing. But we can't go on as we are, in spite of that. I see no hope. We owe for everything. The sick-club insurance, the grocer, the coalman—*everything*. And, why it must be five months since we paid any rent. It is five months, isn't it, Mary? How much do you owe the landlord?"

"You're eating nothing," said the woman, nervously. "Don't worry about anything till you've had something to eat."

"Don't lose heart, the clouds will soon roll by," she added in a dull tone.

"I *can't* eat, somehow. I'm hungry, but I can't eat. The worry of it all takes my appetite away. How long is it since the rent was paid?"

She did not answer for a moment, and then peering out of the window she said :

"It's raining harder than ever."

He was carried adrift by this, and said : "Yes, it's a beast of a night."

The woman looked relieved at the turn of the conversation, but he returned to the old question at once.

"How long is it since the rent was paid?" he repeated.

"Why don't you eat something, dear?" she asked. "Worrying does no good."

He pushed the plate away from him and rose.

"Why don't you answer?" he asked angrily.

He went to the mantelpiece, took a small tin box, and got a bundle of pawntickets out of it.

"I pawned the overmantel to pay the rent the last time," he said as he ran over the bundle. "I can't think why you don't answer."

He picked out one at last, while the woman stood by the window with eyes dilated by terror. He looked at the date and started.

"April the tenth!" he said. "Nearly six months ago."

Then he suddenly turned to the woman.

"How is it," he said; "how is it they haven't turned us out? Landlords don't let you live rent free for over five months. Where's the rent-book?"

"Behind the clock," she answered, mechanically.

He took it, opened it, and turned to her again.

"Paid!" said he, "paid! Every penny! Where did you get the money?"

"I didn't get the money," she answered.

"Who did?" he shouted.

She did not answer. He paced up and down the room for a few moments and then said, persuasively :

"Mary, how did you get this money? You can trust your husband. How was it paid?"

She was trapped, and she turned on him defiantly .

"The rent is paid. That's enough for you."

"But it isn't enough. I want to know how you paid it."

"With money," she said.

"You *had* no money. I want to know how you paid this."

She broke down and sobbed like a child.

"How was it paid?" he thundered into her ear as he shook her.

"I paid for it—with myself," she said in a dull, lifeless whisper.

He flung her from him, and picked up a knife.

"I could kill you," he said.

Then he flung the knife into the grate, seized his coat, and went out into the night.

* * * * *

From the "Evening Post" :—

UNEMPLOYMENT TRAGEDY.

The man found drowned in the Regent's Canal yesterday has been identified as Franklin Murdock, 15, Lower Place, Shore-ditch. He had been unemployed for some months, and it is supposed that he committed suicide in a fit of depression. The inquest will be held on Saturday.

F. J. MAYNARD.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

The present moment is one in which it may be advisable to take a look round upon the position of the Socialist movement in this country, to take stock as it were, and to seriously consider where we have arrived at and where we are going.

In taking such a review I am bound to admit that there are grounds for the disappointment which finds expression in some quarters, while at the same time it does seem to me that there is no occasion for discouragement or despair.

We have just emerged from an election in which we have failed to win a single seat "off our own bat," and this fact seems to have led some of our friends to the conclusion that our policy, our methods, and our teaching have been wrong, that our work has been wasted, that we have utterly failed, and that we should adopt some other policy, apply other methods, and work in other directions. I am bound to say that I do not at all share that view.

What had we to hope from the recent election? I have already dealt, in a previous article, with the election and its lessons, and, therefore, do not intend to go all over the ground again here. Shortly, however, it seems to me that we could not have hoped to do much better than we did. We must have known beforehand that with the popular cry the Liberals had, with only the single ballot, with the fear of "letting in the Tory" and supporting "the Dukes;" with the whole Labour Party backing the Liberals and many prominent and avowed Socialists doing likewise, the defeat of our candidates, even in the places where our agitation and propaganda had been most successful—indeed, *especially* in those places—was, with one exception, practically a foregone conclusion. That what, in the circumstances, was inevitable and expected should have happened appears to me to be no occasion for dismay, even if the circumstances themselves afford no particular ground for encouragement.

But, it may be said, these very circumstances are in themselves evidences of our failure. That is true. We have failed. I do not deny that. We have failed. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, or too deeply impressed upon our minds that we have failed. But failed how? And in what? We have failed precisely in that wherein, it seems to me, no one with a clear appreciation of the work we had to do, the object we set out to achieve, the task we had to accomplish, and the material with which we had to work, could have reasonably anticipated any greater success.

What are we out for? Nothing less than a Social Revolution, a complete transformation of human society from its base. That is not a little thing. It is about the biggest job that any body of men have ever set their hands to. And what are the means at our disposal, the material with which we have to work? We have no other material than people like unto ourselves and no other means than they can be induced to supply. Apart from the tremendous forces set in motion by the economic development—forces which are hastening the

revolution more rapidly every day, and which make it, as we believe, inevitable—the revolutionary instrument we have been essaying to forge is a proletarian political party, conscious alike of its present class subjection and of its future possibilities. So far, our efforts in this direction have not been pre-eminently successful. Indeed, it is just here that we have failed. But what of it? Didn't we know, when we started, that that was the most difficult part of our task? Didn't we know it would take years and years? Didn't we know that we should meet with failure on failure? Didn't we know that many of our prophets, seers and leaders would close their eyes in their last sleep and go down to forgotten graves without even being gladdened by a glimpse of that free and glorious co-operative commonwealth of which they were unquestioningly assured, and which, even in their lifetime, seemed so near? How many years ago is it since Morris wrote the words: "Only three little words to speak: We will it!"? And the people do not will it yet! But the numbers grow of those who do; and slow as is the work, it is none the less sure. And bitter as may be the failures, every one brings us nearer to the goal.

The emancipation of the working class *must* be the work of the working-class themselves. There is no other way. We need all the help we can get from recruits from other classes—the intellectuals, the wealthy, the powerful—socially and economically. In the main, however, these classes are, and must be, arrayed against us. Even were it otherwise, the dominant classes cannot "let the people go," even if they desired to do so. The Socialist movement is fundamentally a movement for the emancipation of the working-class, they cannot be emancipated against their will, and so far we have not succeeded in inspiring them with that consciousness of their present enslaved condition, that passionate desire for their own emancipation, which is essential to an active, aggressive revolutionary movement on their part. That is where we have failed. But is the failure due to our own fault, or should it

cause us discouragement and despair? I think not. If we saw others succeeding where we have failed we might conclude that the fault was ours. We have been frequently and constantly derided by candid friends and critics, nevertheless, we do not see that they have succeeded any better than we have. More than 20 years ago, Mr. H. H. Champion, in his paper "Common Sense," which was started to crush us out of existence, wrote an article on the "Future of Socialism in England" in which he essayed to show what a poor, hopeless lot of ineffectual cranks we of the S.D.F. were, and to map out a "more excellent way" for the realisation of Socialism. Mr. Champion rallied a number of active spirits around him: disaffected ex-members of the S.D.F.; "intellectuals" and others; he set on foot the Labour Electoral Association, and got a good deal of "kudos" for himself and his Association out of the London dock strike. That was the right road to travel, we were then told. But it is all ancient and forgotten history now.

Then there came the I.L.P. In formulating the proposal for this new venture, our good friend Joseph Burgess had in view the formation of a federation of the S.D.F., the new trade union movement, and the mass of unattached Socialists or others disaffected with the orthodox capitalist parties. In this he was not successful, and the I.L.P., which, in its inception, was the forerunner of the present Labour Party, developed into a rival organisation to the S.D.F. But the I.L.P. did not rally the workers to an enormously greater extent than the S.D.F. had done, and only achieved greater success in this direction in so far as its Socialism was more hazy and less definite.

Then came the Labour Party. Here, it appeared, was the opportunity of ranging the organised workers behind the Red Flag of Social-Democracy. We of the S.D.F. certainly thought so ten years ago, and sought to give effect to our opinion. We did not succeed, although there is little doubt that but for the opposition of the I.L.P. delegates the conference at which the

new party was formed would have adopted the Socialist objective. Whether, if it had done so, it would have secured so large a number of adherents as it did can only be a matter of conjecture. Certain it is that the Labour Party has not succeeded in doing that which the S.D.F. tried and failed to accomplish, i.e., organise a working-class political party, independent of, and hostile to, all capitalist parties, as an instrument for the political, economic and social emancipation of the working-class.

It has been contended that the S.D.F. was wrong in seceding from the Labour Party; that inside that combination it might have exercised an influence in the right direction and made of the Labour Party that powerful political instrument which we all wished to see it. That was impossible. The S.D.F. would have been outvoted every time, and would have been committed to and compromised by the unqualified support and approbation given by the Labour Party to the Liberal Government during the past four years, and would have thus been dragged into the dismal slough of bourgeois Liberalism in which the Labour Party is now hopelessly floundering. Whether by pursuing a more independent and Socialist policy the Labour Party could have achieved greater success is an open question. I think it could. The point here, however, is that it has not done so; that it has failed as completely as the S.D.F. in rallying the general body of the workers—even the organised workers—for Socialist independent action, or even for independent “Labourism”; for in the recent election its candidates failed quite as badly as ours where they were opposed by both Liberals and Tories—the main force of their followers going bodily into the Liberal camp.

It is not pleasing to dwell upon these failures to organise a definite Socialist working-class political party, and I do not recall them in any spirit of exultation. On the contrary I, and I imagine every other Social-Democrat, would have been delighted had any one of them succeeded. We could then have heartily joined with them

in their work, rejoicing in their success, or could have joyfully sung our "Nunc Dimittis." I refer to them here, however, as evidence that the cause of our failure must be sought for deeper down than in our own errors or blunders, and because the present position of the Socialist movement in England is not a matter solely of the admitted and obvious failure of the S.D.P. to rally the workers into a class-conscious political party, but the failure of all bodies which have essayed the task.

That is not to say that our methods are perfect ; that we have never made mistakes ; that there is no occasion for self-examination, or for revision of tactics or methods. We have no occasion for complacent self-righteousness. But I do claim that the road we have marked out is the right road, and that no other body has, as yet, discovered a "more excellent way," and that whatever may be the sins of omission or commission with which we have to reproach ourselves, it is scarcely a fault to be laid to our charge if those to whom we appeal deliberately refuse to take the road we point out to them, and persist in continually marching up and down a blind alley.

This, in my opinion, is the chief difficulty and cause of our non-success—the innate conservatism of the people themselves. And this, it should be borne in mind, is "played up to," all the time, by the political parties of the dominant class—"the most astute governing class in the world," as old Liebknecht once truly described them. That is what we have in this country—on the one hand the most astute, diplomatic and adept governing class in the world, and on the other the most conservative, most servile and least class-conscious subject class. The English working class is not less able, less intelligent, less capable, more ignorant or more stupid than the working class in other European countries ; but it is certainly more completely imbued with bourgeois ideas ; less conscious of its own subject position as a class ; less conscious of the essential class antagonism of the capitalist social order, and much more reverential towards the master

class than any other working class I know. When all this is taken into account, together with the soft pliability—the velvet glove—of the ruling class, it is easy to see how difficult is the task of organising a political class-conscious working-class party. And that difficulty is sufficient to account for our failure. But it ought not to overwhelm us with despair. For we knew it all before. It is a quite common mistake on the part of young, ardent, enthusiastic recruits to our movement to imagine the working class as in a state of active discontent, of seething, latent revolt, only waiting for a strong lead to spring into vigorous aggressive action. Such ardent spirits soon, as a rule, become discouraged by disillusionment. But we know better—have always known better. How often has Hyndman reiterated the opinion that the English working-class is “une classe bourgeoise”? How long ago and how often have we all recognised the truth which Father Adderley expresses so well in his little book “The Parson in Socialism,” that the masses do not really “want to be worried about anything.” “They are intensely conservative.” In this conservatism of the masses, added to the readiness of the ruling class to adopt—and to adapt to their own ends—any ameliorative measures, I see the chief cause and abundant explanation of such failure as is manifested by the present position of the Socialist movement in England.

For it has not been all failure. Not by any manner of means. Bourgeois as still are the ideas and ideals of the working class of this country, they are, thanks to our propaganda and the irresistible pressure of the economic development, miles ahead of what they were only a few years ago. If we sometimes fail to see how far they have travelled it is mainly because all parties have also been forced forward. The universal outlook and standpoint has changed. Measures of social reform which we first formulated as stepping-stones towards a complete revolution, in the teeth of the bitterest opposition from all quarters, have been in many cases adopted in a modified form, and even where that is not

the case they are no longer opposed but are generally admitted to be necessary and beneficial. Beyond this, the fundamental principles, the economic bases of Social-Democracy, are almost generally accepted or, at least, acquiesced in, by the organised working-class. That, at any rate, we have done. In that direction we have been pre-eminently successful, and if we cannot claim this change of attitude towards Socialist theories and principles as the result of our agitation and propaganda, we can, at least, point to it as evidence that our teaching and propaganda have been in the line, and in accord with the trend, of material and psychological development. Where we have failed is in organising and concentrating the conscious application of the new ideas and conceptions; and the chief cause and reason of that failure I think I have already shown. But even here, taking due account of that cause, there is no reason to be cast down and discouraged. Even here it behoves us not to weary in well-doing, for here, too, "we shall reap if we faint not."

It is in that direction—in the direction of building up a class-conscious working-class Socialist Party—that we have still to bend our efforts with renewed energy. Agitate, Educate, Organise! And above all, Organise! Let us look to and eliminate the faults and defects of our own organisation, for it is not free from them. The causes which have operated to prevent our success in rallying the whole working-class to our banner do not supply the reasons for the fact that so many avowed, earnest and active Socialists are outside our ranks. Let us enquire into these reasons and if possible remedy them. In some cases, doubtless, they are purely accidental, but this is not universally, or even generally, the case. Are we, as is sometimes alleged, too narrow, too sectarian, too intolerant? Are we too discourteous, not to enemies, but to would-be friends and allies? Do we seek to antagonise people rather than to win them? These are searching questions to which it may be worth while to give some consideration. There must be discipline, and loyalty to the party

must be enforced, but disciplinary rules should not be too rigid, nor too rigorously enforced. We do not want anyone inside our ranks who is not prepared to give loyal, whole-hearted service to the cause we are organised—and organising—to serve ; but there should be room within those ranks for every honest and sincere Socialist. There should be no heresy-hunting ; no nosing out of non-essential points of difference ; but rather a seeking for essential points of agreement.—In things doubtful, liberty ; in things essential, unity ; and in all things, charity. Order, promptitude, and urbanity in the conduct of our business meetings ; punctuality in beginning and closing public meetings—the lack of punctuality in these respects has meant the loss of many a good worker to the movement ; courtesy and forbearance to each other ; good comradeship—as among a body which is organised to fight a world in arms against it ; to have the word “comrade” less frequently on our lips and its spirit more constantly in our hearts. These may be little matters ; but their due observance would, I am sure, do much to strengthen our organisation ; to win recruits to our flag ; to disarm hostility and to bring together all comrades and friends into a united Socialist Party, a live, active, vigorous instrument for the realisation of Social-Democracy—the emancipation of humanity !

H. QUELCH.

THE INVENTOR (?).

"In proportion as man works in co-operation with man the psychical triumphs over the physical."—THE WRITER.

(Conclusion.)

In discussing this question in relation to "reward" it must be understood we use the word "inventor" in the general acceptance of the term.

We will commence, then, by investigating the reward obtained by some of the most prominent men whose collective "genius" mainly contributed in bringing about the "Industrial Revolution."

The first in order of date is

JOHN KAY,

of Bury, who in 1743 invented the "fly shuttle" and "picking-peg." Prior to this invention the weaver, in order to work the shuttle, had to reach from one side of the cloth to the other. If, however, the width was more than a yard two persons were required to attend to one loom. Kay's invention resulted in the weaver being able to produce twice as much cloth of any width as could previously be produced.

Well, what pecuniary reward did this benefactor of mankind receive? None! he was driven, not only out of his native town, but out of the country, and died in France—some say in Paris—in poverty and obscurity, deserted by an ungrateful country.

Passing over Robert Kay (son of the above John Kay), inventor of the drop-box, which was a further means of increasing the output, we come to

JAMES HARGREAVES,

of Blackburn. About 1767 he saw a spinning-wheel overturn by accident. The spindle which before was

horizontal was now vertical, yet it continued to revolve. He drew the roving wool towards himself in a thread, and whilst so doing the idea flashed across his mind that if some machine could be invented to do the work of his finger and thumb and at the same time travel backwards many threads might be spun at the same time by one individual. After much consideration he succeeded in inventing a machine by means of which six to eight, and later 20 to 30, spindles could be attended by one person.

Surely this was a great achievement and worthy of great reward! Yet we are told "James Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning-jenny, died in obscurity, unrewarded, in Nottingham Workhouse, having had his machinery destroyed, his patent invaded, and his abilities blighted." It is also on record that the first spinning-jenny was constructed by Thomas Highs, of Leigh, in 1763, and named after his beloved daughter Jane, and improved by Hargreaves as above stated in 1767.

The next in order is

ARKWRIGHT

(afterwards Sir Richard), who became very wealthy, leaving at his death £500,000. Half a million sterling was an immense fortune at that particular period. But he is the one man amongst this notable group whose original inventive genius is doubted. However, he is supposed to have invented the "water-frame" or, as it is sometimes called, the "throstle-frame." Prior to this invention the spinning-wheel could not produce cotton of sufficient strength to be used as warp, the tension being so great; and linen yarn had still to be used for this purpose. In spinning with the water-frame the cotton was first drawn off from the skewers on which it was placed, by a pair of rollers which moved at a slow rate, into threads of coarse quality; at a little distance a second pair of rollers, revolving three or four times as fast, took up the threads, and drew them out three or four times the original fineness

Arkwright called it the water-frame because it was worked by water power.

It is stated that Arkwright constructed his machine with the help of a clock-maker named Kay at Preston. Again, we are told : " Arkwright made several improvements in the processes of carding and spinning, and then took out patents for his different pieces of machinery. But the work of other brains besides his own was included in his scheme, and this gave rise to endless difficulties. The original spinning-jenny was clearly Hargreaves's invention ; Arkwright allowed this, yet it was included in the patent. And Kay, who helped in constructing the first water-frame, turned against his former friend, and declared that the water-frame was no device of Arkwright's, but of a poor reed-maker named Hayes." Arkwright appears to have spent years contesting his patent rights, and had as many as " nine law-suits going on at the one time." In one case an ingenious contrivance for carding, which Arkwright is believed to have invented, was claimed for Hargreaves. We know that about this time a " Mr. Paul, of Birmingham, took out a patent for spinning wool and cotton by rollers." His undertaking, however, failed, nor do we know the principle of his machine.

We now pass on from doubt to certainty.

CROMPTON,

of Bolton, invented the spinning-mule, being a combination of Hargreaves's jenny and Arkwright's throstle, hence the name. The mule spun beautiful yarn, smooth and even, such as had not been produced from cotton before, some of it being fine enough to weave into muslin. In fact, we may say that it originated the weaving of muslin in Great Britain.

Crompton being a poor man had not sufficient money to buy tools and material for the construction of the mule. As a young man he was passionately fond of music, and actually had the ingenuity to first make a violin, and afterwards taught himself to play. This he turned to good account by playing his violin in the orchestra in the Bolton theatre, earning eighteenpence

a night whenever he had the opportunity. The money thus earned, and every other penny he could save, was spent on his machine. Of course, under such circumstances his progress was very slow; still, at last he accomplished his task with evident success. Ten years later there were between four and five million mules, spinning some forty million pounds of yarn per annum.

Well, what was his reward for this great achievement? "Crowds of people gathered round his house and threatened him and his invention with destruction." We are told that some "behaved so ill as to bring ladders and climb up to the windows to look in." He was annoyed both at his home and his workshop. Being of a nervous and sensitive nature this treatment worried him, and he declared, "I must either destroy my machine or give it to the public." At last he could stand these threats and spying no longer, so he offered to show his machine to all those persons who would pay him a guinea. A large company assembled. Crompton showed the mule and explained it to them thoroughly. Some of the party, however, were so mean as to refuse to pay the small sum that had been asked of them, and the poor inventor only received £67.

He could not take out a patent as it was immediately copied, and was soon after fixed up in all the principal factories in Lancashire. Sir Robert Peel offered him a partnership which he refused, preferring a quiet life and the delights of music.

Later, however, his friends presented a memorial to Parliament pointing out the great service he had rendered to the community. As a result of this memorial Crompton went to London, and it is said one evening in the lobby of the House he heard Mr. Percival, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, say to a friend, "We are going to propose a grant of £20,000 for Mr. Crompton, in requital for the service he has rendered to the country." The same evening Mr. Percival was shot dead by a madman, and for some reason unknown his successor only proposed a grant of

£5,000, which was passed. Crompton's children were disappointed, and angry with their father for not trying to make more wealth out of his invention. But he was not an inventor for money's sake. The mule was first worked by hand, then by water-power and now by steam. It was made self-acting by Mr. Roberts, of Manchester. Before the invention of the spinning-jenny one person could only attend to one spindle; at the present time one man, a youth and a boy will tend a pair of mules containing nearly 3,000 spindles. In Crompton's old age a further appeal was made to Parliament on his behalf, but no further grant was made.

We now come to the invention of the power loom by

DR CARTWRIGHT,

a clergyman of considerable means, practically all of which was spent on constructing and improving the power-loom. The invention was such a success that in 1801 it began to be generally used in the factories, but unfortunately for its inventor the patent expired the same year. His fortune had vanished in the meantime. He himself was growing old, and an appeal was made to the Government to make him a grant for his great services to the country. Through the influence of his friends he received a grant of £10,000. On receiving this sum he laconically said, "I have spent a fortune of £30,000 on this invention, and the Government have paid me back 6s. 8d. in the £."

In 1813 the power-loom was further perfected by Mr. Horrocks, of Stockport, and brought in general use.

We shall now bring before the reader's notice the case of

JACQUARD,

a Frenchman who invented the Jacquard loom. The previously existing looms would only weave plain stripes and checks; by this, through a beautiful contrivance of falling cards, any conceivable design could be woven. This loom he exhibited in France at the Exposition,

1801, for which he received the magnificent reward of a bronze medal. When he began to advance on life's journey an appeal was made on his behalf, and as a consequence the Government—after much supplication—granted him a miserable 1,000 francs (£40) per annum, which was subsequently—and after another appeal—increased to 6,000 francs.

The last person we will introduce in this series is

ELI WHITNEY,

who about 1794 invented the saw-gin, an ingenious device for separating the cotton from the seed. Before he had fully completed the machine, he showed it to a few friends (?), and informed them how by the machine a man would separate more cotton from the seed in a day than had hitherto been accomplished in a month. The secret, however, got abroad and some unworthy person broke into his workshop and stole the saw-gin before he had secured it by patent. He immediately took out a patent, but it was copied with some little variation to evade it. The States of North and South Carolina honourably purchased a licence from him to use his machine, but the money was spent in defence of his rights.

On these grounds in 1812 he applied for a renewal of his patent. The planters in the Southern States were so bitter in their opposition that the Congress refused his application; although it was acknowledged the increased wealth it brought to the country might be estimated at the enormous sum of £100,000,000. Nor did he receive any acknowledgment or reward for the services he had rendered to the community.

Let us now turn to other social spheres and see if inventors fared differently. Say

GALILEO,

the inventor of the telescope, with which he proved that the earth moved round the sun and was not fixed, as was then believed. Instead of being honoured and rewarded he was threatened with death at the stake if he did not withdraw his statement by declaring it to

be untrue. And this despite the fact that he was in his seventieth year. Or

DR. HARVEY,

the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who had to fight for 28 years to establish its truth, and in the meantime lost much of his private practice. It was not the incentive of gain that spurred him on, but the desire to establish truth for its own sake. Throughout his life, and even at his death, honour was his watchword.

ELIAS HOWE,

pre-eminent among the inventors of the sewing-machine, lived a life of persecution and poverty. His landlord bled him; he had his patent infringed; was lured to London from America by a corset manufacturer on the promise to pay him £3 per week to adapt the machine to the work of stay-making. After Howe had succeeded in his task his services were dispensed with. Thus he was stranded in a foreign country. He was even put in prison for debt. Soon after he returned to America he was hurriedly summoned to his wife, who was on her death-bed, dying from consumption, which was evidently brought on by the poverty-stricken life she had lived. Like other inventors, he had to resort to the law courts to defend his rights, and eventually established his claims. Now money began to roll into his coffers. When the American Civil War commenced he enlisted as a private soldier, and it is on record that when the payment of his regiment had been delayed by the Government he generously advanced the money. Now money came to him in abundance, but, alas! of what use was it to him? His wife was dead, a victim of poverty, and himself nearing his end, as a few years afterwards he died at the early age of 48, prematurely worn out.

COLUMBUS,

who discovered America, did not become rich thereby, but through the greed of others was actually sent back to Spain a prisoner in chains. A few weeks before he

died his son wrote asking him for some money, to which he replied: "Alas! my son, I have not a roof over my head to call my own—none except the dome of Heaven!" We believe Edison himself has stated if he had not turned capitalist to exploit his own inventions he would have been a poor man.

Let us glance for a moment at the life of

HERBERT SPENCER,

the man of giant intellect, one of the greatest philosophers that ever lived. Even he, we find, could not make enough money at his profession to allow him to complete the task he had undertaken, and he had to have outside financial assistance—first, from a will of his uncle; then his father; finally 7,000 dollars from America. The latter money "Spencer accepted as a public trust to be applied to the purpose of the 'Descriptive Sociology'" (Hudson).

Another generous offer by John S. Mill was declined "though he was greatly touched by it." Here, again, we see money was not the incentive, but, as ever—honour.

One might fill volumes with cases similar to those related above, but space forbids.

No, the inventors and discoverers and other benefactors of mankind have never been men whose incentive has been the greed of gold—but rather has their lot been one of persecution, martyrdom and poverty.

Great men, teachers and benefactors of the world, have never dreamt of building up huge fortunes. Did the incentive of gold produce such men as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Pericles, Solon, Demosthenes, Phocion, Cincinnatus, Gracchus, Brutus, Marcus Aurelius, Plutarch? Did it ever produce a Shakespeare, a Dante, a Goethe, a Victor Hugo, Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris? A Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, Hæckel? A Cromwell, Milton, Newton, Faraday, Davy, Murdock? These and such-like men have been the inventors and discoverers and the teachers of man. Were they wealthy men? Did any of them die millionaires?

Did they ever go in for riches? No, they left such low ideals to men like Rockefeller, Carnegie, Harriman, Vanderbilt, Pulman, Schaubé, Krupp, Frick, the Rothschilds, the Dukes of Westminster, Portland, Devonshire, Norfolk, Rutland, the Liptons, Whiteleys, and such like—not the *benefactors* but the *exploiters* of humanity. Will anyone dare to assert that there is a single great man amongst the latter class?

We are now in a position to understand that it is not only impossible for any man to invent a machine by himself, but also when it is brought into existence it is of no use of itself. And, further, that the Industrial Revolution only became possible by a series of inventions, each being dependent on the others. Besides those already enumerated were Brindley's engineering feat in the Worsley to Manchester Canal, which resulted in the cheapening of the cost of coal; the invention of gas for lighting purposes by Murdock; the introduction of the art of calico-printing.

William Hoyle, a Lancashire manufacturer, writing in 1871, says: "The writer was informed a short time ago by a gentleman whose ancestors were in the cotton trade upwards of 60 years ago that the cost of candles during the winter months was almost equal to the cost of cotton." Murdock's invention altered all this. Thus we realise that man of himself is of little account, but working in conjunction with his fellow-men he is a mighty force. Throughout the whole of historical time the incentive of gain has never been the impelling force for invention or discovery, but the desire to achieve something which had never been achieved before, even to the extent of sacrificing their lives in consequence. Millions of men will, and do, die for honour, but few will do so for gain.

We are now at the last part of our inquiry: What will be the reward of the inventor under Socialism? Well, the first and most important point is that his economic standing will be assured—that is, food, clothing and shelter, of the very best and to the full

for a rational and natural existence will be guaranteed him. This he never has had up to the present time. Being conscious of this fact, there will be no desire to heap up wealth, for none but a miser loves gold for its own sake. And all material wants being assured, the incentive of gain cannot exist.

Will there be no incentive of any kind, then, under Socialism? Assuredly! So long as man remains a conscious intellectual being he will always desire the appreciation of his fellow-man. This then, will be the incentive. The greatest inventors, teachers, benefactors of man will for ever be the most honoured; will become the natural leaders of the "human family"; and the others will gladly honour them and follow their leadership—for as Carlyle says:—

"Man, little as he may suppose it, is necessitated to obey superiors. He is a social being in virtue of this necessity—nay, he could not be gregarious otherwise. He obeys those whom he esteems better than himself, wiser, braver, and will for ever obey such; and even be pleased and delighted to do it."

With a really educated democracy this truism will become more and more realised, and man will produce according to his abilities, feeling that his own happiness depends on the happiness of all. And as Shakespeare says:—

"Time's glory is to calm contending Kings,
To unmask falsehood and bring truth to light,
To stamp the seal of time upon aged things,
To wake the morn and sentinel the night,
To wrong the wronger till he renders right,
To ruate proud buildings with thy hours,
And smear with dust their glittering golden
towers."

JNO. RHIND.

ERRATUM.—In the previous article on this subject, appearing in our February number, on page 63, Stephenson's Christian name is printed "Robert" instead of "George."

ARE YOU RIPE FOR THE EMANCIPATION?

It has often appeared to me that more general information concerning the Labour movement of the various countries would be of great value. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, the American Federation of Labour in the United States, and the International Socialist Congress, too little is known of their work among the rank and file of the organised working class to in any way advance their interests and improve their conditions.

While the large mass of unorganised workers and the great army of agricultural workers constitute about four-fifths of the wealth-producers of our country, their aims and aspirations, so far as a solution of the Labour problem is concerned, are practically unknown to those occupying the industrial field at the present moment.

Now, Adam Smith contended over 130 years ago that to the workers should go the value of toil or an equivalent, therefore we of the working class have apparently not been apt scholars, and have not profited by his teachings. If there is any solace in the thought that great masses move slowly, let us make the most of it and try to improve upon the past.

Just at present the working class of the United States is being stirred up as never before. History is repeating itself. The obstacles English unionists had to meet in the Taff Vale decision, which aroused them to concerted action, and resulted in organising the Labour Representation Committee, are now being duplicated in America, and the sentencing of Presi-

dent Gompers, Vice President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison, of the A. F. of L., is awakening American wage-workers to the fact that, though a Republic and enjoying a democratic form of government, we are as much in the thrall of a class struggle as the wealth-producers of any nation, and this consciousness may lead us to adopt the methods of our fellow workers in other countries.

I could never realise why the world should not be open for the worker of one land whenever it suited his purpose and interests to make his home in another. And why, having acquired membership in a trade or labour union, his membership card should not be of as much value and entitle him to the same privileges abroad as at home. Can a Labour movement lay claim to promoting the interests of the working class unless it safeguards the individual in every walk of life? Capitalism is international; should not Labour make good its claim, and act internationally?

The interests of the employing class are everywhere the same—exploitation of the wage-workers. To protect their vested rights millions are exhausted in military and naval equipments. Workers, who have nothing at stake, sacrifice life and limb to secure titles to possessions for the captains of industry, and find a reward in suffering and privation.

Can the day be far distant when we of the working class can exercise our prerogatives in the protection of our own interests? Is it so difficult to understand that united action would give us possession of the earth and the fulness thereof? Can we by fostering craft divisions accomplish our purpose? Do we not find that in the A. F. of L. the spirit of industrial unionism is making itself manifest? And is it not our ignorance alone that is at fault when we, mistaking our relations as a working class, narrowly confining our territory as wealth producers, rend each other that our masters may reap the harvest?

Fellow workers of all nations, let me conjure you to give heed to the cry: "Workers of the world, unite ;

you have nothing to lose but your chains ; you have a world to win."

We of the working class are many, our adversaries are few. Let us show the master class that we can not only produce the wealth of nations, but can distribute it also in a manner conducive to the well-being of mankind. Equal rights to all, special privileges to none, and an industrial democracy the world over. This is the slogan of the working class. Are you ripe for the emancipation ?

ROBERT BANDLOW.

HOW LONG ?

'Tis the Springtime, when life is renewing,
And nature seems blithesome and glad ;
But, alas, 'tis the few may enjoy it,
And the many are weary and sad.

And ye who life's good gifts are gleaning
Think ye not of the millions who toil,
For whom the sweet Spring's only meaning
Is a round in the drear and the toil ?

They are chained to the slum and the factory,
They know not the heavens are fair,
While ye squander the wealth they're creating,
And abuse all the joys they should share.

Oh, toilers, awake from your slumbers,
How long must it take ere ye know
Your salvation is sure if your numbers
Unite 'gainst the one common foe ?

Think ye not of the ones that come after ;
That ye leave them no richer bequest
Than your miserable lot for their portion,
And lives of toil without rest ?

'Tis our duty to strive that the future
Some hope for the workers may bring,
If not for ourselves, for our children,
That they taste of the beauties of Spring.

JOHN NICOLSON.

Shetland.

THE MONTH.

We regret that in our note last month dealing with the results of the general election there were two mistakes. In the last Parliament the Liberals had a majority of 205 over the Tories, not "over all other parties." The net Liberal majority over all other parties combined was 76. In the present Parliament they have a majority of two only over the Tories, 275 to 273, the Labour Party having 40 members and the Irish 82.

This places the balance of power, apparently, in the hands of the Labour Party and the Irish. Neither of these parties, however, nor both of them combined, can turn out the Government unless the Tories join with them. The latter, it is clear, are not at all desirous of turning the Government out and to thus make themselves responsible for clearing up the present financial muddle, and it is equally certain that the Labour Party are by no means eager to hasten a dissolution. On the 8th of this month, therefore, we had the sorry spectacle of a section of the Labour Party voting with the Government against their own resolution—and a section abstaining—in order to save the Government from defeat.

The occasion was a motion on the Army Estimates, to call attention to the conditions of employment in various establishments under the War Office, and proposing that the employees in these establishments should be at least as well treated as those engaged upon similar work under private employers. The motion was, ably, if moderately, presented by MacDonald. When, however, it came to a division, most of the Labourists bolted from their own resolution. It was a pitiable exhibition, and one which emphasises once more the complete subservience of the Labour Party to the Asquithian Government.

Our comrade Thorne, we are glad to say, stuck to his guns and voted against the Government. Two other members of the Labour Party also found themselves, by accident, in the same lobby!

The excuse made by the Labourists for their extraordinary action on this occasion is that the Tory Opposition had got out of hand, and would have defeated the Government if the Labour Party had voted with the Opposition in support of the motion. That is to say, that the Labour Party are quite prepared to vote against the Government when it is safe and futile to do so, but they dare not risk a defeat of the Ministry! Such an "independent" party, don't you see!

All they have got for their pains so far is the disgust of their followers outside and a smart rap over the knuckles from the Ministerial organ, which admonishes them to refrain from bringing forward any motions in the future and to content themselves with docilely supporting the Government.

As neither the Labourists nor the Tories wish to turn the Government out just now, however, this advice is somewhat superfluous. As to the Irish, they are quite willing to keep the Government in for the sake of the Veto Bill as a preliminary to Home Rule. It is not at all likely, however, that Asquith will keep faith with them any more than he has done with the rest of his supporters; and the Irish cannot turn him out without the help of the Tories.

And Asquith is keeping a whip hand over the latter by only taking Votes of Supply for six weeks. This prolongs the financial chaos and practically cripples the opposition of the Tories, as it strengthens their reluctance to take office. All this seems to point to a determination on Asquith's part to stick to office for some time. All the same, a general election in Midsummer is commonly talked of as a practical certainty. What the Labour Party will do in that eventuality it is impossible to say. Many of them are certainly not in a position to fight another election.

We have little faith in the ultimate redemption of the Prime Minister's pledges with regard to the House of Lords. The Veto

resolutions will doubtless pass the House of Commons. They are not likely to pass the House of Lords. In the meantime, however, the Budget will be got through and a Veto Bill will be introduced. This will probably be passed by the House of Commons. That, again, will not pass the House of Lords. Then when that measure is rejected there will be three courses open to the Prime Minister : he can quietly acquiesce in the rejection of the measure, he can resign, or he can dissolve. Whatever course he may choose, the Veto Bill may be regarded as dead and done for.

In the meantime, the promised reform of our electoral system is once more deferred to the dim future ; and the next election, come when it may, will have to be fought with the same old antiquated and costly machinery. Which will be bad, not only for the Labour Party, but for any Socialist candidates who may be put forward.

The London County Council Elections have resulted in the reduction of the majority the "Municipal Reformers" gained at the last election to the insignificant majority of two. They will doubtless improve their position by the appointment of aldermen ; but they will be more likely to walk warily now that the parties, as elected, are pretty evenly balanced. It is matter of regret that no Social-Democrats were put forward in this election. It is to be hoped that steps will be taken to ensure the nomination of one Social-Democratic candidate in every constituency at the next election.

The last of the Chinese coolies have been sent home from South Africa, and loud are the rejoicings in the Liberal camp thereat. The Liberals who are so self-laudatory over the repatriation of the Chinese, however, ignore the fact that there has been an enormous increase of Kaffirs, and there are now nearly 30,000 more "slaves" on the Rand mines than were there four years ago ; while, at the same time, the cost of working has been greatly reduced, and the profits to the mineowners correspondingly increased.

As we naturally anticipated, the Labour Exchanges, instead of being that "boon and blessing" to the unemployed which so many unfortunates were mischievously led to expect they would be, have been in many instances causes of much harm. They have

inflicted grievous hardship on many a poor creature who has been sent tramping after a non-existent job, and more than once men have been obtained through the exchanges to fill the places of others on strike. Trade union officials have had another added to their multifarious duties—that of looking out to see that the Labour Exchanges are not systematically used as blackleg agencies.

We are glad to be able to congratulate Nicholas Tchaykovsky, the noble old Russian revolutionist, on his acquittal at the hands of the secret tribunal before which he went through the mockery of a trial. The evidence brought against him was too corrupt and untrustworthy for even the Russian autocracy; but his fellow accused, Madame Breshkovsky, has been mercilessly sent back to Siberia.

Madame Breshkovsky is 66 years of age, bent and decrepit. She has practically devoted her whole life to agitation among the peasantry. She is called "Babushka," the grandmother of the revolutionary movement. The most remarkable thing about her, says the "Times" correspondent, are "her eyes, glowing with fervour." Not long ago she was in the United States, but her zeal for the cause took her back to the land of the knout and the dungeon. She is the grandest type of Russian womanhood. Of gentle birth, she has endured exile and imprisonment, innumerable hardships and privations, has been hounded by Russian spies and mouchards all over Russia. She has been an inspiration to the whole movement. With undaunted courage this noble martyr told the court openly that she was a revolutionary Socialist. And the vile instruments of the Czar have sent this woman to the land of the eternal snows—to Siberia—to death, because that is what it means.

The shooting of the Egyptian Prime Minister, Boutros Pasha, by a young Nationalist may be taken as an outward and visible sign of the revolutionary movement which is growing up in Egypt, and which, in spite of the optimistic friends of the British occupation, may be expected to find an outlet in open revolt against foreign domination. From all we can learn the cause of Egyptian Nationalism is growing apace, and England's difficulty may ere long prove to be Egypt's opportunity.

As we anticipated, the new Naval estimates show a considerable increase, amounting now to a round forty millions. Nevertheless,

there is no danger, and those who say there is are mischievous scare-mongers. For our part we have no hesitation in saying that there is danger, and that our precious Government is taking no steps whatever to avert it, but is simply adding fuel to the flames.

Poor Pete Curran did not long survive his defeat at Jarrow. He made a plucky fight there, and during the last few days of the contest displayed a stoical heroism which was remarkable. We mourn his death, while we cannot but regret that in the last years of his life he did not strive more loyally for Socialism inside the Labour Party. He might have helped where he hindered.

The Labour Party Conference at Newport had no special significance. The principle of "no Socialism, no programme, no policy, no principles" was steadfastly upheld, although Hardie, as chairman, made a good fighting Socialist speech. The chief feature of the proceedings was the preliminary conference dealing with the House of Lords' decision against trade union contributions to the party funds. It was decided to promote a Bill to reverse the law as laid down by the Lords, but there is no likelihood of such a measure passing through the present Parliament.

STRIKES CAUSED BY HIGHER PRICES.

Behind the present demands of the railroad workers throughout the country for higher wages looms as a cause the disquieting fact that the country's growing prosperity is increasing rather than lightening the burden of the "ultimate consumer." It is on the acknowledged fact that food, shelter, and clothing have increased in cost during the past year that the trainmen base their demands for wage increases ranging from 5 to 40 per cent. West of Chicago the matter has already resulted in a strike, but on the Eastern lines a peaceful solution of the problem is looked for. "The whole matter," says President W. C. Brown, of the New York Central, as quoted in the "New York Evening Mail," "hinges on the one question as to whether there has been, since the last increase of wages, a material increase in the cost of living." Since the pinch of climbing prices is felt by all classes of wage-earners, demands for higher wages are now the order of the day throughout the whole industrial field. "Wages have not kept pace with prices," declares Mr. Alexander MacDonald, a Standard Oil millionaire, whose testimony on the side of the wage-earner must be accepted as at least disinterested. In a Cincinnati dispatch to the "New York American" Mr. MacDonald is further quoted as follows:—

"It is becoming impossible for the wage-worker to make both ends meet. I do not recall when the cost of living was so high. We will have to have a readjustment somewhere.

"It is not good that the mass of our people should be forced to live a hand-to-mouth existence. There is no incentive in work that produces nothing for the future. The saving ability of our people must not be curtailed.

"I cannot see how the clerk who must pay the present high prices can support a family and save at the same time. The results of such a condition cannot be anything but bad. It discourages marriage, among other things, and those who have means are living too extravagantly."

Some pessimistic observers see in the demands of the railroad workers only the beginning of a vicious circle which at each revolution will levy fresh toll on the pocket of the average citizen.

Mr. Frank Fayant states this view concisely in the "New York Times":—

"Railroad wages will be raised. Freight rates will be raised. The 100,000,000 dols. increased yearly distribution to the 1,200,000 workers on the railroads will be added to the cost of commodities, and will be paid by the consumers of commodities."

President Brown, however, does not share the opinion that an increase in the wages of railroad employees would mean an endless chain of increases at the expense of the consumer. He says:—

"It does not figure out in circles. A 10 per cent. increase in the wages of the average conductor, engineer, yardman, and the like would be, approximately, 100 dols. per annum. An increase of 10 per cent. in freight rates on everything his family uses in a year would be less than one dollar. The situation for the employee, therefore, would be much better."

Census estimates place the average income of an American family for five persons at 750 dols. According to Mr. Fayant a 10 per cent. increase in freight rates would add a dollar a year to the cost of things consumed by such a family—that is to say, it would add 20 cents to the living expenses of each member.

So rapid has been the increase in the cost of living in the United States, particularly in the cost of the necessities of life, that many see in it a political as well as an economic problem of the first importance. Representative Howland (Rep.), of Ohio, wants to make it the subject of a Congressional investigation, and has introduced a resolution in the House to that end. "No subject since the free-silver agitation in 1906," declares the "Macon (Ga.) Telegraph," has attracted so much public attention." In spite of bountiful harvests the prices of farm products have steadily advanced until the price of corn is 113 per cent. higher than in 1896, while in the same period wheat has advanced 94 per cent., and potatoes 100 per cent. Sheep and swine have increased in value 100 per cent., while lard has gone up 226 per cent., and pork 210 per cent. This list of soaring commodities, we are told, might be extended to embrace almost everything grown or manufactured. Bradstreet's "index number" shows that 9.12 dols. had the same purchasing power on December 1, 1909, that 3.42 dols. had in July of 1896. Among the varied explanations advanced are the increased production of gold, the failure of our agricultural output to keep pace with our increasing population, the high tariff, the trusts, and the national spirit of extravagance. Discussing with a representative of the "New York World" the relation between the world's increased gold production and the higher cost of living President Brown, whom we have already quoted, says:—

"In the Presidential campaign of 1896 the American people decided definitely and finally that gold should be the future measure of all values in this country. Since that time one

country after another has followed the wise precedent thus established, and it may be said truthfully that to-day gold is the measure of value the world over.

"Economists agree that there is a direct relation between the quantity of the metal that is the basis of value and the general industrial condition; that, as the basic metal increases in quantity—and as a consequence decreases in purchasing power—the value, the price of everything measured by and paid for with that metal, is invariably enhanced in value.

"The total gold production of the world in 1896 was approximately 202,251,600 dols. In 1908 it was 435,000,000 dols., an increase of more than 100 per cent. in thirteen years. It is confidently predicted that by the end of the first decade of this new century the annual production will approximate 500,000,000 dols. . . .

"The gold produced year after year piles up, is accumulated, and as it augments and accumulates it becomes cheaper—that is, as measured by the things for which it is exchanged. As it accumulates it takes more gold to buy a bushel of wheat, a suit of clothes, a pound of beefsteak, a sack of flour, or any of the other necessities of life.

"For this reason the pay of labour has steadily advanced and must continue to advance in some fair ratio with the increase in the cost of the things that labour must buy. To put it in another way, wages must go up in about the same proportion that the purchasing power of the money the labourer earns goes down."

The cost of bread in this country is a puzzling item to Mr. G. R. Cahill, an investigator for the London Board of Trade. He is quoted as saying in a Chicago interview:—

"I can't understand how we can buy bread in England for one third the price you pay in Chicago when you send us your wheat. You have to pay 5 cents for 14 ounces of bread, while we get a loaf weighing 64 ounces for 10 cents. Our 4-lb. loaf never costs more than 12 cents, and usually only 10 cents. I confess I can't understand it."

To Gifford Pinchot the higher cost of living is a phase of the conservation problem. In his address he says:—

"The income of the average family in the United States is less than 600 dols. a year. To increase the cost of living to such a family beyond the reasonable profits of legitimate business is wrong. It is not merely a question of a few cents more a day for the necessities of life, or of a few cents less a day for wages.

"Far more is at stake—the health or sickness of little babies, the education or ignorance of children, virtue or vice in young daughters, honesty or criminality in young sons, the working power of bread-winners, the integrity of families, the provision of old age—in a word, the welfare and happiness or the misery and degradation of the plain people are involved in the cost of living.

"To the special interests an unjust rise in the cost of living means simply higher profit, but to those who pay it that profit is measured in schooling, warm clothing, a reserve to meet emergencies, a fair chance to make the fight for comfort, decency, and right living."

Despite the assurance in President Taft's message to Congress that the increased cost of living is not due to the protective tariff, Senator Clapp (Rep.), of Minnesota, still holds the new tariff law responsible. A Washington dispatch to the "New York American" represents him as saying:—

"This law has cost and is costing the American people millions of dollars in increased cost of living. Had the Aldrich-Payne Tariff Bill been beaten, those millions would have been saved to the people.

"It was generally understood that the tariff would bring about an increase. The increase did not affect everything, of course; but when prices were raised by those whose rates had been increased, others were compelled to increase their prices in keeping. The thing started with the tariff increases, and is going all along the line, apparently.

"Raise the price of one necessity of life—of a man's coal, shoes, food—and the man who is compelled to pay that increased price must get more for what he has to sell in order that he may pay it. Therefore, it necessarily affects the price of what he produces. He must either take less profit or else raise his price.

"You will hear it said constantly with reference to something on which the price has been advanced, 'Oh, that isn't in the tariff at all. That increase has nothing to do with the tariff.' But the fact is that the tariff reaches all along the line . . .

"Then there are the combinations. They reach now to almost everything. When we had real competition the tariff was merely protective, and while it kept out foreign goods, competition among home-producers kept the prices from being excessive. But that is no longer the case.

"But when we come to the era of combinations, behind our tariff wall, to prevent competition at home, while the tariff prevents competition from abroad, then we find ourselves facing this condition of constantly increasing cost of living. Eliminate competition and producer and consumer at once become two different classes."

"Have we not taken too large a percentage of our labour and energy away from the production and distribution of the necessities of life, and encouraged them to become engaged in producing comforts and luxuries?" writes a bank president to "The Wall Street Journal," which paper replies that he "places his finger on one of the most important causes of high prices," since "our national, municipal, and individual extravagance is positively terrifying."—"Literary Digest" (New York).

INVENTIONS OF THE FUTURE.

Under this heading, Thomas A. Edison's forecast of the manner in which we may be going to solve some of our present industrial and scientific problems is published in "The Independent" (New York, January 6) in the form of an interview with Mr. Edison, who afterwards, it is stated, revised and corrected the manuscript. The article runs, in part, as follows:—

"Among the many problems which await solution in the future one of the most important is to get the full value out of fuel. The wastefulness of our present methods of combustion is tremendous. A pound of coal has enough energy in it to carry itself around the world. We are able to extract only a small fraction of its heat and power; the greater part goes to waste. Our best steam-engines use about 15 per cent. of the energy of the coal they consume. With gas-engines probably 20 to 25 per cent. of the energy is utilised.

"There are various methods being tried out to convert coal directly into electricity without the use of a boiler—eliminating fire and steam. Some of these are oxidation methods. They are scientifically successful, though not yet commercially successful. Oxidation is, of course, a form of combustion. It is slow burning. The only difference between rusting, burning, and exploding is the speed of the chemical reaction. Explosives burn very fast, and though they are used to some extent as fuel in the propulsion of torpedoes they are not economical. There is not as much power in a ton of 40 per cent. dynamite as there is in a ton of coal. Everything in nature would burn up if it were not for the fact that nearly everything except coal is already burned up. Iron would burn and make a good fuel—if in a very fine powder—but it has already been consumed in Nature's furnace. Coal is stored-up sunlight; it is the storage battery of the sun, to which we owe about all our energy.

"We may discover the germ of getting all the power from fuel to-morrow; and then again it may take a long time to find out.

"Radium has great power. It has no appreciable limit or end. It is not combustible. It gives off intra-atomic energy. We don't know how its energy was stored up. A carload of radium would have as much energy as all the millions of tons of coal mined in the United States in a year. Radium is the cause of the earth's

heat, according to the view of most scientists to-day. That explains why the earth, constantly radiating vast quantities of heat into space, doesn't cool down. The planet would be pretty chilly after all these millions of years if it had no radium in it. While only small quantities of radium have been isolated, it exists everywhere in water, rock, and soil; it is universally distributed, and a little of it goes a long way. The possibility of harnessing this force for our use is somewhat of a speculation. A radium clock has been made, and it will go several hundred years without winding.

"I have a spinthariscopescope, which is a tiny bit of radium, of a size that will go through the eye of a needle, mounted over a piece of willemite. It has been shooting off millions of sparks for the six years that I have had it, and I expect it will be shooting sparks the same way for thousands of years. There will be enough sparks given out by that fragment of radium to cover and illuminate the State of Rhode Island. Some say they travel at the speed of light, others 12,000 miles a second. This speed is the source of radium's power. Infinite velocity makes up for lack of mass. . . .

"Radium is found along with uranium and thorium. Some day we might find immense deposits of it, and then it will be a problem how to handle it without dangerous consequences. A large quantity of the stuff would kill everybody around. A fellow shot up with 17,000,000,000 atomic cannon balls poured into him with the velocity of light would feel uncomfortable.

"Besides its mechanical possibilities radium is valuable, it is said, in the treatment of skin cancer and some other diseases. Cancer is a hard proposition, but when it bucks up against radium it meets its match. I guess it is a case of *similia similibus curantur*.

"There are lots of things besides radium that we don't understand. These five senses of ours are pretty dull detectives. We perceive only a little that comes within the range of our senses. A thing drops below our level and we don't perceive it. Here and there, now and then, someone finds out a new thing we didn't dream the existence of. In this room and in your room at this moment there are fifty wireless messages going through. Without instruments we cannot detect them."

After we have developed the power of our waterfalls, the utilisation of the tides, Mr. Edison thinks, will possibly follow, but the machinery to accomplish this would require a vast investment. More practicable, he says, are windmills connected with storage batteries to lay up energy of the winds in electrical form. Sun-engines Mr. Edison considers very promising machines. They absorb the sun's heat in water or other liquid, or concentrate it by focusing the sun's rays on a boiler. In Arizona there is a 30-horse-power sun-engine using a steam-turbine. We read further:—

"In steaming volcanoes there is a source of power, which might be obtained and sent out by electricity. At Yellowstone Park the

geysers are wastefully spouting a large amount of energy. In the Comstock Lode and all through that region Nature has a powerhouse which man could use. Steam under pressure to run engines and make electricity can be had there merely by sinking artesian wells. . . .

"To get rid of friction in our machines is one of the future problems. The only machine without friction that we know is the world, and it moves in the resistless ether.

"The monorail does not appeal to me. It was a fundamental mistake that our railroads were built on a 4-foot-9½-inch gauge instead of a 6-foot gauge, which we will probably have to come to yet.

"The aeroplane of the future will, I think, have to be on the helicopter principle. A successful air-machine must be able to defy the winds. If Wright's aeroplane had one-twentieth of its surface the wind would not affect it. The helicopter principle is the only way to rise above atmospheric conditions. By increasing the velocity of propeller revolutions the size of the machine can be diminished, and thereby we vanquish the hostility of the wind. A helicopter could have foot-size planes distributed on a 100 to 150-foot circle and controlled from the centre by wires.

"Chemical food has been worked out pretty well by Emil Fischer and his students, but it won't be a commercial proposition. There are lots of synthetic things made. Carbohydrates of the same nature and bulk as the natural material are produced, but you can't beat the farm as a laboratory, commercially speaking. If we should dry up like Mars and couldn't raise vegetables on the earth, we might turn to a chemical diet. There might be local famines which could be mitigated by the food-productions of the chemists. The complaint to-day seems to be that there are too many chemicals in our food.

"The clothes of the future will be so cheap that every young woman will be able to follow the fashions promptly, and there will be plenty of fashions. Artificial silk that is superior to natural silk is now made of wood-pulp. It shines better than silk. I think that the silkworm barbarism will go in 50 years, just as the indigo of India went before the synthetic production of indigo in German laboratories. . . .

"There is much ahead of us. We don't know what gravity is; neither do we know the nature of heat, light, and electricity, though we handle them a little. We are only animals. We are coming out of the dog-stage and getting a glimpse of our environment. We don't know, we just suspect a few things. It will take an enormous evolution of our brains to bring us anywhere. Our practice of shooting one another in war is proof that we are still animals. The make-up of our society is hideous.

"Communications with other worlds has been suggested. I think we had better stick to this world and find out something about

it before we call up our neighbours. They might make us ashamed of ourselves.

"Art will be increased and distributed as we emerge more and more from the dog-stage. Society will have to stop this whisky business, which is like throwing sand in the bearings of a steam-engine. In 200 years, by the cheapening of commodities, the ordinary labourer will live as well as a man does now with \$200,000 annual income. Automatic machinery and scientific agriculture will bring about this result. Not individualism but social labour will dominate the future; you can't have individual machines and every man working by himself. Industry will constantly become more social and interdependent. There will be no manual labour in the factories of the future. The men in them will be merely superintendents watching the machinery to see that it works right.

"The work-day, I believe, will be eight hours. Every man needs that much work to keep him out of mischief and to keep him happy. But it will be work with the brain, something that men will be interested in, and done in wholesome, pleasant surroundings. Less and less man will be used as an engine, or as a horse, and his brain will be employed to benefit himself and his fellows."—New York "Literary Digest."

THE REVIEWS.

THE HOME WORKERS OF LONDON.

Miss Sydney K. Phelps writes on the above in the current issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After." She says:—

In telling of the lives of these women, it is "less the horror than the grace" on which I wish to dwell. My only excuse for writing a word on the subject is that I have been for several years intimately connected with the Home Workers' Aid Association, founded and managed by Mr. Thomas Holmes, once a police-court missionary, now the Secretary of the Howard Association. There are two reasons why this would appear to be a reasonable time in which to try to interest people in these quietly heroic lives, for two legislative measures have been promised, or threatened, which must effect them very closely. The pleasanter of the two, the establishment of a Wages Board, which shall fix the lowest price at which certain work shall be paid, has just come into force. The other measure which is threatened is intended apparently to prohibit home work altogether, unless the dwellings of the workers fulfil certain conditions, which they decidedly do not fulfil.

This latter plan causes the association much uneasiness. It is said that there are about a hundred thousand home workers in London alone. Of this number only a very small percentage can hope to satisfy the suggested requirements. Yet no one would appear to be able to ask the question, "What is to become of the worker who can no longer work?" It is quite useless to say she must go into the factory. She cannot. Amongst the women whom I know of this class, the spinsters are all either too old or too infirm to have any chance of being taken on at any factory. The majority of the women are widows, whilst a certain number have infirm husbands, or bad husbands, and in these cases there are almost always young children who cannot be left for the whole day. The women will not go into any workhouse. Are they to starve? They will neither beg nor steal.

What do these home workers make? In past days I have given a list of the things in answer to this question, and I have been met with the astonished exclamation, "Why, I thought all that was

done by machinery!" Perhaps it is; but the machines have the outer appearance of toil-worn women, and I know they can feel. They are makers of boxes of all kinds—boxes for sweets, boxes to contain samples of food, boxes for delicate surgical appliances, boxes to hold fountain pens, and match-boxes. They make belts, tooth brushes, blouses, costumes, babies' bonnets, paper bags, artificial flowers, sealskin jackets, and confirmation wreaths. They also make a great many things not here set down, for I am only writing of what I know.

Are they not machines after all? I think so sometimes. Their hands move with a swiftness and sureness which is barely human. One old maker of match-boxes was sent down to our Home of Rest at Walton-on-Naze. She was entreated to do nothing but to sit in a comfortable chair basking in the sunshine and look out at the sea. She certainly sat there quietly enough, she was used to that part of the cure. But as she sat her poor tired hands went mechanically through the well-known movements. She was folding imaginary paper, smoothing down imaginary corners, and from her hands flowed a constant stream of phantom match-boxes.

I was once asked if I found a great deal of "revolutionary feeling" amongst these women. Most certainly not. They are not discontented, they have no grievance against anyone, they have no idea that they are ill-used. They suppose, when facing any extra trial, that "it had to be." They resent nothing, they hope nothing; they dread change, since all changes they have known have been for the worse. They are decent, hard-working to a fault, sober, kindly, very proud.

The only sign which I have discovered amongst them of any sense that this world has failed them is in their unfeigned touching joy at the sight of a funeral amongst their own ranks. This puzzled me at first, and then I saw its meaning. The knowledge came as I went up a good many flights of stairs in a warren of small dwellings near Bethnal Green. At each staircase window was an admiring group, and the courtyard below was thronged, for there was a funeral that day. It was a thoroughly unselfish demonstration of pleasure at the thought that for one of them at least the worst was over, and the best just beginning. No more cramped quarters, no more empty cupboards, no more worry about the rent, and no more match-boxes to be made. Good luck to her! Flowers by all means. She had few in life, but has arum lilies to-day. She has joined the carriage folk for one day only, she to whom a tram-ride was often an impossible bit of luxury. Let grave-faced men attend her to-day; she has had to wait long enough on the pleasure of others when asking for work. That tiny bit of "feeling" is, I think, in their hearts. I am not sure that they do not rather pity, at the end, those who die after having had an easy life here. It is all going to be "made up" to the match-box maker. But how is it to be "made up" to the millionaire?

Another box-maker I saw making boxes for some kind of sweets. She got the splendid price of one-and-sixpence a gross. It is not as good as it sounds, for these boxes are covered in light blue paper, which shows every finger-mark, and they have some paper lace inside. With tireless industry this woman could make a gross a day. As she had then only one child, and paid only three shillings a week for her room, it seemed a case of comparative affluence. But alas, she had a bad husband, who had just deserted her, and it was quite certain that before very long she would have to lay aside her work for a few, all too few, days, and that then there would be another child to care for. Above her bed was a framed text, "Have faith in God." I hope she has, for she needs it.

Such is the best description I can give of the home workers of London. If it does not appeal to the hearts of those who read it, the fault is with me, for the people themselves are of the salt of the earth. May I add one word? They do not drink. I am so tired of having this easy explanation of all poverty hurled in my face. I do not know the exact cost of drunkenness, although I am not ignorant of the exact cost of beer or gin. Given a woman with two or three children, who can just earn 10s. a week by incessant work, allow that those children are fed and clothed, and that the rent is paid, where is the money for drink to come from? Is there a race of publicans which gives away liquor for sheer fun? Tea, bread, and margarine appear to me to be the staple articles of diet. . . .

The Home Workers' Aid Association does its best to induce women not to bring their daughters up to the same trades, but it is a hard matter. Indeed, the daughters are scarcely fitted for domestic service. It would take two years of good air and good food to fit most of them to be anything more than "marchionesses."



WILL ENGLAND AND GERMANY FIGHT?

William B. Hale, an American, writes the following in the current "World's Work":—

They are talking, in Europe, of a war—a war in which two of the most powerful nations would face each other with the largest armies and the biggest navies ever envisaged in battle, with weapons more destructive than any ever used before. It would be a war stupefying in the suffering that it would entail, prodigious in its effect upon the lives of the two peoples, colossal in the scale to which it would almost inevitably develop, stupendous in the possibilities of universal conflict which it would open. It does not require imagination to see the spread of this war till it should rage all over Europe, call Japan again to arms, make China a battlefield

and dissolve the allegiance to their old masters of colonies all over the world ; it rather requires ingenuity to find grounds for hoping that it would not extend its effects to both hemispheres and to all continents.

This war talk is not new. It has been going on for three years. It refuses to die out, it deepens in seriousness and volume. There was a moment, early last spring, when it manifested itself hysterically.

The public commotion has ceased, but in its place is a settled fear, answering to the "ominous hush" of Europe, which Lord Rosebery thinks is more sinister and more significant than the bluster which preceded it.

As for Germany, there has never been a panic there, only a slow gathering of belief that war is inevitable. A visitor to Berlin, Cologne, or Frankfort to-day would find that belief widely and seriously held, and he would find, moreover, that commercial arrangements and business plans were being conditioned upon the continuance of peace. In other parts of Europe events wait upon the issue ; the diplomacy of France, of Austria, of Russia, marks time.

... So, as the course of international relations ordinarily proceeds, there is no cloud in the sky. Relations could be no more strictly "correct" than they are.

It is possible to go further. Those responsible for the conduct of the Government of England, and equally those responsible for the conduct of that of Germany, not only do not desire war, but for the strongest of reasons do to-day desire to avoid war.

England is engrossed with an internal situation critical and interesting ; the Government has embarked on a programme of social re-organisation, including the revaluation of lands, provision for old age pensions, and insurance against non-employment. This programme, although not yet fully entered upon, has necessitated a Budget so heavy that it is attacked as revolution. War is expensive ; its many minor wars have cost England dear ; victory over the Boers was at a price truly staggering.

The bill for a contest with Germany would be appalling ; though England is still the richest nation in the world, six months of such a conflict would halve the great fortunes of its rich and double the sufferings of its starving poor. It is with the greatest reluctance that the Liberal Government has this year appropriated for the navy about half what the sensational newspapers demanded.

The German Government likewise has devoted most of its energy during the last three years to an anxious search for means to procure more revenue to meet its peace expenses. And that task has been so difficult that (the paramount issue of internal politics) it has split the bloc which ruled Germany for a decade, and

brought about the resignation of a great Chancellor. Germany, furthermore, is passing through a period of commercial and industrial development which war could not but disturb and paralyse. The Germans are finding a profitable and growing market in England and the British Colonies; while, on the other hand, they furnish England with one of the latter's best markets. Peace is desirable on every score of common sense.

Against the likelihood of war the personal influence of the Sovereigns of the two countries reinforces the desires of their constitutional authorities.

Both Powers are keenly alive to the dangers of a conflict. It could only be a fight to a finish. It would almost certainly involve other Powers. Japan is in full alliance with England, Russia and France are its sworn friends. The vitality of the Drei-Bund was proven last spring; Italy may be lukewarm, but Austria is heart and hand with Germany. Austria's politics are now inspired by one of the most daring minds that has bent its attention upon the map of Europe, a mind ably tutored by the German Kaiser to an appreciation of the alluring landscapes along the road to Constantinople. The opening of hostilities would fling the territory of a continent into the arena. In particular it would release the springs of the most vital ambitions of Continental politics—Austria's yearning to drive Russia out of the Balkans, and France's lust for revenge and the recovery of its lost provinces. From a struggle which would dwarf the Napoleonic cataclysm of a century ago, who can say what would emerge? . . . The remembrance that France lies eager to spring across the frontier the moment any army corps leaves German soil must dissipate any conquering dream of the strategists of Potsdam. The recollection that India will flame into revolt the day that British brigades start home to defend the Island must chill and destroy any English dream of victorious war.

Considerations so strong as these might seem to be decisive. What can be said to qualify their force, or to outweigh them? In the face of such reasons for peace, what earthly ground is there for believing that England and Germany are about to fight?

The answer is this: *The most serious possible ground for fearing that England and Germany are about to fight is—the belief of the people of England and Germany that they are about to do so.*

I do not mean primarily that the prevalence of that belief indicates the existence of causes unknown to the world; rendering conflict inevitable. I mean primarily that talk of war, however causeless, tends to beget war. Familiarise two nations with the daily thought of fighting—and it will be a miracle if they fail to fight. Let them occupy themselves daily for two or three years discussing, even with utterly denying, the possibility of a thing—and that thing becomes more than possible. Discuss *casus belli*, deny that they exist—and you provoke them.

COLOUR—A STORY.

The author of this story, which was published a few months ago in "The Craftsman," is Miss Marie Louise Goetchius, a young lady whose work has been attracting much favourable attention in the year or two since she first began to publish. From the very first she has shown the skill of a true artist, and this is the finest thing that we have seen from her pen. It has depth, originality, and the sure touch of a master hand. A volume of the stories of Miss Goetchius is soon to be published.

Katinka stood before her mistress in the dark little kitchen and took the orders for the day. The mistress was small and sharp. She scolded Katinka for a yesterday's stupidity; she warned her that in the future she must grow more intelligent. Katinka was so used to being scolded that she did not listen. She stared instead at her mistress's neck ribbon. It was red, very broad and red, and it warmed Katinka. She wanted to touch and feel it. Everything else in the room—about her mistress and about herself—was ugly and faded. Only the red ribbon glowed like fire.

Soon the mistress went out of the kitchen, and Katinka began to work. There was enough to be done to last that day and the next and the next. The air in the kitchen was heavy and close, but she did not notice that. The coals in the stove gleamed orange and breathed out stifling heat. She bent her flat thin body stolidly over this heat, opening and slamming the rust-turned doors of the stove. There were unwashed dishes piled high on the table. Later she would have to wash them—and then there was the sweeping and cleaning, such as it was, and the making up of three rooms and the serving—and after that more work still. Katinka was strong, even though she looked bloodless and badly fed. Now she clattered clumsily around her kitchen, with her huge flapheeled shoes, her flabby skirts hitched up in front and dragging limply behind, her dirty brown gingham waist gaping open at the throat. And always she thought of the red ribbon and how bright and cheerful it was.

The first thing she remembered, in all her squalid life, was a red handkerchief about her mother's neck. Otherwise she could only look back upon beatings and cursings, and the bitter cold, the biting cold of Russia. Since then she had seen countless colours, in stuffs and ribbons, but she had never owned one of them—never

even a coloured spool of thread. Her mistress had many ribbons of reds and blues and purples. And her mistress's child had many ribbons, too. That was a lucky child! It had much to eat, a nice white bed, gay toys, kind words and pretty dresses with sashes and shoulder knots to match. The child came often into the kitchen to plague and tease Katinka. It seemed to like the kitchen, just as Katinka liked the parlour, where everything was red plush, and where there were big pink paper roses in the window.

This particular morning, the child stole in earlier than usual. It was dressed in white, with a wide blue sash, whose dangling fringe swept the floor as the child darted here and there, fingering everything, disarranging the dishes, peering on the shelves, questioning and getting in Katinka's way. Katinka was not afraid of the child as she was of the mistress, so she dared touch the sash. Its silk slipped scrapingly through her rough fingers as she stroked it and whispered guttural words to it. It seemed to streak in a broad blue band of light through the undusted kitchen.

Soon, however, the child grew tired of Katinka, and not even an offer of jam and bread could keep it near her. It ran wilfully, with a flirt of its sash, out of the door. The kitchen seemed darker when the mistress and child were not there. Katinka felt dumbly alone and sullen.

As she waited on the table that noon, she noticed that the child was wearing more finery than usual—also that the mistress was dressed as for Sunday. Katinka was glad of this, because it meant that they would be going out that afternoon and that she would have the house to herself. She wondered where they were going.

Immediately after dinner, they started off. Katinka watched them from the window. The mistress walked carefully and stiffly, holding her best skirt high above her brown cotton petticoat. The child, in its big flaring hat and starched dress, minced along beside its mother. When they had disappeared around the corner, Katinka went directly to the parlour and sat in one of the big red plush chairs. She liked to smooth the plush with her fingers. But she did not dare to stay there long. The dishes must be cleared, and the rooms done.

After she had finished all the downstairs work, she went to the child's room. There lying on the bed was the blue sash. It curled on the white cover like a blue snake. Katinka stared at it, fascinated. It had grown dark and grey outside, and it was raining in great flat drops against the window-pane. The room was very untidy, and was trimmed profusely with a soiled salmon pink. But to Katinka's eyes it was beautiful, and far above the daring of her dreams. Now the blue sash seemed to make it more beautiful than ever. She could not work while the sash lay there. The consciousness that she was alone with it over-

powered her. She took it up timidly and put it like a scarf around her neck. It clung boldly to her dull brown gingham waist, as if it had innumerable claws, clutching at her for support, sucking in her immobility. She stood motionless for some time. She seemed afraid to move—to put the scarf down where she had found it. She touched it carefully. But finally the first instinctive fear of such intimacy retreated and left her trembling over the pleasure of being alone with the sash. As she tidied up the room, she still felt the blue ribbon about her narrow shoulders.

At last, however, her work in the room was finished. She put the sash slowly back on the bed, but her shoulders twitched rebelliously. Then with a sudden uncouth gesture she caught the sash up again, carried it out of the room, and started climbing the stairs to the garret where she slept. The stairs were steep and black. They creaked with each thud of her heavy feet.

It was damp and brown in the garret. The low wooden rafters of the ceiling pressed down smotheringly. A kitchen chair, a cracked wash-basin and pitcher, a wooden wash-stand and a narrow iron bed were all the room contained. Katinka shut the door behind her. The blue sash slipped from her shoulders and lay coiling and writhing on the dusty floor. She stooped awkwardly and picked it up. Then she sat on the edge of her bed and patted happily the soft blue silk of the ribbon.

Suddenly she started. The front door had slammed. The mistress and the child were back. At once she thrust the sash beneath the cover of the bed and, without a backward glance at it, she stumbled downstairs. The mistress scolded her well for not being at the door. The child ran up to its room, but evidently did not miss the sash, for it did not ask about it.

Katinka went at the rest of her work stupidly. She could think of nothing but the blue sash waiting for her beneath the cover of the bed.

That evening her young man came and sat with her. Katinka never thought of this young man except on the one night a week when he was allowed to see her. He was honest and sober enough. Some day she would marry him. He had often told her that she was a good worker. She worked while he was there. She darned a big black heap of the child's stockings. He watched her with dull approval. They neither of them felt it necessary to converse. At nine o'clock promptly he went away. Katinka was glad. She wanted to be alone in the dark with the blue sash. There was no remorse in her heart. She did not consider it wrong to have taken the sash. She might have taken it long ago if she had thought. She slept with it around her neck that night. At dawn she woke to touch it and look at its warm blue. When she was dressed she hid it again under the mattress.

But the suggestion of the sash upstairs stayed with her all that day, and started a strange unwieldy revolution of her being. She

felt suddenly drunk with the idea of owning more ribbons and finery. She thought constantly of this, and the more she thought of it the more tenacious and fixed became her greedy and starving wish for other companions.

She began to watch her mistress and the child. Her eyes turned always to their rooms and the pretty things they left about. Whenever they went out, she would fumble and hunt slyly in their bureau drawers until, little by little, her treasure grew. A ribbon here, a belt there, a piece of gay-colored stuff—small bits, each of them, but mounting steadily into a rich pile of flaming colour—hidden by day beneath Katinka's mattress, scattered by night in prodigal wealth over the iron bed. Katinka hugged her secret. She brooded over it gluttonously. Now during the day she was still the drudge, going and coming, carrying and washing and serving others. But the dark little kitchen, the scoldings, the flat colourlessness of the day, slid by her vacantly. The weekly visits of the young man blurred themselves into the whole. She did not think of telling him her secret. She sang sometimes tunelessly as she worked. Even the mistress noticed the change in her and began to watch her, for she was suspicious of things she did not understand, and there was no reason that she could see why her servant should sing. So she scolded and spied upon Katinka more than ever.

Only the nights were Katinka's own, and in them she learned to be happy. Night after night she played with her treasure. Her one little candle burned palely in its sickly yellow point. Its light was feeble by contrast with the ribbons. Sometimes she would lay them out in different patterns on the floor and look at them for hours. Such patterns as Katinka would weave! Narrow and broad, short and long ribbons, smooth and wrinkled, they would stretch their orange, blue and red arms out into the shadows, and beckon and twist and turn and point. Sometimes when a silver of moonlight crept painfully in through the top of the narrow window, Katinka would blow out the candle and heap them in the thin path of the moon whiteness. Then the colours would burn strangely, as with a thousand eyes. To Katinka they seemed to stir and breathe. She would often seize them up, and strain them to her, and as she bent over them, with her pale hair and face, her high hard cheekbones, her narrow sunken shoulders, the ribbons looked in their brilliant tones as if they had sucked the life from her. Other times she dressed up in them. They hung from her grotesquely, like weird, flapping, winged banners. There were indeed many ways in which to enjoy them. Oh, those were gay, warm-blooded nights spent with good friends!

Still Katinka grew bolder. Her passion became fierce as a miser's greed for gold. The day was dull and worthless in which she did not bring another ribbon to add to her pile beneath the mattress. Once a danger note sounded. The child wished to wear the blue sash. It was nowhere to be found. The mistress asked

Katinka if she had seen the sash, and Katinka, in a sudden panic, answered that one day when she was cleaning it had blown out of the window. The mistress accepted this explanation silently, and no more was said about it. But from that day the mistress grew very careless. Once she left her best brooch—a big bowknot with a bright stone in the centre of it—on the bureau. It did not tempt Katinka. She looked at it without envy. But that same morning she found a long piece of brick-coloured satin ribbon lying on the child's bureau, and that she took greedily.

In the evening her young man came to see her. Katinka had so much work to do that she could not sit with him. She was tired. Her head ached doggedly. Her thick ankles and feet turned in resistlessly as she shuffled about the kitchen, scraping the rust-worn pans, washing the greasy dishes. A smell of fish hung strongly in the air. Katinka's young man snuffed it in contentedly. He stared at Katinka and thought to himself that she would make him a good wife. He did not notice the drabness of her hair, the flatness of her face, the shapelessness of her figure. Katinka was glad he was there—she would be glad when he went. She wanted to feel the silky touch of her new ribbon slide through her rough fingers.

Suddenly a door slammed and there were footsteps on the kitchen stairs. Katinka recognised them. They were short flat steps. She had heard them descending those stairs every morning since she had been in this place. She put her big red hands, dripping as they were with dish water, under her apron. It was an instinctive gesture. She could not imagine why her mistress was coming down to the kitchen.

The young man rose awkwardly and made as if to go, then he changed his mind and stood on one foot, with one thick shoulder and arm sagging. His little eyes shifted uncomfortably from Katinka to the door of the kitchen, which opened presently with a rattle. The mistress walked in. Her blue silk and lace waist and the black satin skirt rustled aggressively. Katinka was not used to seeing her mistress in the kitchen after dinner, and it gave her a vague feeling of confusion. Also she was afraid that the mistress would scold her because of the young man. The mistress stood, small and sharp, in the middle of the room. The cheap kitchen lamp flared in her face; the silk of her skirt crackled as she turned to the young man.

"Are you Katinka's friend?" she asked.

"Yes, ma'am," he answered, hoarsely.

"Then you come upstairs with me—and you too, Katinka," commanded the mistress.

The young man looked at Katinka helplessly, but Katinka did not meet his eyes. She was used to obeying her mistress. She shambled after her now—the young man following. The mistress went ahead rapidly—up the black kitchen stairs to the parlour

floor. The young man gaped in at the parlour, with its red plush furniture and pink paper flowers. It looked very pretty, lighted up with the pink paper shaded lamp in the middle of the table. But the mistress did not pause there. She went on past her own room and the child's room. The child popped its head around the half-open door of its room and stuck its tongue out at Katinka.

Finally they reached the crooked dusty flight of stairs leading to the garret—the mistress still hurrying ahead. Katinka mounted the stairs breathing heavily. The young man came slowly after her—his eyes looked bewildered.

The mistress threw open the door of Katinka's wretched room. The candle was burning wanly. It flickered in a sudden frightened panic from the unexpected draft. The room looked stale and damp—it smelt of dust. The bed clothes had been disarranged and pulled apart, the linen sheet trailed on the floor, the mattress was awry, the woollen blanket was pushed back—and half dragging on the dirty floor, half lying on the covers, were all the ribbons that Katinka had taken. Strangled and curled, one with the other, they looked like bleeding tortured things thrown aside to die.

Katinka gave a little guttural cry when she saw them, and her face twisted itself into a grotesque mask of pain. The candle light fell palely on the colours, which seemed to be trying to hide by fusing. The whole heap of them dissolved into purples and reds. The mistress pointed to them.

"There," she said to the young man. "She stole them. They're all mine."

The young man stared at the mistress stupidly. Katinka crouched in a corner, her eyes on the ribbons.

"That's what she is," continued the mistress, triumphantly—"A thief. Do you want to have a thief for a wife?"

The young man shook his head. He seemed incapable of words. A dull red flushed his face. He no longer looked at Katinka.

"Then you can go," said the mistress. "No decent respectable man would have it. You'd better go."

She motioned to the door. The young man backed out of the room. His steps, marking heavily his descent, grew fainter and fainter. Katinka seemed hardly to notice that he had gone. She had looked up once at him while her mistress was speaking, but the rest of the time she stared as if in a stupor at the ribbons.

"As for you," said the mistress, "you pack your trunk and get out early to-morrow morning. It's no more than you deserve. And before you go, the first thing in the morning, I want you to press each one of these things neatly and lay them on the kitchen table. I won't touch them in the crumpled state they're in now. I've counted them all, and if you take as much as one I'll have you arrested. You're very lucky that I don't anyway."

Then she went out of the room and shut the wooden door behind her. Katinka was alone.

Katinka went over to the ribbons, seized them passionately in her arms and crushed them to her. They streamed gaily from her hands and flung out long red and blue banners, which clung to her dirty apron and torn skirt. They seemed to recognise her touch. She talked to them incoherently, and stroked them and laid her cheek against them. Then she knelt on the floor and counted them, sorting them carefully. The last one of all which she took up was the blue sash. She looked at it a long while. Finally she rose and stood holding it on her hand. Then she put it around her neck. The silk was soft and brushed against her skin. She shivered as it touched her. Then she put it down and dragged her box out, with a slow rasping sound, from beneath the bed; she unhooked a few limp dress rags hanging behind a faded curtain and put them in the box.

Suddenly she slammed down the lid of the box and, snatching up the sash again, buried her face in it. Then a gust of shivering seized her. As if impelled by it, she climbed painfully on top of the box, and, reaching up, knotted an end of the sash to one of the low rafters. Then she made a loop in the other end of the sash, put it carefully around her neck and stepped off the box. The other ribbons sprawled at her feet. The candle spluttered after a while, went out, and left the room in darkness.—“Current Literature,” New York.

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

The principles of Social-Democracy are fixed and immutable ; the means to be adopted to give practical effect to those principles change with time, and place, and circumstances. The object aimed at, the end to be attained, remains ever the same ; the policy to be followed to attain that end requires to be frequently revised, and sometimes modified, as circumstances change.

All Socialists are agreed upon their object, that object being social and economic freedom and equality for all, and the realisation of the highest individual development and liberty conceivable for all, through the social ownership and control of all the material means of production and existence. They must all agree upon this in order to be Socialists. We are told sometimes that "we are all Socialists now," but only those who believe in the object as here defined can be properly so described. Those who so believe are Socialists, and those who do not so believe are not

Socialists, whatever they may say to the contrary notwithstanding.

General agreement on the object, however, by no means presupposes universal agreement on policy, and it is no reproach to Socialists that in this respect there are wide differences between them. On the other hand, these differences ought not to be carried so far as to induce inaction, or to impede progress. They are, however, matters to discuss, to argue out, to confer about, and, so far as the practical work of the moment goes, to come to an agreement upon.

It is for such purposes that our own party holds its annual conferences. It is much to be regretted that those conferences do not include representatives of all Socialists in the Kingdom; that other Socialist bodies should find themselves precluded, by alliances with non-Socialist organisations, from conferring together and coming to a common agreement as to Socialist policy and action in the present and immediate future. In quite a number of localities this is done in relation to local affairs—without any entangling alliances and with mutual benefit. There is no reason, beyond these alliances, why what is done locally should not be done nationally.

During the past year or two there has been manifested in every European country a tendency in the Socialist movement to revolt against the growing influence and claims of Parliamentarism. Unquestionably this tendency has been justified by the undue importance which has latterly been attached to mere political action since the Socialist parties in the different countries have been able to gain seats in their respective Parliaments. On both sides Parliaments have been taken too seriously. The growing number of anti-Parliamentarians have been disappointed with the meagre results of Parliamentary action; while the Parliamentarians have magnified these and at the same time glorified themselves; as though Parliament, important as it is, were the only means to be used; the economic development and the social revolution

were going to quietly keep pace with bourgeois legislation ; and the functions of a Socialist Party were simply to elect members to Parliament to act as " statesmen," not as rebels, and to co-operate with bourgeois politicians in carrying small pettifogging measures of reform, through centuries of which, perhaps, Socialism might at last be realised ; but the real object of which is to put off that realisation as long as possible.

It is through this assumption of the Parliamentarians, this audacity of the elected persons, that the tendency to revolt referred to has manifested itself. We have dealt with it at some length in previous issues of the " Social-Democrat." It is only referred to now in order to point out how mistaken it all is. All means are justifiable that can be bent to our ends ; all means are necessary.

Political action is not to be despised, nor is any other that will help to break down the domination of the master class and hasten the emancipation of the proletariat. It will be time enough to forswear political action when the master class no longer strive to retain their mastery of the political machine ; it will be time enough to dissolve our trade unions and declare that " never again " will we strike when the employers cease to combine and no longer resort to the lock-out ; it will be time enough to abandon our demand for universal military training when all professional armies are disbanded, swords are beaten into plough-shares and spears into pruning-hooks, and big guns are melted down into statues of Peace.

The tendency referred to, however, takes, at the present moment, the direction of a reversion to the older methods of proletarian warfare, and expresses itself in the suggestion that political organisation should be abandoned for purely industrial organisation, and political action for the general strike. Our answer to that is that as Social-Democrats we are in favour of both. Our primary function, however, is to organise a political party, independent, class-conscious, proletarian and Social-Democratic. The function of industrial

organisation lies with the trade unions. These two functions are not absolutely distinct and separate, they are co-ordinate, and to some extent interdependent. Yet they are not identical. The trade unions can help us, we can help them. As a matter of fact, we have helped them far more than they have ever helped us.

We Social-Democrats have been reproached in recent years because we left the Labour Party rather than subordinate our Socialism to mere "Labourism." In that combination we were urged by our fellow Socialists—even more than by the trade unionists themselves—to drop our Socialism for the sake of unity! But in a combination between Socialists and trade unionists for political purposes, it is political Socialism which should lead. It is as unreasonable to suggest that in such a combination the Socialist should be the subordinate partner as it would be to suggest that any Socialist body, in supporting a strike, should claim to dictate the policy of the trade union in conducting the strike, or should expect the union to abandon the immediate objects and demands of the strike simply in order to make Socialist propaganda.

The object of a Social-Democratic Party is the realisation of Socialism; and incidentally to assist in the organisation of the working-class and the amelioration of its conditions in existing society. The object of a trade union is to make the best of existing conditions; to make the best terms for its members in competitive society, and, incidentally, to help on the emancipation of the working-class. The co-relation between the two, as well as the difference of function, is thus clearly established. Yet we Social-Democrats are frequently charged with being hostile to trade unions, because we refuse to subordinate the one function to the other.

So far from being hostile to the trade unions, there is no political party in this country which has done so much as the S.D.P. to support the claims, aid the efforts, and further the development of trade unions.

And we have done this with so much success that we have seen a complete transformation in the charac-

ter of the trade union movement. Originally a narrow, superior, exclusive "aristocracy of labour," trade unionism has become democratised and is now representative of every section of the working-class. If the trade unions even now only include a minority of the working class within their ranks, that is due to various causes, and is no longer the result of their exclusiveness. As it is, however, the numbers of working people organised in trade unions, in spite of all difficulties, have increased by leaps and bounds. There was a quite phenomenal increase in the years 1889-90-91, owing to the inception of the "New Unionism." But although, with the waning enthusiasm, many of the new unions—"twopenny strike clubs," as an "old" trade unionist contemptuously called them—have ceased to exist, and although in others the numbers enrolled have considerably diminished, the total number of trade unionists has steadily increased. According to the latest return issued by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, the total membership of trade unions at the end of 1898 was 1,688,531. This had increased by the end of 1907 to 2,406,746, an increase of just on eight hundred thousand, or nearly fifty per cent., in the ten years.

What is not less important than the growth of numbers is the development of the trade unions in the direction of class solidarity as opposed to sectional exclusiveness and antagonism. It would be idle to contend that sectional differences and antagonisms have disappeared. On the contrary, they are still among the worst difficulties with which the active trade unionist has to contend. But they are being narrowed down and subordinated to the greater interests. The growth of federation between all trade unions, as well as between those engaged in a given trade, is a hopeful sign of the times. Another is the growing feeling in favour of complete amalgamation in those unions where no difference in occupation or conditions of labour justify separate organisations. It is true that neither federation nor amalgamation has gone nearly

far enough yet. But it will need another article to deal fully with this part of the subject. Suffice it to say here that the trade union movement is on right lines, that we can see in its growth and development the result of some of the work put in more than twenty years ago by comrades of the S.D.F.—by Burrows, Williams, Hobart, Thorne, Pearson, Mann, Tillett and many another—as well as encouragement to persist in that work and that policy as defined by the resolution of our recent Annual Conference, as follows :—

“ That this Conference requests all members of the S.D.P., who are eligible for membership of existing trade unions, to join the unions of their respective callings, and, having joined, to carry on a vigorous campaign on behalf of Socialist principles, and also in favour of the ultimate amalgamation of all unions on the basis of class and not craft.”

H. QUELCH.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.

The present juncture in the history of the Socialist movement is certainly opportune for free and open discussion upon the relations of those who advocate Collectivist principles and the general politics of the time. It is now some years ago since James E. Thorold Rogers, the writer of "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," gave it as his view that "The mass of persons in England take a languid interest in political action. They have had reason to believe that politics are the mere game of two hereditary and privileged parties, in which it signifies little which gets a temporary ascendancy. They are convinced of the hollowness of political cries, and are under the impression that the public service is a phrase by which politicians mean private advantage."

One thing, comrades, is very certain—with the growth of the political power of Socialism there is also involved the considerable danger of our movement becoming over-political, with a proportionate loss of the early fire and warm-hearted enthusiasm for the great ideals and principles which have for their emblem the red-flag of International Brotherhood.

In past days many sincere Socialists have revolted against Parliamentary action being made a part of our tactics. William Morris can be mentioned as one of these. And those with knowledge of the position in France are aware that an anti-Parliamentary tendency has of late years developed among the Labour movement of that country. The same thing has happened in Italy and elsewhere.

Of course, it may be urged that many of those taking this position are in reality more of the Anarchist type and temperament than anything else. This may, to some extent, be true; nevertheless, it is also, I believe, true that the apparent slowness of Parliamentary methods, coupled with the fact that a sprinkling of one-time Socialist leaders have become absorbed in the political machine of the opponents of working-class progress, is having the effect of driving some sincere comrades to the attitude of the anti-Parliamentarian in more countries than one.

In England our movement is, as a political force, still young. The majority of the people, in so far as they take an interest in politics, are still divided at election times by the small surface differences of Liberalism and Toryism. But, comparatively speaking, only a very small section have much faith in either the Liberal or Tory Party as a means whereby their social and general conditions may be improved. The average candidate wins his seat by a lavish display and expenditure of wealth—by the “nursing” of a constituency, by donations to various local organisations, and the usual well-known more or less shady methods of the election agent. The mass of the people have no real enthusiasm, and are prepared to make little personal self-sacrifice, in the field of orthodox party politics, else where would be the necessity for the expensive political machinery upon which the candidate wholly relies for his success at the polls?

Hence the Socialist finds himself in an unfavourable and apparently not very encouraging field for action directly he enters upon electoral methods, and seeks to win the votes of his fellows on behalf of the oppressed and disinherited section of the community, on behalf of genuine reform, and the ultimate ideal of the co-operative commonwealth. He can make no personal display of wealth, and if he be true to principle he has nothing but scorn for the semi-corrupt methods of his opponents of the capitalist and landlord parties.

And the more thoughtless elector, used as he has become to the conventional methods of gaining votes, places the sincere Socialist advocate on the same level as the Liberal-Tory candidates. He knows the two latter, and has no great confidence either in them or their promises. And he regards the Socialist in the same way. "But what's the use of a chap as can't throw a bit o' money about?" he asks, so he votes for the "money-bag" who so graciously and pleasantly kicked off at the last football match, and thus becomes part of the "hard-headed and enlightened electorate," of whose support "Mr. Hardcash, M.P.," boasts so proudly at the declaration of the poll.

And the Socialist looks back upon his good meetings of enthusiastic supporters, feels proud of the splendid way in which the comrades worked in the "forlorn hope," writes eloquently in the Socialist press of the glory of the fight in the cause of the people, and the encouraging poll, won without motor cars, and against the influence of pub., parson, and the organisation of wealth, and bids everyone take heart and look for the harvest at the next election! But *how* to win? That is the trouble! The workers are poverty-stricken with periods of unemployment, wages are driven down in the mad, hellish struggle for the right to earn a crust of bread, the sufferings of starving little ones in public schools under the shadow of the rate-provided Union Jacks, arouse the sympathy and indignation of right-thinking and far-seeing men and women, and the independent minority in the community cry aloud for reform and revolutionary change. But the enemy are in the seats of power, while the Socialist fights at the street corner and in the public hall. Parliament, County and Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, etc., are held in force by the advocates of "things as they are." And the Socialist, "forced to observe, yet impotent to save," pauses in his fervid eloquence and reflects: "The people are thoughtless and without ideals; they live not for to-morrow but only for the passing day. Here and there the rebel

soul is to be found, and the seed bears fruit. The way to the newer society of ordered co-operation is clear and obvious ; but the people—well, they have yet to understand their power for good. With the growth of industry, the rapid development of the trust and combine, the consequent crushing out of the small man, everything tends in the direction of co-operative production—and a large number of industries are ripe for national ownership. But the majority of persons are still possessed of outworn ideas and theories ; and have only a very crude notion of the change taking place all around them. Living at a time when capitalist competition, more especially in production, has largely given place to capitalist co-operation, they yet allow themselves to believe that competition for the material needs of life is absolutely essential. Despite the fact that most of the larger industries are managed throughout by paid officials—by the servants of investing capitalists who often have themselves no personal knowledge at all of the business from which they profit—the man in the street still retains a fond belief in the inability of the world to proceed without the brains, the higher order of intelligence, of the individual capitalist. And it is the business of the trustified press to encourage him in this ignorance.

Moreover, all kinds of dodges, such as the so-called system of profit-sharing, are resorted to by the ruling class, with a view to turning the wage-earners from the path of emancipation, often with considerable success.

This is the position we Socialists have to face to-day ; we have yet to win over the apathetic majority. Long years of tireless propaganda lie behind—the work of love of some whose toil is finished, and of many who are yet with us in the fighting line—and we can number our comrades by thousands. The town or large village without its Socialist organisation is rarely to be found. Twenty-five years ago there were not 1,000 conscious Socialists in the whole of the United Kingdom—at least, I doubt if there were so many.

Though still in a minority, many Socialists are members of elected administrative bodies, and at least two men have been elected as avowed Socialists to the British House of Commons. Others are there who have been elected as Labour Party members; and it is around these men and their policy that so much discussion and difference of opinion has arisen during the past few years. It was perhaps inevitable that a good deal of the personal element should enter into the controversy, but I believe it is quite possible to eliminate much of this, and admit right away that at least the bulk of our Socialist comrades of all sections are actuated by a sincere desire for the well-being of the movement, and have a hatred of the present system sufficient to make them heartily wish for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth just as soon as it can be brought into being. This, however, by no means prohibits one from expressing an opinion, and taking a line in accordance therewith.

I, therefore, unhesitatingly state that, while a firm believer in the necessity of continued Parliamentary action, I feel strongly that any party claiming to represent Socialism and Labour must, in the future, stand out more firmly and more independently of orthodox parties than has been the case with the present Parliamentary Labour Party.

I say this because I am convinced that Parliamentary action is one of the best weapons we Socialists have to hand at the present time. In answer to those who take the anti-Parliamentary attitude it may well be urged that if the working class are not prepared to go to the ballot-box consciously in their own interests they are hardly likely to bring about the social revolution, for which we are working, by the passive means of the organised general strike, or the double-edged method of physical force. The general strike might, perhaps, be used successfully in conjunction with the political tactics of a strong revolutionary Parliamentary party—providing economic circumstances were favourable and the organisation very complete—and it is conceivable

that force might be brought against our movement and have to be dealt with at a later stage in the cycle of revolutionary change, providing the rebel conservative and propertied elements in the community refused to accept the will of the democratic majority, and succeeded in retaining the adherence of a warlike though servile portion of the working class. But the present is certainly *not* the time for the method of physical force ; it would be foolish and futile to attempt any such action, and, of course, every sane person will always favour peaceful tactics throughout, plus determination and political courage on the part of a consciously developing electorate.

On the other hand, there is the even greater mistake I referred to at the beginning of this article, of allowing the movement to become merely political, especially in the present stage of evolution. If we look back through history—the history of oppressed classes struggling for freedom against those with economic and political power—we shall not find any revolutionary class gaining its end by means of political trickery or absolute compromise with the ruling and dominant class. We shall also fail to find record of any dominant class becoming converted to the idea of a revolutionary change by the logic and “sweet reasonableness” of its opponents. Ultimate circumstances have inevitably forced those in revolt to a militant attitude towards the defenders of a decaying though still powerful epoch. It is not by chance that the pages of our history-books are bestrewn with such names as Stephen Langton, John Ball, Wat Tyler, Sir John Eliot—who was imprisoned for his fiery denunciation of Buckingham, the favourite of Charles I., in the Commons House of Parliament—John Hampden, and many another. Most of the outstanding fighters in the long, upward path of human struggle towards higher things have cared little for the Parliamentary traditions and social conventions of their time ; and every movement which has given expression to the just claims of a progressive though oppressed class has been regarded

as a menace to be fought at all costs, either by trickery, misrepresentation, or persecution, by those whose privileged interests have been threatened. Kings have summoned warlike followers, Court favourites, and all the tradition and romance of their calling in desperate efforts to extort material in the shape of taxes from their subjects. And the Baronage and the Church have provided the opposition at such periods, and, in some measure, have played a part in the struggle for liberty and human advancement. In their turn, the landed aristocracy, through many generations, fought the rising aspirations of the townsmen—the early trading and capitalist class—the pioneers and forerunners of the all-conquering money-lords of the nineteenth century. And at the base of all these social changes, throughout the long drawn-out years of struggle and revolution, amid all the romance and tragedy of the Middle Ages, and onward to the period in which we play our part, have lived and slaved the wealth-producing, toil-worn, labouring classes, themselves destined to be the forerunners of the greatest revolutionary class of all time—the wage-slave class of contemporary years. And politics—what have politics been all this time, except the outward expression of the material conditions at the base of an ever-changing society, and the antagonisms and counter interests arising therefrom from period to period?

Marx once said in a pregnant sentence: "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."

Viewed in this light, how much easier is it to understand and explain present-day politics, and to appreciate at a right value the far-reaching changes taking place in our midst.

Thorold Rogers, in his day, did well to remark that "politics are the mere game of two hereditary and privileged parties."

At that time, so far as England was concerned, Liberal and Tory held the field almost unchallenged by any definite working-class party fighting on political lines. Social evolution had turned those one-time foes, the landed and capitalist classes, into one class with interests very much in common; and although a kind of a sham fight was continued—as is still the case—the old vigour of the struggle of the manufacturing trading class against the aristocracy had been lost with the ascendancy of the former. The landlords had gradually shed their old contempt of trade and profit-mongering; their names figured among the investors in many of the largest industrial concerns, until it was difficult to distinguish one from the other, either in the economic or political sense.

To-day the wide-awake Socialist laughs at the pretence at fight still made by Liberal and Tory political tricksters. He realises that the two factions rule the country in their own class interests very well indeed, and that the two front benches in the Commons, in conjunction with the House of Lords, co-operate in a friendly and statesmanlike manner in the sacred cause of rent, interest and profit, and to the complete exclusion of any real control by the great mass of the people. It is true we hear of great discussions on Education Bills, Licensing Bills, and the like; but these things are all part of that great game of party politics which is carried on for the diversion of those who take such stage play seriously. We, to-day, have reached a point when all parties, other than the genuine working-class and Socialist parties, have lost every vital, fundamental principle except that of maintaining and prolonging the prevailing system. This, in fact, is the only real struggle in the political arena, and no one knows it better than those who "pull the strings" from behind the scenes of orthodox politics. Once an earnest thinker of the working class has really grasped the true situation, not one of the numerous "side shows" of artful and enterprising political jugglers will turn him aside from the path of future emancipation.

But woe betide the working class party which, with a view to gaining some supposed immediate political advantage, allows itself to be drawn, by one side or the other, into the vortex of Parliamentary humbug and Parliamentary statesmanship! Such a party will soon lose its vital independence, its fervour for the future and its impatience with the present. A party which works for a complete change in the basis of society, which stands for a revolution that will touch every tradition and custom, which aims at the removal of all exploitation among the human family, and seeks to facilitate the evolutionary tendency towards democratic Socialism, will fight all politics bred of the conservative elements in the decaying epoch with the uncompromising pluck and spirit of men and women who stand for nothing short of the complete triumph of their cause. The politics of a revolutionary party will cause it to seize every weapon which may prove of use in the struggle towards victory; and Parliamentary action, the industrial political strike, and even physical force, may, as before pointed out, become necessary and opportune during the fateful and historic movement along the upward path.

Our party, the people's party, has to-day the task of forcing Parliament to deal with the frightful horrors of unemployment and right-down damnable and demoralising poverty existing in the midst of untold wealth and luxury. The benches of both Houses on both sides are thick with persons who, through class-custom and social environment, and despite many humbugging professions of sympathy, are quite callous and indifferent to the tragedies of modern capitalism taking place every day to the knowledge of all, and in the sight of many.

Comrades, no mere political manœuvring, no absurd imitation of the Parliamentary niceties and foolery of those who are past-masters in the art of government in the interests of the ruling class, can force the unwilling hands of men who only move in the direction of progress and social reform by a wholesome

fear of the anger of a powerful and independent working-class electorate. The idea that important and far-reaching palliatives are going to be granted by those in power at the request of a body of men some of whom often see fit to stand on the same political platform in friendly co-operation with members of the Government in power, simply because these proposals of reform are put forward in a manner calculated not to offend or antagonise opponents, is one that must be abandoned if serious business is to be accomplished in the years ahead.

The working class must not go to Parliament in order to meekly request legislation, they must go there to state their whole case, and to demand immediate attention to working-class interests before all other matters. By methods of obstruction they must make their power felt out of all proportion to their numbers; they must refuse absolutely to become, as a party, a mere cog in the wheel of an elaborate Parliamentary machinery fashioned for the use and purpose of the dominant ruling class. It is only by such tactics that the enthusiasm of the masses of the people can be roused on behalf of a great national working-class movement towards Socialism. No faith, no real confidence will ever be placed in men who simply seek to imitate those who have so long held the rule of the country; the new party must have the courage of its convictions, and be revolutionary in method as well as in aim. I believe that such a party, possessed of determination, conviction, and much resource, knowing the feelings, the great sufferings and needs of the people, understanding the past, and having both a practical and theoretic knowledge of the present, would be successful in rousing the whole country, and drawing to its side thousands who would be inspired to action by the militant enthusiasm of those who dared to hope, to act and to feel. The people must and can be won! We should bring our Socialism into their very lives; and present our gospel, not as a distant theory, but as something which can work in

and through the present system, bringing reforms and immediate changes in its train, and paving the way for the fuller and more complete life of the co-operative community of the future.

Comrades, we want unity in order to achieve this great end—unity of spirit in the greatest fight for a noble cause the world has yet witnessed! We look back into the past ages, into the struggles of the years gone by, and note the sufferings and sacrifices of those who have fought, and sometimes died, for the advancement of the human family. Many have not seen or known the hope of Socialism; but they have worked truly and well according to their lights and times, and have made it possible for later generations to realise the real greatness and possibilities of mankind.

Our politics, therefore, must be of no ordinary kind. They must be inspired and enthused by all that is best in the theories of life of the past; they must drink in to the full all knowledge which the experiences, the successes and failures of past generations can alone give. They should be applicable to the needs of the present; while laying a sure foundation for the greater things of the future. They must rally and organise the dispossessed class in overwhelming numbers; they must ever make for the solidarity of all who are wearied and disgusted with the sordid and inhuman rush and scramble of the capitalistic jungle.

Men and women of each class will be welcomed to our side in this struggle for social possession of the means of life; but it must never be forgotten that only the workers, as a class, have the latent power to force along, by their political strength, the ultimate victory of the social revolution over all forces of reaction.

We have in England to-day, as in other parts of the world, all the main factors of the coming change gradually developing and ripening in the process of evolution and acting and re-acting upon each other.

The industrial and political organisation of the dominant class is at last beginning to be met, to some extent, by the industrial and political organisation of

the wealth-producing class. For long years have the advocates of Socialism pointed out to trade unionists the necessity of political agitation as a means to working-class power, and force of events, in the shape of legal and political pressure by the employing class, has brought about the existence of the much criticised and, in many important respects, imperfect Labour Party, organised on nominally independent lines for the defence and advancement of working-class interests in the House of Commons, and on other public bodies with administrative power.

In considering the merits and demerits of this still comparatively youthful organisation from the point of view of evolutionary development, it is, I think, always well to remember that it represents the furthest advance the organised section of British workers have yet made, and that its representatives are neither behind nor, so far as a good proportion of them are concerned, greatly in front of the majority of those by whom they have been elected.

We Socialists, moreover, as this paper has attempted to show, base our theoretic position on the historic evolution of one class after another to economic and political power, the wage-earning class coming last in the gradual trend towards a complete Social-Democracy. That being so, there appears to be no other way for us to force the pace of things except by infusing this Labour movement, the best and most hopeful material to hand, with the morale and militant independence of thorough-going Socialism. It is our duty, as Socialists, to be at the front of every working-class fight, taking our rightful part in the class struggle, showing the way and cheering on our weaker brothers and sisters when they would otherwise lag behind, or fall out of the ranks for the want of a knowledge of the path, and a lack of hope and faith in the ultimate triumph of our cause. Sooner or later they must learn from experience that merely reforming and patching-up the present social system is not enough; they will then look to those who have in season and out of season

fought in their midst, who have been ever ready with helpful advice, wise and friendly criticism, and powerful and wholehearted assistance. From whatever point of view one may regard the attitude and doings of those who at the present time represent the Labour movement, it must be clear to every Socialist that there can be no permanent separation between the forces of Socialism and Labour. It is quite likely that for a period of time a certain section of Socialists will refuse to definitely ally themselves to a Labour Party not absolutely Socialist in aim, and will remain free to act as they think fit in electoral policy, while, at the same time, co-operating with other sections where possible for the advancement of working-class interests generally. On the other hand, there will be those who will endeavour, from within the ranks of the Labour Party, to keep the organisation on its present somewhat indefinite basis, and who will oppose any attempts to make it a medium for something more than mere reform of the capitalist system. It would be futile for Socialists outside the Labour alliance to oppose the Labour Party with a view to its defeat and extinction as an organisation in the political field on the grounds of dissatisfaction with its policy. The Labour Party, being a product of the evolutionary process, has come to stay. But it would be equally futile for Socialists inside the alliance to imagine they will ever put the faith and idealism of our great cause into their fellows by watering down vital principles, and compromising political independence, with a view to attracting a bigger following, and getting increased victories at the polls. The bounden duty of every Socialist, whether working inside or outside the alliance, is to strive, by force of educational agitation, to place the whole movement on a declared basis of Socialism, with a definite programme of constructive immediate reforms.

At the present stage a small but absolutely determined party in the Commons, fighting on militant lines, would be of tremendous value as a medium of propaganda throughout the country, whereas a still

further influx of merely moderate Labour members would only weaken the whole and not add to the morale of the general movement in any way.

Tact and patience must be used by every Socialist in political work, but nothing will ever be gained, in the long run, by trying to win non-Socialists to our side by descending to their level instead of urging and helping them to come right on to where we stand.

In conclusion, I would contend strongly that the rank and file of all sections of the Socialist movement should not, for one moment, allow differences with regard to the political Labour Party to separate them in the all-important work of propaganda of basic principles. There is a vast work to be done here upon ground which is common to all, on ground especially favourable to unity. We have to reach many types of persons with our social gospel, and the greater the variety of method we have at command the better the results generally will be. A victorious Socialism can never be the gospel of mere sect, it must include *all*, and must tolerate in generous fashion every point of view consistent with root principles and the upward, onward progress of the people. Socialism must, indeed, be *the cause of the people*, and in the great struggle we have before us the cool reasoning and learning of the student of society, and the systematic methods of the militant political organisation, must be combined with the fervour, the idealism, the faith and courage of the warm-hearted and impulsive propagandist. May we all find our right place in this great and noble movement for human emancipation.

W. G. VEALS.

ANY SERF TO HIS "BETTERS."

We herd in the hovels of cities,
In huts on the bare country side ;
Ye dwell in great park-begirt mansions
That image your liveness and pride :
But for wealth to keep up your splendour
We workers must hustle and strive,
For we are the makers of honey
And ye but the drones of the hive.

We grin when you come on your visits
With gifts of old clothes and a tract,
And prate about Tariffs and Empire—
And think we are gulled by your tact ;
We cringe and we lie to your faces
But curse you beneath our breath,
For we hate both you and your bounty
With a hatred stronger than death.

What know ye, ye great sirs and madams !
Of us, and our thoughts, and our ways ?
Of the joys or abominations
That brighten or sully our days ?
The anguish of sweaters' pale victims ;
The thoughts that in women's brain lurk
When kiddies are crying with hunger,
And father is tramping for work ?

We laugh when ye cant of your missions
That Pagans may Christians be made,
For we know that "spreading the Gospel "
Means spreading your man-eating trade ;
Ye seek not the souls of the heathen,
But slaves to sweat blood in the mine,
That gold may flow in for your orgies
And gems on your kept women shine.

What, think ye, we care for the Empire
 " On which the great sun does not set " ?
We know it is run for your profit,
 Though based on our labour and sweat ;
The glory ye boast of, in battle,
 Was won by the might of our swords,
Yet we get a pauper's base pittance,
 And ye—wealth and seats in the " Lords."

But hearken, Most Worshipful Masters !
 The day of account is at hand,
When, like fire in a field of dry stubble,
 Our vengeance will flame o'er the land ,
We are millions against your thousands,
 Remorseless, and cunning, and strong—
We shall tread you down in our fury
 To hell that has gaped for you long.

We will build us a nobler Empire,
 Broad-based upon Justice and Truth ;
Where men shall not warp in the making,
 Nor women be blighted in youth ;
Where work shall bring wealth to the worker
 And leisure for study and play ;
Lo !—eastwards a splendour and glory—
 The dawn of the Socialist's Day !

CHAS. H. PRITCHARD.

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THE MONTH.

The event of the past month for us, as Social-Democrats, was the Annual Conference of our party, held at Canning Town on Good Friday, Saturday and Easter Sunday. In many respects it was by far the best Conference ever held, and the thanks of the delegates were due, and were heartily accorded, to the local comrades for the excellent arrangements they had made alike for the business of the Conference and the comfort and convenience of all concerned.

The chief business of the Conference consisted of the consideration of policy in relation to Electoral Action, Industrial Organisation, and Foreign Affairs and Militarism. The discussion on each of these subjects was animated, interesting and useful, and the conclusions arrived at have clearly defined the future line of action of the party.

Those who anticipated any serious happenings from the I.L.P. Conference were, as might have been predicted, doomed to disappointment. It was manifest that there is a considerable section of the I.L.P. dissatisfied with the rôle the party is called upon to play as the tail of the Labour Party, which, in its turn, has elected to be the tail of the Asquithian Liberal Party, but that section is overruled when it comes to voting, and the Liberal-Labour Independent Labour alliance was enthusiastically approved.

The Asquithian Government has now acquired the title of the "Wait and See" Administration. It is distinctly appropriate. The quidnuncs talk of another General Election in the early summer, but there appears no very valid reason why the present Parliament should not last for at least a couple of years. Nobody wants another election just yet that is quite certain, and although the

"balance of power" is supposed to rest with the Irishry, who have the least reason to fear another election of any part in the coalition, it is out of their power to turn the Government out if the official Opposition desire to keep them in.

What the Government policy is no one seems to know, except that it is continually changing and subject to daily variation. When the Prime Minister had at last been induced to state to the House of Commons what were the intentions of the Government with regard to the business of the Session, it seemed fairly clear that the Veto Resolutions were to be passed through the House of Commons and then the Budget was to be proceeded with. Meanwhile the Resolutions were to be presented to the Lords for their acceptance or rejection. Whatever the Lords might, in their wisdom, see fit to do with the Resolutions, however, it was supposed to be understood that a Bill based upon the resolutions would be introduced into the House of Commons, and, if possible, passed through all its stages.

Now, however, we learn that Mr. Asquith has no intention whatever of pursuing the course there foreshadowed. He does not undertake to bring in or attempt to pass a Veto Bill, or anything else. All he has to say to the curious people who want to know what the intentions of the Government are is "Wait and See."

The extraordinary thing about it all is that really earnest serious people should see anything important or even interesting in the silly and futile farce.

The magnificent vote of over six thousand secured by the Miners' candidate, Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, in the bye-election in Mid-Glamorgan, was a crowning mercy for the Labour Party. Mr. Hartshorn stood unequivocally as a Socialist, and boldly claimed all the votes given to him as Socialist votes. He congratulated himself on being the instrument for creating an irremediable breach between Labour and Liberalism. We heartily congratulate him on the splendid fight he made, and only regret that he did not win the seat.

The Liberal organs have been in ecstasies over what they call the wonderful figures of imports and exports for the month of March and for the first quarter of the present year, £166,182,394 imports and £100,886,543 exports of British goods, showing increases on last year of nine and twelve millions respectively. These figures, when examined in detail, are said to give "every cause for satisfaction." This outburst of satisfaction is necessary in order to distract attention from the problem of unemployment which, notwithstanding the increase in overseas trade, is still very pressing.

In spite of Free Trade and of booming exports and imports, however, scarcely a day passes without the report of some terrible case of destitution or of suicide through want and despair. In 1908, we are told, there were 125 deaths from starvation reported in England and Wales, to say nothing of the innumerable deaths from the same cause which went unnoticed.

In the meantime food prices continue to rise, and this is not only intensifying distress among the poor, but is causing some little alarm in other quarters. This should give point to our agitation in relation to food supply, and should direct attention to the need for developing the resources of this country as a national concern on a co-operative basis.

We are not sorry that there is no prospect of such an ill-considered measure as Sir Robert Price's "Prevention of Destitution Bill" passing into law. We are all for the breaking-up of the Poor Law as at present constituted; but we are opposed to anything which would diminish direct popular control, and increase the power of the bureaucrat and the expert. Boards of Guardians may be bad; but they are elected on a democratic suffrage and are directly responsible: which could not be said of a committee of an already overburdened town or county council. We are glad, however, that the discussion took place, if only for the opportunity it afforded Mr. John Burns to make another exhibition of himself as the censor of the morals of the class he has deserted and betrayed.

In this connection it is encouraging to note the increasing interest which working-people themselves are manifesting in the elections of Poor Law Guardians. This has recently been evidenced by the success our candidates have in so many instances secured.

The capitalist press all the world over is making a great to-do about Theodore Roosevelt, ex-president of the United States. This typical representative of the bestial American plutocracy is returning home by a circuitous route from big-game hunting in Africa. Having satisfied his blood-lust for the time being, he is arranging for himself a conquering hero's return. "All the way from Gondokoro to Oyster Bay will be but one huge triumphal procession" remarks one newspaper. Roosevelt always avails himself to the full of the slightest opportunity of newspaper puffery. He is, indeed, as Professor Howard Moore recently termed him, the most "megaphonic individual since Napoleon Bonaparte."

Roosevelt is something more than a self-advertiser. Besides being a charlatan with all the verve and cheek of the Yankee pill-merchant, he is also a coward, a thief and a bullying brute. He was the kindly-disposed gentleman who invented for the New York police "spiked" clubs to use on strikers. He it was who said that our noble comrade Debs "should be put against the wall and shot." He was the author of the now famous words "undesirable citizens," having applied them to our comrades Moyer, Haywood and Debs when the first two were on trial for their lives, thus using all the influence of his office to cause the jury to find them guilty. He was the responsible party in the notorious Alton robbery—when he used his office to cover up the tracks of his political friends who had been plundering the public wholesale. The men who were with him during the Spanish-American war tell some shameful stories of his cowardice, and his running away from the enemy while in Cuba.

Politically he has been a failure. He has never initiated anything, except an opera bouffe attempt at trust-smashing. As corrupt as the party he represents, he has made his way by betrayal of friends, neglect of duty, vain boasting and the wholesale use of

threats. We understand he is coming to England, and that high municipal honours will be paid him. He certainly has earned them.

Several English publicists are just awakening to the fact that there is "unrest" in India. O, wonderful discovery! Amongst others is Mr. Lilly, who contributes an article on the subject to the current issue of the "Fortnightly Review." His *bête noir* seems to be the Bengali Babu. It is to the wicked Babus that he attributes all the anarchism, sedition and other noxious growths in India. These Babus, he says, constitute a powerful landlord class in India, and are merely trying to throw off the yoke of England in order to increase their power and wealth. We would advise Mr. Lilly to study the matter just a little bit more, and not to depend wholly and solely for his information upon the reactionary Mr. J. D. Rees, M.P. If he does so he will find that the discontent is not confined to the Babus; that not only are the Bengalis seditious, but the Punjabis, the Mahrattas and every other section of the numerous peoples of India also.

Throughout the length and breadth of India sedition is rife. Our governing classes may blind themselves to the actualities of the situation, may delude themselves into the belief that the loyal princes and traitors may save them the vast Indian Empire, but sooner or later there will be a terrible awakening. We can only hope that it will not take the form suggested quite recently by the young men of the Deccan: "that a feast of English blood be given to the goddess Kali."

A general election is impending in Spain. The probabilities are that there will be a great increase in the strength of the Republicans. A new light seems to be breaking over that land of clerical night. The speeches of the Republican leaders are assuming a bolder and bolder tone. At a banquet given to Sénor Lerroux in Barcelona, on March 20, one speaker suggested that the guest of the evening "might overthrow a Bourbon in Spain by force of arms as Garibaldi had overthrown a Bourbon in Naples." Lerroux himself advised that the Queen-Mother should be escorted to the frontier, and expressed the hope that "if to-morrow they were obliged, as in July last, to fight in the streets, they might be able to count on the co-operation of the women."

Lerroux possesses a strong and inspiring personality, is a capable organiser and fluent and vigorous speaker. He is very popular, and has remarkable audacity. His Clerical enemies would have served him the same as they did Francesco Ferrer, only they were afraid to do so. Ferrer, although well-known, had not the popularity of Lerroux. The founder of the modern school had the retiring disposition of the scholastic. In the case of Lerroux "his avenger liveth," and the Clericals are aware of the fact. He would be just the man to bring about a political revolution.

WHO RULES?

" A wife! ah, gentle deities, can he
That has a wife e'er feel adversity?
Would men but follow what the sex advise,
All things would prosper, all the world grow wise."

—POPE, " January and May."

Nothing is more remarkable for its persistency than a popular delusion. Born of error and bred by ignorance, it sneaks into life unnoticed and takes centuries in the killing. One rarely knows its parentage or date of birth, yet the foundling refuses to die. It resembles those animals of which zoologists tell us that, if chopped into mincemeat, each particle starts afresh and becomes a new creature. When we think we slay we make very much alive; as we try to destroy we re-create. Truth is fragile, shortlived, unobtrusive, easily obscured, cold, naked, unpalatable; but a lie is tough, perennial, bold, inextinguishable, fervent, well vested, and sweet to the taste. Suppress it here and it will rise there. Its elasticity preserves it under all circumstances. Its vitality scoffs at time and death.

But of all forms of falsehood commend us to popular delusions. Mr. H. Smith and his friends may dine 13 together twice a week, may rehearse and practice any number of farcical efforts to exorcise these, and will only be laughed at for their pains. Or they may, perchance, scotch a weak delusion now and then, but they will never annihilate it.

Nevertheless, though we fail in the endeavour, there is one we would attack. It has come down to us through the ages from the mists of antiquity, venerated and universally believed. With savage and civilised, with orthodox and heterodox, wise and simple, it is a world-wide creed in regard to the sexes that it is the man who rules. Woman is the inferior, the subordinate, the one to obey. Man is her lord and master, to whose behests she must submit. We should be sorry to produce rebellion in any well-regulated home, or to stir the meekest of wives to revolt, but from a habit of looking popular frauds in the face, and challenging them to a searching inspection, we ask, Who Rules? Who sways the rod of empire in the Court, the Camp, the Home and Society? Man or Woman?

Now, we cheerfully admit that man is a very noble animal. He is sagacious, muscular, generous, ambitious, courageous, and, when spurred, is capable of great effort. But he is deficient in sensibility, in tact, penetration and patience, and is idle by nature. He dissembles badly. He does not know how to wait. He regards the surface of things chiefly. He is guided by appetite, passion, self-interest, although an excellent reasoner. But long ages of more or less disguised slavery have sharpened woman's wits. She is subtle, quick, observant, a good dissembler, patient, profoundly penetrative. She scents a motive as readily as a dog scents a hare. She is sensitive to every mood and tense of thought and feeling in others. She is a born diplomatist. Her failings are those of a subordinate class—jealousy and vindictiveness. But she has abundantly learnt the two great lessons which qualify for heroism and command—to endure and to obey. There is no self-sacrifice of which she is not capable when urged by love, no torture too powerful, no patience too great for her passive and indomitable resistance. And when beauty is added to ability and determination, she is perfectly irresistible.

Thus men by their own selfishness in the past have unwittingly fashioned a creature to rule over them. In subjecting women they taught her how to subject themselves, but by subtler and more delicate methods. By long processes of selection for their own gratification they have rendered her soft, graceful, and of winning charms of form and manner. The greater their perception and power of appreciation, the greater is her dominion over them. The noblest and most heroic amongst them are those who have been most notably subdued. Who is there in the records of history and mythology who ever achieved distinction and was not conquered by her? Samson, David and Solomon, Hercules and Achilles, Cæsar and Antony, Alexander and Pericles, Napoleon and Nelson, and numberless other heroes and statesmen, with all the host of painters and poets and men of mind. Even the gods humbled themselves before her.

If these things were done in the green days of womanhood, what shall be done when she will have attained her fullness of power, in the flush and summer glory of her intellectual development? We are but at the beginning of a new era in her history, the era of her mental and social emancipation. It is not long since she was denied a liberal education, when learning was opprobrious and "science" withheld. The ignorance of thousands of women of good position almost equalled that of their sisters in Eastern harems, where they are still studiously debarred from all sources of mental improvement. Women made puddings while their husbands made politics, and were not expected to lift their eyes beyond household cares and duties. When they read and wrote by stealth, they feared to display their greater knowledge, for few men could tolerate this sort of superiority in a wife. But

now our girls walk jubilantly through the whole curriculum of studies. The strongest fortresses of knowledge, deemed almost impregnable to men, fall before them. They have become graduates of universities, doctors of music and medicine, professors of Natural Science, and even First Wranglers. In art and literature they have achieved noteworthy distinction, and every day witnesses an increasing number in the ranks of the intellectual. Peeresses rush into print, and Society leaders sigh for the laurel wreath. Within another decade the educational supremacy of men will be lost, if it is not already so, for it is admitted by competent judges that our girls are more conscientious students and better workers than our boys. The prospect is most encouraging to our sex and race. Improved mothers will produce improved daughters, and every generation see an accelerated advancement.

Many of the men have still the hardihood or stupidity to deny that woman really rules. But this is because all sagacious women handle the reins so lightly that the husbands never know they hold them at all. They resemble Queen Caroline, who ruled England and George the Second for ten years without the King being aware of it. In obstinate cases, however, the wife must let her hand be felt. And never yet was there a marital mouth so hard but what some kind of bit could be found to subdue it. It will be wise, therefore, of the men to capitulate at once, and no longer insist upon male superiority and male privileges. Their rule is nearly over. And if, in the see-saw of human events, they should in the future be placed in a subordinate position, we must accord them more generous treatment than they have given us. We must not retaliate. On the contrary, we should resist all attempts to degrade them, and let equality be our motto then as now. Any other policy might act on them as theirs has affected us, and so reduce us again to subjection.

LADY COOK (née Tennessee Claflin).

PROTECTION IN AMERICA.

PITTSBURG AND ITS WORKERS.

It is beyond question that never before in the history of British politics has the public confidence been so grossly and unscrupulously abused as it is to-day by the engineers of the Tariff Reform campaign. Initiated by a political party bankrupt of statesmanship, and that nice regard for facts so imperatively called for in political life if the public welfare is the sole object of concern, the campaign has grown to importance as a political factor by means of audacious misrepresentation, that has, time after time, culminated in the dissemination of the grossest falsehoods.

That America, the land of "boss" politics and of civil and industrial corruption, should be held up to the English people as a country offering enviable working-class conditions—or, for the matter of that, any other enviable conditions—is one of the most impudent travesties of truth it is possible to conceive. Better than mere generalities, however, is the detailed and admirably compiled "Pittsburg Survey," published by the New York Charity Organisation Society, and the following is a brief summary of its most striking points.

If there is a city in the world that may be said to owe its existence and prosperity to protective tariffs, that city is Pittsburg, supplying as it does one-fourth of the total tonnage of pig-iron of the United States. Here, if there is a shadow of truth in Tariff Reform, the workers should have abundant and permanent work at high wages and under good conditions. Pittsburg, according to the Protectionists, should be the Mecca of the workers. Let us see.

INSECURITY OF THE WORKERS.

The first point that strikes us in the "Survey" is the everlasting shifting of the labour employed; labour is unstable, and can best be likened to a restless ocean. Thus, in 1906 one firm hired 21,000 men and women to keep up a force of 10,000, which means that each worker retained his place for less than six months on the average. The superintendent of a coal mine stated that he hired

in a year 5,000 men to maintain a force of 1,000, while the largest operator in the district regarded 2,000 hirings in a year for 1,000 "permanent" positions as being about the average. In Pittsburg, therefore, stability of employment is unknown; employment is far less certain than it is in England. It is to be noted, too, that this terrible insecurity is not confined to casual or "unskilled" labour, but applies equally to all grades of workers.

TERRIBLE WORKING CONDITIONS.

But this insecure condition of the workers is made many times worse when it is realised that the very terms upon which uncertain work is secured make for even greater insecurity. In no other country in the world have specialisation, "speeding-up," and over-work generally, reached such appalling dimensions as in America, and in Pittsburg in particular. The whole of the work is characterised by minute specialisation and army-like organisation. Thus, in bolt-trimming the operative is required to feed a rounded bolt into a press, and this operation is repeated 1,600 times in every hour. Every process is sub-divided in this manner, the operatives in each sub-division repeating the same movement or sets of movements with as little variation as the human frame is capable of sustaining.

The sets of workers in each operation are led by a "pace-setter," or hustled into making greater and greater efforts by a "pusher" or foreman, who is paid on results. Every effort is made by the management to spur the workers to greater and greater efforts, to squeeze more and ever more out of them. Superintendent is pitted against superintendent, foreman against foreman, mill against mill. Not content with this, the spirit of emulation, the legitimate use of which should result in benefit to the individual, is played upon by the employers to the ultimate destruction of the workers. In the Carnegie Steel Works, for instance, March and October are set aside from the rest of the year and are sacred to the breaking of records. Furnaces are in full blast, overtime is consistently worked, every nerve of a mighty industry is strained to the utmost. Naturally, previous records are broken, and what is done by special efforts in these months becomes the standard for ensuing months. The result is that output has doubled and in some cases trebled.

THE SEVEN-DAY WEEK.

"Speeding-up," however, is only one of the conditions of the Pittsburg worker that we are invited to envy. Thus, of the 17,000 employees in the three largest plants of the Carnegie Steel Company, only 120 eight-hour men were found by the investigator; the twelve-hour day prevails for the men engaged in the manufacturing processes, and for the yard-labourers and machinists a ten-hour day; should the season be busy, however, the day is extended indefinitely. In the case of the machinists, for instance, a job has

to be finished before they knock off, meaning frequently a 24 or 36 hour spell without a break. In general, the twelve-hour day rules.

Not only, however, are the hours of labour excessive. The working week is one of seven days for, at a conservative estimate, 14,000 of the men employed in the steel works. Further, the men once a fortnight do a double shift, making a 24-hour day!

As the inevitable consequence of "speeding-up" to exhaustion point; a seven-day week; and a twelve-hour day, with once a fortnight a 24-hour shift, the men are unable to stand the strain for any length of time. Hence the startling insecurity of employment. And we are invited to envy this!

WAGES AT HUNGER POINT.

It may be thought that, in view of conditions so intolerable, there will be some truth in the statement made by the Tariff Reformers that wages in America are high.

The "Survey" says 60 per cent. of the employees receive less than two dollars a day; 3 or 4 per cent. receive over five dollars; and the remaining 36 or 37 per cent. receive somewhere between two and five dollars a day." Thus, the vast bulk of the men may be regarded as "two-dollar men," a weekly income of 14 dollars.

What is it worth, this 14 dollars (say, £2 18s.)? What will it buy? It seems a lot for unskilled labour, nearly £3 weekly; and the Tariff Reformers are never tired of using the figure. The "Daily News" recently quoted Professor Chapin as saying "an income under 800 dollars (£160) is not enough to permit the maintenance of a normal standard;" and it will be noted that 14 dollars weekly is 72 dollars a year short of this insufficient 800 dollars. Confirming this, the "Survey" says that on an income of 14 dollars a week "the food supply must be the subject of the most stringent economy. This often means a serious lessening of the amount essential to physical well-being, with its inevitable danger to the happiness and efficiency of the next generation." This means that 14 dollars weekly is not enough to supply adequately the necessities of life. When we remember, too, that this insufficient income is not regular, we begin to get some idea of the condition of the workers of Pittsburg.

WOMEN AND HOME LIFE.

One great determining factor in domestic economy is the ability of the housewife to spend the income to the best advantage; should she fail in this, the condition of the home must be bad in the extreme. It is a matter that requires unremitting care, intelligence, and, above all, experience; and in Pittsburg women are being driven in greater and greater numbers every day into the industrial field, where it is utterly impossible for them ever to acquire the necessary qualifications to make competent housewives. Young women and girls are driven to the factory, the workshop, and the

mill, owing to the utter inability of their parents to support them ; their own self-respect refusing to allow them to be a burden on an already insufficient income.

In England, women's wages are a disgrace to our society ; in Pittsburg the disgrace has been reduced to a science. An employer told the "Survey's" representative that his firm tries "to employ girls who are members of families, for we don't pay the girls a living wage in this trade" (box manufacturing). The average wage of women in Pittsburg is, on a generous estimate, seven dollars a week, and this income just covers rent for a room shared with a friend, food, fares, and clothing. No margin whatever exists for saving, none for illness, unemployment, or for the little pleasures that alone make life bearable. The fate awaiting many of Pittsburg's working-women needs no emphasis.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

The civic corruption of the United States is typified in Pittsburg. The "Survey" says : "Evil conditions were found to exist in every section of the city. Over the omnipresent vaults, graceless privy sheds flouted one's sense of decency. Eyrie rookeries perched on hillsides were swarming with men, women and children, entire families living in one room and accommodating boarders in a corner thereof. Cellar rooms were the abiding places of other families. In many houses water was a luxury, to be obtained only through much effort of toiling steps and straining muscles. Courts and alleys, fouled by bad drainage and piles of rubbish, were playing-grounds for rickety, pale-faced, and grimy children ; every phase of the situation was intensified by overcrowding, of houses upon lots, of families into houses, of people into rooms."

The effect of these conditions on the children will be anticipated, and the "Survey" says again : "Not one child in ten comes to us from the river-bottom section without a blood or skin disease, usually of long standing. Not one out of ten comes to us physically up to the normal for his or her age. Worse than that, few of them are up to the mental standard, and an increasing percentage are imbecile."

Having facts such as these before us, facts that are public and easily accessible to everybody, it is almost impossible to express in measured terms the disgust that honest men and women must feel at the campaign of calumny and falsehood evidenced by the hoardings and an utterly unscrupulous press. England has reached a crisis in her history, and upon the decision of her people rests her future. That future in the hands of the Protectionists is black indeed.

FREDERICK M. BOYD.

INDUSTRY AND SOCIALISM IN JAPAN.

The rise of Japan dates from the revolution of 1867, when in consequence of the attack from without and the corruption within the feudal system had to give way to modern civilisation.

Since nearly 40 years Japan has been making every conceivable exertion to keep pace with the progress of the world in general and of the West in particular. Of course, many hindrances presented themselves to us when we tried to introduce the method of production of the West, for our customs and uses differ in every respect from those of the West. And yet Japan has introduced, with more or less success, European methods in politics, education, trade and industry—yes, even on the moral and religious plane.

Our industry has already developed so far as to suffer from all the evils which cling to all modern industry: the exploitation of women and children has reached exactly the same point as it once did in England.

In order to get a more or less complete picture of the present industrial conditions of Japan, we will illustrate the progress from former times by a few figures.

POPULATION AND WORKERS.

The population has increased to about 50 millions; the last years show the rapid increase of about 500,000 annually.

According to the census of 1903 the population was distributed as follows:—

			Number of people in 1903.		Per cent.
In the large towns	...	...	6,209,976	...	14
In the small towns	...	...	8,290,295	...	15
In the villages...	...	...	34,042,405	...	71
			<hr/> 48,542,676	...	<hr/> 100

Since then the number of town dwellers is said to have increased 10 per cent., so that now only 60 per cent. are in the villages. Of the 48 millions, a quarter are adult males working for their living.

Occupation.

Total	766,987
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According to the census of 1907 the male industrial workers are as follows :—

Total	1,204,102
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Over these workmen are placed a great number of foremen, etc., whose relative number can be seen from the following table ;—

State iron works	595	...	8,530	...	66
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From the above figures one may reckon with some degree of certainty on the following division:—

Total	4,800,000
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In this connection it is interesting to know something of the position and salaries of State officials in Japan. Their total number amounts to 152,000 and their total yearly payment 4,478,111 yen

(1 yen about 2s.). The highest placed (Chuknins), 416 in number, draw, on an average, 4,142 yens each annually; then comes a group of 6,287 "Sonins," who receive, on an average, 1,217 yens a year. The remaining salaries vary from 335 yens for the "Hannins" (51,952), to an average of 192 yens for the lowest class of officials, about 93,000 in number. The present Budget provides for a rise of 30 per cent. in these salaries.

It is evident from the above how the under-officials are exploited by the nation, and that it would only be common justice to raise their wages 30 per cent. But this is nothing to the exploitation of the workers!

We will give in the next table the amount of a few wages, thereby proving that a rise in the salaries of any officials at the cost of the workers would be a crying injustice.

The noticeable rise in wages during the years 1906 to 1907 is only to be attributed to the Russian-Japanese war, which caused a boom in industry and raised the price of food. During the last two years an industrial depression followed, and the wages sank by 15 to 20 per cent., sometimes even by as much as 30 per cent. And the whole country is full of unemployed.

Our national income amounts annually to about three milliards of yens, or 60 yens per head of the 50 million inhabitants, and we pay in national and municipal rates and taxes about one milliard yens annually, which means that we are perhaps the most highly taxed people in the world. Of the 534,172,000 yens which the national Budget for 1911 provides, 85,377,000 are from the land tax, 27,501,000 from the income tax, 25,303,000 from the tax on salaries, 87,701,000 from the tax on spirits, 15,243,000 from the sugar tax, 18,705,000 from the tax on clothes, 45,411,000 from duties and 13,850,000 from the soya* and oil tax. Fifty years ago the landowners bore all the burden of national expenditure, to-day they pay only one-sixth of the Budget. Our law-making is controlled by the large landlords, and the workers have no say in the matter. They are exploited more and more in Japan not only by the capitalists but also by the growing taxes and by the law givers. The present budget provides for the reduction of the land tax, of the inheritance and income-tax, but for the increase of the indirect taxation and of the price of the articles of State monopoly (tobacco, etc.).

But only the large landlords profit by this; the small peasants are like the workers ruined by the high taxation. The following table shows the rapid decrease in their number :—

SMALL PEASANTS WHO PAY LESS THAN 2 YEN.

1904	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,964,685
1905	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,382,599
1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,071,142

Thus, in two years 893,000 small peasants disappeared and became tenants. These tenants are most shamelessly exploited by

* The Japanese bean sauce for flavouring.

the great landlords, and are perfectly helpless, as the Japanese police regulations strictly forbid any co-operation for the betterment of their conditions. They have no more rights than the industrial workers, for neither category has any representatives on the national or local legislative bodies, and are both taxed to the utmost.

EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKERS.

We now come to the industrial development of our country and the exploitation of the workers which accompanies it :—

Year.	Works with motor-power.	Works without motor-power.	Total.	Male Workers.	Female Workers.	Total.	Average number in each factory.
1898	2,964	4,121	7,085	177,632	234,573	412,205	58
1899	2,305	4,394	6,699	158,793	204,378	423,171	63
1900	2,383	4,896	7,284	164,712	257,305	422,017	58
1901	2,764	4,585	7,349	167,904	265,909	433,813	57
1902	2,991	4,830	7,821	185,621	313,269	498,890	64
1903	3,741	4,533	8,274	182,404	301,435	483,839	58
1904	4,000	5,234	9,234	207,951	318,264	526,215	57
1905	4,335	5,471	9,776	242,288	345,563	587,851	60
1906	4,656	5,705	10,361	242,988	369,189	612,177	59
1907	5,207	4,731	10,938	257,356	385,936	643,292	59

These figures apply to private enterprise. They do not include the under-workmen. In the State-owned factories there were, besides, in 1907, 160,000 workers of both sexes, so that in that year the total number might be estimated at about 820,000. Since then it has probably risen to a million, who are all deprived of any

Trade or Industry.	1904.		1905.		1906.		1907.	
	High- est	Low- est	High- est	Low- est	High- est	Low- est	High- est	Low- est
	Wage in Year.		Wage in Year.		Wage in Year.		Wage in Year.	
Rice Workers ...	0.34	0.30	0.36	0.32	0.36	0.32	0.38	0.34
Potters ...	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.60	1.10	0.65	1.00	0.60
	0.80	0.55	0.70	0.40	0.85	0.40	0.85	0.45
Dyers ...	0.60	0.40	0.60	0.40	0.60	0.40	0.60	0.40
Tailors ...	1.00	0.60	2.50	1.20	2.25	1.25	2.50	1.30
Carpenters ...	0.85	0.70	1.00	0.90	1.10	1.00	1.10	0.90
Plasterers ...	1.00	0.87	1.05	0.92	1.05	0.92	1.50	0.95
Brick Makers ...	0.80	0.30	0.90	0.35	0.90	0.30	1.20	0.50
Builders ...	1.25	1.05	1.35	1.15	1.45	1.05	1.65	1.30
Gardeners ...	0.70	0.60	0.70	0.55	0.70	0.60	0.80	0.70
Shoemakers ...	1.55	0.35	1.55	0.35	1.55	0.40	1.55	0.50
Saddlers ...	1.50	0.80	1.50	1.00	1.50	0.90	1.30	0.90
Moulders ...	1.65	0.55	1.50	0.45	1.45	0.40	1.50	0.40
Smiths ...	1.70	0.60	1.50	0.45	1.50	0.40	1.70	0.45
Shipwrights ...	0.85	0.77	0.95	0.90	0.95	0.90	0.95	0.90
Compositors ...	0.85	0.40	0.90	0.30	0.95	0.30	1.20	0.40
Day-Labourers ...	0.63	0.42	0.65	0.45	0.45	0.35	0.60	0.50
By the Month :—								
Servants, Male ...	3.00	2.00	3.50	2.00	3.50	2.00	4.50	2.00
Servants, Female ...	3.00	1.50	3.00	2.00	3.50	2.00	4.50	2.00

legal protection and delivered up defenceless to capitalist exploitation. So are the workers in the weaving and silk home-work, so common in Japan, where the sweating system prevails in its most horrible form. Long hours, 14 to 16, miserable food and unhealthy workshops are the rule, with only two days of rest a month, usually the 1st and 15th. Of course, child labour plays a great part in these industries, and the young generation is rapidly used up in the service of capital. The following table will prove statistically the increasing extension of child labour in Japan:—

Branch of Industry.	Over 14 Years.		Under 14 Years.		Together.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Textile... ..	38,471	279,574	2,382	34,240	40,853	313,814	354,667
Machine	57,369	2,213	2,281	182	59,650	2,395	62,045
Chemical	39,719	18,651	3,310	3,735	43,029	22,836	65,865
Food	27,889	18,155	660	1,488	28,549	19,643	48,192
Miscellaneous (for instance, bamboo work, wood-work & printing)	28,285	16,164	4,344	4,178	32,629	20,342	52,971
Metal work and mining	52,097	7,102	549	248	52,646	7,356	60,002
Total	243,830	341,859	13,526	44,071	257,356	386,386	643,742

The textile industry is the most highly developed and best organised factory work in Japan. It employs women and girls in two shifts, which are changed every 14 days. These poor slaves are kept during the resting times in prison-like dormitories inside the factory precincts, and must not leave the premises; 28 or 29 days a month they work daily their 12 hours. They are fetched from the remote parts of the country and forced to agree to a contract of at least three years for a wage of 15 to 30 yen a year. In many cases the girls, after they have paid the company for their keep, receive 4 to 8 sen a day wages (one sen equals one-hundredth yen). Our cotton-spinning constitutes the most intense exploitation of Japan.

THE FACTORY REGULATION.

A Factory Act, worked out by the Government, is to be laid next session before the House of Deputies. The Bill was published some time ago and laid before the Chambers of Commerce and other bodies for their approval or criticism. Many of them have already expressed fear that the development of Japanese industry should suffer in consequence. If the Factory Act really does pass it is to be limited to: 1. Works with gas-steam or motor-power; 2. Dangerous or unhealthy occupations; and 3. Factories where more than 50 workers are employed. The age limit is to be fixed at 12 years, and children under 16 are not to work longer than 12 hours (!) a day. Two holidays a month are to be enforced.

These improvements, already so minute, are in addition to be subject to so many exceptions to each important regulation that

they will hardly be of any use to the workers. Then the regulations regarding the necessary cubic feet of air space, sanitary arrangements, the care and inspection of factories are left entirely to the local administrative bodies. The law is very elastic, and can be so arbitrarily administered that it will bring the workers, as they are without organisation or political rights, no relief worth mentioning. And yet the employers and capitalists are opposed to it. It is, therefore, still doubtful whether the House of Deputies, even assuming that the Bill is ever really brought in, will accept it.

It is clear that under these circumstances organisation and agitation are of urgent necessity for the working classes in Japan. But it has hitherto been rendered impossible by the action of the police to do anything in this direction. Our police are the willing tools of the capitalists and the capitalist Government. Timid attempts have indeed been made by means of a newspaper and occasional meetings to enlighten the workers, but it is impossible to agitate for trade unions, or to do anything which would be disagreeable to the employers. So one might think the Socialist movement in Japan had been killed by persecution. More than 20 persons are pining in prison, because they stood up for the workers, and all the Socialist papers but one are suppressed. Also a few Anarchists have done the rising Socialist movement much harm, and the Government now treats every Socialist as an Anarchist. For Socialists there is in Japan no law, no constitution, no liberty. Still the agitation goes on in secret, and literature is distributed. Since last February there is again an open Socialist organisation in Tokio. They are only a handful of people, but serious, capable intellects, who are going to do the only thing that it is possible to do openly under the present condition of the law—namely, to publish leaflets similar to those of the English Fabian Society.

If it were possible to unite all the Socialist elements, of which there are many in Japan, into one public party much would, of course, be gained. But our police system is worse than that of Russia, so that this is apparently not to be thought of.

The only Socialist paper, "Schakai Schimbum" ("Socialist News"), is so sharply censored that propaganda is almost impossible. The circulation amounts to 1,000 copies; the paper hitherto appeared weekly, now it comes out monthly.

The number of supporters only increases slowly, and the struggle for our ideal is a very hard one. The propaganda is principally carried on from mouth to mouth. We have to give the paper to the workers and beg them to read it. They have, of course, no money to subscribe to it, and we are, therefore, in great distress financially. But industry is developing rapidly and is fast preparing the soil for Socialism, so we must keep up our courage and continue to struggle hopefully towards our goal.

S. KATAYAMA (Tokio).

(Translated from the "Neue Zeit.")

THE REVIEWS.

"VOX POPULI."

Sir Henry Seton-Karr, C.M.G., writes the following in the current "Nineteenth Century and After":—

But the contrast of conditions between 1886 to 1900 and from 1900 to 1910 is very clearly marked. In the former period democracy was unorganised and had not "found itself." The trade unions had not marshalled their forces nor apparently discovered their political strength. Socialism existed, no doubt, as the inevitable product of poverty and discontent. But as a political force it was latent and practically a negligible quantity. The choice for voters in every contested election lay between two or more individuals representing two great parties in the State, differing sharply enough in details of domestic reform, but who both appealed for support on national and imperial grounds. In those days it was not so much a difference of objective as a difference of method and of means.

Let us ask ourselves, in all seriousness: Can the same be said of political controversy at the present time? The simple answer is distinctly in the negative. Not only are the methods of platform controversy entirely altered (for the worse), but the main objectives of rival political parties are now altogether different. During the seventies, the eighties, and the nineties, when our system of party government worked reasonably enough and continued to command respect and, it may even be said, the admiration of the civilised world, the main differences between Whig and Tory, Liberal and Conservative, were in reference to foreign and colonial policy and administration, the government of Ireland, and minor questions of domestic reform. The questions of taxation and of national expenditure and finance played some part also in making and unmaking Ministers, but the introduction of a Budget in these days was a comparatively humdrum affair, for the simple reason that, while taxation was not excessive, none of it was inquisitorial, nor was there any direct class or property discrimination.

Since 1906 all this is changed, and it is as well to emphasise the change in view of the fact that a younger generation of electors has come into being, who were either unborn or in their long clothes in the seventies and the eighties.

First and foremost, the second Estate of the Realm is being

directly attacked. The absolute destruction of the Second Legislative Chamber, which has before now stood between the country and revolution, is being advocated; and this not by irresponsible and harmless maniacs from a chair in Hyde Park on a Sunday afternoon, but by responsible politicians who command a following, and even by some Ministers of the Crown.

The second great change in our modern political controversy is the open advocacy of class legislation and class taxation, accompanied by blatant and unscrupulous appeals to class prejudice. This amounts in fact to the preaching of a class war. Here, again, it is as well that the younger generation of British electors should realise the changed condition of public affairs. It was, I believe, Mr. Gladstone who used the pernicious phrase "the classes and the masses." His "exuberant verbosity" and great wealth of language and of verbal imagery no doubt often ran away with him, as such gifts have not seldom done, and will continue to do, with their possessors. But one cannot recall any specific legislative measure or financial proposal of his day which can fairly be described as penal class legislation or as imposing inquisitorial or discriminative taxation. One cannot well imagine him, or any statesman of his time and generation, in the capacity of Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposing to ask the British taxpayer not "How much money have you got?" but "How did you get it?" The novel and dangerous feature in this respect of our present political warfare is that leading party men and responsible Ministers, in support of revolutionary and Socialistic measures, have indulged in platform oratory of the lowest Socialistic and inflammatory type.

We can now advance our examination a further stage. The election is over, and the "People" have spoken. How have the new forces worked? What is the significance of the resultant verdict of "Vox populi," and by what means has it been obtained?

Obviously these forces have been working, in the main, on different lines, though some of them arrive at the same goal. The Irish Nationalist Party want to "destroy" the Lords in order to clear the way for Home Rule; but they do not want the Budget, and they do want Tariff Reform. But to them Home Rule is most important. At all events, they say so. It is therefore possible that the Budget and also "Free Trade" may be swallowed by them if only Home Rule can be obtained. . . . The main point to remember is that about 70 Irish votes may be driven by force of circumstances to join with 40 Labour-Socialist votes in bringing about a Socialist Budget which the Irish do not like; in defeating Tariff Reform which they do like, and which England, the predominant partner, has declared in favour of; and in furthering

Radical class and Socialistic legislation, which will not necessarily affect Ireland, if ever that country does attain Home Rule. All this has clearly a very important bearing on the Labour-Socialist Party and the forces of which it is the product, and on the welfare of Great Britain.

The Unionist débâcle of 1906 was comprehensible. It came after a 17 years' Unionist innings, the last eleven of which had been consecutive. That the Unionist Administration of 1900 to 1906 had been somewhat stale and unprofitable no one will seriously deny, though its faults were those rather of omission than commission. But the huge Radical majority of 1906 was nevertheless considered in many quarters as adventitious and unreal. After four years' trial of Radicalism-cum-Socialism, the actual fruits of which we have just glanced at, a rather more violent reaction might, in the light of previous history, have been expected both in England and Scotland in favour of Unionist policy, particularly when that policy contained real, live, constructive Tariff Reform proposals. As a matter of fact, while England has returned a small Unionist and Tariff Reform majority, mainly as the result of a most remarkable turn-over of votes in the Southern and Home Counties—and there is some Unionist reaction in London, though not so great as was hoped and expected—Scotland stands where she did, chiefly Radical still. The trade union centres of the North of England are also disappointing to Unionists. In the eighties and nineties Lancashire was largely Unionist and Imperial. Now, while Liverpool remains staunch, Manchester still returns, for the most part, Labour and Radical members, while industrial centres like St. Helens, Wigan (now captured by the Socialists), Warrington, Bolton, Blackburn are all Radical or Labour. Birmingham, dominated by the personal influence of the great champion of Tariff Reform, returns Unionists, and nothing but Unionists, by largely increased and overwhelming majorities. In the North-East, Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland remain almost entirely Radical. Sunderland is a significant exception, converted to Tariff Reform by one strong local personality.



A POET OF SOCIALISM.

Henry S. Salt writes the following in the current number of the "Humane Review":—

It is sometimes said that Socialism, unlike the earlier phases of the progressive movement, is incapable of producing poetry. But before we acquiesce in this criticism, and set it down to the discredit of the socialistic temperament, it may be well to note two

facts—first, that it is still too early to form an adverse decision on such a point, inasmuch as all revolutionary poems, even if afterwards appreciated, are distasteful to contemporary judgment; and, secondly, that the critics who find “no poetry in Socialism” are in the curious position of not having yet discovered who the Socialist poets are! For example, many literary folk, and some Socialists themselves, are under the mistaken impression that William Morris was the typical poet of Socialism, whereas Morris was what is a very different thing—a poet who became a Socialist. The author of “The Earthly Paradise,” though in his later years a staunch champion of Socialism, and now justly honoured by Socialists the world over, had made his poetical reputation on other lines, and at an earlier period; and when, in a few later lyrics, he tried to turn his genius to the service of “the Cause,” the result was scarcely a success. His poetry, as such (I am not speaking of his prose romances), is quite separable from his politics, though we may trace in it clearly enough the great human qualities that converted “the idle singer of an empty day” into the author of “News from Nowhere” and “John Ball.”

Turn, however, to a younger writer, such as Francis Adams, unknown to the great majority of readers (except, perhaps, as the author of some magazine articles on Australian life), and you have a true Socialist poet; not, of course, to be compared with William Morris in breadth of vision, ripeness of thought and character, or perfection of literary craftsmanship, but expressing far more directly and spontaneously the spirit of modern Socialism—its strength and its passion, its scornful hatred of injustice, its inherent restlessness and imperfections. Like his fellow-singer, John Barlas, who is even less known to the public, Adams was not so much a convert to Socialism as a scion of Socialism, a veritable “Child of the Age” (to quote the title of his own autobiographical volume) in the storm and stress of his career.

Of that career, in its inner private relations, it was his own wish, as urged in one of his letters, that no account should be published. Let it suffice, then, here to state that Adams’s brief career, in England and Australia, as Socialist, journalist, and author, was one continuous struggle against disease and misfortune, and that when he died by his own hand in 1893, at the age of 30, he had passed through a course of troubled and adventurous experiences such as befall few men who live to the full span of life. He himself wrote in his “Post Mortem”:—

Bury me with clenched hands
And eyes open wide,
For in storm and struggle I lived,
And in struggle and storm I died.

He returned to England in 1890, consumptive, in broken health, but having already made somewhat of a reputation among Australian readers, and with high hopes of wider literary fame. “When he

came to London," says Mr. W. M. Rossetti, in his introduction to Adams's drama "Tiberius," "I saw him once, and regretted that it should be only once. I found him to be a young man of engaging and beautiful presence, and some appearance, though not at that time very marked, of delicate constitution; of amiable, refined manners, and of mild, though certainly very self-resolved, tone in conversation." At that period Adams was hardly known at all to English Socialists, though his "Songs of the Army of the Night" had been published in Australia in 1887, and a few copies had found their way to this country.* It was through Mr. W. M. Rossetti, who has done so much service to democratic literature by his early recognition of notable but neglected poets, that the present writer had the good fortune to become acquainted with Adams's works, and had an opportunity of visiting him at Hastings in the winter of 1891-92. It may perhaps be of more interest to my readers, and give a clearer picture of Adams than a precise narrative would do, if I record my impressions of him such as they were at the time, though I was then in almost complete ignorance of the facts of his life.

I found him lodging in a row of small houses on the hill near the station, with rather a cold and depressing outlook. He was ill—he had been suffering from hæmorrhage during the past fortnight—but he insisted on my remaining some time, as he argued that, even if talking tired him, he was more than compensated by meeting someone interested in what *he* was interested in: he had lived among his books for some weeks. He was reading a review of Meredith's "Modern Love," and at once launched out into some depreciatory remarks on the older school of writers, Browning, Tennyson, Meredith, etc., whose misfortune it was to have no chance of understanding the new social ideas. "They are antediluvian." He would not exempt even Meredith from his judgment, but held that his novels were cast in a form which had already been handled to exhaustion by greater writers.

Meantime, I was observing Adams, and was much impressed by his appearance. I took him to be not less than 35, but I did not then know that he had always been older than his years. He had a head beautiful as a Greek god's—dark brown, wavy hair, finely shaped forehead, straight nose, and short, rich chestnut beard; but he looked terribly consumptive, and his fine eyes had a strange bright wildness as he talked. He seemed to be intensely, perhaps morbidly, sensitive and critical, so that scarcely any contemporary English work could satisfy him; he spoke highly, however, of the French.

Of his own writings, I learnt that "Leicester, an Autobiography" (afterwards reprinted as "A Child of the Age") was written when he was 18. It was, he said, an honest attempt to give a candid

*For further facts see the Introduction to "The Songs of the Army of the Night," new and revised edition, 1910, published by Mr. A. C. Fifield.

revelation, but it was crude and morbid, and "not quite candid" after all: moreover, in parts he had gone too far in his reaction from conventionalism—faults which he hoped to remedy in the revised edition which he had then in hand. He felt it was a remarkable book; in fact, it "came to him" to write it in a quite spontaneous way. I told him how a friend had lent me "*Leicester*," and had assured me it was "the most loaned of all his books." Adams seemed gratified at this, and said he had received several letters expressing rapturous admiration of the book, and had made some warm friends by it. Here Mrs. Adams ominously remarked, "And some enemies, too."

"But it was of the "*Songs of the Army of the Night*" that I most wished to hear tidings. He told me that they were intended to do what had never been done before—to express what might be the feelings of one of the working classes as he found out the hollowness (to him, at any rate) of our culture and learning. The book, he was careful to add, expressed only one of his moods, and was but a small part of him.

In subsequent talks and letters he told me much of his life in England and Australia. He had received a classical education at Shrewsbury School (the "*Glastonbury*" of his novel), and had been "destined" for various professions, but had disappointed the wishes of his friends, and, after a brief spell of schoolmastering, had become a journalist and wanderer. He was connected for a short time in 1883, or thereabouts, with the Social-Democratic Federation, and enrolled himself a member under the Regent's Park trees one Sunday afternoon, after a Socialist address from his friend Frank Harris; he also attended and spoke at one or two S.D.F. meetings. "But, looking back at that particular period," he says in one of his letters to me, "I find I was far too deeply absorbed in the personal emotions to have noticed much else." In Australia, where he took an active part in the Labour movement, and wrote frequently for the Sydney "*Bulletin*" and other journals, he made many friends, but just as a Parliamentary career was opening for him he was crippled by illness. His literary plans, he told me, were now (1892) quite clear and straight, and he seemed confident that his work would quickly gain recognition.

There were two seeming contradictions in Adams, both in his character and in his writings, which struck me at the time of my first acquaintance with him, and must have been noticed by many of his readers. I refer in the first place to his strange mixture of sweetness and bitterness. He was at one moment, and in one aspect, the most simple, affectionate, and lovable of human beings; at another, the most aggressively critical and fastidious. His power of pitiless invective shows itself in many of the "*Songs of the Army of the Night*," as in those addressed to Ruskin and Swinburne, and his conversation in this respect was fully as incisive

as his poetry. I well remember the savage delight expressed by him at the thought that Herbert Spencer's ponderous philosophical structure was destined to tumble asunder like a pack of cards, and the zest with which he denounced George Eliot for having *preached* a respectability which she herself was too advanced to practise. There can be no doubt, I think, that suffering and disappointment had aggravated and embittered the extreme sensitiveness of his disposition; but under this irritable surface the true warmth and lovingness of his nature lay unchangeable to the last. As one of his Australian friends has said of him, the very light of comradeship shone from his soul.

The "Songs of the Army of the Night," in fact, have already established themselves among our notable revolutionary poems, and even the literary critics must eventually become aware of them. As surely as Elliott's "Corn Law Rhymes" and Brough's "Songs of the Governing Classes" spoke the troubled spirit of their age, so do these fierce, keen lyrics, on fire alike with love and hate, express the passionate sympathies and deep resentments of the Socialist movement in its revolt from a sham philanthropy and a sham patriotism; and, unequal as the poems are when judged by the usual literary standards—in parts so tender and melodious, and again, in other parts, harsh and formless to the verge of mere doggerel—few intelligent readers can be unmoved by their force and impressiveness.

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SOCIALIST POLITICS AND TRADE UNIONISM.

While we have seen that there is a tendency to belittle and deride Parliamentary action on the part of some advanced Socialists, we are witnessing on the part of others efforts to form Socialist Representation Committees, or even a National Socialist Representation Committee, on the lines of the Labour Party.

The latter is a tendency to go to one extreme, just as the former leads to the opposite. It would be a mistake to say that joint committees of the nature suggested can never serve any useful purpose; but they are chiefly useful in banding together, for some specific common object, bodies of very divergent views. The Labour Representation Committee, for instance, had good reason for its existence when it was a question simply of promoting "Labour Representation"—i.e., the Parliamentary representation of the various sections of the working class, grouped together in various organisations with widely different objects;

holding sometimes entirely opposite views, and based upon conflicting principles, but all agreed on the importance of Parliamentary representation. The object of such a committee was to get rid of the friction which frequently arose between these sections in pursuing that immediate object; friction which not only became a scandal and caused the enemy to blaspheme, but too often resulted in defeating the object in view.

With Socialist bodies, however, the case is different. They are all agreed on fundamental principles and ultimate aim. It is only in the immediate steps to be taken; the means to be employed; the methods to be adopted, that they differ. Moreover, while all are agreed upon Parliamentary action—an agreement which has been held by the International Congresses for many years to differentiate Socialists from Anarchists, so far as practical immediate action is concerned—some regard it as of more, others of less, importance, and none, it may be assumed, regard it as the *only* possible means to be ever resorted to.

That being so, it would seem that the formation of Socialist Representation Committees would be to attach undue importance to Parliamentary action, making it, as it were, the chief objective of Socialist activity, to the subordination of the principles and the aim of Socialism, which latter should be the real ground and basis of unity among Socialist bodies.

Socialist organisations, therefore, should be capable of entering into closer unity than that implied by co-operation in a Representation Committee for electoral purposes only. It may well be, however, that local combinations among such bodies for the promotion of representation on local authorities and in Parliament would do much to bring about that closer unity so much to be desired. On the other hand, there should be no difficulty in forming such combinations with working-class organisations which are not avowedly Socialist, so long as the object is solely to promote representation, and the organisations and their repre-

sentatives are left free, independent and autonomous in other respects.

In seeking this object, however, we are confronted by the first tendency referred to, that in the direction of a revolt against Parliamentary action, and a return to the old methods of proletarian warfare. While we see this tendency manifesting itself in every country, and while it would be idle to ignore it, it would also be a great mistake to attach to it too much importance. This tendency appears to be most fully developed in the Latin countries, and is in many cases nothing more nor less than Anarchism. In France, however, where it is most formidable and coherent, as represented by Syndicalism and Hervéism, and where it was specially directed in the recent election to preventing working-class electors from voting—and especially from voting for Socialists—its futility has been demonstrated by the extraordinary increase in the Socialist vote.

The fact is that the tendency is much more theoretical than practical; much more manifested by the theorising and speculation of "intellectuals" than by the practical action of any considerable section of the working class themselves.

The theory, of which this tendency is the outcome, is that Parliamentarism is essentially bourgeois; that it is played out, and a useless weapon for the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation. As if any weapon is not just as effective on one side as on the other! We have heard something of "the psychology of the gun;" but a rifle, a machine gun, or a "Four point Seven," is neither moral nor immoral—it is non-moral, and is no more a respecter of persons than is the Deity. It would be just as effective used against a duke as against a dustman. It depends, not upon the weapon, but upon the "man behind the gun." So with Parliament and Parliamentary action, once it is understood that these are only means to an end, and not the end itself.

In England and America the tendency in question is based on the theory not only that Parliamentary

action is obsolete, but that so also is the present form of industrial organisation. It appears to be assumed that the workers are in a state of latent revolt, "cribbed, cabined and confined" by old, narrow, restrictive forms of organisation, and that it only needs the break-up of these old, obsolete forms, and the construction of some brand-new organisation out of their ruins, in order to see this seething latent revolt break out in overwhelming force, and for the workers to march forward, united, determined, exultant, irresistible, to the conquest of economic liberty and complete social freedom.

It is a fine theory. How one wishes it were true! Yet how foolish it is to imagine that if the workers really were impatient of present conditions and eager to revolt against them, any corrupt, timid, or reactionary "leader," or any mere forms of organisation, would keep them quiescent! The truth, of course, is quite to the contrary. It is only a minority, and a small minority at that, of the working class which is ordinarily sufficiently discontented with existing conditions to do anything, or make the slightest sacrifice, in order to materially change them. We have only to look at the present position of the Labour Party for evidence of that.

Whatever may be said of the policy or conduct of the Parliamentary group of the Labour Party, or of the defects or weaknesses of the party as a whole, it must be admitted that the combination was the outcome of the expressed wishes and desires of the active members of the trade unions which are affiliated thereto. It was not the work of the leaders—many of whom would have preferred to remain outside—but of the rank and file. Yet how do we see the rank and file supporting an institution of their own creation? The contribution to the Labour Party is twopence per head per annum. Not an extravagant sum, surely! Yet the members of the party in Parliament are striving to upset the Osborne judgment, which prohibits contributions to the Labour Party from union funds, or

compulsory levies for that purpose, because they know perfectly well that they cannot rely upon the voluntary contributions of their members! There are, roughly, some eight millions of adult male workers in this country; in the ranks of the unions affiliated to the Labour Party there are but a million and a-half of these; and yet even this small minority cannot be relied upon to pay twopence a year each for Parliamentary Representation! Those only can be relied upon to do so who voluntarily pay for their own politics already by becoming financial members of Socialist bodies, and these do not number a hundred thousand, all told—a hundred thousand out of eight millions!

The truth is that, while the majority of the working class are convinced of the truth and soundness of the fundamental principles of Socialism, they are too intent on securing the half-loaf to care to do anything to give practical application to those principles. A majority of the workers will not yet even vote for them, much less pay. How absurd, then, to suppose that they are in a state of incipient revolt, or would fight, or even strike, for principles for which they—while believing in them—will not even vote!

Nor is it less absurd to suggest that the indifference of the workers, their apathy and their reluctance to move, or do anything for their emancipation, would all be removed simply by disbanding their existing organisations—political and economic—and forming others with new names. A thing is not changed simply by giving it a new name. We do not transform a turnip into a watch by calling it one. Existing trade unions are the outcome of existing economic conditions; they have survived because they have been the fittest to survive, the organisations best adapted to their surroundings. If they were all disbanded and a brand new organisation were set on foot in their place, with the high-sounding title of the United International Federated Amalgamated Toilers and Moilers of the Universe, all the old features of the disbanded bodies would be preserved, or the new combination would go to pieces

—because there would only be the same material to work with, and nothing but the same conditions to work in.

That is the lesson of all past experience. Federations of All Trades and Industries; New Trade Unionism, in all its expressions, all have gone to pieces except where they have adopted the very methods of the old unions which they began by denouncing. "Merely benefit societies," the New Trade Unionists called the older bodies. "Twopenny Strike Clubs" was the contemptuous retort. Well, some of the "Twopenny Strike Clubs" have managed to exist, and have helped to democratise and strengthen trade unionism. But they have only done so by ceasing to be merely "Twopenny Strike Clubs," and by adapting themselves to their environment as the older bodies had done.

The reason for that lies in the economic conditions. "Festina lente" must be the motto in working-class organisation—industrial and political. As was pointed out in the last number of the "Social-Democrat," trade unionism in this country is steadily progressing; its numbers are increasing, and the development in the direction of amalgamation and federation makes for the ultimate realisation of that complete industrial organisation of the working-class foreshadowed in the resolution of the S.D.P. Conference.

The progress is slow; and impatience can easily be understood, and excused. Nevertheless, there *is* progress. We have won the trade unions to the recognition of the need for political action and of the inadequacy of their old weapon, the strike. Do not let us fall into the error, through impatience at the slowness of progress, of inducing them to cast aside the new weapon and to rely, once more, solely upon the old. Above all, it is essential that a party aiming to give political expression to the working-class movement should do nothing to antagonise or alienate the organised members of that class. We can set the pace—that is our duty—but we must not be too harsh with

the laggards. The trade unions have their defects, undoubtedly, and it would be wrong to ignore them or not to try to remedy them ; but the trade unionists—now that trade unionism is no longer an aristocracy, but a democracy of labour—are the flower of the working class. They may be reactionary, apathetic, difficult, but if they cannot be won for Socialism then Socialism itself is impossible. That is out of the question. Steadily, if slowly, the organised workers are coming to our side. It is for us to do all in our power to win them ; to place no obstacles in their way ; to sympathise with and support them even in the pettiest struggles in which the class war involves them ; until they recognise that their work is futile unless its object is emancipation, and that the crown and culmination of trade union organisation and effort is Social-Democracy.

H. QUELCH.

THE STATE AND ITS SCHOOL CHILDREN.

In the reports received from the majority of civilised countries we get a sense of State responsibility for the education of the future citizen.

In most countries the educational code and the administration of the schools are more or less under State control, although as yet there is very little evidence that the various Governments have adequately realised their responsibility with regard to the necessities of life, food, clothing, or general well-being, of the embryo citizens whom they are educating.

This may be very bad statesmanship, but it is easily explained when it is remembered that the statesmen of to-day are all drawn from the employing class, and that in every country the laws are framed to suit a capitalist Government. It is not reasonable that we should expect legislation of such a character as would ensure the good living of all children, for it would certainly disembarass working-class parents of a great deal of anxiety, and relieve them of the fear that their children would suffer if they dared to cross the wishes of their employers. Directly the individual parents could be assured of the well-being of their children they would naturally become more independent; therefore the ethics of the capitalist régime maintain that it will demoralise the parents for the State to ensure maintenance for all children, and all our present laws are framed on the basis of individual responsibility, forgetful of the fact that our civilisation only exists that we may mutually benefit by interdependence, that we may keep records of the past, and by our wider experience and combined strength ensure the livelihood and

continuance of the race; the virtue of all public spirit being that the benefit of the whole community should be placed above private interest or individual independence.

It is inevitable, however, that the standard of ethics should be co-ordinate with the actions of the governing class of the time, else the governing class must be disparaged and condemned by their own moralists. It also follows that when a governing class outgrows itself and shows a decline, so the prevalent standard of ethics will also become out-worn and be condemned as unfit. Thus to-day, with the decay of the capitalist Government, shown by an inability to meet the problems it is faced with, the standard of ethics that upheld the individual responsibility of the parent is now open to question. Society is no longer sure that individual independence is such a great virtue.

With the growth of new developments the feeling has become very strong that children are the wards of the nation and should be protected. This is the forerunner of the new standard of ethics, which co-relates to the time when the business of the Government will be to control the necessities of life for the benefit of all.

In most countries this feeling has only been allowed to take form in municipal action, or in vague permissive legislation, but every year the feeling grows stronger and more definite.

In France since 1874 the Municipality of Paris has attempted to feed the school children in some arrondissements. In 1882 it was made compulsory to establish a school fund in all communes, and every year shows an extension of the municipal work done for children. Every town hall in Paris has its Children's Bureau, with departments for attending to school meals, clothing and boots, medical attendance and inspection, and colony schools where delicate children can be sent to have lessons in the country if so ordered by the doctor. The children of the communal schools can always have their mid-day meal

(11.30 a.m.) in the school. The parents can pay 1½d. per day—or, if they are unable to do so, a note to the teacher ensures the child being given a dinner, while inquiries are made afterwards into the circumstances. Orphans are almost always on the free list; a relation or neighbour will often offer sleeping accommodation, while breakfast, dinner, and a light tea-supper is given them at the school. Clothing, too, is supplied where necessary.

The mid-day meal consists of two courses, and a regular diet is arranged to give sufficient variety and nourishment. The food is of the best quality. If any complaint against the quality should be proved, the contractor would immediately forfeit the contract. Kitchens are arranged to serve meals to three or four schools. They are fairly large and well-ordered and scrupulously clean. The dinners are sent in trolleys to be served at each school. The cook or one of her assistants acts as matron and serves the dinners to the children, who have already washed their hands and seated themselves at the long trestle tables that are placed in the Gymnasium Hall. The children pass the plates to the end of the table so that the last are served first. If any child should neglect its neighbour by omitting to pass the plate it has to wait till the last to be served. Many of the children who stay to the dinner have also a tonic or cod liver oil as prescribed by the doctor.

Not only are food and clothing given where necessary, but medical attention at the school or at a neighbouring dispensary, so that only in rare cases a child has to be taken to a hospital as an out-patient. All slight ailments are attended to by the doctor who is responsible for the school. Either the mother can send asking the doctor to see her child, or the teacher may call attention to the fact that the child seems indisposed, or the doctor may examine any child that appears ailing and prescribe medicine or treatment, or order the child into the country to a colony school for change of air.

The cost of this work is defrayed by grants from the town councils and Hotel de Ville, wedding gifts (it is a custom at all weddings that a collection is taken, or a donation made to go towards the children's fund at the Town Hall), benefit balls held in the Town Hall, etc. But there is no national recognition of the necessity to care for the well-being of the children. Other cities and towns in France have also had to supplement and carry out the work that has been neglected by the national authorities. Most of the towns have followed the lead of Paris. But it is not compulsory for them to do so, nor is there any co-ordination in their work.

In Finland we have a similar state of things. The municipalities, supplemented by private benevolence, have cared for the school children to the extent of feeding and clothing the most necessitous. Recently the Government have been awakened to a sense of their responsibility and have contributed a grant of about £4,000, but it does not undertake to systematise the work, or make it universal.

Sweden has no law for the maintenance of school children. It has been left to the school and parish authorities to take the matter up. In Stockholm, kitchens have been constructed within the school buildings, where meals are provided every other day from January 8 to June 25, and from August 22 to December 20. The dinners are mostly of two courses. Sometimes breakfasts are given where necessary; the teacher or doctor recommending the children. The meals are generally free, but in some cases parents who are able to pay a halfpenny are charged that sum. In 1903, 54,300 meals were given, and every year the work increases.

On the Statute Book of Holland there is a clause of the Education Act that reads: "In order to promote school attendance the council is authorised to supply food and clothing for children who attend school and are in need of them, or to grant a subsidy for the same purpose under the rules to be made by

every council respectively." In this respect no difference is made between children who attend public local schools or private schools. It is a permissive law that does not make it compulsory that the communities shall make any such provision for the children. And in reality only a few avail themselves of the law, and then not to a sufficient extent.

The Hague allows its gymnasium to be used by private societies for the distribution of food where necessary. Children are fed from December to March. In Utrecht the municipality undertakes the work. Other towns are likewise taking up the question. Norway has no legal recognition of the necessity to care for the well-being of school children, but each municipality organises a fund. Every day from the middle of October till the end of April the City of Christiania provides dinners in a large kitchen, and last year 4,567 children were fed there. Warm dinners were provided at a cost of 100,000 kroners, and tickets could be bought by parents or others at 1¼d. per meal. The city has been providing the children who needed it with food for many years during the winter months, and other municipalities provide meals to a lesser extent, but there is no co-ordination in their work.

Austria.—In Vienna the central association for feeding poor children is indirectly connected with the municipality, as the burgomaster of Vienna presides and many councillors are on the "board." The town grants an annual subvention which is augmented by local funds, and the schoolrooms are sometimes permitted to be used as dining-halls. Dinners are provided every day from November 16 to March 31 for indigent children who would otherwise have no warm dinner. The selection of these children is left in the hands of the teachers. It is permissible for the parents to pay for their children, but it is not often done, and no steps are taken to recover the cost of meals. Sometimes the meals are served in the people's kitchens or workmen's restaurant, sometimes at the schools, where the dinners are delivered hot in sealed

cans. Over 1,000,000 meals are given annually. The town gives 80,000 crowns and the Emperor 4,000 crowns. In Trieste a Society of the Friends of Children receives an annual subsidy for providing soup and bread, from December 1 to April 30. The children who need it are selected by the teachers.

There is no recognition by the Government of its responsibility to look after the well-being of the children, although the idea has been pressed by the Socialists. On one occasion, that of the jubilee of the Emperor, the Prime Minister did, indeed, say that some provision would have to be made for the school children, but there has never been enough money in the Exchequer to warrant that half-promise being carried out.

Bohemia and Servia each report that nothing is done nationally, but some assistance is given to children by private charity subsidised by local grants.

In Belgium there is no State law of education, so that a large number of children do not attend school, their parents requiring them to work to augment the family income.

The municipality of Liege has been providing soup at the kindergarten schools since 1833. In 1901 it formed a committee to give soup and bread to the children of the communal schools. These meals are now provided for the six winter months. Several other towns give grants to private societies to assist the children with food and clothes.

In Brussels 318,699 meals were given in 1903-4 and 13,700 garments. The city provides medical attention at the schools.

Antwerp as a municipality provides meals for kindergarten children at 5 centimes ($\frac{1}{2}$ d.) daily, while the "Bureau de Bienfaisance" pays for indigent children. The Committee of l'Hospitalité de Nuit et de la Bouchée de Pain supplies meals to all applicants, and receives a communal subsidy of 1,000 francs. The children in the kindergarten schools have dinner five days a week all the year round, but other pupils only during the winter months.

There is no State assistance nor co-ordination in the work of the various cities.

Switzerland does more, but even there the towns vary. Private agencies are assisted by town funds, although in Zurich the city undertakes to provide meals. In 1907, 3,588 children received dinners, and 1,715 had breakfasts as well, at a cost of 47,000 francs, while 26,300 francs were spent in providing vagrant or indigent children with food, many having bread and milk suppers as well. During the summer months, when there is no school, a considerable number of tickets for bread and milk were supplied to the children, so that there should be no want. Altogether out of 475,000 school children in Switzerland 26,000 have their meals at school. Of these meals 24,000 are free, 32 schools provide meals all the year, while 609 provide dinners in the winter only. In many cases, where the children have long journeys, their clothes are attended to and dried, slippers being provided at the schools. The majority of the meals are provided from kitchens at the schools. In Zurich the canton raises the fund by a tax on alcohol, while the urban authority pays part of the cost out of the school budget.

Italy has done much municipally. The State controls the inspection and audit of accounts.

In most of the large towns grants are made for food; Genoa has also a grant from the Government. Some towns supply dinners from November to June, others to March only, and some supply dinners to all the schools all the year round.

Milan supplies food to orphans and children with only one parent living, to children of families containing four or more children under 14 years of age, to children whose parents are unemployed or otherwise incapacitated, and, lastly, to children at discretion, preference being given to the more needy.

A Conservative Councillor of Vercelli proposed that all school children should be compelled to attend the school dinners in order to do away with class feeling.

Of course, the Socialist members agreed, and the resolution came into force, so that at the present moment every child has its dinner at school.

The weakness of the work in Italy lies in the fact that it is only municipal, and has no unification. It may be put an end to by any change in municipal election, or by order of the State authority if the Moderate opposition appeal to the Government on the charge of extravagance. This has been done in one instance with some show of reason, as the provision of food was given out to small contractors, with consequent petty jobbing. It is necessary for the municipalities to have assurance of continuity to enable them to organise such work on a wholesale basis, which would prevent corruption, while State action is necessary to obtain co-ordination throughout the whole country.

MARGARETTA HICKS.

(To be Continued.)

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE MEDICAL FACULTY.

The anti-vivisection storm having now somewhat subsided, it may not be inopportune to draw attention to another, and, as it appears to me, a much more serious question concerning the medical profession. It is the relation it bears to the long-suffering species, *Homo Sapiens*. And as, for more than a third of my life, I have constantly had to employ medical men, I may claim that the conclusions at which I have arrived have at least the virtue of being deliberate.

In our present state of society, doctors are employed *primâ facie* for the curing of disease; so that the greater the number of his patients the greater will be the doctor's income; that is to say, a direct premium is placed upon ill-health. Thus, in spite of the doctor's being paid to cure disease, he actually profits by its continuation, and his economic incentive is to reverse his *raison d'être*. Not only is this the case, but, by the customs of an enlightened and matter-of-fact age, the longer the medical takes in effecting a cure the more pay he receives—a proposition which, if put by any other professional or tradesman (lawyers excepted) would be considered ludicrous in the extreme. But with doctors it is tacitly supposed that the respectability of their profession renders them above suspicion as regards their integrity and so on.

It would be tedious to quote an experience of many years in order to show how I have been forced to the opposite opinion, so I shall merely remark that the very system of pay not only makes unscrupulous

practices possible for the whole profession, but makes it unavoidable by a considerable section. It is only necessary to call to mind the case of a general practitioner living in a district where doctors are already many but invalids scarce. The social position he is obliged to keep up in many such cases gives him the alternatives of failure with honesty on the one hand, and solvency without it on the other. It is almost needless to remark on the significance of the extreme rarity of a doctor's appearance in the Bankruptcy Court.

Another and yet more absurd result of the confidence bestowed on the profession is that the higher the doctor's bill the more credit he receives, it being commonly allowed that if the man has taken a long time over his work the work must have been of a very difficult nature, and the doctor thereby nets cash and credit together. And here it is to be noted that if the patient takes an extraordinary view of his treatment, getting the idea that the duration of his illness is due to his doctor's deliberate action, he has not the simple remedy of making a change, the professional etiquette being such that no medical will conduct a case from which another has been dismissed. If the patient is not satisfied with his doctor he can call in a second, for consultation only; a guinea fee is charged, and the treatment is immediately changed. And this last point apparently makes the contradiction which it involves too obvious for the public to see.

But, be this as it may, the whole medical faculty enjoys a confidence placed in it by society which is ridiculous, and if proof be needed let an abler writer than the present send a mildly-worded criticism of the profession to any capitalist magazine or paper and see if it will be accepted.

In defence of the honour of the profession it is frequently urged that many medicals spend their lives in hospitals receiving very little or even no pay. This, however, is loose reasoning. Pathology and medicine are very fascinating studies apart from the question of

pay, and, given a private income, would not any man whose tastes lay in that direction choose hospital work simply because he liked it? And if, in addition to spending his time at his favourite occupation, he received credit from his fellows for "devoting his life to the well-being of humanity" and the like, what more could he desire? Now, we know that to perform successful surgical operations, whether on man or beast, one must be completely indifferent to the sight of pain. And having first this indifference, and then a desire to discover, say, the effect of a certain incision or of a medicine, and above all having the implicit trust of the public, it would seem a fearfully easy matter for unscrupulous doctors (supposing, of course, that such exist) to experiment on the living human body. It is a remarkable thing that whereas the medical student in general has more or less of a reputation for callousness or even for brutality, the finished article has no such stigma, but is commonly supposed to be the most humane of men. It, therefore, follows that unless the student completely changes his ways on becoming a practitioner, he must dissemble pretty thoroughly. Whether he does so or not I leave the reader to decide.

To sum up the situation as things are at present it is possible for general practitioners to prolong the illnesses of their patients for the purpose of getting more money, and the patients are entirely at their mercy. It is possible for hospital doctors to experiment upon interesting subjects, and the latter have no appeal whatever. The economic position of medicals, and the trust accorded them by the public, are decidedly conducive to unscrupulousness.

All of us, of course, recognise that if we had health we should be able to bring about the revolution much faster than is at present possible. And, distasteful as palliatives undoubtedly are to many of us, I venture to emphasise one here—namely, that the hospitals should be put under public control, and financed by the State. The immediate result of such a procedure would be,

I believe, a considerable increase in taxation in order to raise the funds necessary to build a large number of new hospitals, infirmaries and convalescent homes ; and if I have correctly estimated the objection expressed by the middle and capitalist classes to having the hospitals administered as above stated it consists in this very increase of taxation. That being so, my case is proved. The fact that the hospitals, if financed by Government, would have to be made adequate shows clearly enough that they are not so now. The objection that to make them adequate would mean a "severe burden"—to use the middle-class phrase—shows that they are not only deficient but extremely deficient. So we charge the capitalist class with being more willing to let men suffer and die of disease than to submit to the extra taxation which would prevent it. If any defence is attempted, it is usually that by substituting national money for private charity opportunities for exercising the latter "virtue" are in a great measure destroyed. Such blatant hypocrisy is, however, not worth reply.

We find upon touching the breeches pocket of the moneyed man that we happen upon a very tender spot—a platitude which I trust I may be pardoned for repeating in view of the use to which I shall put it. For, having rudely extracted our taxes, and got our hospitals and the like built, we shall, of course, not go back, but insist upon their upkeep from the national Exchequer. And now it is that the tenderness referred to will work to our benefit. It will be to the advantage of the wealthy classes to have as little disease as possible. The patient who formerly was half cured and turned out of bed as soon as he could walk, only to get a worse return of his sickness, will not be allowed to start work until he is thoroughly fit to do so—simply because it is less expensive in the long run. But if it will cost less to cure than to tinker with the patient it will cost less still to prevent disease than to cure it.

It will be found cheaper, and for that reason (the economic), and not for a "humanitarian," "charitable," or other sentimental reason, it will be done. And so

ultimately the slums will be abolished because they breed and foster disease ; the dust trades and chemical and other sickness-creating industries will be carefully supervised by State-paid medical men, whose prime duty it will be to deal with the causes of disease instead of with the results of those causes.

The general practitioner of the future will be paid a fixed salary to look after a certain district. It will be to his interest to have as few patients as possible, seeing that the less work he has the more leisure, the principle being the same as that of machinery under Socialism.

It would be superfluous to discuss at length the great benefits which will accrue to the workers when once the hospitals are public institutions and the doctors public servants. But I would remind the reader that not only is a healthy democracy ipso facto happier than an unhealthy, but it is far better able to deal with the problem of its own future, and that, in short, the changes which I have indicated would be a series of quick steps to the final emancipation of the people. The intelligence of the reader will supply him with details, which it is therefore needless to mention here.

I conclude by replying to two objections raised against my paper before its appearance in print. The first is the nauseating humbug, so frequently urged, that the medical profession is in itself a guarantee of honesty, and that its members are therefore above comparison with other men. My answer is, that to say the least the defence is not proven, and whether the theory is correct or not, an enquiry can do no harm. The other is : Granted that medicals do obtain their living as I have suggested, should I not do the same if placed in their economic position ? I answer without the slightest hesitation in the affirmative.

EDWARD BRITTEN.

THE MONTH.

The May-Day celebration in London was much more numerously attended than usual, in consequence, doubtless, of the fact that the First fell on a Sunday. Even in London, where for many years May-Day has been celebrated by the faithful few, the general body of the working-class have regarded it with indifference and have not yet been inspired with the idea of making holiday once a year on their own. English folk are so "practical." The ideal typified by May-Day does not appeal to them. It is not holidays they want, but more work!

In the provinces there has never been any attempt to keep May-Day as a holiday. With characteristic love of compromise the provincial English working-class organisations have interpreted May-Day to mean the first Sunday in May, not the actual First of the month. This year, when the First actually fell on the Sunday, it might have been expected that greater interest than usual would have been shown in the celebration. So far from that being the case, however, judging by reports, the numbers taking part in the several demonstrations were smaller rather than larger than on previous occasions.

In continental countries May-Day was observed with the usual popular demonstrations. In Prussia, however, where our comrades had but recently conquered the right to open-air demonstrations in connection with the franchise agitation, they were forbidden to observe May-Day in similar fashion, and had to hold their meetings in halls. In Paris, too, the ex-Anarchist Prime Minister, Briand, prohibited the projected demonstration in the Bois de Boulogne, and filled Paris with troops preparatory to a massacre if the demonstration had been attempted.

Like another "Madame Veto," M. Briand "avait promis de faire egorger tout Paris." In his case, however, the stroke failed, thanks to the discretion of those who had organised the demonstration.

The apathy here in England in relation to the May-Day celebration is easily understood. Our working-class has nothing left to demonstrate for. The "Three Eights," which appeal to working people in other countries, have no charm for us. Here everything is for the best in the best of possible worlds. The "People's Budget"—that masterpiece of financial skill and of democratic legislation—has been passed; the millennium has been ushered in, and nothing now remains to be done but to enjoy the reign of peace and plenty which the modern St. George has inaugurated.

This "Socialistic Budget" is the kind of Socialism which rejoices the heart of the moderate man—he who aims at making the poor richer without making the rich any poorer. It raises an additional revenue of some fourteen or fifteen millions without putting any additional burdens on anybody or anything—except the petty luxuries of the poor. We have never yet been able to understand why the Lords should have haggled at it. The only people really hit by the Budget were the working-class, and they so enjoy being fleeced that they not only did not object but were enthusiastic in its support. It is to be hoped they will relish and enjoy its blessings.

But what will the Labour Party do now, poor thing, with no Budget to fret and fume and worry about? There is, however, still the House of Lords and its veto, and that, to all appearances, will last for many a long day.

With the Budget safe in harbour, and the Veto Resolutions passed through the House of Commons, our weary and overworked legislators are able to enjoy a well-earned holiday, preparatory to tackling a new Budget and the Veto Bill. Those two measures may be reasonably expected to take up the rest of the present Parliamentary Session; thus, although there is still talk of a General Election in June or July, there would seem to be no reason why the present Parliament should not last at least another twelve months.

In any case, there is little likelihood of the Veto Bill becoming law just yet. It is not in the least degree likely that the Peers will pass it without pressure from another quarter, and the "Guarantees" about which we have heard so much can scarcely be insisted upon at the present moment.

"The King is dead, long live the King!" We have no use for monarchs of any sort, and the kingly office is as much of an anachronism as is the House of Lords; but it is universally admitted that, as Kings go, Edward the Seventh was a good King. So much the worse for us! "Edward the Peacemaker" he has been called, and his influence in foreign affairs has generally been conceded to have made for peace. We are by no means sure, however, that the harm done by this influence has not outweighed the good, and provoked contingencies which otherwise might never have arisen. In any case, there can be no doubt that any increase of the influence of the Crown—always too powerful—in foreign affairs, however beneficent it may appear to be in its immediate results, is bound to be mischievous in the long run.

There is no doubt, moreover, that Edward was a popular monarch, and did much in his comparatively short reign to strengthen the hold of the monarchical idea upon the minds of the people of this country. His son, it is very generally supposed, is not likely to follow in his footsteps. He will earn our gratitude if he bears out his reputation, and destroys that regard for royalty which we have seen developed so strongly during the last thirty years.

Satisfied of the universal prosperity of the working class in England under Free Trade, our Labour Party are undertaking a jaunt in Germany to prove the terrible contrast that the condition of the German working class presents to our own. How happy is our state here when the paid representatives of the workers have nothing more pressing to engage their time and attention!

There is one thing, however, apart from Budget, Veto, and the unhappy plight of the German workman, to which the Labour Party have been led to give some attention, and that is the right of the trade unions to contribute to the Party funds. They are promoting a Bill to reverse the position as decided by the Osborne case; but there is not the slightest prospect of that Bill being passed into law. It certainly seems preposterous that a trade union cannot devote its funds to promoting Parliamentary representation when so decided by the majority vote of its members. On the other hand, there is a good deal to be said for the other view that men of different political opinions should not be coerced into paying for the representation of opinions with which they do not agree.

The only course for the unions to take in existing circumstances is to raise the necessary funds by a voluntary levy. That, however, is not likely to be a very great success. The trade unionists who are class-conscious enough to be prepared to pay for independent working-class representation are already subscribing to Socialist political organisations. The majority are indifferent. In the meantime other injunctions against unions contributing to the party funds are being granted, and some of the present Parliamentary members are personally responsible for considerable debts incurred in the recent election which they appear to have but little prospect of ever being able to repay.

In this connection it must be admitted that the Labour members have been unwarrantably extravagant in their expenditure on elections. They were spending the money of poor people, and they had no right to attempt to vie with capitalist candidates in lavish expenditure. Sufficient to put the candidates' views before the electorate in the form of an address, for the holding of public meetings and a general canvass, is all the expenditure that is justified. When "Labour" candidates spend a thousand pounds and upwards on a single election, it becomes nothing less than a scandal. It is their business to risk defeat rather than be parties to such expenditure.

When Labour men are guilty of such extravagance it is scarcely to be wondered at that we should be treated to such shameful exposures of the lengths to which capitalist candidates and their agents will go as were disclosed in the petition which resulted in the unseating of Sir Christopher Furness. Of course Sir Christopher himself was absolved from all blame. That is quite as it should be; but the fact remains, as proved, that money was lavishly and corruptly spent to procure his election.

This and similar facts should sink deep into the minds of all working men taking part in political action. And they have lessons for ourselves, also, which should not be overlooked. Wealthy men are as willing to spend thousands of pounds upon buying a seat in Parliament as they have ever been. If it pleases the working class to suppose that this expenditure is undertaken for their benefit we can only wish them a speedy cure for mental blindness. It should be quite clear to working-class political organisations, however, that if it is a question of buying votes their

opponents can outbid them all the time. If it is to be a competition to see who can spend the most money Labour is beaten at the start, and may as well withdraw from the contest. But Labour has the votes, and if Labour wishes to be represented it will vote for men of its own choosing, money or no money.

This is the second rebuff Sir Christopher Furness has suffered recently, the first being the rejection of his co-partnery scheme. It is gratifying to have another bubble of this kind pricked; but we wonder how many more will be blown to delude the ever-credulous working class? The Co-partnership Association—with Maddison, Vivian and Shackleton at its head—is, we observe, by no means discomfited by this exposure. The purveyors of red herrings for the workers are evidently of opinion that there are still just as good herrings in the sea as any that have yet been caught.

Sir Robert Anderson's disclosure of his close connection with the formulation of the "Times" case against the Parnellites has caused something of a sensation. To those, however, who know anything of the part played by the agent-provocateur and the secret service police generally in the manufacture of crime, and especially political crime, the disclosure was no surprise at all. Azeffism is the same all the world over, and had developed to a fine art before even Azeff was heard of.

The cotton trade is passing through another crisis, which may result in an extensive strike and lock-out. We do not think this will happen; but whatever be the outcome of the present situation, there can be no doubt that the outlook for the cotton trade is a gloomy one, and gives no promise of any improvement. The sooner it is generally recognised that the supremacy of Lancashire in her present staple trade is doomed the better it will be for all concerned.

We have to congratulate our German comrades on the brilliant success they achieved in their fight for the right to demonstrate in the open-air. Their defeat of the police authorities was signal and complete, and the demonstrations were carried out in a manner which reflected the greatest possible credit alike on the organisers and the manifestants.

The elections in France have resulted magnificently for our French comrades, in spite of the defection of the Hervéists and

"Independents," the former taking the absurd line of advising the people to vote *against* the Socialists, no matter for whom they might vote. The United Socialist Party in the first ballots polled over a million votes—an increase of nearly two hundred thousand on the votes of four years ago—and altogether they have gained 23 seats, making 77 members in the new Chamber, as against 54 in the last.

One of the evil results of the understanding with Russia is now manifesting itself in the attack being made upon the constitutional liberties of Finland. A manifestation against this latest development of the Muscovite despotism has been issued by the International Socialist Bureau, and the organised working-class everywhere is called upon to vigorously join in the protest. Whether this will be effective, however, will depend upon the interests and consequent attitude of the "Great Powers."

In the meantime, moreover, trouble is brewing in Persia, where the shameful partition agreement between England and Russia has attracted the jealous eye of Germany. The whole outlook in the East—Near and Far—is very disquieting, and there is only this consolation to be drawn from the situation, that the difficulties and antagonisms of the various Powers concerned may prove to the advantage of subject peoples—including those of India, where the far from "benevolent" despotism of the Morley régime continues with unabated rigour.



IN our next issue will appear "The Case for Egyptian Nationalism," a paper read at the Geneva Congress by Osman Effendi Sabry, formerly responsible editor of the "Egyptian Standard."

FEMININE IDIOSYNCRACIES.—A REPLY.

1. The article "Feminine Idiosyncracies" by E. A. Phipson in the January "Social-Democrat" is written in the half-flattering, half-contemptuous tone which all women of spirit scorn. His generalisations are those of a man who has only sought the society of the silliest of women.

2. The little girl who straightens her dress when eyes are upon her doubtless does so with a desire to appear neat and nice. How many women one sees who, when an unexpected visitor is announced, inquire, "Is my hair tidy?" etc., and make an instinctive effort to smarten their appearance. Their object is simply to look presentable.

3. As for the lack of interest in all but romance, it is untrue. Try sentiment on a woman immersed in cookery or spring-cleaning and see how much response there is; while a man will interrupt the most important work to look at a pretty face. What industry, profession, or pastime has not women members and whole-hearted devotees? But no doubt "E. A. P." would admit such exceptions to his broad generalisations.

4. How many women would complain if men ceased to flatter and pay them insipid compliments? They wish to be treated as friends and equals, not as dolls, or ornaments, still less as drudges.

5. They do not hanker after "male attire," merely comfort and freedom.

6. As for showing interest in fashions, etc., what average man is not guilty of similar weaknesses? They go wild about football, racing and fighting; surely women may be allowed *one* such excitement.

7. The feminine claim for "women's rights" does not include navvying, scavengering, etc., nor, in fact, does it require "equal work"; only such opportunities, privileges and advantages as have hitherto been denied on account of sex. This is, at least, one point where women are evidently in advance of men. Men cry aloud for work, yet how many *really* want it? They want to live, but this, according to the now prevailing social condition, necessitates a struggle for work. Woman's superiority is manifest here! She demands rights and privileges, whereas foolish man demands work—in other words, slavery under a taskmaster. Most men shirk work if possible; women only wish to avoid unnecessary work.

8. Do girls ostentatiously advertise their engagements? It is not an uncommon experience for men to propose to already engaged girls. Have not men remarked, "I do wish girls gave some sign so that a fellow might know whether he is trespassing on another's preserves?" The sphere of many for needlework, reading, etc., is often increased with marriage. I do not think many give up their numerous old interests just because they have entered on a new and fresh one. Thousands are now openly defying convention and Mrs. Grundy, who have wielded their tyrant's rod too long.

9. I consider "E. A. P." wrong in outwardly agreeing to whatever absurdity a woman may utter. He should attempt reason and argument, and would find himself more respected for it.

10. If women blush more than men is it not because they are more refined?

11. If more given to fibbing, may it not be because they possess more fluency and wit; are more imaginative and original? And if they love to be subjected to so-called masters, is it not through mere force of age, long custom? Almost equally prominent in men is their tendency to vote for a "gentleman" in preference to a "common working man." And how many are independent of bosses?

12. Is it not a natural and healthy instinct, inherited from our remote ancestors, that we would rather dispense as far as possible with clothes? Do men realise how uncomfortable are the modes of dress ordained for women by Dame Fashion? Female attire may be absurd, but we wear less than men, and take advantage of more occasions of doing without it. A woman's entire clothes seldom weigh half those of a man of similar size.

13. The average woman *does* know her own mind, but is often uncertain if her opinions are acceptable to, or coincide with others, hence she often evades the point at issue. She can lean upon herself if once given a fair chance.

14. I agree with "E. A. P." in one particular. I blush to think of the heathenish way in which so many women decorate(?) themselves. Indeed, the shells, pearls and feathers of the Tahitian are truly picturesque, the sealskin and slaughtered birds of the European woman revolting; and if man showed his decided disapproval of such barbarous costume it would soon be discarded. It is because men admire brutal ornaments that women wear them. The reason men don't wear them is because women don't admire them!

15. Many of the details "E. A. P." calls attention to are doubtless his observation of individual instances, and probably their origin is shyness, delicacy or over-confidence.

Novelists are no guide; the popular ones describe accepted (often wrongly accepted) types rather than the people they really meet. Few of their descriptions are true to life.

PHILIPPA D. HARPUR.

THE ADVANTAGES OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Generally the advocates of proportional representation do not give their reasons for being in favour of this method of election. Whether they be Clericals, Liberals or Radicals, most of them think it sufficient to condemn the present system and to argue in favour of change. The only direct argument which they generally give in favour of proportional representation is that of arithmetical justice. This argument is not without value, but it would not be sufficient to convince a large number of politicians, or even electors, to wish for so extensive a change in the methods of political life. The Socialists alone in this, as in other questions, do not fear to give their reasons, to explain their ideas, even if they are not all agreed among themselves in all their motives.

The Socialists do not hope that proportional representation will immediately increase the number of their deputies. They are, as far as this is concerned, quite disinterested. For, looking at the number of votes polled by them at the General Election of 1906, they would only have secured two or three more seats if a system of proportional representation had prevailed, and it is, therefore, not for this reason that the party would attach very great importance to this electoral reform.

And, after all, would these two or three seats have been permanently secured to the party? It is impossible to say. Perhaps there would have been greater gains, and perhaps, on the other hand, there might have been a slight falling-off. It is difficult to be sure. The votes given for Socialist candidates have been very often those of electors who would just as well have voted, or perhaps even have preferred to vote, for Radicals, while, on the other hand, many other electors who would have preferred to vote for a Socialist, thought better to vote for the Radical candidate when in their district he was the candidate who seemed to have the most chance of being elected. The "one man one vote" system is so imperfect that this cross-voting often takes place, and that voting papers which really express the opinion of the elector are the exception. The votes only really enable a man to differentiate between the "Right" and the "Left." That is to say, for "reaction" or for "what is not reaction." The electors of the Left, of all shades, are

obliged to vote almost indifferently in favour of candidates belonging to all shades of the Left. And however careful Socialist candidates may be, when they are careful, to affirm that their party is distinct and is different from other parties by its programme much more than other parties differentiate among themselves, yet they cannot prevent a general confusion in votes "of the Left," Radical or Socialist, in their favour in a particular district or in favour of the Radical candidate in another district.

The great confusion due to the present system is one of the great grievances of Socialists against the electoral system now in force. They wish, very much, to be able to count the votes given in their favour as votes really in agreement with their programme or their political attitude, and not to be considered as belonging to other parties. They support proportional representation because this system allows each party to know its followers. They wish to be able to count their adherents. This is particularly necessary in France, where the number of subscribing members in the party is so small compared to the number of Socialist electors, about one in 17. When electors holding Socialist opinions will be able in each department to vote for a Socialist candidate then this will lead to a necessary grouping.

The mechanism of proportional representation will have another advantage. In many departments, where the Socialists could not hope for a long time to capture a constituency, they would now, by the totalisation of Socialist votes scattered in all the departments, obtain enough votes to be entitled to a seat. So that the seats they would gain at once or little by little would be especially in the districts where until then they were not represented, and this would facilitate propaganda. This would especially be the case in partly agricultural districts, where the Socialists are most scattered.

There would be no more confusion, for the electors of each party would vote for the candidates of their own party. That is really what all the Socialists especially desire. It is only in this way that members will be able to be controlled, for they will not be responsible to a vague mass of electors but to their *own* electors. And in this way parties will no longer be compelled either to make treaties with other parties or to ask their members to vote "in order to count their numbers"—that is to say, that the votes for all practical purposes are lost. There will be no more compromises, and there will be no more thought of drawing up alliances or insincere articles of agreement. This is the chief advantage that all Socialists look to in proportional representation. All except J. L. Breton. He, if I understand his thoughts, is against proportional representation because he is a partisan of the "bloc," that is to say he agrees in there being two great parties—one on the right and one on the left; so that logically he should consider Socialism as a shade or in some way a tendency of the great "Left" party. This shows very well that the new system is the method of election which suits best modern political life based on the multiplicity of

parties. It especially suits the Socialist Party, the one which wishes most to be distinct from the others.

But we must not be too sanguine and believe that the question of electoral alliances will altogether disappear when proportional representation is established. This would be the case if a perfect system were established, as that one proposed by M. Van de Walle in Belgium, where the electoral districts would be very large, having at least 12 or 15 seats. But the law will not be drawn up by the Socialists nor for their advantage. It is too sure that the Chamber will first pass an Act in favour of proportional representation for the departments, and there are many departments where the Socialist votes, more or less numerous, will not be sufficient to give the party a seat. Should these votes be lost or would it be better to enter into an agreement with others? And first of all we must decide if there are others holding opinions akin to ours. It would be quite easy to raise a heated discussion on this question alone. But at all events some advantage would be gained, for in all the departments where the Socialists were numerous enough to be able to claim a seat there would be Socialist deputies elected solely by Socialist electors.

It is useless to try and solve now the problem of whether alliances should be entered into. For its solution will depend largely on what the law is. It is a fact that in Belgium agreements are becoming more frequent between Socialists and Liberals. But the whole matter will depend more on what is the system of voting adopted. The essential point is that if there are to be agreements these should only be entered into in those departments where Socialists are few, and that, therefore, the party might take up an uncompromising attitude without being much affected by it. On the other hand, if the system of classifying candidates was satisfactory it would become possible to enter into agreements which would give the advantages of union though the party remained quite distinct.

But it is impossible to consider all possible hypotheses. When the law shall have been adopted then it will be time enough to consider minutely how it can be made use of. For variations of apparently little importance in the methods may have great influence on the formation of a combative party in election, and therefore even on the organisation of the parties themselves. This is why Destrée, the Belgian Socialist deputy, who is hostile to the system, says that it tends to suppress small parties and leads to a concentration of parties; while M. A. de Morsier, a deputy in the legislative assembly of Geneva, thinks that it increases the number of parties and allows insignificant minorities to have members. And, curiously enough, they are both right. Not because there is a *natural* difference between the Swiss and the Belgian temperament—not even because in Switzerland this system not being used in federal elections does not interest people in questions of general politics. The real reason is owing to the

technical differences in the text of the Belgian electoral law and in those of the Swiss Cantons. For in Belgium the electoral districts are generally very small (in more than half of them there are not more than four deputies elected), thus only allowing important parties to put forward with any use district lists, causing the parties to concentrate and thus reducing their numbers. But in Switzerland the electoral districts in each canton are more equal and less numerous. On the one hand, the methods in use in Belgium—the system of Hondt—is more favourable to big parties and offers really a premium to the larger electoral masses, while the methods adopted in Switzerland come nearer to a rational method.

Men of uncompromising opinion, those who will have all or nothing, will certainly find fault with proportional representation as soon as it is adopted, for the law will certainly be a more or less unsatisfactory compromise. The political advantages which the Socialists expect from electoral reform will certainly be far from being completely realised. Yet there will be some improvement in the desired direction, and it is better to realise this now so as not to be disappointed afterwards.

It is useless to insist that this system would allow the Socialist Party to state its case more clearly at elections. That is known, admitted, and too often Socialists estimate that this will be the sole gain. For Socialists, and more especially active workers, those who subscribe, are too anxious to only think of themselves and to consider the action and the ideas of their little insignificant group of 60,000 persons, and to despise or even to ignore all the others. This is very natural, no doubt, especially as they form quite a small group, but it is none the less a pity. If one considers that the immense mass of the proletariat, of which the Socialist Party claims to be the authorised representative in political matters, is not in agreement with the Socialist Party, then this state of mind of too many militant Socialists who are only ready to talk about the affairs of the party will not appear to be quite so natural; it will rather seem to be strange.

To what parties do the workers and the peasants belong? The 877,000 electors who in 1906 voted for the candidates of the party naturally include a large number of working men. Yet the greater number of the workers will be found among the other parties.

But, without considering the workers, let us examine separately these two classes of electors—the 820,000 who are not subscribers to the party funds and have yet voted for its candidates, and the mass of all those who have voted for non-Socialist candidates. To-day it is very natural that the Socialist Party takes no account, or pretends to take no account, of the 820,000 non-subscribing Socialist electors. For with the present system it is well-known that many of these vote for a candidate belonging to the Left, in accordance with Republican discipline, and sometimes while they regret that this candidate is a Socialist. It would, therefore, be a scandal if the decisions of the party were, and especially appeared to be, influenced by the desire of

reassuring a certain number of indifferent or even of hostile electors, and for fear of feeling the attraction and influence of large electoral masses influenced by a vague and harmless Socialism, and that is why the speakers of the party are often tempted to indulge in an easy verbal violence of language which is too often forgotten in practical matters. The action of the Socialist Party, if proportional representation were adopted, would be quite different in so far as non-subscribing Socialists were concerned. For then it would no longer be possible to consider them as indifferent or hostile. They would have been able to vote in favour of Radicals or even of independent Socialists, but they preferred the Socialist list. The party would, in a way, be obliged to consider them as a kind of undeveloped Socialists. It would be very imprudent to use violent language when addressing them, and there would not be the same reason for doing this. At the same time, the desire of rallying or conciliating the Radical electors would not have, in most departments, any influence on the tactics or the decisions of the party, and it would have to think much more of the Socialist electors of the non-organised Socialists.

Let us now consider the case of the non-Socialist electors, and see whether the Socialist Party would, as far as they are concerned, derive any advantage from proportional representation.

As each party under this system would go to the poll quite independently, and would only get votes from its adherents, whether they were organised or not, it seems at first sight that the influence of proportional representation on the inner life of the other parties would be of little interest to Socialists. It is true that they would no longer intervene, even indirectly, as at present, in the decisions of other parties, and particularly in their resolutions of congresses relating to electoral tactics. Yet the effects of this system of voting affect general political life. At present, the Radical Party has only a sham system of organisation, and it is passing through a crisis because it is in process of formation. Ten years ago an organised Radical Party did not exist; the Radical deputies relied on isolated committees in their districts, consisting of their personal friends and of their influential electors, who expected certain advantages but did not exercise any general control over the party. During the last ten years the Radical committees have adhered in increasing numbers to a central Radical organisation, which holds annual congresses; and these committees, having become party groups, have become very large, often having several hundred members. This is a great change. People will say, this organisation is not serious; the Radical committees are hot-beds of intrigues, the deputies chiefly go there, no attention is paid to the resolutions which are adopted, and the ordinary members of the party have no real influence. All that is true. But the Socialist Party could hardly hope to be considered as a good model for the Radical Party to follow. The serious point is that as the Radical Party becomes better organised, it is more and more vague and reactionary. I do

not wish to praise that party, but this change and this tendency towards organisation are facts. The members of the groups will attain, little by little, more influence, and it will be a political education for them. If the Radical electors exercise more control over their members, if they compel them to make their votes and political action more in agreement with their programme and their democratic declarations, then this would be a good thing. And if, after trying to influence their members, the Radical electors are not able to direct politics as they desire, then this admitted powerlessness of Radical electors when face to face with the inertia of their members would lead more of them to Socialism much more effectively than the most active propaganda.

The organisation of parties is an awakening, an education, a beginning of the political conscience. The Socialist Party can only rejoice in this progress even if it did not immediately profit by it. The "Action Liberale Populaire" (Popular Liberal Action), that is to say the constitutional clerical party, is being organised, and boasts that it has already 250,000 adherents. Well, there, too, the very fact of organisation, though it may at first give the Clericals a greater cohesive force, must necessarily in the long run educate men and emancipate them, though the aim of the organisers is to lead them like a flock of sheep.

Great care must be taken to distinguish in parties between the leaders and the mass of their adherents. Till now the Socialist Party alone was organised. Therefore, if any party was referred to it meant the speakers, the leaders, the politicians of all classes. One might be severe for them, men who were supposed to be educated and more responsible than the crowd. To-day, thanks to organisation, it is the mass of the adherents that one begins to notice. You cannot ask much from this crowd, and one should be patient with it. It makes mistakes in good faith owing to lacking confidence, and especially owing to ignorance. Some political education, even under the guidance of very bad masters, is already a sign of very great progress. Do not let us forget this, there are less than 60,000 Socialists, only 877,000 electors who voted for Socialists, and there are 11,500,000 electors. Anything taking place outside the Socialist Party may have some importance. Even if the small group of 60,000 Socialists was marvellously self-conscious and courageous, its weakness would not be less than is seen now if the mass of the population in which it is submerged remained stationary.

Now, the present method of voting is a hindrance to the formation of parties. The electoral committee, which is isolated in the old way, is the electoral form of organisation which suits the system of single-member constituencies just as great national parties are peculiarly suited to proportional representation. In order that the national parties should have begun in less than ten years to spread in France, in spite of a mode of voting unfavourable to their development, it was necessary that their creation should fall in with

new needs already spread among the ordinary electors compelling them to take a more active part in political life. But the present system, being unfavourable to the action of large parties, impedes and stops the spontaneous movement of electoral masses, and prevents them exercising influence and a more effective control on the members elected by all parties. It is especially for that reason that the propaganda for proportional representation succeeds among the people, even among the electors, while it rarely is successful, as we know, among the Radical deputies. This is why the new system will be especially useful; it will help the spontaneous progress of the democracy, it will tend to increase the desire of the people to govern itself—a progress which the continuation of the present system hinders and might prevent altogether. Progress of this kind is naturally greater among the electors of other parties than among Socialists, who have been already organised for a long time. But Socialists must be capable of becoming interested in any beginning of education, and therefore in the grouping of non-Socialist masses even among those who are most hostile to Socialism. Any advantage which would accrue to Socialism by proportional representation for its own ends must interest it less than any progress, however slight, in the general political conscience of the masses. The Socialist Party advocates the reform because by means of it alone all parties may be a little less stagnant and may affirm themselves vigorously.

This greater vigour, this clearer assertion, would make politics simpler. The best-equipped parties would appear on the political scene as persons having their own individuality and their own responsibility. They would have to say what they are and what they want. Parliamentary life to-day is especially characterised by irresponsibility. A party like the Radical Party has already a real existence, because it is organised, and Radical deputies cannot hold it responsible for their own actions. But at the same time this organisation of the Radical Party is not coherent and strong enough to prevent the party, as such, casting its collective responsibility in one or other of the different inorganic fractions which form it. The confusion is so great and is of the very essence of the union; it is eminently favourable to a reactionary policy, and will increase as long as proportional representation has not been adopted. It hinders, it stops the effort which the mass of electors make to understand politics. On the contrary, if parties had a definite doctrine and a precise programme, because they were compelled to do so, then the opinion of electors could make itself felt, parties would be responsible, and Parliamentary life would become clearer, easier to understand, and electors would interest themselves more and their political education would be facilitated.

Socialists, too, would be able to develop their political education. They, too, would be become accustomed to know other parties than their own, and this would be an advantage, whilst to-day they would generally waste their time, as the confusion is so

great. It is this darkness, this confusion, which has developed among Socialists the evil custom of ignoring what takes place outside their ranks, and has even made some of them join the ranks of the anti-Parliamentarians.

For, as Socialists still exercise but little action in society, they can only be critics. A great deal of attention is paid to them, and this tends to make them think too much of themselves.

Far from directing the course of affairs, they are in many cases led. No doubt the great points of their programme remain, but they have to submit to the currents of ideas which in each country are determined by the particular form of capitalist evolution and the ideas of the ruling classes. For example, the idea of not submitting to laws is more widespread among French Socialists than among the Socialists of other constitutional countries in Europe, because the resistance to laws, which is in France a middle-class tradition, is applied much more regularly and systematically by French capitalists than in Germany or in England. The Socialist Party in France ought to try and perfect its disciplinary organisation, and should try and obtain more followers. It will not be able to do this by itself, but it will need that a spirit of discipline should develop in all the country, and its organisation will only become powerful in so far as other parties develop powerful organisations in the country.

Those who approve these considerations will say, perhaps, that there is nothing Socialist in them, and that they are inspired by a purely democratic spirit. It is certain that they cannot in any way interest those who look forward to a sudden and rapid social revolution. But they apply to a Social-Democratic Party. And when one speaks of electoral reform Socialists must, I think, act so as to carry out democratic ideas. Let us put aside, for the moment, all theoretical discussions as to whether the importance of Socialist action on this point is better, equal or worse than the importance of any other form of action. Whatever one thinks, it remains that political action is useful, and must tend to develop democratic ideals. The Socialist Party must denounce the abuse made of that word, which too often only serves as a means to cover up reactionary political intentions; but it must the more foster real democratic progress, and proportional representation of parties is to-day the most propitious form by which to express the sincerest and most direct possibilities of universal suffrage. Parliamentary politics will also be much modified by it. Certainly the wishes of the mass are still too vague for them to be imposed by a sufficiently firm will. Yet the mass is already interested, if not in the detail of the principal laws under discussion, at all events in the titles of those laws, in the principles which they contain, whilst formerly it only indicated a very indeterminate direction. The mass will be able, thanks to the pressure obtained by the reform, to have its orders better obeyed. Already, even in Belgium and in spite of the hostility of the Clerical

Government, the mass has put a stop to the system of conscription. No doubt in France the Radicals, urged by public opinion, are voting a law on old age pensions which is compulsory. But no doubt that law would have been better, would have been voted sooner, and have been less altered by the Senate, if the responsibility of the Radical Party to its electors was not diminished by the system of single-member constituencies. With proportional representation the wishes of the electors would be better carried out. Any reform which was supported in the country by public opinion would be sooner carried out and would be more drastic.

Socialists will then be able to exercise in Parliamentary proceedings an indirect but positive action without running any risk of diminishing their popularity by acting with other classes. All they will have to do is to advocate reforms which shall be at once applicable, and which will at the same time tend to a further extension of Socialism and trade unionism. It is to the electors that they will have to appeal, but they must address themselves to all, for the greater number of the workers do not belong to the Socialist parties. When the Radical electors are converted then the Radical deputies, whether they like it or not, must follow suit.

In Parliament, too, the Socialist deputies must advocate laws in favour of which there has been a propaganda. They will act with increased force, for they will be the true representatives of the workers even when not elected by the majority of the workers. They will then be able to speak as they do now, but with more authority, as the true representatives and defenders of the electors of the majority itself. But in order that Radical working men should understand that Socialist deputies are their true defenders and express their secret aspirations, it is not necessary to overdo it by demagogic speeches, nor by advocating measures which could only become law in a dim and distant future. While showing an infinite future far beyond immediate reforms, it is necessary to advocate the passing of laws which will be called Radical when the Socialists have compelled the Radicals to include them in their programmes. This new and efficient form of propaganda must be adopted by the party if it wishes to derive advantage from the great changes which will be introduced into political life when proportional representation is adopted.

These changes, as I have said, will no doubt not be so considerable, perhaps, as some of my readers might imagine. But it may certainly be said that they will be in this direction.

Whatever the system may be, it will be better adapted than the present to political life, as it has been organised for the last ten years in France; and it would be a pity if this attempt at the spontaneous organisation of the democracy was discouraged by retaining the present system, which is not favourable to progress.

P. G. LA CHESNAIS
(in "La Revue Socialiste").

WORKMEN'S INSURANCE IN GERMANY.

The "Morning Post" recently contained the following information regarding the German "Reichs Versicherungs Ordnung" (Imperial Insurance Law) Bill, which was discussed in the Reichstag last month:—

"Die Reichs Versicherungs Ordnung" is the title of a Bill of a truly monumental character, whose aim is the unification of the existing Workmen's Insurance Laws, and the simplification, amplification, and reform of the whole vast system of State Insurance. This latter great "Work of Peace," which was inaugurated by the Imperial decree of November 17, 1881, has developed systematically, and the need of a Bill such as the one now before the Reichstag has been urged for the past ten years by politicians and publicists. Count Posadowsky, the former Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, devoted years of thought to its inception, and provided the groundwork on which his successor, the present Imperial Chancellor, built it up. The Bill, it is stated in the preamble, is not intended to be a criticism on the original idea, but is an effort to remove imperfections in the laws passed to carry out the latter which experience has revealed. In March, 1909, the Imperial Government issued a "draft" Reichs Versicherungs Ordnung, and invited criticisms and suggestions from all institutions, organisations, and parties concerned. These criticisms and suggestions were carefully considered, and the Bill, drawn up in due form, was introduced into the Reichstag recently. The Government hopes that it may become law on April 1, 1911, but seeing that it contains 1,754 clauses, proposes far-reaching alterations to which many objections have been raised, and imposes fresh burdens on industry at a time when competition is very severe, it seems doubtful whether this wish can be fulfilled.

The State Workmen's Insurance is at present divided into three branches—namely, Insurance against illness, Insurance against accident, and Insurance against old age and infirmity—and these are administered separately under eight laws. The new Bill extends the scope of the State Insurance by making provision for the widows and orphans of working men, and places the administration of the four classes in the hands of a central authority. The Bill also compels a number of workers to become insured against illness who have hitherto been exempt, among them being workmen

employed in agriculture and forestry, casual workers, domestic servants, clerks, persons employed in theatres, music-halls, and in orchestras, teachers and tutors, and persons who work in their own homes, all, however, only in so far as their total income does not exceed £100 per annum. Many of these persons have hitherto been insured against illness in municipal, communal, and other sick funds, and they reap an advantage in that they will now be entitled to what is called death money, and in the case of women to support during their confinement. The new Bill furthermore provides that this support at confinements shall be given for eight weeks in future, instead of six as heretofore.

The Government hesitates to make provision for all widows and orphans. In the Tariff Law which came into force in 1902 it was stipulated that the proceeds of the extra duties levied on certain kinds of grain should be applied to the relief of widows and orphans. It has been found that these extra duties cannot be depended upon ; in 1906 and 1908 they yielded nothing at all, in 1907 they yielded 42 millions, and in 1909 it is estimated will yield about 40 million marks. The State Insurance cannot, therefore, depend on this source of income, and the Bill proposes that for the present only such widows as are infirm, or incapable of working, shall receive a pension. It proposes further that the State shall contribute a definite sum of 50 marks annually towards each pension thus granted, and 25 marks annually towards a sum to be given annually to each child of such a widow until it attains its fifteenth year. The actual amount received by a widow and orphans will depend on the number of weeks the deceased husband has been a contributor to the State Insurance, and on the wages class in which he is insured. No widow can claim a pension whose husband has not contributed for 200 weeks, and the following example will give an idea of what the infirm widow and her children are entitled to. If a man dies at the age of 46, having contributed for 30 years, his infirm widow is entitled to an annual pension of M.81.60, of M.98.40, of M.110.40, of M.122.40, or of M.134.40, according as he had contributed in Wages Class I., II., III., IV., or V. The Bill does not alter the wages classes ; in the first are insured all persons whose annual income does not exceed £17 10s., in the second those whose income is more than £17 10s. and not more than £27 10s., in the third class those whose annual income is more than £27 10s. and not more than £42 10s., in the fourth class all persons whose annual income is more than £42 10s. and does not exceed £57 10s., and in the fifth class all persons whose annual income is more than £57 10s. If the widow instanced above had children she would receive for one child M. 40.80, M. 49.20, M. 55.20, M 61.20, M.67.20 per annum for it, according to the class in which the husband was insured, until it attained its fifteenth year. For each further child an extra sum of about 28 marks is paid, with the stipulation that the total amount thus paid by the State towards the maintenance of the children shall not exceed the amount the

father would receive annually had he become unable to work through infirmity or illness at that age. The sums granted to widows and orphans are small, but the State prefers to advance surely.

It is proposed in the Bill that the insured person shall furnish his quota towards defraying his expenditure entailed by making provision for widows and fatherless children by means of an increase of his weekly contribution. A person insured in Wages Class I. now contributes 14 pfennigs per week, in Wages Class II. 20 pfennigs, in Wages Class III. 24 pfennigs, in Wages Class IV. 30 pfennigs, and in Wages Class V. 36 pfennigs. It is proposed that these contributions shall be in future respectively 16, 24, 30, 38 and 46 pfennigs. Half of this weekly contribution is paid by the insured person and half by the employer. The number of persons who are forced by law to be insured against illness in the State Insurance Department is increased by the Bill by about five millions. The newly-introduced provision for widows and orphans imposes an increased annual burden on the country of (so it is estimated in the Bill) £3,328,247. The amount of this annual increase that will fall on the State itself is £1,369,115; the remainder is divided equally between the insured persons and their employers. The extension of the State insurance against illness entails an increased cost in contributions of about three million pounds, and it is against this increased burden of over six million pounds which the Bill proposes to lay on the cost of production that so many objections have been raised. The total sum contributed by insured persons, their employers, and the State to insure all the poorer working class against illness, accident, and infirmity in the year 1907 was £36,584,869. Should the Bill become law in its present form the sum will be increased to £42,927,526.

AFRICA FOR CHRIST OR MOHAMMED?

To those who view the future of Africa with the eyes of the psychologist and ethnologist, and not with the eyes of faith, it cannot be said that European culture and the Christian religion seem the forces likely to win there. It is a significant fact that among European specialists in Africana there are not a few who not only fear but are certain that the future destinies of African culture lies in the hands of Islam and not of Christianity. The most noteworthy discussion of this problem is found in the learned "Internationale Wochenschrift" (Berlin), from the pen of Germany's leading savant in this department, Prof. Dr. Carl H. Becker, of the Hamburg Kolonialinstitut. A summary of his reasons for this pessimistic view makes interesting reading. They are in outline:—

It has been generally supposed that the progressive policy in the colonisation of Africa by European and Christian Powers within recent decades would seem an effectual check on the propaganda of Islam, particularly in Central Africa, but this has proved not to be the case. On the contrary, the advancement of Christian Powers in the Dark Continent has been skillfully used by the Moslem propagandists to further their interests and cause, so that, without purposing to do so, Christian progress, through the building of railroads, telegraphs, good roads, etc., has rendered invaluable aid to Islam, which is spreading in Africa more than ever before. It is a mistake to think that the Pan-Islamic crusade has anything to do with this expansion, notwithstanding the fact that this agitation has doubtless given to Islam a steadiness and determination it never had before. Africa as yet feels none of that reaction of Oriental peoples against Occidental influences, which, as the result of the Japanese War, has become such a potent factor in Asia, and particularly in India. More powerful than this is the growing power of the Islamic Brotherhoods in Africa and the spread of the influence of Islamic mysticism, which appears in specifically African forms. But even these agencies and organisations are not the power in the spread of Islam that some travellers have feared. On the contrary, the expansion of Islam among the blacks is attributable to factors which make it, as it were, the natural friend and leader of the African races.

Chief among these is the mental attitude natural to the African, which seems to predestine the negro for Islam, and, at least for

the present, excludes him from the higher forms of Christian religion and European culture. Primitive man, as typically represented in the African, naturally projects his wishes and fears out of himself and personifies and deifies them. Then he seeks by magic rites to repel or attract these new divinities. It does not avail to say that this is superstition; the plain fact is that this is the natural form of thought for the negro. Its fundamental conception is that of a vast chasm between man and the divine powers. Man is helplessly placed at the mercy of the gods. Only the optimism of the mysteries of magic can ever mitigate the pessimism of this fatalism.

Islam has been able to accommodate itself to this mental attitude of the negro, for it, too, is based on an eternal difference between God and man. Islam found no difficulty whatever in grafting its teachings upon the elementary religious ideas of the negro, and was not even compelled to make any compromise in doing so.

This feature of the problem is keenly discussed in a recent French work by Edmond Doutté, entitled "Magic and Religion in North Africa." The culture of Islam, which knows of no pictures or sacraments, naturally develops into a magical art, and in this way the negro is especially adapted for the acceptance of Moslem teachings and tenets. Christianity seeks to bring God and man together, to bridge over the chasm between them; and this is something the negro cannot understand. In short, Islam fills the religious concepts of the negro with new contents; Christianity, on the other hand, demands that these concepts be entirely recast. Islam proves acceptable above Christianity, too, in other particulars here set forth:—

All Islam demands is the subjection of the will and an external adherence to religious rites and ceremonies, such as circumcision and the like. A negro can in a very short time become a Moslem. On the other hand, the Christian missionaries are particularly slow in administering baptism, as Christianity demands a change of heart. Again, Islam gives the negro a higher stage of civilisation, at least externally, and a certain inward discipline, which appeals to him more than the freedom of movement offered by Christianity. A Christianised negro must generally be taken out, root and all, from his previous surroundings, without finding firm roots elsewhere; he is never on an equality with the Christians from Europe or America, but always only a "native." Then, too, Islam sanctifies polygamy, slavery, and other historic conditions among the negroes, while Christianity demands the re-establishment of the family and economic life on a new basis.

The negro naturally likes to copy and to imitate what he sees others do; Islam regulates all things for its adherents; Christianity gives its followers freedom of choice and comment.

These are some of the factors that even before the advent of Christian colonisation gave Islam an advantage over Christianity, and Christian civilising agencies have only enabled the propaganda

of Islam to work all the more effectively. The Islamic merchant and slave-dealer can all the more successfully do their work because Christians have established means of communication, safe travel, and the like, and the European occupation of Africa has been and is a remarkable help for the missionaries of the Moham-medan religion and type of civilisation.

It is, however, says Professor Becker, by no means sure that the momentary spread of Islam in Africa will be a permanent danger. There are elements in connection with this propaganda that, for psychological and ethnological reasons, make it not impossible that the only permanent civilisation and culture that will do Africa any good is Christianity, and that the Africans will themselves recognise this in the course of time, although Christian missionaries are perfectly right when they maintain that an Islamised African is lost for Christianity, and that Islam provides no doorway for the Christian civilisation from Europe. Christianity has an excellent chance in Africa, but its day is not yet, and it must work independently of Mohammedanism and against it.

(“The Literary Digest,” New York.)

THE REVIEWS.

WHY RUSSIA WENT TO WAR WITH JAPAN.

THE STORY OF THE YALU CONCESSION.

The current "Fortnightly Review" contains the following:—

The following pages offer a priceless contribution to the history of the paramount political issues of the times in which we live. They bring before us, as in a series of cinematographic views, a fragment of the recent past, whole and unbroken, with occasional lightning flashes on the workings of human will and conscience and on the cross-play of mean purpose, noble striving, and disastrous achievement.

The causes which led to the sanguinary conflict between Russia and Japan were many. Without doubt the main cause was the existence of two governing bodies in Russia, the official and the non-official. The latter was composed of the triumvirate: M.M. Bezobrazoff, Abazza, and Van Larlarsky, whose associates and agents included men of the calibre of Alexeyeff. M. Bezobrazoff is an ex-officer of the Cavalier Guards, a man of spotless honour, ill-balanced mental faculties—in which a strong imagination predominates—and a morbid hankering after fads. M. Van Larlarsky may be described as a keen man of business, eager to turn an honest penny, and ever on the look-out for an opening, especially if it took the form of a lucrative concession. It was he who got together the Yalu Timber Company, which was the proximate cause of the Russo-Japanese War, and it is he who in the following pages tells the thrilling story of how Russian interests in Corea were first created, how they were to be fostered and extended, and how the prosaic business of money-making was to be dexterously combined with the arduous work of Empire building.

The plan failed because the unofficial Russian Government hugged the delusion that peace and war depended solely on its own capricious will irrespective of its deliberate acts. And when the catastrophe overtook the Russian nation, the man who had been instrumental in bringing it on, M. Von Larlarsky, wrote this outspoken narrative for the purpose of exculpating himself and the principal personages who were associated with him in the Yalu transaction.

I

M. Witte, in spite of the new arrangement with Japan about the independence of Corea, considered it impossible to leave this country wholly in the power of Japan. Having estimated aright the immense worth of Corea's independence for our Pacific possessions, he founded on December 5-17, 1897, the Russo-Chinese Bank and appointed a Russian financial agent to the Emperor of Corea. Shortly afterwards, in compliance with the request of the Corean Emperor, Russian instructors—officers and non-commissioned officers—were despatched to train the Corean troops. In this way we evinced a desire to bring Corea under our influence. This endeavour could not fail to provoke a diplomatic exchange of Notes, which led to the recall of our financial agent and military instructors from Seoul. The fact was that Count Muravieff was utterly unacquainted with the East, unable to gauge the worth of Corea to Russia in her future struggle with Japan. Hence his eagerness to yield to her all along the line rather than "arouse Japan against Russia." In this way he hoped to avert war. But from the days of the Shimonoseki Treaty, war with Russia had become the national dream of Japan, who set about preparing for it with the perseverance and passion of a Malay tribe. It was resolved to abstain from all overt acts in Corea until the great Siberian railway was completed.

II.

Towards the end of the year 1897 N. G. Matyunin was appointed to be our diplomatic representative at Seoul. He had served in the Ussuri region for over a quarter of a century, was thoroughly acquainted with Corea, and was keenly aware of the backwardness of our position in the Far East. In the year 1896 the Emperor of Corea solicited the protection of Russia, and, owing to that circumstance, a Russian subject, the Vladivostok merchant, Y. I. Briner, managed to obtain a concession for the exclusive right of hewing timber in the basin of the rivers Tiunen and Yalu. This concession obliged Briner to found a Russian company and to engage a Russian forester, and it bestowed the possibility of practically making ourselves at home in Northern Corea.

But in consequence of the change in our policy and the withdrawal of our financial agent at Seoul, Briner failed to get together a Russian company in Vladivostok. He, therefore, went to St. Petersburg and there offered the business to an influential financial worker, named Rothstein, the director and manager of the Russo-Chinese and the International Banks. Rothstein, aware of our waiting policy in Corea, came to the conclusion that he could exploit this concession with profit only on the foreign market. For this purpose he suggested the formation of a preliminary syndicate.

The attractions of Corea and Manchuria, however, were making themselves felt not only by the Japs but likewise by

Americans, Englishmen and other foreigners. . . . As yet the American missionaries had not succeeded in securing any concessions or rights in Corea. The feeble-willed Emperor of that country was only waiting to see who would take his part against Japan. And he never suspected that Russia would turn away from him definitely.

(On January 1-13, 1898, A. N. Kuropatkin was appointed Minister of War.)

N. G. Matyunin, estimating at its true worth the political significance of Briner's timber concession, thought it indispensable before setting out for Seoul to take measures to hinder this concession slipping out of Russian hands. So he came to me, as to his former comrade, and asked me to take the matter up. What interested me supremely was the vision of the vast economic transformation in the life of Siberia which would be affected once the Trans-Siberian trunk line was opened. There was no room for doubt that Siberia would then start up from its lethargy, and instead of being a place for convicts and gold-seekers would become a colonising region for migrants from Central Russia. At the same time it was clear that those wanderers, most of whom were agricultural farmers, would not be able to compete in the Far East with foreigners, for whom the railroad would likewise open the road to Siberia. To my thinking, we seemed utterly unprepared for this strenuous competition with the foreigner in the economic field.

Crowds of schemers of all nationalities were flocking to Russia just then. One international group of capitalists offered to found a company to tap the resources of Eastern Siberia. Briner's lumbering concession, taken in connection with the aforesaid proposal of the foreigners, started in my mind a train of thought which led me to suggest the founding in Corea of a great Russian industrial company after the pattern of the East India Company, and of thus restoring to Russia her lost position in Corea and afterwards of transferring its activity consecutively to the Primorskaya district and Siberia. Matyunin communicated my proposals to Count Muravieff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who desired to hear me on the subject. A report and a rough draft of the statutes of the company were accordingly elaborated, and I presented them to Count Muravieff. That was in January, 1896.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs received my proposal with favour; but after several interviews it became obvious to me that a Russian company of the kind intended could not hope for Government support in the measure requisite for the success of the enterprise. . . . Neither Russia, however, nor Japan were in possession of financial resources adequate to the full realisation of their political yearnings in the Far East.

The essence of my idea was this: having created a powerful Russian company, to enter into relations with American and French capitalists, to attract their capital to the company's branch

establishments, and, in the case of inevitable complications in the Far East to invoke the protection, not only of the Russian flag, but also of the French and American flags.

III.

At the end of January, 1898, Matyunin left for Seoul, having received requisite instructions. A few days later I exchanged ideas with a former fellow officer, A. M. Bezobozoff, who, discerning the vast strategical value of Northern Corea for the defence of our possessions on the Pacific, decided to make an effort to call into being in a semi-official way the Russian industrial company which I had planned. His previous relations with Count Vorontseff-Dashkoff, under whom he had served for a long time after March 1, 1889, enabled him to talk the matter over with the Count, who displayed a keen interest in this important and burning topic. Count Vorontseff-Dashkoff manifested a wish to hear my proposals and then under his direction a memorandum was drafted, in which our position in the Far East was set forth, and stress was laid on the necessity of adopting means for the purpose of avoiding, or at least postponing, the unavoidable conflict with Japan.

This memorandum, and also the considerations touching on its underlying principle, were laid before his Imperial Majesty by Count Vorontseff-Dashkoff on February 28 (March 12), 1898. The points to which attention was drawn in the documents were: (1) The necessity of establishing firmly Russian influence in Corea; (2) the perfect feasibility—with the help of a private (semi-official) company—of obtaining peaceful possession of Corea by coming to terms with Americans and other foreign capitalists on a private commercial basis; and (3) the feasibility of avoiding a sanguinary encounter with Japan by granting her certain material advantages in Corea with the help of the company. At the same time Count Vorontseff-Dashkoff made known the existence of the concession obtained by the merchant Briner for the cutting down of timber in Northern Corea—a concession which rendered it possible to despatch in quite a private way a commission for studying Corea.

It pleased his Majesty to recognise the importance to the State of the question mooted; it would have been incorrect to oblige private individuals to spend their substance on this expedition, seeing that it pursued exclusively objects that would benefit the State, and on this ground his Majesty ordered that overtures should be made to the Minister of the Imperial Court with a view to his assigning funds for the expedition, and also that a new report be drafted. As the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch had for a long time evinced an interest in Far Eastern affairs, it pleased his Majesty to set him to preside over this work.

On March 15 (27), 1898, quite unexpectedly for the organisers of the expedition, Port Arthur was occupied. On April 13 (26),

1898, a fresh agreement was concluded between Russia and Japan (Rose-Nissi) relative to the recognition of the independence of Corea.

On October 21 (November 2) I forwarded a detailed report to Baron V. B. Freedericksz in Livadia and to the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch in Ay Todor. On November 8 (18) I received from Livadia from Baron V. B. Freedericksz this telegram : "In consequence of conversation with Count Muravieff categorical desire been expressed postpone extension of enterprise until Neporoshneff's personal detailed report." The extension of credit by 200,000 roubles, as afterwards appeared from the reports of N. I. Neporoshneff, invested us with the right of organising a board for administering the domain lands of the Emperor of Corea, and of exercising in this way an enormous sway over this country.

But, in spite of the fact that credit was denied, Matyunin managed before leaving Seoul to obtain an autograph letter from the Emperor of Corea in which that Sovereign promised to execute Neporoshneff's plan as soon as things grew more quiet. At that conjuncture an attempt was made on the life of the Korean Crown Prince, and the Club parties were beginning to made demands that their representatives should be permitted to participate in deciding questions of State, and that the rights of foreigners in Corea should be restricted.



"ALAS! it is the narrowness, selfishness, minuteness of your sensation that you have to deplore in England at this day—sensation which spends itself in bouquets and speeches; in revellings and junketings; in sham fights and gay puppet shows, while you can look on and see noble nations murdered, man by man, woman by woman, child by child, without an effort, without a tear,"—
 RUSKIN'S "Sesame and Lilies."

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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IN DAYS OF CHANGE.

We live in days of change. The old order passes away and the road behind us is strewn with fallen and shattered idols. So insistent is the call of the new spirit that the parties of orthodoxy have to answer, or find themselves lagging superfluously in the rear. The old Liberalism and the old Toryism take new forms, and their exponents utter strange new battle cries, so strange indeed that the old guard in its last stages of political senility can only mutter and mumble about "the end of all things." And so it is to them. Individualism lies gasping with the death-rattle in its throat. Its last defenders, Mr. Harold Cox and Lord Robert Cecil, are splendidly isolated far from the maddening crowd of political realities. Winston Churchill, Lloyd George, Bonar Law and the "Eternal" Smith occupy the stage. Theirs is the business of throwing on the rubbish-heap the faith of their fathers and formulating a policy that will rob Socialism of its terrors and stave off the approaching day of social re-construction,

The dangers threatened by this new capitalism, the underlying unity of both parties, and an attempt to forecast their line of attack, is the object of this article.

I.

The one great problem which old-fashioned Liberals and Tories had not the courage to face was that of unemployment. They knew full well that the problem was naturally produced by the system for which they were the apologists. Within only recent times Mr. Beveridge has pointed out with quite unusual frankness the necessity for industrial reserves. The fact that Mr. Beveridge finds himself to-day in a prominent position connected with the Labour Exchanges is significant of much. So are the Labour Exchanges themselves. The Liberal Party gives us these wonderful institutions as the first plank in its unemployment programme. What is to follow? There was a surprisingly large Liberal vote for the Right to Work Bill. There is widespread Liberal support for the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. The most likely political move in the near future will be the cementing of the entente cordiale between the Labour Party and the new Liberalism in the direction of a compromise between the Right to Work Bill and the Minority Report. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has already delivered the funeral oration over the Right to Work Bill. But "the evil which men do lives after them," and the Right to Work Bill has left behind it a dangerous legacy. That legacy is the objectionable penal clause. It is the relation of that clause to the Labour Exchange that I wish to first of all discuss.

The Labour Exchange is certainly not a friend of trade unionism. Even if it does its work honestly, it must have a detrimental effect upon industrial organisation. It is, however, not doing its work on straightforward lines. One can read the report of the Steel Braziers in conference to discover delegate after delegate denouncing Labour Exchanges as blacklegging

institutions. Our comrade Tom Coxson, the President of the Potters' Union, informs me that in the Potteries the Labour Exchanges are engaged in the task of supplying blacklegs to shops where disputes are in progress because of reduction in wages.

It can easily be seen what efficient aides-de-camp to the authorities the Labour Exchanges would be once they have fulfilled the whole of their unemployment programme. An out-of-work man applies for maintenance. He is first of all referred to the Labour Exchange. In many cases he will be given shops to apply to; in many cases they will be "rat" shops. If he has any sense of manhood at all, he will decline to work at these shops. The consequences are upon his head. He will be refused maintenance on the ground that he is a "work-shy." The penal clause will be applied until the spirit is broken and the man is ready to take anything. This is no exaggerated phantasy. It is the natural and to be expected order of things.

That these suggestions conjure up a very grave state of things is obvious. By such methods the most pressing evils of unemployment can be removed, and at the same time the powers that be can recover anything that it costs them for maintenance by a general reduction of wages, consequent upon the Labour Exchange becoming an adjunct of the Free Labour Association and the intimidation of the penal clause. So much for the barrier which the new Liberalism is building against Socialism. It is not an exceptionally strong barrier, but it is sufficiently strong to withstand our onslaughts for perhaps a little longer than we think.

II.

Just as Liberalism has discarded its political tatters and rags for apparel which is but a shoddy imitation of Socialism, so is Toryism searching the wardrobe-shop for garments somewhat akin. Liberalism and Toryism are politically naked. To be presentable at all, they must be garbed in something that at any rate looks like Socialism. Tariff Reform

is the Tory caricature of Socialist principles. The average Tariff Reform lecturer even claims that Tariff Reform leads to Socialism! I heard a Tariff Reform lecturer in the County Forum at Manchester base his whole argument upon Marx's theory of value and his famous polemic on Free Trade. With the specious claims of Tariff Reform to provide more work and more wages, it is quite as dangerous as the Liberal policy that I have outlined. It is likely to become much more dangerous. There is no reason at all why the new Liberalism should not embrace it at an opportune moment. All this talk about the great Free Trade Budget was pure platform bravado. It was no more Free Trade than was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's initial speech that commenced the raging, tearing propaganda. Mr. Lloyd George has already flirted with Protection in his Patents Act. Why should he stop there?

Tariff Reform, however, does not stand by itself. It is inextricably mixed up with Imperialism. Behind the figure of Chamberlain are the sinister forms of Lord Roberts and his allies. With the arrival of Tariff Reform we can safely predict the arrival of its twin-conspirator, conscription. Conscription in itself is a very useful palliative for unemployment, and can be trusted to absorb a considerable number of out-of-works. It is, of course, obvious, that in the long run Tariff Reform would flood the market with unemployed, but if the Liberal programme of Labour Exchanges and Penal Colonies had materialised, modern capitalism might still delay the day of reckoning.

But Tariff Reform is a dangerous weapon for the capitalist to handle. It has boomerang-like qualities. It returns and delivers a deadly blow. It builds up the Trust. The Trust is capitalism, though not individualism, *par excellence*. It is the height of commercial ferocity, but the very perfection of its tyranny is its own destruction. It breeds thought and thought breeds revolution. It disposes of all the arguments for private enterprise. It presents to the community

an example of dovetailed industry and skill that plainly demonstrates the superiority of co-operation over competition. It says to the thinking man, "See what co-operation does. If you can co-operate to make, you can co-operate to own."

But before the average man has thought this out the capitalist is acting again, but this time he reaches the limit of human ingenuity. Beyond this next move there is nothing but his downfall.

III.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt has recently been telling us that it would be weakness to refrain from doing certain things because these things are advocated by Socialists. Exactly! But why? Because if he and his friends do not do these things then the Socialists will. The plutocracy can live a little longer by doing these things. That does not matter very much. It is our work they are doing, and for the time being they can have the honour, the power and the glory.

What was the American Ex-President hinting at? He could only have been referring to various schemes of nationalisation and municipalisation. Mr. Roosevelt is indeed a little late, because in every direction we find the capitalist class acting on these lines. Mr. Lloyd George talks of railway nationalisation, and if he only talks long enough he will bring it into the range of practical politics.

This is their last hope. If they cannot get their profits they will at any rate remain at the head of the State machinery and get princely salaries in lieu of profits. If industry must be collectively controlled then they will be the organisers. Thus we find the amazing spectacle of modern commercialism rushing pell-mell to prepare the machinery for the Socialism of the future. We sit in the "gods" and applaud as they build this national and municipal machinery before our eyes. Not that we consider the preparation of the machinery as an end in itself; it is but a means to an end. The end consists in operating that

machinery in the interest, not of highly-paid bureaucrats, but for the benefit of the entire community.

There may be a lingering idea in the minds of the enemy that they will be able to keep control of the machine, but just as democracy captures position after position, so will it capture this productive and administrative machinery which our foes are considerably creating for us. In themselves, national and municipal schemes have no great terror for the capitalist. The worker remains a slave, although in my opinion even State capitalism would be better than private capitalism. Even if it only tended to improve the physique and stamina of our people and to make better men and women, we shall not have passed through that stage in vain.

Ours is, then, the business of encouraging every scheme which results in familiarising the common people with the knowledge of what social ownership means. This is no milk and watery opportunism, but it is simply a recognition of how appreciably nearer such schemes bring us to Socialism. The capitalist is hard pushed when he deserts the field of private enterprise for national enterprise. He is often truly conscious that he is playing into our hands, but he cannot go any other way; he can only drift willy-nilly with the resistless tide of economic circumstances. So he goes to his inevitable fate, but before he goes he has builded better than he knew. Surrounded by every sign of change, seeing the old landmarks disappearing, every day he has continually shifted and veered to hold his own and retain a foothold. He is the creature of circumstances, but, too strong, they overwhelm him. It is then that Social-Democracy will complete the work that he began.

ERNEST E. HUNTER.

THE STATE AND ITS SCHOOL CHILDREN.

(Continued from last month.)

In Denmark there was a law passed in 1902 for feeding school children, which translates as follows: "The municipal council has power to give meals free of charge to children attending school in which such food is prepared at the council's expense. Such meals not to be considered as poor relief to the parents or guardians of such children if it be proved that they are not in a position to pay for same. The municipal council may support out of municipal funds societies who give free meals to school children of poor parents during the months of December to March, but only to the same amount as such societies provide funds collected voluntarily for that object. If the municipality desire to contribute a larger sum from its funds it must obtain the consent of the Local Government Board for the towns and the consent of the County Council for the rural councils."

This law, while it is permissive, and therefore varies, is in many instances even exceeded by the towns, especially where the Socialists predominate.

Dinners are provided from great kitchens, where the children can come and either have their meals in the dining-room, bringing their brothers or sisters who are too young to go to school (seven years is the school age), or they can bring jugs or dishes and take home enough for all the children. In one town no charge whatever is made, the cost being met by a personal tax on every inhabitant who claims a municipal vote.

The present law is now running out, as it was only provisional. It may be re-adopted, or the following

alternative proposal of the Socialists may take its place.

The Bill that the Socialists propose was to be introduced by Hanning, W. C. Christiansen, Hyller, Hordun, K. M. Clausen and Labroe, and proposes the withdrawal of the first paragraph of the present law and the insertion of the following paragraphs:—

“The School Commission may demand of the Municipal Council of Copenhagen that it gives every child in the public municipal schools the opportunity to get a warm nourishing meal once every school-day during the months of December, January, February and March either free of charge or at cost of production.

“Free meals should be given to children of poor parents if they so desire, without being considered as poor relief.

“Free meals may be given to children in public municipal schools even without the desire of the parents if the municipal council or the teachers of such children think it necessary for the children's health and welfare.

“The expenses for providing free meals for children in the public schools and other expenses in connection with the same to be paid out of the municipal funds. Half of those expenses to be refunded by the Government.

“This to become law in 1909.”

This Bill is still pending.

There were in Russia only a few primary schools up to 1860. From that time the town and county councils have steadily increased the number of their local schools.

The revolutionists kept up a continual agitation for education against the Government.

In 1866 the Government estimate in the Budget for education was 0.3 per cent.* This percentage

* “Universal Education in Russia,” by Falbork.

increased slightly in later years; but as much of this fund was appropriated for the Clerical schools it had not very much secular value. In 1895, although the Government estimate for Education was only 2.1 per cent. many schools that had been opened and were supported by various educational societies were suppressed.

The following table* may give some idea of the educational opportunities in 1900:—

Funds provided by the State	...	10,372,655 roubles	
" " " county council	...	11,484,123	"
" " " town council	...	6,960,173	"
" " " donations	...	6,701,437	"
" " " fees	...	3,175,198	"
" " " other sources	...	3,005,825	"
" " " rural societies	...	8,337,927	"

In 1903, with a population of 15,722,730 children of school age, there were, to take round figures, 83,000 schools, 170,000 teachers, while the children at school numbered 3,750,000 boys and 1,500,000 girls. These figures include those children who only have a year or two at school. Thus it would appear that schooling is only possible for a little over one-fourth of the children. The 83,000 schools include those under the Holy Synod, the Government, and the zemstvos or local schools, the last two being the most valuable from an educational standpoint. These schools sometimes have only one class, sometimes two or more.

The State makes no provision for the feeding or clothing of the children, but the County and Town Councils make some provision for shelter in the county schools. Where the homes lie at a great distance from the schools the children only return home from Saturday to Monday. Local committees are also formed to assist destitute children. In most schools, however, the assistance given is very meagre—sometimes only by the teacher. The following information, for which I am indebted to Mr. Serge Siloff and Madame Z.

* These figures are from "Elementary Education in Russia," by Falbork and Chornolusky.

Miravitch, gives a happier account of the pupils of St. Petersburg, Moscow and the large centres, where the children are apparently better taken care of :—

In St. Petersburg 15 per cent. of the pupils have a free lunch provided by the Town Council in the town schools. There are also in St. Petersburg 20 charitable societies organising gratuitous dinners for poor scholars; they are supported by the town and donations. In the year 1906 400,000 such dinners were given. During the summer months sanitary and medical colonies are organised in the country free of charge for students, also medical attendance for teeth and eyes. In some schools baths are provided free, while arrangements are also made that enable boys and girls to travel free of charge on the trams.

In Moscow since 1860 a fee of 7s. a year is paid by the pupils for their education. This money is to be given back as a subsidy for clothing, or a reward when their studies are finished.

The town gives about 4s. 6d. a year for each pupil to provide luncheons at the schools. In some schools a small sum (1½d. to 3d. per week) is contributed by the pupils.

Summer colonies are organised near Moscow for the students free of charge.

There is no compulsory education in Russia, but the question is being raised in Moscow, and will be decided before long. As a rule, however, the students are eager to learn, and a statement made by a young Russian, "that if they could pass their classes sufficiently well it lessened their term of military service," may throw some light on their appreciation of study.

In England, until recently, there was little attempt to care for school children. No municipality took the matter up, as the question did not come within its scope. And for over 20 years the Socialists agitated for a State law to deal with the matter.

In 1906 a permissive law was passed for England, enabling local authorities to use school premises, or to

provide kitchens, utensils, etc., for the provision of meals from the ordinary rates, but they must not provide food. This must be provided by charity, unless it could be proved that private charity failed to meet the demand for food, in which case the local authority might apply for leave to raise a halfpenny rate with which to supply food. Bradford was the first town to avail itself of this law, and organised a good supply of varied meals that would give a proper amount of nourishment. Other towns are slowly following. In 1908 (in London) the County Council gradually put the Act into operation, but it is being done grudgingly, and with many restrictive regulations by which the parents will be made to pay wherever possible. If the father is careless and does not choose to consent, the child cannot be supplied with meals, even where it is known that the child does not have sufficient, and it seems probable that in many cases the children will still go unfed or partially fed. The one encouraging feature is that the organisation of the canteen (when it is completed) will be on a large scale, with a proper diet, instead of the numerous makeshifts that have been resorted to in the past. The Act does not include medical attendance yet, although a very limited medical inspection is granted. Thus in England State recognition of responsibility for the well-being of its future citizens preceded municipal action in providing for the children.

This Act did not extend to Scotland, partly because the Scotch Poor Law was far more humane than that of England in the treatment of children. Under the Poor Law a widow could be made the guardian of her own children and receive 3s. per week for each child, and 3s. for herself as guardian. Of course, if the mother received this allowance from the parish, the children were always under the inspection of the parish authority, so that if it was found that the children were neglected they were sent away to a foster mother, and the payment to the negligent mother was stopped.

This did not meet the distress while the father

lived, so an agitation was kept up till in 1908 a law for Scotland was passed. This also is a permissive one, which provides that the School Board may, if they think fit, incur expenditure in "providing accommodation, apparatus, equipment, and service for the preparation and supply of meals, provided that no expenses incurred in the purchase of food, prepared and served at such meals, be defrayed out of the school funds."

It also allows school funds to be used for conveying scholars or teachers long distances where necessary (if the distance be over two miles), or even the payment for the scholar's lodging may be made if the cost of such lodging does not exceed the cost of conveyance from the pupil's home.

Provision is made by this Act for the conveyance of cripple children to school.

Stationery and school materials may be provided free where the School Board considers necessary.

Defective children may be detained at school until 16 years of age.

Under this law, if it be brought to notice that a child is unable, by lack of food and clothing, to take full advantage of the education offered, the parents or guardians may be summoned to give an explanation. If this be due to neglect, the parents or guardians may be punished for cruelty; if it be proved to be due to poverty or ill-health, the School Board may make necessary provision for the child while attending school without any disfranchisement to the parent.

Germany has taken no action nationally in caring for school children.

In Berlin, breakfasts are given by means of an endowment, and administered by a municipal department and assisted by a private society where it is found to be insufficient, but the number of meals thus dispensed do not appear to be very great. Other cities provide meals under the Poor Law, which disfranchises the parents. In Nuremberg, charity provides a number of warm dinners of soup and bread for

children. The municipality of Leipzig provides meals for children who are feeble-minded.

The experiments of open-air schools and the necessary provisions for such work were not aided by State funds. They were conducted by local education authorities.

Luxembourg provides for all necessitous children by charitable endowments and donations.

The following memorandum gives the legal situation in the United States:—

MEMORANDUM.

LEGAL PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF DESTITUTE CHILDREN NOT IN SPECIAL INSTITUTIONS.

The School Laws of a number of States provide that text books and school supplies shall be furnished by school authorities to children whose parents or guardians are financially unable to furnish such. This provision seems to represent the only legal recognition of the needs of destitute children outside of special institutions. In this connection it is also worthy of note that the compulsory attendance laws of a number of States still exempt indigents and orphans.

The right and duty of regular local school authorities to provide necessities other than text books have not yet been definitely settled as parts of our educational policy. The School Law of the State of Colorado provides among the powers of school boards that of furnishing books to indigent children (Sec. 81, S.C. 1907). The annotation of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction herewith is indicative of the possible extent of the application of this power of school boards. If the school board has power to furnish clothing, why not also food, if parents or guardians cannot furnish it?

In the absence of any direct provision relating to the feeding and clothing of children a number of supplementary provisions from school codes are herewith attached,

In a number of the larger American cities private philanthropic enterprise has endeavoured to supply the very evident needs of underfed children attending schools. In so far as I am aware, or have been able to discover, no instance may be cited where food has been provided to indigents or others at public expense by school authorities. Several years ago a petition was presented to the Board of Education of the city of Chicago, asking for funds whereby food could be supplied to children who were discovered to be attending the schools insufficiently nourished. The answer of the Board of Education was that, inasmuch as the Board of Education was unable to supply free text books to pupils, it was evidently powerless to spend money for free food.

(Signed) EDWARD C. ELLIOT.

March 3, 1909.

OKLAHOMA.—Sec. 4.—If any widowed mother shall make affidavit to the effect that the wages of her child or children, under 16 years of age, are necessary to the support of such widowed mother, then the county superintendent of public instruction may, after careful investigation, in his discretion, upon the recommendation of the School District Board, or Board of Education of cities of the first class, furnish such child or children a certificate called a "Scholarship," stating the amount of wages such child or children are receiving, or so much of such wages as shall be deemed necessary so long as such child or children shall attend the public school in accordance with the provisions of this Act; which aid may be allowed and paid upon the certificate of the county superintendent of public instruction to the child or children holding such scholarship, by the Board of County Commissioners of the county in which such child or children reside.—L. 1907-08, C. 34, Sec. 4.

OHIO.—Sec. 4022-9. (Relief to enable child to attend school required time.)—When any truant officer is satisfied that any child, compelled to attend school by

the provisions of this Act, is unable to attend school because absolutely required to work, at home or elsewhere, in order to help support itself or help support or care for others legally entitled to its services, who are unable to support or care for themselves, the truant officer shall report the case to the authorities charged with the relief of the poor, and it shall be the duty of said officers to afford such relief as will enable the child to attend school the time each year required under this Act. Such child shall not be considered or declared a pauper by reason of the acceptance of the relief herein provided for. In case the child, or its parents or guardian, refuse or neglect to take advantage of the provisions thus made for its instruction, such child may be committed to a children's home or a juvenile reformatory, as provided for in section 4022-8 of the Revised Statutes of Ohio. In all cases where relief is necessary it shall be the duty of the Board of Education to furnish text books free of charge, and said Board may furnish any further relief it may deem necessary, the expenses incident to furnishing said books and the relief to be paid from the contingent funds of the school district.—(95 v. 620; 90 v. 289; 86 v. 337, Sec. 8.)

ILLINOIS.—Tenth.—The directors shall have power to purchase, at the expense of the district, a sufficient number of the text books used to supply children whose parents are not able to buy them. The text books bought for such purposes shall be loaned only, and the directors shall require the teacher to see that they are properly cared for and returned at the end of each term of school.—S. C., p. 81.

IOWA.—Sec. 2,783. (Use of Contingent Fund—free text books). It may provide and pay out of Contingent Fund to insure school property such sum as may be necessary, and may purchase dictionaries, library books, including books for the purpose of teaching vocal music, maps, charts, and apparatus for the use of the schools thereof to an amount not exceeding

25 dollars in any one year for each schoolroom under its charge; and may furnish school books to indigent children when they are likely to be deprived of the proper benefits of school unless so aided; and shall, when directed by vote of the district, purchase and loan books to scholars, and shall provide by levy of Contingent Fund therefor. (30 G. A., c. 115; 26 G. A., c. 37; 25 G. A., c. 34; 21 G. A., c. 107; 19 G. A., c. 149, Sec. 1; C. '73, Sec. 1729.) S. C. p. 66.

INDIANA.—458. (Poor Children.—Assistance, 6.)—If any parent, guardian, or custodian of any child or children is too poor to furnish such child or children with the necessary books and clothing with which to attend school, then the school trustee of the township, or the board of school trustees or commissioners of the city or incorporated town where such parent, guardian or custodian resides shall furnish temporary aid for such purpose to such child or children, which aid shall be allowed and paid upon the certificate of such officers by the board of county commissioners of said county. Such township trustee, or board of school trustees, or commissioners shall at once make out and file with the auditor of the county a full list of the children so aided, and the board of county commissioners at their next regular meeting shall investigate such cases and make such provision for such child or children as will enable them to continue in school as intended by this Act.

1. Note.—See *Shelby County Council v. State*, 155 Ind. 216; same case, 57 N. E. Rep. 712.

2. Power to contract.—The above section does not vest any power in the school board to contract a debt on behalf of the county in favour of third persons for supplies furnished. *Board v. Falk*, 29 Ind. App. 683; 65 N. E. Rep. 10.

3. Aid.—It is the duty of school boards to furnish poor children of their corporation with books and clothing.—P. 470, Laws 1901, S. C. pp. 329-330.

COLORADO.—184. There is no law authorising the school board to pay from the fund the board of children

who live a distance from the school. It is the duty of the school board, however, if the parent, by reason of poverty, cannot properly clothe the child, to furnish necessary clothing and pay for the same out of the school fund by warrant drawn as in other cases, but even this fact must be shown to the satisfaction of the Board.—Annotation, S. C., p. 99.

NEW YORK.—The inhabitants entitled to vote, when duly assembled in any district meeting, shall have power, by a majority of the votes of those present :—

9. To vote a tax, not exceeding 25 dollars in any one year, for the purchase of maps, globes, blackboards and other school apparatus, and for the purchase of text books and other school necessities for the use of poor scholars of the district.—Laws 1894, c. 556, Title VII., Art. I., sec. 14-9, S. C. p. 36.

In New York the Children's Aid Society do a large amount of work in providing for necessitous children. They have 16 industrial schools in addition to evening schools, a summer school, farm, and other organisations.

In 25 schools the State provides the teaching staff, but the Society provided 751,807 meals, 12,385 garments, and 5,023 pairs of boots, with an average attendance of 8,343 children during the year 1907-8. The Children's Aid Society have also organised trade classes to a large extent. The exemption of children from attendance at school, if they are required to earn their living, is causing some agitation, and a number of philanthropic persons are offering scholarships to the amount that the child's earnings would be. This is far from meeting the necessities of the case, as it is a purely voluntary affair. The State's law has not attempted to face the problem.

The humane interest in child life that has been awakened during the last 25 years seems almost universal. State Education Acts have been passed in almost every country. Sympathy and pity have been aroused for the children who are compelled to study

on insufficient food. Cities have been shocked at the sight of children congregated in the schools hungry and half-clothed, a fact that was not noted when the children were little wandering units. Numberless societies have been formed to assist them, but being only private ventures they are quite inadequate to grapple with the situation that has been revealed.

If the Governments require that the children shall be compelled to spend many hours every day at school studying, then in common justice it is necessary that they should make sufficient provision whereby the children may be kept in a proper physical condition to study.

As this is the third and last section of the series of inquiries undertaken by the Women's International Bureau (British Section), it is necessary to put as briefly as possible the purpose of these inquiries.

For some time past the Governments of Europe have been uneasy about the lessening birth-rate and the high mortality of infants, and various attempts have been made to protect the life of the child. These attempts barely touch the fringe of the question, and have been dealt with by Miss Murby in "State Endowment of Mothers," and Mrs. Townshend in "The Case for School Nurseries." The preservation of the race must be considered as a whole and as a matter of first importance by every Government.

It is already conceded that education is necessary. It is far more necessary that every child should be well born and nursed, that it should have care in its infancy, that it should be sufficiently fed and clothed and kept in good health, so that the education may be of use, and that every child may become fully developed.

The life of the child is the life of the race. It is left now for the Socialists to make a universal demand, that in the interest of humanity every Government should make provision for the mother before and after the child is born, and that State maintenance be provided for every child until it has completed its education.

MARGARETTA HICKS.

PALLIATIVES, POLITICS, AND THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

I have recently been giving a lecture on "Current Politics," and one or two points have come out on which wider discussion may very well take place than is possible in the conditions afforded by an average indoor lecture. It is probable, indeed, that every member of the party will be directly interested in the discussion, and it is partly that belief, and the conviction that we should be clear on these matters, which induce me to write this article.

In order to clear the ground it may be well to state briefly the points to be discussed here—namely:

1. That every Socialist who has a vote should use that vote.
2. That the vote should be cast in accordance with the interests of Socialism as determined by immediate considerations.

Time after time in the course of the discussion following my lecture comrades have risen to express the opinion that as Social-Democrats the only use we have for the vote is to render it useless by destroying it. That is not the phrasing of the argument, but that is the correct statement of the attitude.

"We have nothing to gain," I am told, "from either political party, since both are capitalist and anti-Socialist. If we vote for either of them, we are voting for an anti-Socialist. What Socialists should do is to go to the polling-station, take their paper and write 'Socialist' across it."

Such is the contention—a contention that, in my opinion, is based on a misunderstanding of political

action, and is as unreasonable and shortsighted as it is false, stamping us as a politically incompetent party, and rendering us non-existent. If we are endeavouring to commit political suicide, this position completely attains that object. A little consideration will show that it must be abandoned.

Let us be clear, in the first instance, as to what Socialism means in political life at the moment. It does not mean a revolution to-morrow morning, or the morning after, or even to-morrow week; it may be that we shall have to wait at least six months before we can realise the Social Revolution! Socialism in politics means that the Revolution is the objective, and that the objective is to be attained by a series of preparatory manœuvres in which we should be immediately engaged. That is to say, our political activity should be revolutionary in tendency, and in accordance with this position our transitional programme contains demands of a revolutionary nature. At the moment we are engaged in endeavouring to realise such of the items on our programme as immediate conditions make practicable, since the realisation of each one of them brings us a step nearer to our end; although by this is not meant that every one of the items must be realised before the issue of revolution closes definitely.

We are concerned, then, with immediate conditions, and our attitude to them is based upon the recognition of the class war and its final outcome. That is to say, we are called upon to represent the interests of the working class—the proletariat—as those interests are opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. It is well that we should be clear on the point that Socialism without the working-class is a dream-theory, for Socialism is simply the expression of the destiny of the proletariat, and the definition of the lines on which that destiny will be realised. Historically, the position of Socialism to-day is the position of the working-class. It is, indeed, strictly true to say that the

working-class is the Socialist movement. A gain by the workers is a gain for Socialism.

Let us ask ourselves, therefore, in order to simplify the problem, "Has the working-class (or Socialism) anything to gain from either capitalist political party?" The answer to that question is obvious, and is supplied by our own programme. On page 3 occurs the sentence, "That class war, as in this country, may at first be directed against the abuses of the system, and not against the system itself." Hence our transitional or palliative programme. The programme has in view the realisation of certain items which will remove, or largely mitigate, many of the abuses to which the workers are immediately subjected by the system of capitalist production. Those items can be realised without a revolution—they are "transitional"—and I am going to contend that we can compel the capitalist parties to grant them, bitterly opposed to them as they may be, on the ground that they curtail to a greater or less extent the possibility of the unrestrained exploitation of the worker. The demands do not entirely prohibit exploitation, and they are not calculated to do so, since that can be attained only with the consummation of Socialism. My contention is, therefore, that we can force the capitalist to be content with the 15s. instead of the 20s. he would like to get.

Now, let us be clear on another thing—namely, that at least some of our palliatives will be realised before the Social Revolution; which means that they will be realised before a Socialist Ministry takes office; before we have a majority on the floor of the House (if we ever will have a majority there). That is to say, the capitalist parties will be compelled to grant the palliatives. Hence we have something to gain from the capitalist parties.

For a whole generation the S.D.P. and other working-class bodies have been agitating ceaselessly for legislation on the lines laid down in our transitional programme, and the result is that to-day we have created a mass of public opinion in their support.

There is an insistent and ever-growing demand for legislation that will mitigate "the abuses of the system," and since the capitalist politicians cannot take office without the votes of the working class, they are faced with the necessity of carrying into effect some, at any rate, of our demands. That is the meaning of the Development Bill tacked on to the 1909 Budget. That is the meaning, too, of the fact that the capitalist parties are claiming credit for doing things for which we have agitated for a generation.

In order to put the theory underlying this position to practical use, we will consider briefly the policy to be pursued by Socialists at the next election. We have to keep in mind the fact that we shall be at most a small minority, and the further fact that, in spite of our small representation, we have to be in a position to force the capitalist party in power to put into effect some of the items of our transitional programme. Apparently this is hopelessly impossible, and it is very probable that the apparent hopelessness of the position is responsible very largely for the feeling that the only use we have for our vote is to destroy it.

The position, however, is by no means hopeless, as a glance at the present Parliament will show. The Liberals are in office, but their majority over the Conservatives is so small as to render them dependent upon the Irish vote; and that is the position we should endeavour to perpetuate, except, of course, that the balance of power should be in the hands of Socialists instead of the Irish. That Home Rule is within measurable distance of realisation seems evident, since the next election will again, other things being equal, give Ireland the balance of power; and it is equally probable that a third party in the House following the election after next would still find itself in possession of the balance of power. English weather is a far safer subject for prophets than English politics, but it is a fair assumption that at the election after next the third party in the House will be, not the Irish, but a Socialist and Labour Party.

However this may be, our policy, until we have an absolute majority in the House, must be to keep the capitalist parties as evenly balanced as possible, and to that end every Socialist vote should be cast one way or the other at elections. We have to examine the position of parties to-day in order to determine which is likely to take office, and then, as a general rule, to vote against that Party in order to make its majority as small as possible.

Which party stands the best chance of taking office as the result of an election on existing political conditions? That is to say, which party has the ear of our unfortunate fellow-citizens?

Because they are unfortunate, our fellow-citizens are interested mainly in economic as distinct from political reforms, and the pressure of economic conditions is insistent. Of the two parties, the Conservative Party is historically the party from which such reforms most readily come, the Liberal Party being the party of political "reforms." So to-day we find the former party promising, as a result of the adoption of Protection, the solution of the "problem" of unemployment, an increased wage, and a decrease of the income-tax; and the fact that it is all a colossal and impudent fraud—as was Free Trade—from the workers' point of view, in no way alters the fact that Protection is a winning cause, if only because of the weakness and utter lack of hope of the Liberal programme, which promises political "reform" in which the country is comparatively uninterested.

It is, perhaps, difficult to see where the Conservatives can find additional seats, for Wales is solid for Liberalism, the parties seem to have struck bottom in Scotland, and rural England is very nearly solid Conservative already, although we must calculate on there being still a few seats to fall to Protection from this source. We are, therefore, reduced to industrial England in our analysis, and in considering it we have to bear in mind that political organisation has more influence on the polls than political honour or the

reasoned foresight of the electors. Obviously, Protection will gain ground in industrial England, where the economic issue is insistent, and, confident as the Liberals may be that the North is solid for Free Trade, they will find that superior political organisation and a popular economic plank have far more weight at the polls than obstinate optimism. Moreover, the obvious failure and incompetence of the Liberal Party will necessarily result in a wave of resentment against them apart altogether from reasoned considerations.

For these reasons, it seems to me, that were an election to take place with existing conditions operative the Conservatives would secure a small majority. Under these circumstances our vote should be cast against them to the end of making that majority as small as possible, thus placing the balance of Parliamentary power in the hands of a comparatively small third party.

This, it seems to me, is the reason why Social-Democrats should use their votes, and be prepared to assert their entire independence of both capitalist parties by reserving to themselves in which direction their votes shall be cast, in order to further the interests of the working-class, and, therefore, of the Social Revolution.

FREDERICK M. BOYD.

EN PASSANT.

(Suggested by the bricking-up of the workings at the Whitehaven Sub-Sea Collieries, in which constituted the grave of six score and ten colliers.)

They lie 'neath stone and beating sea—six hundred fathoms deep ;
Their last "shift" spent, their last "tub" filled : they rest in death's long sleep.

Their "tally checks" are "handed in" ; they've made their "last trip down,"

No more they'll haste to "catch their cage" at "buzzer's" warning sound.

No mausoleums to mark their graves ; no trappings drape their biers ;
Their mausoleums are orphans' cries, their trappings—widows' tears.

No pageants gather from afar as for a nation's chief ;
The flaming gas their funeral scene ; their pomp—their comrades' grief.

No minute guns to sound "good-bye," no scurrying to and fro ;
Their booming guns the gas flame's roar, in a coal seam down below.

No massed bands render martial sound, or play with sad refrain ;
No martial sounds or services they'll ever need again.

No panegyrics to their lives, no catafalque august ;
Their lives pertained to lowliness, their tomb—the coal's black dust.

No flags float forth from black-draped mast to mark their passing by ;
For they did naught but work to live ; to work—and then to die.

No promulgated holiday to give the nation pause ;
They were but pawns in life's rough game to move in humble cause.

No proclamation or decree to say how long to mourn ;
'Tis needed not : 'tis seared by grief in hearts of widows torn.

So let it be. We all must face the chill and silent grave ;
No chance of birth, no kingly right, from this can help to save.

For at the end it's "dust to dust"—no matter what the birth.
We all return from whence we came—a solemn "earth to earth."

And yet, perhaps, beyond the pale, they all now rest in peace,
Where pain is stilled, and sobs are hushed, and tears of widows cease ;
Where rank and station is effaced in broad fraternity,
And dwell in better fellowship through vast eternity.

Then, good night, comrades, although you lie six hundred fathoms deep,
It matters not to human clay just where it sinks to sleep,
For frame of mortal man is dust—no matter what his lot,
And lasting immortality is not with trappings bought.

JOSEPH RALPH, M.E.

THE MONTH.

To the relief of most people the torrent of sickening drivel and disgusting sycophancy evoked by the death of King Edward has about spent itself, and public attention is free to direct itself to other matters. Politicians of all parties, however, will have been glad of the respite which they have had, quite regardless of its cause. There will be no General Election this year.

We are not among those who have mourned as without hope the death of the King. For us the Monarchy as an institution has no charm, and is as absurd an anachronism and as great an insult to a free people as the House of Lords. If Edward was a good King, so much the worse, because he therefore helped to popularise the monarchical idea. It is said on all sides—by Labour men and Socialists as well as others—that he was a good King, and that the nation has suffered a terrible blow and an irreparable loss by his death. However, that may be, it has done a good turn for the Government. "Wait and see," was Asquith's advice to the inquisitive people who "wanted to know, you know," what he was going to do. But he could not keep them waiting to see interminably, and the prospect of having to meet his overdue promissory notes could not have been a very cheering one. The "national calamity" has given him an extension of time, and the Veto Bill will serve to defer other, still more unpleasant subjects, for at least another twelve months.

There is one man, however, who has especial reason to regret that the King's death came when it did. That was Theodore Roosevelt. Stepping on to the national stage when all was surrounded with gloom and decked with the trappings of official woe, he was deprived of the limelight and acclamation amid which he is accustomed to make his entrances. Death served Teddy a very shrewd turn. It was a little unkind after the services Teddy has so often rendered Death.

The fact that he did not come on in the limelight did not prevent Mr. Roosevelt distinguishing himself by his arrogant admonitions to our imperialists. His insistence on the need for firm administration in Egypt, for the benefit of the Egyptian people themselves, must have been very gratifying to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and other "Labour leaders" who never tire of advising the British Government that *we* must remain in Egypt, and *we* must continue to hold India in the highest interests of humanity!

The terrible disaster at Whitehaven, in which 135 miners lost their lives, is another illustration of the fearful risks run by the workers day by day merely in order to earn their daily bread. It also shows, moreover, the ordinary callous indifference of the capitalist class to human life—when it happens to be the life of the proletariat. It is quite true that the capitalist is, like the workman, a creature of circumstances, and is not, any more than the latter, a monster in human form. It is no less true that many capitalists are far better than the system. On the other hand, however, there is no doubt that capitalism tends to dehumanise all those who come under its influence, and especially those who make their wealth out of the unpaid labour of others. Such disasters as that at Whitehaven might be almost entirely avoided if proper safeguards were adopted. But these safeguards cost money, and it is cheaper to risk the loss of a few miners' lives than to reduce profits by expenditure on precautionary measures.

A further illustration of this callousness was afforded by the hasty bricking-in of the burning workings. Expert opinion held that there was no possibility of any of the men being still alive when this was done. But there was not a unanimous opinion to this effect among the miners themselves; and the walling-in was certainly decided upon with undue and indecent haste, and with an utter disregard of any feeling of humanity.

It is very well to cite expert opinion in favour of the course that was taken, but in the Courrières disaster, when the authorities were compelled by the threatening attitude of the miners to re-open the pit, men were found alive and were rescued days after everyone had agreed that it was impossible for any of them to be alive.

There was a further exhibition of the callousness of the capitalist class when the men in a neighbouring pit refused to work on the ground that there was danger of fire making its way from the burning pit into the workings where they were engaged. The management was "excessively annoyed" at their action, and endeavoured to drive them back to work.

Our worthy Nonconformist bosses are now busily engaged once more in settling the Education question. Of course there is really no Education question for them to settle; what they mean is the squabble between the respective Christian sects over the control of the schools. They seem to have the idea, some of them, that at last they have discovered some way of ending this interminable dispute. They are mistaken; the squabble between their irreconcilable sects will never be put an end to. There is this good thing about these various proposed settlements; that the more of them are propounded, and the more widely they are discussed, the nearer we shall get to the secular solution, as it will be seen that there is no other way out of the difficulty the religionists have created.

The sooner education is taken entirely out of the control of the sects the better. Education is a matter of transcendental national importance. It vitally concerns the future of the children—of the whole nation. Religion is a private matter; there is no national religion, there is really no national Church. There are hundreds of different religions. In the interests of religious liberty, therefore, the State should have nothing to do with the teaching of any of them.

The latest move of the Suffragettes is a very astute one. They are now fain to admit that the demand for votes for women "on the same terms as for men," was fraudulent, misleading and unjust. So they are now promoting a measure which they say will be acceptable to all those who believe in the extension of the franchise to women. We demur. We have always advocated the extension of the franchise to women. We want women to have the vote on exactly the same terms as men, because we want every man and every woman to have a vote. But for that very reason we are opposed to the latest proposals of the Suffragettes and their

friends. These are nothing more nor less than to give the Parliamentary franchise to all the women who are at present eligible to be on the municipal register.

This is essentially a bourgeois franchise; it excludes lodgers and married women altogether, and the overwhelming majority of the women of the working class—married or single. Such a measure should be vigorously and persistently opposed by all who desire a really democratic franchise. An extension of the suffrage on the lines proposed would be the most formidable obstacle to adult suffrage imaginable. Unfortunately there appears a danger of some adult suffragists supporting it as "a step in the right direction." It is, on the contrary, a step in the wrong direction, inasmuch as it would increase the political power of property and correspondingly diminish that of the proletariat.

The emigrationists are seriously concerned with the tide of British emigration towards the United States, and are endeavouring to devise methods to divert it to British Colonies. They had far better turn their energies to making this a better place for people to live in, and thus stem the tide of emigration altogether.

Some of our friends, who claim here at home to be the real representatives of international Marxian Socialism, appear to be equally concerned to impress upon the Socialists of other countries that Socialism here is a very peculiar compound, differing entirely from the Socialism of other countries. They have been touring France and Belgium to inform the people there that, whereas Continental Socialism is entirely secular, here it is entirely Christian, and each Socialist organisation is a kind of Christian Church. No wonder foreigners exclaim, "Always a wonderful people, these English!"

It is not calculated to instil into the godless Continental a love of Christianity. For him all this pharisaical talk about religion is only part of that hypocrisy which he regards as our chief national characteristic. England is for him always "Perfide Albion," and when he reflects upon the broken faith, the treachery and the double-dealing of which the most Christian of British Ministers

have been guilty in their relations with other countries, we cannot wonder if he appraises our Christian professions' at a very low value.

No more scandalous instance of broken faith is to be found anywhere than is presented at the present time by the continued British Occupation of Egypt. The bondholders' raid; the suppression of the Nationalist movement; the bombardment of Alexandria; the slaughter of Tel-el-Kebir and Kassassin; were all carried out under the administration of that most Christian Liberal statesman, Gladstone, who five short years before this subjugation of a people "rightly struggling to be free" had denounced in the strongest possible language any British intervention in Egypt.

After the bondholders' war, the same Gladstone gave a solemn pledge for the evacuation of Egypt. That was nearly eight and twenty years ago; the British Occupation still continues, and any suggestion of giving effect to that solemn pledge is jeered at as foolish weakness.

The evil effects of the obligations undertaken by this criminal intervention in Egypt have been incalculable. Appetite grows with eating, and the spread-eagle imperialism inspired by the international gold-grabbers is insatiable. India, Egypt, South Africa, Persia, all have been and are being taught the lesson that the little finger of capitalist civilisation imposes a burden heavier to be borne than did the loins of the old-time despots.

In South Africa we have created a Boer Commonwealth out of the ruins wrought by the destruction of the Boer Republics. Our Liberals look upon this achievement with pride and self-gratulation, and boast of England's magnanimity in having granted to conquered provinces a scheme of self-government such as no other European Power would have dreamed of establishing. It is self-government, it is true; but it is self-government of the white races based upon the degradation, enslavement and brutal exploitation of the native races, under the tutelage of the international gang of thieves in whose interests the Republics were destroyed. Boer or Briton, whichever may nominally hold sway, the real rulers of South Africa to-day are the

Ecksteins, the Wernhers, the Beits, the Joels, and the rest of that cosmopolitan gang who know no country, but to whom all the peoples of the earth are a prey.

Our own complicity in this criminal imperialist brigandage renders us partners in crime with other vulture States. The nefarious attack upon the national independence of Finland could never have been contemplated, much less undertaken, had England kept free from the entanglements of co-partnery in guilt. We may protest, and the word of the British Foreign Office might even now save Finland; but what hope have we that that word will be spoken, remembering the past record of our present Government?

Amid all the evidences of ever-developing international capitalist brigandage, however, we are able to note the growth of its Nemesis, the international Socialist movement. The striking victory of our French comrades has been followed by signal evidence of the growth of our party in Belgium, and even Spain—Clerical, Monarchical, reactionary Spain—has given evidence of the upspringing of a new revolutionary, revivifying force which may well inspire our comrade Cunninghame Graham to write of her, "Resurgam!"

THE CASE FOR EGYPTIAN NATIONALISM.

A PAPER READ AT THE GENEVA CONGRESS ON SEPTEMBER 13,
1909, BY OSMAN EFFENDI SABRY (FORMERLY RESPONSIBLE
EDITOR OF THE "EGYPTIAN STANDARD.")

I consider it an inestimable privilege and honour to have the opportunity of addressing the Congress—this great meeting which is opportune and necessary. Recent events have made it essential that Egypt should make her grievances known to the civilised world at large, and declare in perfectly unmistakable language her demands. And here I must gratefully acknowledge the kindness shown to us by the people of Geneva, who allowed us the great benefit of holding our sittings in their glorious city. In offering their hospitality to the Congress they have only acted in accordance with their traditional generosity, for they are citizens of no mean country. We still remember with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction the noble services rendered to our cause by the gallant Swiss, Mr. John Ninet, who was the only European who took part with the Egyptian Army in the war of 1882, and made our national cause his own, and refuted all false calumnies made at that time against Egypt. We never forget the historical fact that Switzerland was strongly in sympathy with the national movement during the Arabist revolution. I also feel it my duty to thank all our sympathisers, whatever their nationality may be, especially those who have honoured us by their presence.

Last year and the year that is now fast drawing to a close have seen our country convulsed to its depths, and have truly been dramatic years. We have expected in vain a change for the better in the British policy towards our country, specially after the establishment of the Turkish Constitution and the friendly relations between England and Turkey. More elements of despotism were introduced into our Governmental machine. The freedom of the press has been suppressed, and the most reactionary Press Law of 1881, which was decreed under very exceptional circumstances and was never put into force during the Arabist Revolution, was resurrected. It should not be called a law; it is a standing negation of all laws. Surely it is a standing menace to our liberty; a stand-

ing reproach to our statute book. It is for this reason, as well as for other reasons, that I consider it most necessary here to deal with the present political position of our country, and to throw light upon some of the injurious acts of the British policy in Egypt.

THE POLITICAL POSITION OF EGYPT.

In spite of the fact that it has throughout been the English desire, by co-operation with the French, to gradually diminish international influence in Egypt, until the Egyptian question should cease to be an international question at all, and to change the political status of our country, the position of Egypt remained the same after the *entente cordiale* as before it. And the solution of the Egyptian question is still a purely European question, as has been affirmed by Lord Cromer. It is true that the *entente cordiale* has introduced some modifications in the arrangements established for the protection of the bond-holders and the functions of the *Caisse de la Dette*, which is now limited to receiving certain assigned revenues on behalf of the bond-holders and insuring the due payment of the coupons; but it has not regularised England's position in the Nile Valley as some of the English statesmen believe.

Egypt is still a half-sovereign State, whose internal rights of sovereignty are subject to international interference as a consequence of the system known as the capitulations. It is occupied by British troops, who have not the slightest status in the country, as they are neither the soldiers of the Khedive nor foreign soldiers invited by the Khedive or the Sultan, under whose suzerainty Egypt legally lies. They cannot be the soldiers of a protecting Power, since theoretically there is no protecting Power. Their presence is an accident, and their character that of simple visitors.

In theory H.H. the Khedive is an independent prince, subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan, and to him the State Ministers and all the Egyptian officials, both civil and military, owe complete obedience. This is in accordance with the principle of Egyptian autonomy which was laid down in the separate Act annexed to the Treaty of London of July 15, 1880, and in the *Firmans* issued to Ismail Pasha. Since then the validity of that principle and the Sultan's suzerainty has never been disputed by any Continental Power. On the contrary, England always has supported the claims of the Sultan as the Overlord of Egypt. Even when England and France decided upon the deposition of Ismail Pasha, it was England who insisted on the Imperial *Irada*, calling upon Ismail to abdicate his throne, being issued by the Sultan; but owing to its irregular and false position, as well as the absence of any legal justification for its military occupation, specially after her repeated pledges to evacuate, and after concluding the Suez Canal Convention of October 29, 1888, by the Powers concerned, which was considered by all the European Governments as a step towards the evacuation, England has endeavoured in vain to legalise her position in Egypt. In 1904 the Anglo-French Agreement was concluded with a view to

regularise England's position in our country. In his report of the same year Lord Cromer says that "Under the *entente cordiale* the position of the British Government in Egypt was from a political point of view legalised." But it is in reality far from being so. The Algeciras Conference has demonstrated that there is still a Europe. It has reaffirmed the principle that no modification of a treaty can be permitted without the consent of the parties to the treaty. It has, moreover, decided that the Anglo-French Agreement is invalid in respect of the proposal of giving a free hand to France in Morocco. This decision applies logically to the free hand in Egypt given to England by France. Thus, according to the precedent established at Algeciras, any European Power which has political or commercial interests or rights in Egypt would be entitled to refuse her consent to any substantial changes which England might propose to introduce into their relations between Egypt and other Continental Powers, till these changes have been approved by an International Conference. I do not doubt a moment that if such a conference were to meet it would not be allowed to separate without taking up the entire Egyptian question, and ignoring that agreement by means of which France accepted English supremacy in Egypt, and would put an end to England's privileged position and place all foreign nations on the same footing with her. All the Powers (France perhaps excepted) will doubtless dispute England's title to such a privileged position in a country such as ours, which lies midway between the East and West. In a country such as ours, which is always on the highway of national intercourse, with the Suez Canal running through her territory. In a country such as ours, which is particularly responsive to every current upon the needle of the world's life. In a country such as ours, which can be defined as an international highway indispensable to the commerce of all the nations of the world. I do not doubt for a moment that if the presence of the British in Egypt were to be brought before an international conference similar to that held at Algeciras on the subject of Morocco, or if the matter be submitted to arbitration by Turkey to the Hague Tribunal and judged upon a purely legal basis, it will necessarily decide the immediate evacuation. It is not only in the interests of Egypt that England should evacuate; but it is equally in the interests of all the other Powers, so long as our country is an international country; so long as our country is the centre of the Eastern portion of the globe; so long as our country is the meeting-place of races.

If Egypt is international by her geographical position, it has become nowadays doubly international from the mass of foreign capital which has been sunk in securing its prosperity. Almost every nation in Europe has invested large savings in Egypt, and consequently almost every nation in Europe has the keenest individual interest in seeing our country thrive and prosper. But it is next to impossible for a country such as Egypt, where the whole life of her people rests

on the tides of one great river ; with a population dependent on one industry for employment ; to thrive without possessing strong and intelligently directed native government. Such a government is entirely incompatible with the British Occupation and diametrically opposed to its imperial designs. I cannot do better here than describe the present form of our Government in the words of Sir Edward Grey in his speech in the House of Commons on August 4, 1906.

"In Egypt," says the British Foreign Secretary, "the responsibility is very difficult to state. It is governed under the Khedive by a Government partly of natives and partly of British officials, and the whole Government has the most complicated machine behind it—the British Occupation. And if anyone were to study on paper what the Egyptian Government is, combined with the Occupation, they would come to the conclusion that it is an unworkable system."

Nothing short of an independent, strong and constitutional Government can make Egypt prosper, and consequently promote European interests there. A native Government in which responsibility is to be clearly defined and limited by constitutional checks, and not as the present Government which Sir Edward Grey describes as unworkable, can best protect and further the diverse interests of foreign colonies in Egypt. But England (I mean the Imperialists there) strains every nerve with a view to preventing the existence of such Government in our country, as it looks inconsistent with its Occupation, which has as its aim the destruction of Egypt's prospects. It was by the bayonets of Wolseley's army that our Constitution was torn from us in 1882, and replaced by a shadowy Constitution with the promise of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in her speech of February, 1882, of encouraging the prudent development of its institutions. It is now 27 years hence, and yet not the slightest development in Egypt's institutions was made. They are to-day precisely in the same condition as that in which they were placed by Lord Dufferin's Organic Law of 1883. Whenever England was asked to redeem her promise and evacuate she gives some excuse or other, and in most cases says that we are not yet ripe for self-government, in spite of the fact that Drummond Wolff's Convention proves quite conclusively that more than 23 years ago England regarded Egypt as ripe for evacuation within a definite period. Again in 1887 an attempt was made to get the Sultan to sign an agreement, for reasons we need not now mention, he refused to ratify. Concerning this Sir Henry Drummond Wolff says in his Memoirs : "My proposal had at first been to make five years the period of withdrawal, but this Lord Salisbury ultimately agreed to reduce to three years." If 23 years ago evacuation was possible within three years, is it not so now ? Should the Imperialists think that they have yet a task to perform in Egypt, and that is to educate her for self-government ? As to this I firmly believe, and perhaps every impartial Englishman does believe

with me, that the Judges of Denshawai are entirely incapable of educating Egypt in self-government. It is now beyond any doubt that England's mission in Egypt—if it can ever be called a mission—has proved to be a great failure, and most of the Imperialist writers themselves admit, and the facts prove it, that the Occupation has in no way advanced towards helping Egypt to steer her course alone. Mr. Dicey, a British Imperialist, who wants England boldly to swallow Egypt—body and bones—yet in his last book entitled "The Egypt of the Future," pp. 47-48, tells us that all the work of administration has been entrusted to a number of English officials who are for the most part imperfectly acquainted with the language, the laws, the customs, the traditions and the religion of the native population. They have been employed to re-organise the country in accordance with English ideas unintelligible to and unappreciated by the vast majority of the Egyptian people." He further says in his book, p. 34, that the English people have done nothing to render Egypt more fit for independence. Lord Cromer in "Modern Egypt" admits, without seeming to perceive that it destroys all his pretensions, that the bulk of the British officials arrive in Egypt, not merely ignorant of Arabic, the native language of the country, but also ignorant of French, the common language of official intercourse (Vol. II., p. 281).

Had it really been England's intention to re-establish Egyptian autonomy on a sound basis and retire; had reform been her object in any direction but that of finance, she would have listened to the just demands of the National Party. Undoubtedly such objects were not within her scheme. Nothing whatever was done on the part of the successive British Governments to prepare for evacuation, though evacuation continued to be talked of and repeated promises were given from time to time of retiring from Egypt.

THE BRITISH POLICY IMPEACHED.

The unwise British policy towards our country did not stop there. It left undone everything which it ought to have done, and did everything which it ought not to have done. It infringed upon every legal right in Egypt. It infringed upon the public law of Europe by trampling under foot the international treaties and the Ottoman Imperial Firmans. We have a long and heavy indictment to bring against the British policy in Egypt. We charge it with having arrested the progress of education. No university in the full sense of the word has been yet allowed to be established in our country.

We charge it with having almost killed our native tongue. We charge it with having bombarded Alexandria and set it on fire and consequently increased our public debt. We charge it with having enhanced the Mahdi's revolution by coercing Egypt to abandon the Soudan to anarchy and barbarism. We charge it with having ruined our judicial system and destroyed every guarantee that was given to the judicial authority. We charge it with having played

fast and loose with the laws and institutions of our country, making them proverbial for anarchy. We charge it with having disturbed public security and increased general lawlessness in our native land, by promoting the grievances of the rural population. These grievances were caused and promoted by the blundering of the costly Survey Department, which is managed by incapable and ignorant Englishmen, who are chosen to carry out a work of delicacy and difficulty. These men, regardless of the risk, have acted in this department with glacial indifference to ridicule and reason. In Lord Cromer's last annual report, the sufficiently alarming information was furnished that during the nine months ending October 31, 1906, 32,354 complaints were received. Of these 5,453 were found to be justified. The latter probably recorded errors of too glaring a character to be dismissed with impunity. Now, in an agricultural country questions of the ownership of land assume enormous importance owing to their reactive effect on the condition of public security. The work of triangulation and traverse was badly executed, and defective surveying is goading the people into excess. The Law Courts are at times compelled in the interests of justice to reject the maps of the Survey Department. But unfortunately these maps, which are not admitted as conclusive evidences in the Law Courts, are accepted by the Government as the basis for the reassessment of land tax.

We charge the British policy with having created the Special Court of 1895, whose horrible judgments in the Denshawai affair have shocked the whole world. We charge the representatives of England in Egypt with having squandered Egyptian funds in speculation on Transvaal bonds when our country itself is laden with debts of which the bonds are bought and sold.

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS.

We charge the British policy with having inundated our country with an army of inexperienced young men to whom the whole control of the Governmental departments is entrusted, and with whom the whole power rests; thus leaving the native officials who have undoubted experience of their country, as mere dummies. It is to the members of this invading army that the grievous shortcomings of the administration of our country, which are recognised by all visitors of the Nile Valley who care to look beneath the surface, are due. Most of these imported men do not possess the general scientific attainments or the special knowledge requisite for conducting successfully gigantic undertakings, and none of them so far as is ascertained can display that natural administrative genius which sometimes compensates for the want of technical training in administering technical departments such as the Survey Department. The qualifications of the successful candidates to higher posts in the Egyptian Government are, first that they should be Englishmen; secondly, that though they had no technical knowledge they should only be willing to learn.

What determines the appointments is often not the interests of the country, but a certain kind of patriotism, falsely so called. The English heads of Departments sometimes think that one of the best means to serve their country in Egypt is to put into their departments as many fellow-countrymen as possible without examining very closely their capacities for posts entrusted to them. I must add that in some cases the motive is no higher than the desire to provide a comfortable berth for a relative or a friend. This would have been only natural in a native administration, but it ought not to have existed in a foreign element whose *raison d'être* is the reform of the native abuses. Moreover, these young men are animated with an arbitrary spirit, and usually show a sovereign contempt for legality as well as sublime indifference to private rights when they happen to affect their personal interests or the interests of other English exploiters and administrators. Again, we charge the British administration in Egypt with having squandered our money lavishly on imperial designs against our rule in the Soudan. This brings me to the Soudan question.

THE SOUDAN QUESTION.

Allow me, before entering upon this all-important question, to ask, what will it profit us to turn England out of Egypt while she holds the Soudan and the sources of the Nile? It is for the Soudan that we have sacrificed so many men and so much money. Has not the acquisition of the Soudan been regarded since the time of the great Pharaohs as indispensable to the safety of Egypt? It was chiefly for this reason that Mohammed Ali inaugurated its conquest, which was afterwards completed by Ismail Pasha. The fate of Hicks Pasha's Expedition furnished the English with an excuse for coercing Egypt to abandon the Soudan in spite of the futile protests that had been made by Sherif Pasha, the then Prime Minister, who resigned in consequence. This imprudent policy gave more fuel to the Mahdi's Revolution and caused much injury to the influence of Egypt. Of course, England at that time affirmed that the Soudan was a useless and dangerous encumbrance, and a permanent drain on the resources of Egypt, and refused the assistance of the Ottoman troops for the maintenance of Egyptian authority on this plea. Nevertheless, at the close of 1895 England suddenly awoke to the fact that the Soudan was an essential acquisition, the loss of which might constitute a most serious danger to the water supply of Egypt in the event of its being occupied by a hostile Power. The reconquest of the Soudan was, therefore, decided upon with the same facile impetuosity as its abandonment had been previously enforced. Lord Salisbury had declared the reconquest to be in Egypt's interests. "England was in the position," he said, "of a guardian acting for his ward who is a minor." The hard work of the campaign had been entirely Egyptian, the English Army at the last moment coming in to play an ornamental part rather than a real one. Yet the Soudan was almost practically

annexed to England only, while the heavy yearly charges for its maintenance have been imposed on the Egyptian Budget, and the army for establishing peace and order there provided by Egypt; all this provided by the guardian acting for his ward.

This guardian who was acting for the interests of his ward proclaimed a joint possession of the Soudan after the Fashoda Affair in defiance of the self-denying protocol of June, 1882, signed at Therapia, in which its signatories, England being one of them, agreed not to seek any territorial advantage or the concession of any exclusive privilege in Egypt, and in violation of the principle of the Ottoman Suzerainty, as well as the moral obligation of treaties, conventions, and similar instruments. The agreement of January 19, 1899, speaks of the claims which "have accrued to Her Majesty's Government by right of conquest, to share in the present settlement and future working and development of the system of administration and legislation." But in point of fact the Soudan was never ceded to the Mahdi, who was always considered in the light of an insurgent. In reality there was, therefore, no reconquest of the Soudan; but merely a belated suppression of rebellion. Egypt never surrendered her claim, because she never had the right to do so. The Firman of 1892 which gave the investiture to the present Khedive denies to H.H. the right of surrendering or alienating the privileges accorded to Egypt or any portion of territory. This Firman was, moreover, recognised and accepted by the British Government and the Great Powers. M. Freycinet, Ex-Premier of France, writes in his book "*La Question d'Egypt*": "Now as neither the Sultan nor any European Power has adhered to the Act of January 19, 1899, England's position in the Soudan is illegal. France, occupied in settling the Fashoda Affair, has not protested; the other Powers, for their particular reasons, have not protested. But their silence has not created a *right*, and at any moment the difficulty may arise."

The instruments sanctioning the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Soudan is, therefore, legally nul and void. That this is so was virtually recognised by Lord Cromer himself, who admitted it in his Report on Egypt for the year 1900, p. 4, in which he says, "I observe in the remarks of the Legislative Council on the estimates for the current year that it is stated that the Council approves of the proposed expenditure on the Soudan, as they consider that the country forms an integral part of Egypt. That view is substantially correct." In another place in the same report Lord Cromer says, "It (the Soudan Agreement) was not framed with any wish or intention to curtail the legitimate rights of Egypt." And in his speech at the Guildhall, in 1907, he fully confessed the illegality of the Soudan Convention in speaking of it as a "hybrid" agreement. Yet England is straining every nerve with a view to effecting the complete separation of the Soudan from Egypt. The question of interest on the Soudan debt to Egypt and the construction of

the Nile Red Sea Railways and Port Soudan, as well as the negligence of the Halfa Railway, are some of the methods followed for this dangerous end. We lastly accuse the English policy in Egypt with playing off the Khedive against his people and vice versa. Such policy is unwise in the highest degree and bound to fail. It will burn into the minds of the Egyptian people harsh memories which even time may be powerless to efface. You may allow me to ask again, did the English, after all, improve the Egyptian administration and the economic condition of the Fellahen? Did they lighten their financial burdens? The administration of the country is as defective as ever, and the Fellahen are sinking deeper and deeper in debt, and a very large proportion of those who are still land-owners must soon sell their lands to satisfy the claims of their creditors; 16,000 expropriations were made this year by one bank only. This very clearly shows that the English have not only failed in bringing about the political reforms, as was confessed by them, but have also failed in introducing economic reforms, as the Fellah is still in the profoundest depths of poverty. That there has been an increase in population and in total trade during the British Occupation is not disputed; what is disputed is that there is causal sequence between the two. The past history of Egypt shows that it had been increasing in wealth and resources during the whole century from Mohammed Ali downwards. The cultivable area of land had been increased between 1813 and 1880 from 290,470 to 4,709,006 acres. The irrigation canals had been made, the Nile Barrage constructed—all previous to the Occupation.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

This compels me to ask why are we now taxed to the extent of £150,000 for the army of occupation, which we do not want, whilst education is starved? It has conferred such blessings on the country as the demonstration of justice at Denshawai. It is in our country without any moral title. It has been productive of no social good during its stay in Egypt. It has not increased our happiness, whilst it has decreased our annual resources by £150,000. Different grounds were given on different occasions for the maintenance of the army of occupation in Egypt:

(1) It is said that it is for restoring Tewfik Pasha's authority.

His Highness's authority was already restored and the English were the first to usurp it after the Arabist revolution.

(2) It is said that it is for supporting the execution of the reforms.

The answer is that it is now more than a quarter of a century since they were given a free hand in the administration of our country, during which they upset everything to suit their wishes; and yet nothing has been done up to the present to justify such a plea as I have just shown you.

(3) It is said it is for correcting native misrule and putting down anarchy. The answer is: First, that it is no business of England to put down anarchy in Egypt any more than in Paris or Mexico, specially as its interference is not invited by any section of the population. Secondly, there is horrible misrule in South America, in West Africa, in Poland, in Russia. Why don't they go to these countries to right their wrongs?

(4) It is, moreover, said that it is for restraining the reactionary movement within reasonable limits. The answer is that there is no such movement in Egypt. Every Egyptian is now thirsting and clamouring for reform and is prevented from attaining this lofty object by the presence of the Occupation of our country.

(5) They say that it was for protecting Egypt against the Soudan. The answer is that the Soudan is now restored to Egypt after she had been coerced by England to abandon it. What remains now is to protect Egypt itself and its integral part, the Soudan, against England.

(6) They say that it was intended for preventing a racial and religious conflict from occurring in Egypt. The answer is that such excuses are now known to be the most absurd. A racial and religious conflict is a virtual impossibility. No country, I am prepared to say, is more tolerant than Egypt.

(7) It is said that it is for the protection of the Suez Canal. The answer is that all nations are interested in the canal, and it could not be trusted in a European war.

(8) It is said that it is intended for the safety of India. The answer is that the relations between England and India mainly depend on the Indians themselves, and the establishment of the Russian supremacy on the Bosphorus has now become utterly impossible after the institution of the Turkish constitutional régime and the erection of political barriers between Turkey and Russia. Besides, the command of the canal in war time does not require the occupation of Egypt, as the first naval Power in the Mediterranean Sea can only control it by its fleet.

(9) It is said that it is for the protection of the interests of the foreign colony in Egypt. The answer is that the interests of the foreign colony in our country would still be protected in their persons by the capitulations and in their property by the mixed tribunals.

(10) It is said that it is intended for the sake of civilisation. The answer is that England might do better by civilising other countries. She has enough to do in infusing civilisation into India, where famine carries people off by tens of thousands and men are thrown into prison without trial; in Ireland, where emigration is depleting the population in numbers and virility at an alarming rate; and in South Africa, where British Colonial Governments treat Zulus and other natives with scandalous injustice.

(11) It is said that it is for the sake of the financial interests and the debts. The answer is that there is hardly a civilised country that has not at some time or other failed to pay the interest on its debt. Spain has for many years been in default, and her debt is largely held by Englishmen. No one has ever dreamt that the British Government should occupy Spain to satisfy the claims of English bondholders. Besides, Egypt is now more than solvent and can pay off its debt easily.

(12) They say that it was for fear of the insecurity of the reform movement in Egypt, because the Nationalists meant to revive the Turkish influence, which is against reform. But Turkey now is to Egypt the pattern of the new reform movement which is stirring the East. If the Nationalist movement in Turkey deserves the sympathy of England, the presumption is that the Egyptian movement deserves it too.

Of course such grounds can neither satisfy European countries interested in Egypt, nor the people of England in crushing down our national movement by force of arms, as was the case in 1882.

OUR DEMANDS.

I do not think that we shall be crying for the moon when we ask for evacuation, as I can affirm that however beneficial a foreign rule may be, no people in whom manhood has not been extinguished will ever willingly consent to submit to it though it may be wreathed with jewels. Surely we shall not be crying for the moon when we ask for a constitutional régime in Egypt. We demand that the negotiations which were broken in 1887 between Turkey and England should be reopened, or a conference on the lines of Algéciras may be invited to consider the Egyptian question and regularise England's position in the Soudan, in which all the Powers have commercial interests which we urge them not to leave in the hands of the British authorities. All we ask is that our country should take her rightful place among the nations.

THE REVIEWS.

CALVINISM AND CAPITALISM.

The Rev. P. T. Forsyth, D.D., writes on the above in the current "Contemporary Review." He says:—

The Reformation of the sixteenth century was not the first attempt of the kind in the history of the Church. It was but the last of a series. From time to time the Church's instinct to self-preservation drove it to react against a secularity caught from the methods of empire. The spiritual autonomy of the Church was bound to assert itself by repelling the secular corruption of its ethical domain. So from age to age movements of reform arose within its pale to recall it from curialism and imperialism to its true work and word. From the Benedictine movement associated with Cligny in the tenth century, the Franciscan movement, the Dominican, and from such names as Savonarola (so nearly canonised by his Church at a later date), we see how inevitable, how persistent, how valuable these efforts at reform were.

. . . . But what Luther brought was a new conception of Christianity itself, a new order of faith and ethic. This version of faith may be true or false, but the Roman Church rightly regards it as another religion. It was impossible, therefore, that things should rest at mere reform. By its conception of religion the movement was bound to go to schism. Luther did not mean it. He might declare that his was but the old Christianity of the New Testament rediscovered. But none the less it could not live in the same house with what Catholicism had come to be.

The compass of this change was immense. All religious and moral values were re-assessed. . . . It was certainly a change whose full scope was hidden from its promoters. They were led on, and the whole movement has been led on, step by step, by a principle which was so far from being measured by Luther that it has not been measured by his adherents now. And its deep consequences may not be worked out for a period nearly as long as separates us from its origin. What Luther brought was only

to a limited extent a revision of doctrine. As a new conception of religion it was really a new ideal of life. It is there, in their ideals of life, that Protestantism and Catholicism differ most. The question is more vital than a merely theological issue. With the Reformation fell the despotic type of Church and the monastic idea of life, the idea of two grades of religion, two distinct orders of men, two degrees of religious requirement (precepts and counsels), and the superiority of the contemplative life. The supremely Christian man was declared to be, not the man of meditation and self-mortification, but the man of moral action radiating from the moral act of faith at the new centre of life.

Man's mastery of the world was man taking possession of his own as its rational head and native lord, and not as an external invader. Family and business were divine because entered on by men of living faith. Merit belonged to work inside the world's duties, products and relationships and not outside. . . . Consequently the new faith became a vast new *social* power. . . .

The change implied that there was a new divine value, and a new treatment, for all the great social ideas like property, labour, wealth, poverty, the State and civil society. Work, which was in the Middle Ages a necessary evil, a consequence of the Fall, became now a divine service. Labour began to be emancipated. It was not only adjustable to Christian ethics, but demanded, promoted and sanctified by it. Contemplation was no longer divine except as a form of faith, work, and human service. Men were made for work as birds for flying. . . . Property, in the Middle Ages, was regarded as due to the Fall, and therefore tainted. But that was changed when property was regarded as a blessing on work, and the effect upon industry was immense, especially on the towns as the centres of industry. Labour received a fresh inspiration. A huge impulse was given to those economic forces which, from other sources (like the discovery of America, and the infusion of its wealth), had begun to burst the traditionalism of methods based on consumption alone. The age of the capitalist began to dawn; but as yet it was the non-egoistic capitalist—the capitalist with a vocation to master the world as God's steward, and develop its resources as a man now made a freeman in God's economy of the world. The old idea of world-renunciation for God was replaced by that of world-mastery for God, and the religious embargo laid upon industry by a religion that despised the world was removed. . . . The capitalist might now escape from the divided mind with which he had once pursued commerce and ignored the Church's restrictions (against interest, for example), or compromised with them. Commerce entered on its new place in the scale of nobility when active life became the arena of true faith. And economic development was delivered from the control of the clergy, and from mediæval proscription of interest.

. . . . Even a scientific historian like Döllinger maintained, from the view-point of his Church, that the Reformation has ,

through Liberalism, produced Socialism, Pauperism, Mammonism, the robbery and exploiting of poor by rich, and the regard for money more than men—all in the absence of a powerful Church to take the human cause under its wing. From the other side the Socialists denounce the Reformation as the pronouncement of private property. . . .

It must also be pointed out that the economic, and even ethical, reconstruction of society was no more planned by the first reformers than the reformation of the Church itself. They had no programmes ; ethical, social, or humanitarian. . . .

Luther's ethical idea was in his doctrine of vocation. But in his hands it was only half released from the mediaeval form. With all its new sanctity it had still retained in preponderance the idea of acquiescence. Your first duty is to submit yourself to the providential circumstances in which you found yourself, especially to the Government. It was to cultivate the Christian faith and temper in all situations, however hard or adverse. But the Calvinistic conception of vocation had a sterner note. Accept the civil situation, said Luther, and may God mend all. Nay, said Calvin, but we must help Him to mend all. In Calvinism the doctrine of predestination moved forward to a place it never assumed on the Lutheran side, though it was held by both. It absorbed the ideas and effects of forgiveness, redemption and sanctification. It gave all these a new complexion. It presented life not as a sphere of pious comfort or a series of evangelical experiences, but as a moral unity leading to the life beyond, showing forth the glory and honour of God, mastering the world at His call for His cause, and operated by the energy of the electing grace within. This active perseverance in grace became a far more important matter than religious impressions or experiences. . . . Life's work then becomes not a poor, broken fragment, but the vigorous and confident expression of an elect destiny, the victorious achievement of an absolute, divine behest. Our vocation is not an acquiescence, but a conquest. . . . In this respect the Calvinists were the Jesuits of Protestantism, in ideal but not in methods.

Work, therefore, assumed a different aspect in the Calvinistic communities from that which it held in the Lutheran. It was not simply a part of our service of God, a part of worship, of the Church's exhibiting, confessing faith ; it was a part of the Church's missionary faith, of its aggressive faith, a means of subduing the world to the purpose of God and making it palpably serve Him and His glory. It was not merely doing your duty in your station. It was fulfilling a mission, wrestling with a practical task, overcoming the world's intractability to the uses of grace, whether that world were the resources of nature or the energies of society.

If you are sure, in predestination, of your destiny and your eternity you can exploit the world with immense freedom and

confidence. It is the ethical part of your religious duty, of your response to elect grace. And you can even do it in the natural way of personal gain, without succumbing to an inordinate affection for your gain. . . . You have a central security, which leaves your mind very limber and clear for the opportunities of life. You can see and seize your chances; you can utilise junctures and resources; you can make natural methods yield far more under this ethical inspiration than they would naturally give. . . . The Calvinistic ethic was more economic than Luther's, less oppidan and more civic, less homely and more cosmopolite, less provincial, more imperial (and, therefore, more missionary). It had the true public note, the world note, the note of affairs and distinction. . . . If this note had not been so foreign to Lutheranism the whole history of Germany and of Europe would have been altered. Here we can trace the moral springs, both of a Free Church in a free democracy and of the free capitalism and free commerce which exploit nature for man's sake because for God's. We have the spiritual and ethical explanation of the progress of Calvinistic countries, both in trade and politics, and of the slowness and subjection of the Lutheran in proportion as they remained Lutheran. In Lutheranism the mediæval ethic was but half outgrown. And the growth of Germany is due to other than Lutheran influences.

Moreover, there was in Calvinism and its predestination another feature which gave a divine value and intensity to work. When it was a question: "How am I to know that I am of the elect?" Calvinism placed little value upon the subjective assurance, the strong feeling or conviction that it was so. It demanded the presence of good works, not, indeed, as a means of salvation, but as an evidence of saving faith, and not as a sign which faith hangs out but as a fruit it produces. . . . Slackness, laziness, unfaithfulness, became a badge of perdition rather than its source. And any disposition to presume on election and rest on the oars received a sharp check.

The interest of Calvinism in the social order was always more direct and creative than was the case in Lutheranism. While in Germany the sequel of the Reformation was, on the one hand, the peasant wars, and, on the other, the enhanced despotism of the sovereign, in Calvinism the public results were Geneva, Holland, the English Commonwealth and the American and British Constitutionalism. A like result in France was only prevented by the too efficient means of the Bartholomew massacre, which swept French Puritanism away, or, in the result, drove it to other lands. The peasant war in Germany was a wild reaction against the harsh growth of the State and of capital by men saturated with humaner views, mediæval and Catholic, about property or society. To avoid a revolutionary catastrophe to social order Luther made terms with the State, and so fastened the ruler on the neck of the Church to this day. It is not rationalism that is the bane of German

Christianity (as the popular notion goes), it is absolutism; it is the State. But Calvin made terms with capital as the new power. And so he acquired the future.

It may seem strange to some to connect the spirit of capitalism with the spirit of Protestant Asceticism, even if they got over the shock of associating Protestantism with Asceticism at all. But we need only remember, first, the part played in the history of commerce by the lands that adopted that faith, together with the economic condition of those lands to-day; and, second, the lead taken in the business of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by members of religious bodies like the Independents, Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians and Methodists. . . .

A mistake we constantly make is to identify the genius of capitalism with the tastes of the capitalists as they are popularly known. We lose sight of the ascetic spirit of those who made capitalism a historic power, because it is lost in the hedonism of those who have received it as a legacy.



DRUNKEN PARENTS AND THEIR CHILDREN.

A report on the children of alcoholic parents has been prepared by Miss Ethel Elderton, Galton scholar, with the assistance of Professor Karl Pearson, in which it is stated that it has long been accepted among teetotalers that the children of drunkards are likely to be degenerate and the inheritors of physical and intellectual defects, but now come Professors Elderton and Pearson and tell us they have been compelled to arrive at the conclusion that the children of alcoholic parents enter upon life under no inherent disadvantages.

This is after investigating the cases of 3,000 children in Edinburgh and in Manchester, half of whom were the offspring of a drunken parent or parents. It was found that these were in no way inferior to the children of the teetotal or the sober.

The general conclusions arrived at are stated in the following terms:—

There is a higher death-rate among the offspring of alcoholic than among the offspring of sober parents. This appears to be more marked in the case of the mother than in the case of the father, and, since it is sensibly higher in the case of the mother who has drinking bouts than in that of the mother who habitually drinks, it would appear to be due very considerably to accidents and gross carelessness and possibly, in a minor degree, to a toxic effect on the offspring. Owing to the greater fertility of alcoholic parents,

the net family of the sober is hardly larger than the net family of the alcoholic.

The mean weight and height of the children of alcoholic parents are slightly greater than those of sober parents, but as the age of the former children is slightly greater, the correlations when corrected for age are slightly positive—i.e., there is slightly greater height and weight in the children of the sober. In the case of the father the correlations are not significant, having regard to their probable error; in the case of the mother they may be just significant, but they are so slight as to have no importance. They may well be due to racial difference, as to a sprinkling of Irish, or short Celts, among the extreme drinkers.

The wages of the alcoholic as contrasted with those of the sober parent show a slight difference compatible with the employers' dislike for an alcoholic employee, but wholly inconsistent with a marked mental or physical inferiority in the alcoholic parent.

The general health of the children of alcoholic parents appears on the whole slightly better than that of (the children of) sober parents. There are fewer delicate children, and in a most marked way cases of tuberculosis and epilepsy are less frequent than among the children of sober parents. The source of this relation may be sought in two directions; the physically strongest in the community have probably the greatest capacity and taste for alcohol. Further, the higher death-rate of the children of alcoholic parents leaves the fitter to survive. Epilepsy and tuberculosis both depending upon inherited constitutional conditions, they will be more common in the parents of affected offspring, and probably, if combined with alcohol, are incompatible with any length of life or much size of family. If these views be correct, we can only say that parental alcoholism has no marked effect on filial health.

Parental alcoholism is not the source of mental defect in offspring.

The relationship, if any, between parental alcoholism and filial intelligence is so slight that even its sign cannot be determined from the present material.

The frequency of diseases of the eye and eyelids, which might well be attributed to parental neglect, was found to have little, if any, relation to parental alcoholism.

To sum up, no marked relation has been found between the intelligence, physique, or disease of the offspring and parental alcoholism in any of the categories investigated. On the whole, the balance turns as often in favour of the alcoholic as of the non-alcoholic parentage. The authors do not attribute this to the alcohol, but to certain physical and possibly mental characters which appear to be associated with the tendency to alcohol. Other categories when investigated may give a different result; but the experience of the authors with regard to the influence of environment has now been so considerable that they hardly believe large correlations are likely to occur.

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SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND LADIES' SUFFRAGE.

By H. QUELCH.

The formulation of the demands of the Suffragettes in a Bill introduced on June 14 last by Mr. David Shackleton, and for which the Government have promised the opportunity for a second reading before the end of the present Session, affords occasion for a restatement of the Social-Democratic position on this question.

Let me say at the outset that I entirely accept, endorse, and support the whole programme of the Social-Democratic Party, including "the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes," and have always, consistently and persistently, advocated Adult Suffrage—a vote for every man and woman—on every possible occasion.

It is necessary to say this because, having actively opposed the unjust proposals of the Suffragettes, to create another privileged class of voters, I have been misrepresented by them as being opposed to the extension of the suffrage to women altogether.

So far from that being the case, I have always held it to be a fundamental principle of democracy that every man and woman who is subject to the law should have an equal voice in making the law. But that does not make me any the more favourably inclined towards a measure which will give votes to some women, and those the most advantageously situated and the most privileged of their sex, while leaving the majority of women unenfranchised. On the contrary, it only makes me more hostile to any such proposal; which, to my view, is distinctly anti-democratic and reactionary. I believe that every woman should have a vote; but if any discrimination is to be made, it should be in favour of the women who have neither privilege nor property; not *against* them, and in favour of those who have both.

As a case in point; some time ago there was a proposal to enfranchise Peers. I was astounded when a well-known leader of the Labour Party announced his intention of voting for it; on the ground that, as he was in favour of Adult Suffrage, any measure which gave votes to any section of the community at present outside the suffrage should have his support. It seemed to me, on the contrary, that it was his duty to vigorously oppose any further extension of the power of politically privileged peers, until the franchise was extended to every workman, entirely independent of any property qualification, and on the basis of simple citizenship.

This attitude has been described as that of the dog-in-the-manger; as that of one who, because he cannot get *all* he wants, will not take the part which is offered. It seems to me, on the contrary, the position of one who, being refused the food he asks for, declines to swallow the poison which is offered him in lieu thereof. When at the Labour Party Conference at Hull I successfully opposed the "Limited" Suffrage proposal, and carried an Adult Suffrage amendment against it, Mr. Victor Grayson suggested that I was like a hungry man who, because he couldn't get a six-

course dinner, refused a crust of bread and cheese. My answer to that was, and is, that the proposal is to give the bread and cheese to the person who already has the six-course dinner.

In the January number of the "Social-Democrat" Mr. H. L. Woods argued that woman suffrage is not a sex question. But the Suffragettes base their demand entirely on the ground of sex. They contend that, possessing every qualification—especially that of property—which should entitle them to the franchise, they are debarred solely and exclusively on account of their sex. By raising this issue they at once provoke the question whether, as a sex, women suffer from organic disabilities, or enjoy privileges which properly debar them from the exercise of the Parliamentary franchise. This at once raises the whole question of sex differentiation; which is not social—and, therefore, superficial and conditional—as is class differentiation; but is physiological, fundamental, and ineradicable.

I think the case for women's suffrage rests on much stronger ground than this very debatable one of sex-equality; that of personal responsibility. Whatever may be the differences—inferiority or superiority—between men and women, there is the personal responsibility of the woman as well as of the man before the law, which should entitle the one to political equality with the other.

To me, therefore, as a Social-Democrat, any question of the extension of the franchise must be regarded from the point of view, not of sex, but of class. Every vote given to the plutocratic or aristocratic class is a vote taken from the working-class. Every vote given to a plutocrat—male or female—or to a peer or peeress, cancels the vote of some proletarian and increases the political power of the bourgeoisie exactly to the extent that it diminishes that of the proletariat.

I have been accused in this connection of "letting class-prejudice blind my eyes to justice." I should hope that is not the case. But it must be borne in mind

that we, as Social-Democrats, are engaged in a class struggle, the object of which is the realisation of justice for those who, to-day, are suffering from class injustice, and struggling against class privilege. Is it any part of our duty to strengthen the forces arrayed against us, and to put arms in their hands? Should we not rather strive to keep them disarmed, at least until we have secured arms for the disinherited class?

The "great divide" in society, the social cleavage, the social antagonism, is not between men and women, but between classes; it is not sexual, not physiological, but economic. It is not a sex rivalry, but an antagonism of class interests. The interests which middle and upper class women are concerned to serve by political action are not those of working-class women, but those of the men of their own class. The interests of working-class women are those of their own fathers, brothers, husbands; not those of the plutocratic and aristocratic women, who exploit them.

In the economic struggle the women of the working class have to suffer side by side with the men of the working class. In a strike or lock-out the women are frequently the worst sufferers. How idle, then, to pretend that they can have any political solidarity with the women of the class against whom, in the strike or lock-out, their men are fighting!

On the other hand, the interests of the women of the master class are identical with those of the men of that class. Their social privileges; their luxuries; their fine dresses; their magnificent equipages; their stately homes; their sumptuous surroundings; their jewels and ornaments; the silks and satins, the purple and fine linen in which they clothe themselves, are all purchased out of the surplus value screwed out of the unpaid labour of the working class—men and women. In a strike or lock-out, therefore, their interests lie in defeating the workers, and it is idle to suppose that they would use their votes against their own class, any more than they now use the immense wealth and influence they already possess against that class.

I do not deny that there are some women of the bourgeoisie—just as there are some men—who sincerely desire the well-being, and even the emancipation of the working class. But these are the exceptions which prove the rule. There are, without a doubt, some of such women in the Suffragette movement. That fact, however, does not alter the character of that movement, and these women are doing an infinity of injury to the cause they sincerely desire to serve. The Suffragette movement, as a whole, is anti-proletarian, anti-Socialist and anti-democratic. It would be like looking for grapes from thorns and figs from thistles to suppose it to be any other. We hear of one woman with an income of eight thousand a year devoting four thousand each year to this Suffragette agitation. Is it reasonable to suppose she would do that if she supposed it was in the interest of the “lower orders,” the working class? At a recent meeting the sum of £5,000 was collected, including single sums of £1,000. A little while ago I attended quite a small Suffragette meeting at which £600 was collected. Can anybody recall any Socialist meeting—or any other held to directly promote the interests of the working-class—where anything like these sums have been subscribed? Certainly not. It should be only necessary to call attention to these facts in order to show the essentially bourgeois character of the whole movement.

But, I am reminded, quite a number of working-class women of all grades are taking part in this agitation, and were represented in the great demonstration on June 18. That is quite true; more's the pity; and more shame to those who are thus exploiting and making cats-paws of them. I have seen nothing more pathetic than this demonstration of misplaced confidence on the part of working women, unless it has been the sight of working men tramping to vote for their Liberal or Tory masters, or other working men going, with downcast faces, to blackleg their fellows in a strike. The working women who are supporting this agitation are being as cruelly and wickedly im-

posed upon as were the working men who fought for the bourgeois Reform Bill of 1832.

There are two points of view from which franchise reform may be regarded—one the static, or conservative; the other the dynamic, or revolutionary. The first regards society as finished and stable; consisting of various classes, each of which has a right to representation in legislative and administrative bodies merely by virtue of the fact that it *is* a constituent part of existing society. From the other point of view, the suffrage is not merely a question of the representation of all existing classes, but is, and primarily, a weapon in the struggle—to be used by one class for, by the other against, its social and economic emancipation. This latter is the Social-Democratic standpoint. With us the Parliamentary franchise is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end. From that standpoint the Suffragette movement cannot be supported, because it means strengthening the forces against us. But neither can that movement be supported from the other standpoint, which regards adequate representation of all classes in a static society as a mere measure of justice. The “Limited” Bill would only increase the privileges of the privileged, and therefore stands condemned even from that, the most conservative standpoint. It is neither an instrument for progress, nor a measure of abstract justice; it would only intensify existing inequalities.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST IN POLITICS.

By J. ADDISON.

The article in last month's "Social-Democrat" on "Palliatives, Politics, and the Socialist Vote," by F. M. Boyd, in which he seeks to lead the movement in pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp, "political expediency," which has landed the Labour Party in the morass of indecision, doubt and inefficiency, should be carefully considered by Socialists from all points of view. Let alone the confusion it would cause in the minds of those who have little or no knowledge of the scientific side of the subject, by the perpetual change of front in the party to secure the mythical balance of power, and making its aim more a game of chance than a propagation of definite principles, there are the lessons of history with all the failures and absorptions of working class movements—inclusive of the present Labour Party—in the larger and more influential political parties to guide us against such a fatuous course of action.

The Socialist movement stands or falls by the searchlight of scientific truth being thrown upon it. To-day it stands in greater danger of destruction than it ever did before, by reason of the invertebrated doctrine of spiritualising the movement, and the clamour of certain sections for a revision of the fundamental principles laid down by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. It may, or may not be, that the system laid down by these authorities is infallible, but until science has proved it otherwise we ought to be chary in adopting political methods that, *prima facie*, abandon all these principles for a quasi political success. Better to be "in the right with two or three," and continue to be so, than

waste our energies in blowing up a big bubble that will only burst and cause defection and dismay amongst the blowers. By following, as the S.D.P. is doing, a straight course in politics, there is no fear of any explosion, by artificial means, carrying away the foundations of our party.

Chas. Darwin has said: "Let it also be borne in mind how infinitely simple and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all organic beings to each other and to the physical conditions of life; and, consequently, what infinitely varied diversities of structure might be of use to each being under changing conditions of life. Can it, then, be thought improbable, seeing that variation useful to man has undoubtedly occurred, that other variations useful in some way to each being in the great and complex battle of life should occur in the course of many successive generations? If such do occur, can we doubt (remembering that many more individuals are born than can possibly survive) that individuals having any advantage, however slight, over others, would have the best chance of surviving and procreating their kind? On the other hand, we may feel sure that any variation in the least degree injurious would be rigidly destroyed. This preservation of favourable individual differences and variations, and the distinction of those which are injurious, I have called Natural Selection, or the Survival of the Fittest."

The great discovery with which the name of Darwin is associated has revolutionised human thought, and is changing rapidly the current of conviction towards, not only the higher forms of individual development, but social development also. The mind is charmed (notwithstanding the savagery depicted) with the unfolding of Nature's law in the struggle for existence amongst plant, insect and animal life, contending in fierce combat for their place in Nature, owing to their geometrical rate of increase and the limits of subsistence. It sees in the infinite diversity of structure and habits of the organic beings related to each other, and variations that are keenly tested in the struggle for

self-preservation, and which are either useful and advantageous to them or otherwise, *making* them the victors or vanquished in the fierce struggle, the tendency to produce offspring equipped with the best characteristics, and so secure the survival of the fittest of the species. The subject is fascinating, and inclines one to linger over it; but as I desire to touch on its relation to politics, I must leave that phase of it and deal with the subject in its more amplified form of social evolution.

The organic evolution of the vegetable and animal kingdom through the survival of the fittest has been used as a strong argument against Socialism by Haeckel and other scientists, and, as usual, the unthinking, but self-interested objectors, who believe that any stick is good enough to beat the Socialist dog with, have repeated it with parrot-like precision. They say—or rather Haeckel and others say for them—that the struggle for existence secures the survival of the best, the victory of the fittest, and there consequently follows an aristocratic gradation of selected individuals instead of the democratic collectivist levelling of Socialism. There is here contained the assumption of the finality of human progress; that social development cannot exceed the anarchic struggle that goes on amongst the lower forms of life: that reason is subordinate to brute instinct; and that the law of evolution does not apply to social reorganisation. The law of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest has been going on since the crust of the earth first contained the simple cell, the first beginnings of life, and has continued and will continue as long as the earth exists. The forms best adapted to exist at one period of the world's existence are only found traces of now in geological research. In fact, the progress of the species in the “flora and fauna” of past ages are found in the silent testimony of the rocks, and teach us in their object-lessons the true course of the evolution of organic life. Who can say how many of the species that survive at the present

time may exist in the future? Edward Clodd, in his "Story of Creation," says: "If the theory of evolution be not universal, the germs of decay are in it." But we *do* know that the theory of evolution is universal. It reaches out to the whole ramifications of life; touching not only its physical basis right upward to the perfect human organism, but also the development of association of individuals, their institutions, ideas and consciousness.

Professor Huxley has said:—

"Society, like art, is a part of nature. But it is convenient to distinguish those parts of nature in which man plays the part of immediate cause as something apart; and therefore society, like art, is usefully to be considered as distinct from nature. It is the more desirable, and even necessary, to make this distinction since society differs from nature in having a definite moral object; whence it comes about that the course shaped by the ethical man—the member of society or citizen—necessarily runs counter to that which the non-ethical man—the primitive savage, or man as a mere member of the animal kingdom—tends to adopt. The latter fights out the struggle for existence to the bitter end, like any other animal; the former devotes his best energies to the object of setting limits to the struggle."

He goes on further to say:—

"The history of civilisation—that is, of society—is the record of the attempts which the human race has made to escape from this position (i.e., the struggle for existence, in which those who were best fitted to cope with their circumstances, but not the best in any other sense, survived). The first men who substituted the state of mutual peace for that of mutual war, whatever the motive which compelled them to take that step, created society. But in establishing peace they obviously put a limit upon the struggle for existence. Between the members of that society, at any rate, it was not to be pursued *à outrance*. Of all the successive shapes which society has taken, that most

nearly approaches perfection in which the war of individual against individual is most strictly limited."

Enrico Ferri, in his "Socialism and Positive Science," says :—

"The theory of universal evolution has excluded all finality from modern scientific thought, and from the interpretation of natural phenomena ; evolution consists both of involution and dissolution. It can happen, and does happen, that in comparing the two ends of the road travelled over by humanity we state that there has really been progress, amelioration on the whole, not following a straight ascending line, however, but, as Goethe has said, a spiral with rhythms of advance and retrogression, of involution and dissolution."

The law of social evolution, forced on by the struggle for existence, is a fact no one seriously disputes ; in fact, it is mainly upon the latter that those who benefit by existing conditions justify the continuance of a system that, to their vitiated minds, conforms to nature. But evolutionary law is not moulded in rigid form. It appears in nature in a collective form of struggle as well as the struggle of the individual. The various colonies of insects and animals, such as ants, bees, wasps and beavers, discover to us a process that the human species could well imitate—I mean in a collective capacity—to rid themselves of a parasitic class that battens on their productive labour.

That a consciousness of this necessity is slowly dawning on the minds of those best fitted to survive in a sane society is clearly evident by the growth of modern scientific Socialism. The evolution of the idea of socialistic principles is traced through the ages, through economic pressure, from the early Utopian writers onward, and it is to Karl Marx we are indebted for the co-ordination of aspirations put forward from purely humane feelings to that of a science. At the same time as Darwin's "Origin of Species" appeared there burst upon an astonished people "A Criticism of Political Economy," from the pen of Marx, a forerunner to his great work, "Das Capital." It has been

said that what Darwin achieved for biology Marx achieved for economics. But by the co-relation of the Darwinian theory of evolution to the evolution of society, by tracing the economic force at work throughout the ages since society broke away from primitive Communism, in his "Materialistic Conception of History" we have before us the whole causes and solution of the problem that has affected the generations of "bottom dogs" that have languished through slavery, serfdom and wagedom. The theory of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest has been raised to a higher plane, and instead of the struggle of individuals under a condition of savagery or barbarism, we are compelled, through the same economic force that beset our savage ancestors, viz., the gaining of subsistence and the procreation of our race, to wage the fight in a political class struggle, having become conscious of the fact that individual appropriation with social production and the private ownership of land and the means of production is the vital point of the question of poverty for the many.

Ferri says: "The method of the 'class struggle' setting out from this positive datum, that each class tends to preserve and increase the advantages and privileges acquired, teaches the class deprived of economic power that in order to conquer it the struggle must be a struggle of class against class, and not of person against person."

The full force of the soundness of this position is demonstrated by the action of representatives of both the orthodox political parties in their attitude to measures calculated to benefit the working class, such as, for instance, the Miners' Eight Hours Day. We then see identity of economic interests prevailing over the artificially antagonistic attitude of parties to each other, and a perfect homogeneity existing between them to defeat a measure that may somewhat threaten their economic welfare.

If it be true that the theory of the survival of the fittest in nature is antagonistic to Socialism, and that

the most fitted to survive are those that procreate the most, there is a seeming paradox in nature when applied to social conditions. We find in nature that individuals most procreative have the best chance of preserving the type in conflict with others, and securing the most favourable basis of life. In the social order the reverse obtains. The types possessing the greatest economic power over their fellows rot and die through luxury, debauchery and ease, while the workers increase their numbers freely. The reason for the non-extinction of the least fit is because of the creation of a force in society to repress any inclination on the part of the masses to put in operation against the classes the natural law that operates in the lower forms of life. This force is called political power. Through its agency the weakest class numerically has been able to keep the masses in subjection by using its privileges to secure the legal monopoly of the means of existence.

All readers of history understand that at the breaking up of the feudal system when Charles II. ascended the throne a compact was made between him and Parliament whereby the feudal lords holding the land in fief, on condition that they supplied the necessary forces to the Crown to repel invasion or fight the quarrels of the monarch abroad, by an Act which Simon de Montfort characterised as "fraud," converted themselves from landholders to landowners, and impudently gave in exchange for all their former liabilities for the upkeep of the Crown and the defence of the nation the income of a tax upon all malt liquors brewed for sale. This was a direct negation of the right of existence by natural law of those who at that time, and for a long while after, had no say in determining their own existence. Other Acts of an equally gross description were perpetrated upon an innocent and unoffending people, such as the Enclosure Acts, under which millions of acres of common land—the residue of a people's heritage—were callously appropriated, and the people driven from the natural source of life. We read of the clan system of Scotland, which

recognised the family ties that bound them together, where the humblest of its adherents could claim the right of existence and protection, in its process of breaking up to meet the requirements of the oncoming commercial age ; expatriating with force the men and women that had been its mainstay in the times of danger. The brutally callous Duchess of Sutherland was not an exception in clearing the land of men, women, and children to make way for sheep ; she was but typical of the age and the changing condition of things. The struggle for existence had but changed its form. No longer were men needed to raid or resist the raiders ; the powerful arm of the law, backed by a strong military force, had displaced the turbulent and daring spirits of a freedom-loving, nomadic race, and had set the limitation of their wanderings and confined their action in a precise groove. Industries followed the peaceful pursuits, and for economic reasons expatriation of the people followed when visions of profits, through the adaptation of the land for commercial purposes, loomed on the horizon of their mind. In the struggle they were best adapted to survive, as they held the political power as a class in their hands, They shaped, as well as they could, the destiny of an empire to preserve their kind against the destroying influence of seeing their fellow-creatures exist upon the soil, and so preventing them reaping the golden harvest of commercial pursuits. This species, type or class of human carnivora were euphemistically called "Tory." Tory, I learn, is an Irish word for a "bog-runner," and was originally applied to the Roman outlaws in Ireland, and then to Jacobites. I have seen it denoted in other places "cattle rievers," but in whichever term you care to apply it, I am certain that the originals from which the name was derived did not commit half so heinous a crime against the human race in the struggle to maintain their existence as did those land-grabbers who blackened the pages of Scottish history with their diabolical crimes.

(To be continued.)

FEEDING AND CLOTHING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

By GEO. M. HALE.

"State Maintenance of all attending State schools." Thus our programme, and signs are not wanting that we are surely, even if slowly, getting nearer to that desired state. It would be well for us if those of our members who are on School Boards in Scotland or engaged in educational work through the Councils in England set down from time to time their attempts and achievements. It would facilitate our work, and in many cases probably lead to such simultaneous action as would compel attention if it did not beget immediate success.

Having stated this, I do not think any excuse is needed for recording my own experiences on the Govan School Board since I was elected in March of last year. It may help others to evade many of the difficulties I have had to encounter.

Over two years ago the previous Board instituted a system of medical inspection; twelve doctors were appointed, part-time men, to examine and report on the children attending the 32 schools under the Board. Their report for the year ending June, 1908, is a most interesting, and, so far as the present social system is concerned, a damning statement. Let us take the first page:—

"IMPORTANCE OF HEIGHTS AND WEIGHTS.—This is one of the most important subjects in the medical inspection of schools.

"1. From its direct bearing on the physical condition of the children, of which it is a good general index.

" 2. From its forming a basis for future comparison with subsequent generations of children.

" 3. *From its indicating the close connection between environment and physical condition.* (The italics are mine.)

" For the purpose of showing the effect of environment (parental control, home life and surroundings) on the children the schools have been divided into three classes :—

" 1. BETTER.—The children attending these schools belong in the main to the families of professional, commercial, and other ' well-to-do ' classes, where hygienic environment is good and parental neglect zero.

" 2. MEDIUM.—There the children belong in the main to the upper artisan, retail shopkeeping and lower commercial classes.

" 3. LOWER.—Large working class and very poorest classes."

Tables and charts are given which might well be reproduced in our columns. It will suffice for the present to give the summary and conclusion as set down by the doctors on the comparison of the three classes with the standard of comparison as given in Dr. Leslie MacKenzie's book on " The Health of the School Child " :—

" SUMMARY.— . . . The averages of the schools as classified show that class 1, both for height and weight, is as good as MacKenzie's standard, or better. Class 2 is always below class 1 in height and weight, and class 3 markedly below both. The drop below standard of class 3 (boys) is remarkable, both in height and weight. In fact, boys of class 3, at ten years of age, are about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. lighter than boys a year younger in the same division."

The conclusion is given as follows: "(1) The general average of all the schools, both in height and weight, are below standard adopted. This is probably due to the low average in both these factors given by the third class, or poorest class schools. (2) For, when

the schools are classified, as has been done in this report, it is seen at a glance how consistently and how much lower class 3 is than classes 1 and 2."

Throughout the entire report it is evident that these medical men cannot close their eyes to the prevalent evils which are the direct outcome of the wage-slave system. As evidence of this here are a few extracts taken at random. "These schools are all situated in good surroundings, and are attended by better class children, *consequently* they are on the whole remarkably healthy, and diseases due to neglect, bad feeding, and dirt are practically absent." "These tables also bring out the effect of better environment and of better feeding on the physique of the child." "The whole subject deserves further investigation on an extended scale." "The lesson of these statistics is, I think, clear, viz., that the better housed, fed and tended child is better physically as regards weight, height and chest measurement than those not so fortunately situated."

There is no need for labouring the subject, and I will content myself with quoting the closing sentence of the report: "Many other points will suggest themselves, but enough has been written to show that systematic medical inspection of school children will result in nothing but good to the nation."

The question may be asked, however, what good can accrue as a result if the very Board which receives, considers and publishes a report such as this closes its eyes to the conclusions contained therein? The bad feeding causes physical degeneracy, and they in their triennial report admit that during the winter of 1908-9 examination proved the existence of 2,700 children in the schools suffering from underfeeding. Did they feed them? The establishment of a voluntary fund subscribed by members, teachers and others enabled the feeding of 1,000; 1,700 were left—unfed.

The advent of the new Board, however, marked a change. In the month of June it was remitted to a

sub-committee to meet and confer with the Poor Children's Dinner Table Society (hereinafter termed the P.C.D.T.) and ascertain what they purposed doing during the winter. This is laid down in the Act, which states that all charitable agencies must be used to the utmost before we can use the rates for purposes of feeding and clothing, and then only in necessitous cases. In cases where there seems to be parental neglect due to drunkenness and thriftlessness the Board can also supply the necessary boots, clothes or food, but must also prosecute the parent. The Board has no meetings during July and August. I was not a member of the sub-committee, but when I learned in September that the Labour man who was on the sub-committee had resigned his seat on the Board I immediately asked that I should be added to the committee. This was agreed to.

The business at the first meeting was to instruct the clerk to ask the P.C.D.T. to meet us. The committee was appointed in June for a specific purpose, and we met in September to tell the clerk to do it. That's business. At our next meeting we conferred with the Secretary of the P.C.D.T., who informed us that he did not think they would operate in the area covered by our Board; that in consequence of the new powers conferred on School Boards there was a falling off in the number of subscribers; that they were likely to begin eating into their invested funds; and that probably four months would see them at the end of their tether.

I was elated. Think what that would mean. With this damned charity out of the way the Board must move. But at our next meeting we received a letter from them in which they said they would open three soup kitchens and, after the usual inquiries, would feed :—

1. Children whose parents are unable by reason of ill-health to supply them with sufficient and proper food.

2. Children where the household income is less than 16s. per week. In special cases, such as where there are large families of school age, the limit may be raised to 18s.

3. Children whose parents the sheriff may hold to be unable by reason of poverty or ill-health to supply them with proper and sufficient food; and

4. *Temporarily*, children against whose parents a finding is made and a copy thereof transmitted to the Procurator Fiscal.

In the last case they stipulated that the Board should refund them 6d. per week per child.

The Board agreed to accept these conditions, but, recognising that they failed to meet the situation, it was further agreed that "cases of unfed children should be dealt with by the Board in terms of the Act as they arose; and that powers be given to the sub-committee to make arrangements for dealing with the situation as it developed." I felt satisfied with this, as the law does not permit of anything further being done. What was my surprise, however, to find on the morning of the next Board meeting that a letter had been sent to the various headmasters advising them of the conditions of the P.C.D.T., but saying nothing as to what we as a Board intended to do. On the contrary, the final sentence advised them to see to it that only the names of those who satisfied these conditions be submitted to the Board. At the meeting that night I challenged this letter, and protested that it was a deliberate attempt to frustrate us in our efforts. What was the result? I got absolutely no support and stood alone, notwithstanding the fact of a Labour man being seated on my immediate right.

It was then evident they had no intention of doing anything, so I sheered off on another tack, and at the next meeting, which happened to be a school attendance committee, moved "That this committee is of opinion that much of the falling-off in attendance recently is accounted for by reason of many parents

being unable to feed their children properly or supply them with the necessary clothing and footwear; and that we submit to the Board the absolute necessity for the Board's resolution re feeding being given effect to, and also the necessity for action being taken with regard to supplying boots and clothing in necessitous cases."

This, also, came to naught, so four days later at a meeting of the Medical Inspection Committee I tabled an innocent wee motion to the effect that we ask the headmasters to supply us with a list of those children who were in need of food and were not being dealt with by the P.C.D.T., and also that we be furnished with a list of those children who stood in immediate need of boots and clothing. In collecting matter in support of my motion I visited six schools, and found there had been 739 cases for feeding scheduled and 336 granted; 78 pairs of boots had been supplied from charitable sources, and 283 still required boots. Five of these schools had run soup kitchens last winter. This winter not one had done so. In one of the schools 165 pairs of boots were supplied last winter, while this winter only three pairs had been given; the argument used by the headmasters in each instance being that the Board has now got power to feed, boot and clothe those in need, and it is *their* duty to do so. They are heartily to be commended for having adopted that attitude. My motion was adopted, and as a result we received intimation of 696 cases for feeding not being dealt with by the P.C.D.T., 1,654 cases where clothing was required, and 2,207 cases in which it would be necessary to supply boots. This was a complete knock-out, and even more so when the clerk advised us that "the children reported by the teachers as requiring food, boots and clothing have been examined by the Medical Officer and in most cases the results of the examination confirm the observations of the teachers."

The P.C.D.T. got a spurt on, and in less than a week 50 per cent. more children were being fed. The

Charity Organisation Society intimated their inability through lack of funds to fulfil their intention of providing for those in need. Six men were appointed to investigate and report on each case, and it was agreed that 20—to be taken at random—should appear before us. The minute of that meeting contains an admission that “It was found the applications were chiefly due to temporary embarrassment caused by idleness during the past year. In one or two cases it was apparent that when good wages were being earned no provision had been made against times of slackness, but in no case was the condition of the children due, so far as could be ascertained, to neglect of a culpable sort.” The outcome has been that the P.C.D.T. have issued additional tickets in each of their three kitchens and have opened a fourth. I am waiting each day and making every inquiry likely to give added proof of charity’s inadequacy.

It has been agreed to supply boots, and the capitalist press became greatly agitated as a result. In a leading article the “Glasgow Herald” remarked that:—

“The decision of Govan School Board to call upon the rates for the cost of supplying boots to needy scholars is a sharp reminder to ratepayers of their new responsibilities under the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908, and will attract the attention of other School Boards similar and similarly situated.”

After detailing the circumstances of the position and the powers conferred by the new Act, it went on to say:—

“The Act recognises that voluntary agencies may step in to take charge of such matters as relate to the health of the children, and thereby relieve the rates of the charge for such things as food and clothing. It is just a question whether renewed efforts should not be made to develop the principle of the voluntary agency, and also whether an appeal should not be made to Boards whose constitution allows them to make grants

for food and clothing. In fact, one is reminded again of the need there is for a fresh survey of the educational endowments in the country with a view to consolidation, and very particularly for the purpose of finding out how far the operations of the various trusts can be harmonised and correlated with those of School Boards."

This, and others which could be quoted did space permit, proves the progress we are making. There is just one other phase I would mention, and that is the fact of several parish councils having denied their liability now to boot and clothe the children of those in receipt of Poor Law relief, and their assertion that, in view of the new Act and the powers contained therein, it is now the duty of School Boards to do so. There are those who contend that this ought to be contested because of the parish council having the necessary machinery for this work. My own opinion is that the parish authorities who are doing this are not cognisant of the significance of their action, but do it from vote-catching motives, to lower the parish council rates and throw on the School Boards the responsibility for increased rates.

It is preferable that the School Boards should be providers (1) in the light of our programme; (2) because such provision does not mean disfranchisement to the parents or guardians of the recipients; and (3) because it should be possible for us to obtain additional Government grants in aid of the additional powers conferred on us.

We can now equip kitchens and depôts for the preparation of food for all school children; we can supply food, boots and clothing in necessitous cases; we can supply books, etc., free of cost to the children in all our schools; we can maintain and educate cripple, epileptic and mentally defective children. Mr. Lloyd George promised that a portion of the money to be raised from the Land Taxes would be handed over to local authorities for local purposes. At

my instance the Govan Board represented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that that portion ought to be earmarked for educational purposes, but we were informed that by "local authorities" he meant town or borough councils. If that is done then we in Scotland will be in a most anomalous position, for while the money will be available in England nothing additional will be obtained here. Let me submit, therefore, that every Socialist branch in Scotland should make an appeal to their local School Board and ask that additional grants be demanded from the Government. In the case of Boards where there is no Socialist member let a resolution be sent accompanied by a note intimating that a deputation will be waiting and will be glad to speak in support. Let us do this, comrades, at the meetings of all the Boards, and if we do not achieve the desired end we will, at least, command public attention, and that way lies success.



FERDINAND FREILIGRATH.

FERDINAND FREILIGRATH.

A POET OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The son of a simple bourgeois family, Ferdinand Freiligrath first saw the light of day on June 17, 1810, at Detmold. He was apprenticed to a merchant at Soest, and for eight years—very much against his inclinations—he had to earn his bread as a commercial clerk in Amsterdam and Barmen. The extraordinary success of his first collection of poems, which appeared in 1838, decided him to give up his lucrative commercial calling and to dedicate his life to poetry alone. The King of Prussia, at the request of Alexander von Humboldt, gave him a yearly allowance of 300 crowns, and the fortunate bard thereupon went to St. Coar on the Rhine, where he and his young wife arranged their simple poet's home.

At that time Freiligrath, in his intellectual and emotional world, was still completely under the influence of the romantic school. The reality which surrounded him—everyday life, with its direct impressions, with its joys and sorrows, its hopes and desires, its aspirations and struggles—had little meaning for him.

Following the example of the then so much admired romanticist, Victor Hugo, he allowed his imagination to wander in the East, where it intoxicated itself in the glowing colours of exotic landscapes and Oriental costumes, on ever-changing bizarre scenes from the lives of barbaric people and wild animals—things that the mortal eye of the poet had never seen. His imagination had rooted itself so deeply therein that it gave to the magnificent glowing and sparkling pictures which it charmed forth from him the appearance of reality, of things seen and lived through in person. "The Armourer of Damascus," "The Sheik at Sinai," "The Moorish Prince," "The Awakener in the Desert," "The Lion's Ride," etc., with their stirring rhythm and the dazzling, sometimes rather exaggerated, magnificence of their original full-toned rhymes, came half-way to meet the taste of that passionately emotional time, which, in art as in life, would have nothing to do with tame and calm lyrics, but demanded fiery and intoxicating measures. Freiligrath's style found a strong resonance among the great majority of his contemporaries, and called forth innumerable imitations. But the more advanced men of the time

could not content themselves with the romantic and unreal visions with which the poet had surrounded himself. Heinrich Heine scoffed at the exaggerated pathos of Freiligrath's "Janitscharen Music," and the leaders of the Democracy, which at that time was coming rapidly to the front, scourged, and rightly, a conception of the poet's calling according to which the poet, standing on a higher eminence than that of party battlements, was not called upon to take an active part in the political struggles of the day.

At first Freiligrath parried the attacks which Herwegh especially directed against him with mighty return thrusts, but suddenly—he did not himself know exactly how it came about—he found himself in the camp of his opponents as one of the most enthusiastic fighters and singers of freedom. In a poem entitled "A Spot on the Rhine" he said farewell to romance. The revolutionary Zeit-geist (spirit of the age) of the forties was stronger than any æsthetic scruples. As a democratic "Tendenz-poet" Freiligrath threw himself into the political struggles of the day. He refused the Royal allowance, and set forth his new confession of faith in a number of fiery poems. And these songs of struggle and rebellion fired far more fiercely the hearts of the German people than even his former romantic works had succeeded in doing. The general enthusiasm was now not only for the skilful genius, but also for the brave and noble man who devoted that genius to the cause of the people and of Liberty, and who by his art gave mighty expression to the great ideas which were then agitating and filling the souls of the noblest men and women. Like a storm-wind the songs "In Spite of All!" "Liberty! Justice!" "At the Tree of Humanity" swept through the country, to greet and fire the awakening springtime of humanity to the struggle against the powers of reaction; while songs such as "From the Harz," "From the Silesian Mountains," and others, displayed affecting pictures of the social misery of those days.

The new herald and prophet of the Revolution was received with jubilation in the democratic ranks, and one of the first to hold out to him the hand of reconciliation was Karl Marx. But Germany no longer afforded him a safe abiding place, and his rapidly-growing family could not live on poetry alone. He therefore, after a short sojourn in Belgium and Switzerland, migrated in 1846 to London, where he earned his bread as a clerk. His poetry indeed suffered for it, and during these two years of his first period of exile in England he produced but very few poems and a few translations from the English, one of the latter being Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt." The first revolutionary March storms of 1848 drew Freiligrath back to his own country. In Düsseldorf he took the lead of the Democratic Party, was accused and arrested on account of his poem "The Dead to the Living," was finally acquitted, and went to Cologne, the centre of the revolutionary movement in the Rhine country, where to-

gether with Marx he edited the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung." He was now once more able to devote himself to poetry, some of which was published in the feuilleton of the paper. But this new poetic springtime did not last long. During the year the revolution was crushed, and the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" suppressed. Its last number (May 19, 1849,) printed in red, was headed by Freiligrath's "Farewell Word."

The years of reaction followed. For the second time Freiligrath immigrated to England, whither his grateful Fatherland drove him by means of two warrants from the public prosecutors in Cologne and Düsseldorf. In London the poet had to struggle long and hard for his daily bread, until, as manager of a branch bank, he had apparently obtained a secure foothold. But hope in this direction also was doomed to disappointment. The bank collapsed, and Freiligrath, now 57 years of age, was again thrown out of employment. Only a subscription, got up by his many admirers in Germany, England and America, which reached the respectable sum of nearly 180,000 marks (£9,000), made it possible for him to enjoy the evening of his life free from care, and the change which had taken place in the meantime in the political conditions enabled him to return to Germany. In 1868 he went to Stuttgart, and later to the neighbouring Cannstatt. During the Franco-German war the misfortune came upon him to be claimed, on account of some absolutely misunderstood poems, by the Jingo Chauvinist "Hurrah-patriotic" Party, with their usual audacity, as one of their own. In reality, however, Freiligrath, until his death on March 18, 1876, remained true to the democratic ideas of the revolutionary period, and as their most ardent, brave and strong bard he still lives to-day in the hearts of the fighting proletariat.

JOHN SCHIKOWSKI (in "Der Postillon," No. 13, 1910).

"REVOLUTION."

BY FERDINAND FREILIGRATH.

And though ye caught your noble prey within your hangman's sordid thrall;

And though ye led your captive forth beneath the city's rampart wall;
And though the grass lies o'er her green, where, at the early morning's red,

The peasant girl brings funeral wreaths—I tell you that she is not dead!

And though from off the lofty brow ye cut the ringlets flowing long;
And though ye herded her amid the thieves' and felons' hideous throng;
And though ye gave her felon fare; bade felon garb her livery be;
And though ye set the oakum task—I tell you that she still is free!

And though condemned to banishment, ye hunt her down through distant lands,

And though she seeks a foreign hearth and silent mid its ashes stands;

And though she bathes her wounded feet where foreign streams seek
 foreign seas;
 Yet, yet she never more will hang her harp on Babel's willow trees.

Ah, no, she strikes its every string, and bids its proud defiance swell,
 And as she mocked your scaffold erst, she mocks your banishment as well;
 She sings a song that starts you up astounded from your slumberous seats
 Until your heart, your coward heart, your traitor heart in terror beats.

No song of grief, no song of sighs for those who perished unsubdued;
 Nor yet a song of irony at wrong's fantastic interlude;
 That Beggar's Opera ye drag out through all its lingering scenes
 Though moth-eaten the purple be that decks your tinsel kings and queens.

Ah, no, the song those waters hear is not of sorrow nor dismay:
 'Tis triumph song, victorious song, song of the future's glorious day,
 That future distant now no more, her prophet voice is sounding free
 As once of old your Godhead spoke—"I was, I am, and I will be."

"Will be and lead the nations on the last of all their foes to meet,
 And on your heads, your necks, your crowns I'll plant my strong
 rebellious feet;
 Avenger, liberator, judge, red battles on my pathway hurled,
 I stretch forth my almighty arm till it revivifies the world.

"Ye see me only in the cell; ye see me only in the grave;
 Ye see me only wandering lone beside the exile's weary wave;
 Ye fools! Do I not also dwell where ye have sought to pierce in vain?
 Rests not a niche for me to live in every heart, in every brain,

"In every brow that brooding thinks, erect with manhood's honest
 pride?
 Does not each bosom shelter me that beats with honour's generous tide?
 Not every workshop breeding woe, not every hut that shelters grief?
 For am I not the breath of life that pants and struggles for relief?

"And therefore will I be and lead the nations yet their foes to meet,
 And on your heads, your necks, your crowns, I'll plant my strong
 rebellious feet;
 It is no boast, it is no threat, thus history's iron law decrees;
 The day grows hot, O Babylon! 'Tis cool beneath thy willow trees."

THE MONTH.

Our animadversions on the Limited Suffrage agitation have been still further justified by the great demonstration and meeting which took place on the 18th of last month. If anything were needed to demonstrate the utterly bourgeois and anti-proletarian character of the agitation, that event should have sufficed.

Unfortunately there are still many thousands of working people who are deluded by this propertied women's agitation, believing that it deserves their support, and is the "thin end of the wedge." The Parliamentary Labour Party, committed by vote after vote of the Party Conference to oppose any such measure as this so-called "Conciliation Bill" as a retrograde step, is vigorously supporting it; and one composite "Suffrage" organisation, pledged to Adult Suffrage, has decided that "the second reading of the Bill should be supported by all who favour Adult Suffrage."

We emphatically demur, and shall continue to oppose this as vigorously as we have opposed any other measure for increasing the political power of the enemies of the working class. We cannot, however, but regret that the Government should not have granted the facilities demanded to have enabled the Bill to pass or be rejected. By giving the opportunity for second reading only, the agitation is kept alive to the obscuration of more important matters.

The pretence that it would be idle for the Commons to pass the Bill because it would be sure to be rejected by the Lords, was a characteristic piece of Liberal humbug. The Lords would not be at all likely to reject a measure so favourable to the master class, and the suggestion that they would is merely part of the hypocritical theory that it is the House of Lords only which blocks the way to any reform, and that it always rejects Liberal measures.

The strange thing about it all is that this entirely groundless theory finds almost universal credence. Most of the people who vote Liberal, including many Socialists, believe—in spite of the facts—that the House of Lords merely registers all legislation passed by a Tory House of Commons and rejects all that a Liberal House may pass. That is why they so readily acclaim the proposals of the Liberals to change the constitution of the House of Lords while maintaining a Second Chamber—even stronger than the present one.

We are for “downing the House of Lords,” and will enthusiastically co-operate with anyone who will work to that end. But we do not want to create a stronger Second Chamber in its place. We are distinctly against the bi-cameral system as a principle, as well as being opposed to the principle of heredity in any legislative, administrative, or executive authority. Our hostility to the House of Lords, therefore, is based upon quite other grounds than that it rejects all Liberal legislation.

For that pretence is not true. The House of Lords is, as a rule, very useful to both parties in rejecting legislation which neither wish to pass; but which, in deference to popular pressure, is carried through the House of Commons. When such legislation is promoted by the Liberals, the House of Lords serves as a very convenient scapegoat. It is not true, however, that the Lords reject all Liberal legislation; and sometimes they play the Liberals a trick and pass a measure which the latter have promoted but hope will never become law.

That was notably the case with the Trade Disputes Act, which all the Liberal lawyers in the House of Commons opposed, but which they confidently hoped the Lords would never pass. Asquith, who is opposed to it, is afraid to run the same risk with the Suffrage Bill!

The Liberals can't have it both ways. At the last General Election they bragged about the great things they had done for the workers—Old Age Pensions Act, Provision of Meals Act, Trade Disputes Act, Compensation Act, and so on. Now, obviously, none of these measures would have become law if the Lords had thrown them out. So the Liberals find themselves

impaled on one or other of the two horns of a dilemma—either the Lords do not reject all Liberal legislation, or the Liberals are entitled to no credit for all these wonderful measures of reform.

The most formidable obstacle to real reform is not the House of Lords, but the House of Commons and the Liberal Government. When the people choose to elect a really democratic House of Commons the House of Lords will not dare to oppose its decrees; or if it does it will be all over with the House of Lords.

In the meantime—wait and see! As we predicted, the Budget, the Veto Resolutions and Supply have practically exhausted the Session; the danger of a dissolution this year has been tided over, the Government remains safely in office, and all's well with the world! It is true there is to be an autumn session, but there is little likelihood of any Veto Bill being passed this year. We have now a conference of the Strong, Silent Men of both parties sitting to consider how the people can be once more diddled, and we have no doubt that in that respect the conference will be entirely successful.

One thing is quite certain—but, then, it never was in doubt!—that is, that the House of Lords is safe! In order to prove that they never really meant to injure that august assembly, the Liberals have created seven more peers—making over forty during their present term of office. Among the latest ornaments to the Antiquities Museum is Sir Christopher Furness, that friend of trade unionism—unseated for West Hartlepool. It is a fitting reward for the services he has rendered his party and his class.

The “great democratic” Budget having become law, our legislators are now considering its successor; which, it appears, although retaining the same features, is neither great nor democratic, but simply “humdrum.” In one sense we should certainly regard it as “great,” seeing that it amounts to £180,000,000 in round figures—or just double what it was twenty years ago. A splendid manifestation of Liberal “retrenchment”! But it is a “Free Trade” Budget, we are told, although nothing is to be knocked off the tariffs on the common food and drink of the working class.

Next to the Budget in importance comes the Regency Bill ; a provision to constitute the present Queen Consort Regent, in the event of the present King dying before his heir reaches the age of 18. As if it mattered two straws one way or the other. If the boy can be King at 18, we don't see why he wouldn't fill the office, if need be, just as well at any earlier age.

Some of the provisions of this Regency Bill are curious and amusing. It provides, for instance, that anyone marrying, or assisting in procuring the marriage, of the heir apparent, surreptitiously, will be guilty of treason-felony. It is a pity that no professed Socialist in the House of Commons pointed out what all this pestiferous nonsense about Royal marriages, "Blood Royal," and so on, really means. We Socialists are constantly accused of a laxity of morals, of preaching absolute freedom in sex relations, and of wishing to "destroy the sanctity of marriage," but all these regulations with regard to Royal marriages are nothing more nor less than the open promotion of concubinage under the ægis of Church and State. We have no concern with the amours of kings or princes, any more than with those of less exalted persons ; but when these are made affairs of State, and Parliament is called upon to say that the marriage of the King may not be a union of affection, it is necessary that the implications involved should be plainly stated.

Roosevelt, after teaching the nations of the world how their affairs should be managed, has returned to the land of triumphant democracy. It was time. What with brutal prize-fights, race riots, and lynching, to say nothing of the utter corruption of public life in the States, there would appear to be plenty for Teddy to do in putting his own house in order without lecturing other people. A contemplation of the state of affairs in the great Republic of the West should at least teach him a little modesty.

Notwithstanding Teddy's admonition to the British Government that it was its duty to hold on in Egypt, we have every reason to be gratified with the progress of the Nationalist movement there, and the hope it gives that the British occupation cannot endure much longer.

The sooner the British dominion in the East is a thing of the past the better will it be for the peace of the world and for the prosperity of the people of this country.

There is no class war, we are constantly being told, and the S.D.P. only displays its hopelessly narrow and sectarian dogmatism by insisting on this outworn theory of Marx. No class war! That accounts for the shamelessly brutal sentences passed upon the Horden miners. If they had been young bloods of the master class, their offence would have been punished with fines, which would really have been no punishment at all. Being merely miners, they are sentenced to exceptionally brutal terms of imprisonment.

The result of the East Dorset bye-election is a triumph for wealth and caste, and for all that makes against electoral purity and economy. And it was a Liberal victory!

Might has triumphed over right in Finland. The Czar has signed the decrees of the corrupt Russian Duma destroying the Finnish Constitution, and our own freedom-crushing Ministers have made no protest. They have made the British people partners in the assassination of a nation.

THE BUDGET OF THE GERMAN WORKMAN—A STATISTIC OF MISERY.

By A. LIPSCHÜTZ in "Die Neue Zeit."

I.—INTRODUCTION.

"J'accuse . . ."

Within a relatively short period of time two statistical inquiries regarding the workers' households have been set on foot, one by the Labour Statistics Department of the Imperial Statistical Office,* the other by the German Metal Workers' Union.† Both contain material which has not previously been, to the same extent, at the disposal of the public. Already, on that account, they merit the greatest consideration from our comrades, and the interest in the results is increased still further by the fact that both inquiries were undertaken almost at the same time, and may therefore be critically compared with each other.

The technical side of the two inquiries, the way in which they have come to exist and their preparation, is in itself a microcosm of economic conditions which gives many an interesting insight into the various means of taking statistics which are at the disposal of the imperial statistical organisation on the one hand and of a free trade union on the other.

The official statistic for a long time showed considerable reserve, which is to be explained by the desire to avoid official prying into the domain of family life.‡ At the conference of the executives of the statistical offices of German towns, held at Altona in 1902, the Imperial Statistical Office had for the first time initiated a statistic on the household budget of the workers. At a subsequent conference (Stuttgart, 1906) the co-operation of the communal statistical offices in the imperial inquiry was agreed upon.

Besides the statistical offices of 32 large towns which assisted, not only by distributing housekeeping account books to suitable

* "Inquiry on Household Bills of the Poorer Families in the German Empire." Worked out in the Imperial Statistical Office, Labour Statistics Department. Second extra number to the "Imperial Labour Journal." Berlin, 1909. Published by Heymann. 79 and 229 pages.

† "320 German Households." Worked out and edited by the Committee of the German Metal Workers' Union. Stuttgart, 1909. Alexander Schlicke and Co. 159 pages.

‡ Page 5 of the first-mentioned publication.

families for the daily entry of income and expenditure, but also to a great extent by undertaking the first examination of these books, a number of other organisations took part in the inquiry: Labour unions, societies of officials, sick clubs, and others. In 17 towns assistance was given by 33 free trade unions, also a—much smaller—number of Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions took part. Unfortunately it cannot be seen from the results how far the co-operation of the trade unions numerically affected the success of the undertaking.

The extensive machinery thus set in motion rendered it possible to distribute 3,855 household account books, which were to be made use of for a year. But only 960 households kept it up for the whole year; only about a quarter (24.9 per cent.) of all books distributed could, according to the agreement laid down that the inquiry should cover a whole year, be made use of.

Of the 960 books available, a few had, for various reasons, to be weeded out, so that altogether only 852 household account books were actually used. Of these 522 were from the households of workmen, and 218 from those of the lower class of officials and teachers, the rest from those of private employees and subordinate officials. The report is for the year 1907.

The metal workers' report, which is for the year 1908, extends over 42 towns; 400 account books were distributed, 320 of which embraced the full year, and were subjected to a thorough working-out. Thus 80 per cent. of all the books were available.

Another fact which shows up favourably the capability of the workers' organisation is that among the 522 household accounts contained in the imperial report 102 were those of metal workers, most of which, in the working out of the metal workers' report, were assumed to be organised in the trade union. And yet the Metal Workers' Union succeeded, only a year after, in again procuring 320 properly-kept yearly budgets from metal workers! And the number would have reached that of the imperial report if "we had not to limit ourselves on account of the labour and expense involved."

Therefore, organised Labour has done itself great credit in the technical result of the report.

2.—THE WORKMEN'S INCOME.

The average total income of a workman's household comes to about the same in both reports, which fact guarantees from the first the full reliability and absolute utility of the results. The total average income amounts, in the imperial statistic, to 1,835.38 marks, and in the metal workers' statistic to 1,856.19 marks. The error, one way or the other, would thus only amount to 1 per cent.

Of the 320 budgets of the metal workers, 181, or 56.5 per cent., failed to reach this average total income, while 139, or 43.5 per cent., were above the average. If one divides all the households into several degrees of income, the following result is obtained:—

TABLE I.

Households.	With an Income of	Representing an average aggregate of	Average number of members of family.
12	under 1,200 marks	1,104.37 marks	2.83
80	1,200 to 1,600 "	1,446.33 "	3.57
116	1,600 " 2,000 "	1,786.44 "	3.72
91	2,000 " 2,500 "	2,201.94 "	3.97
21	over 2,500 "	2,734.24 "	5.53
320		1,856.19 "	3.84

The average total income in the highest category is almost 150 per cent. above the lowest. But from the fourth column of the table we see that the total income grows with the number of the members of the family. The necessity arises to examine the eventual effect of that number on the total income realised, to analyse the numbers for the total income in the different categories, and to pick out the part played by the various sources of income in relation to the whole.

At this point it will be well to insert the numbers of persons in the households taken by both reports.

Of the 320 households of the metal workers' report, 27 were childless, in the others there were on an average 2.77 children to each family. On the averages there were to each household 4.91 persons.

In the households considered by the Imperial Statistical Office there were 4.55 persons to each workman's family.

But the metal workers' report does not in any column give the real number of persons, but a number which was reduced according to the example of the imperial report. The person of the adult man is reckoned as a unit, adult women as 0.8, and children of different ages in proportion.

In the quoted tables of the imperial report the numbers given apply, unless stated to the contrary, to the actual number of persons.

A.—THE SOURCES OF INCOME IN THE WORKMAN'S HOUSEHOLD.

The metal workers' report divides the total income into four sub-sections: the man's earnings, the earnings of the other members of the family,* relief (unemployment pay from the trade union during sickness or unemployment, relief from the private and State sick insurance, and various sources of income, such as the sub-letting of rooms, dividends from co-operative societies, help from relations, presents, money drawn out from savings banks and borrowed).

* In the metal workers' report any extra earnings of the man are reckoned together with the earnings of the rest of the family.

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Such a division of the average total income within the different categories of income gives the following results :—

TABLE II.

Average number of members of family.	Income.	The average income amounted to—				
		Total Average.	Wages of the man.	Other members of family	Relief.	Various other sources.
	marks	marks	marks	marks	marks	marks
2.83	Under 1,200	1,104.37	955.13	28.82	79.00	41.42
3.57	1,200 to 1,600	1,446.33	1,187.90	83.15	81.66	93.62
3.72	1,600 „ 2,000	1,786.44	1,483.80	155.74	44.79	102.11
3.97	2,000 „ 2,500	2,201.94	1,728.09	221.74	47.22	204.89
5.53	Over 2,500	2,734.24	1,873.35	572.64	41.18	247.07
3.84	On average of all households.	1,856.19	1,485.04	178.96	55.74	136.45

From these combinations we see that the transition from a low scale of income to the next highest is partly determined by the auxiliary sources: the earnings of the other members of the family and other items. Not, however, in the sense that these keep pace with the increase in the earnings of the man, the head of the household.

On the other hand, with the increasing welfare, the part played by the earnings of the man in the income diminishes. The numbers showing the part played, expressed in percentages, that the earnings of the man and the other two above-mentioned auxiliary sources play in the income, is shown us very systematically, as follows :—

TABLE III.

Average number in family.	Category of Income.	Of each 100 there comes from—			
		Earnings of the man.	Earnings of rest of family.	Relief.	Various other sources.
	marks	marks	marks	marks	marks
2.83	Under 1,200	86.49	2.61	7.15	3.75
3.57	1,200 to 1,600	82.13	5.75	5.65	6.47
3.72	1,600 „ 2,000	83.06	8.72	2.51	5.71
3.97	2,000 „ 2,500	78.48	10.07	2.14	9.31
5.53	Over 2,500	68.51	20.94	1.51	9.04
3.84	Average of all households	80.01	9.64	3.00	7.35

If one puts the question thus: What part is played by both auxiliary sources in the surplus of income which is necessary in order to get into the next highest class of incomes? it can be demonstrated in a very striking manner. The answer may be gathered from the following table. The surplus income which is needed in order to enter the next highest category of income is divided into its component parts, and their relation in percentages to the surplus income reckoned out. In reckoning the total income the "relief" has been deducted:—

TABLE IV.

Average Number in Family.	Scale of Income.	Of the surplus income there comes—		
		From the surplus of the man's earnings.	From the surplus of the family's earnings.	Increase from other sources.
	marks	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
2.83	Under 1,200	—	—	—
3.57	1,200 to 1,600	68.6	16.0	15.4
3.72	1,600 to 2,000	78.4	19.3	2.3
3.97	2,000 to 2,500	59.2	16.0	24.8
5.53	Over 2,500	27.0	65.2	7.8

The table shows what an enormous part is played by the family earnings in determining the rise into the next highest scale of income. In the case of those incomes which exceed 2,500 marks, where the earnings of the members of the family constitute almost 21 per cent. of the total receipts (see Table III., page 325), more than 65 per cent. of the surplus income is contributed by the members of the family. It is very instructive to reckon out that in the rise from the lowest into the next class of income, the man contributed 55.1 per cent. of the surplus, the rest of the family contributed 32.6 per cent. of the surplus, and sundry resources contributed 12.3 per cent. of the surplus. Besides, the "sundry items" in many cases represent a considerable burden on the members of the family.

In the imperial report the following average figures are given for all the workmen:

TABLE V.

	In marks.	Percentage of the total income.
Earnings of the man...	1,507.92	82.2
Earnings of the members of the family (including extra earnings of the man)...	164.78	8.9
Income from other sources...	161.68	8.9
Total	1,835.38	100.0

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A comparison with Tables II. and III. shows that the figures deviate only slightly from those of the metal workers' report. These slight differences are to be explained by some shortcomings pointed out by the worker-out of the imperial report himself in the noting-down of the items of income in that report.

As regards the question of the importance of the various sources of income in the budget of the different grades of income, the household bills of the workmen are, in the imperial report, reckoned together with those of the other households, and thus a somewhat different picture appears. But here also are seen clearly—perhaps more clearly than ever—the two tendencies already alluded to: the rise of the income with the number of the family, and the great importance, increasing with that number, of the earnings of the members of the family. The following tables illustrate these facts:—

TABLE VI.

Families of	No. of house- holds.	Total income.	Earnings of the man.	Extra earnings of the man.	Earnings of the rest of the family.	Income from other sources.
		marks	marks	marks	marks	marks
2 to 4 persons	421	2,069.98	1,761.87	42.89	72.57	192.65
4 „ 6 „	317	2,308.14	1,856.52	59.42	104.07	286.13
Over 6 „	114	2,320.25	1,818.06	58.30	167.93	275.96

TABLE VII.

Families of	Of each hundred of income there comes from the—			
	Earnings of the man.	Extra earnings of the man.	Earnings of the rest of the family.	Income from other sources.
	marks	marks	marks	marks
2 to 4 persons	85.1	2.1	3.5	9.3
5 „ 6 „	80.5	2.6	4.5	12.4
Over 6 „	78.3	2.5	7.3	11.9

In the table contained in the publication of the Imperial Statistical Office the entries of the earnings of the members of the family are again sub-divided into those of the wife and of the children:—

TABLE VIII.

Families of	Total Income.	Earnings of the wife.	Earnings of the children.	Earnings of the Wife.	Earnings of the children.
	marks	marks	marks	per cent.	per cent.
2 to 4 persons	2,069.98	61.31	11.26	3.0	0.5
5 „ 6 „	2,308.14	65.69	38.38	2.8	1.7
Over 6 „	2,320.25	41.28	126.65	1 5	5 5

Here it is interesting to note the decrease in the wife's earnings in the case of large families. This throws a searchlight on the importance of the auxiliary sources in the workman's budget; *as far as possible* all forces are utilised for earning. The total income of the poorer families always represents the maximum which can be reached by the work of all the members of the family together. The earnings of the children alone represent more than 46 per cent. of the surplus income which the families of more than six persons enjoy over and above that of those of two to four persons. Comparisons cannot here be made with the metal workers' report, as in the tables of the imperial report all the categories of households (those of teachers, workmen and officials) are thrown together, and for the number per head the actual number of the members of the families are given.

The information concerning the number of families who are dependent upon auxiliary sources of income at all is also of importance. In the case of the metal workers, out of 320 families, 186, or 56 per cent., had contributions from members of the family, while 230 had income from other sources. Only in 21 cases, that is, scarcely 6 per cent. of all the budgets, were the wages of the man the only source of income.

The number of households with an income of under 1,200 marks is too small to give a proper idea in figures of the various sources of income.

In the other categories the fact is clearly to be seen that 40 and even more per cent. of all the households are dependent upon the extra earnings of the man! This number sinks only in the highest category of incomes. The number of families where the wife earns sinks with the rise of the total income; in the highest category the fall is quite remarkable. The number of families in which the children co-operate sinks in the highest category as compared with the preceding ones, but remains considerably higher, even here, than in the lowest categories of income.

Here the imperial report shows the following circumstances, which apply to all poor families. Taking it as a whole, this

THE BUDGET OF THE GERMAN WORKMAN. 329

table, too, shows to what a great extent the members of the family are drawn in :—

TABLE IX.

From a total expenditure of—	Number of families altogether.	Number of families with an income from—			
		Earnings of the man.	Extra earnings of the man.	Earnings of the wife.	Earnings of the children.
marks					
Under 1,200	13	12	4	7	1
1,200 to 1,600	171	171	67	79	9
1,600 „ 2,000	234	234	103	96	24
2,000 „ 2,500	190	190	77	77	44
2,500 „ 3,000	103	102	34	13	17
Per cent. of families altogether.					
Under 1,200	—	92.4	30.8	54.0	7.7
1,200 to 1,600	—	100.0	39.2	46.2	5.3
1,600 „ 2,000	—	100.0	44.0	41.0	10.2
2,000 „ 2,500	—	99.1	40.5	40.5	23.2
2,500 „ 3,000	—	—	33.0	12.6	16.5

The following suggestion is made by those who worked out the metal workers' report : If one assumes that the average income, found to be 1,856 marks, is the minimum which is necessary to keep a family of four, the question must arise as to how far the man's wages suffice. The following combination :—

TABLE X.

Number of households.				Where the man's income from wages amounts to
64	...	...	...	Less than 1,200 marks
145	...	...	...	1,200 to 1,600 „
76	...	...	...	1,600 „ 2,000 „
33	...	...	...	2,000 „ 2,500 „
2	...	...	...	Over 2,500 „

shows that probably 90 per cent. of the families reported upon cannot live upon the man's wages alone.

B.—THE INCOME IN THE VARIOUS TRADES.

The imperial report gives interesting information regarding the differences in the incomes of the various strata of workers, according to their callings. Here it is remarkable how the contributions of the wife rise as the wages of the man sink, whether the actual sums or the percentage be considered :—

TABLE XI.

—	Num- ber of house- holds.	Average total income.	Wages of the man.	Earn- ings of the wife.	Per cent. of the total income that comes from the earnings of—	
					The man.	The wife.
		marks	marks	marks		
Industrial workers	436	1,865.96	1,536.46	73.94	82.3	4.0
(a) Skilled „	382	1,885.68	1,569.46	65.57	83.2	3.5
(b) Unskilled „	54	1,726.51	1,303.01	133.19	75.5	7.7
Workers in com- merce & transit	53	1,737.31	1,374.20	111.18	79.1	6.4
Various workers not accounted for under either category ...	33	1,588.81	1,345.65	97.93	84.7	6.2
—	522	—	—	—	—	—

This is specially evident as between the skilled and unskilled workers. Here, by the way (to avoid complication it is not mentioned in the table), neither the earnings of the children nor other income varies very much. The high percentage of the man's wages in the trades not definitely named is caused by the other sources of income in this category being *very* small. Also in the metal workers' report the percentage derived from the wages of the man is lower among the unskilled and worse-paid men than among the skilled workers.

TABLE XII.

—	Total income.	Earnings of the man.	Earnings of the man as percentage of the whole income.
	marks	marks	
Skilled workers ...	1,854.61	1,595.92	86.0
Unskilled workers ...	1,666.58	1,271.37	76.4

This phenomenon, which appears in both reports, is of extraordinary interest if one compares it with the facts set forth in Table III., it being evident that with the workers in general the sinking of the total income coincides with the rise of the percentage

part played by the wages of the man. More than in any other category we find that with the unskilled workers the importance of the man's wages recedes relatively into the background when it is a question of raising the sum necessary to support the household of the said category of workers. We meet with the same phenomenon in comparing the incomes in towns of different sizes.

C.—THE INCOME IN DIFFERENT-SIZED TOWNS.

In order to show the differences of the budgets according to the size of the towns, the metal workers' report divides the 42 places under review into three classes: Large towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, medium-sized towns with 30,000 to 100,000, and small towns with less than 30,000 inhabitants. The result is as follows—

TABLE XIII.

—				Total income per family.	Wages income per family.	Wages income as percentage of total income.
				marks	marks	
Large towns	...	...		1,977.19	1,588.20	80.3
Medium-sized towns	...	...		1,711.69	1,374.30	80.2
Small towns	...	...		1,633.92	1,262.51	77.3

The fact that in the small towns the sinking of the total income goes hand in hand with the sinking of the percentage proportion of the wages of the man—the same phenomenon mentioned above in comparing the incomes of skilled and unskilled workers—goes to show that the lower wages in the small towns are not determined only by the lower price of necessities in this group of places. Here, as in the case of the unskilled workers, there must be other causes which press down the wages of the man, and necessitate other means of raising them. It is highly probable that one of these causes is the lesser power of resistance of the small town workers in the social struggle. It is certainly not attributable to the fact of the families being larger, for in the large towns the average number in a family is 3.87 persons, in the medium-sized towns 3.67, and in the small towns 3.60. So—a greater intensity of labour on the part of the members of the family, in spite of a smaller number of persons, in the small towns!

The combinations made in the imperial report in relation to the income in the different sized towns are worthless, as here again workmen and officials are reckoned together: a very large number of teachers' budgets, which are very much higher, come from the medium-sized and small towns, which naturally blurs the whole picture, to the advantage of the latter.

(To be concluded.)

THE REVIEWS.

THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ELECTION.

Senator A. St. Ledger—one of the reactionary members of the Commonwealth Senate—has the following to say on the recent Labour victory in Australia in the July issue of the "Contemporary Review":—

In some respects the clearly pronounced verdict of the Australian electors, reversing the former policy of the Federal Parliament almost in its entirety, is but another of those commonplace incidents which are part and parcel of the course of events, and the fate that awaits all parties and all policies under constitutional government. To all Ministries and to their lineal successors, to all policies as to all men, "death cometh soon or late." And, like death also, the swing of the pendulum of popular verdict is often as inscrutable to its victims as it is inevitable. The swing sets in, but, like death, we know not how or when it may come upon us. In other respects, however, the verdict is unique in the history of constitutional government. It will be fatal to Australian Liberalism if the Liberal Party fails to discern some characteristic features in the overwhelming defeat which differentiates this from former reverses that have from time to time befallen all Australian and other political parties, the strongest as well as the weakest. And, paradoxical as it may appear, it is through the recognition and a proper appreciation of the unique features of this defeat, not through the comforting acceptance of the general law operating like the swing of the pendulum, not through a tactful disposition of forces inside and outside Parliament, that Liberalism will immediately win back its position as the natural dominant power in our politics and policies. Disguise it as we may, even as the victors may, the reversal is a pronounced triumph, and a triumph at the first clear test, for those underlying political principles which divide the two opposing parties. Socialism, sooner or later, preferably, if possible, "in our time"—Socialism according to the definition of the Hon. J. C. Watson and the Sydney Labour Conference of February, 1905, is the objective of the party that has triumphed. In plainer terms, it means that Labour begins the attempt to manufacture legislative remedies, and not mere pallia-

tives, against all the ills which flesh is heir to. Liberalism does not, and cannot, attempt to remove those evils wholly from the field in which the worker and the great mass of humanity must ever live, move and have its being. It doubts its power to find in the Legislature even permanent palliatives for many of them. It asserts that it can only give, or try to give, every class of worker a fair show and fair play in the field, to which he must bring all the moral and industrial powers by which he wins (and in the last resource can only win) bread and a home for himself and family. Liberalism goes slow. It has been imperatively told to stand aside for a while in Australia because of that. This position is one unique feature in the present verdict. It is the first verdict of its kind in modern history; let us make no mistake about that.

That the victory is a surprise to the victors and the vanquished is universally admitted here. To the victors, because of its overwhelming majority in both Houses. To the vanquished, because the Parliamentary record is the most rapid and thorough despatch of useful, urgent and important legislation achieved by any Government during the past nine years of Federation. The record is unquestionable. It restored constitutional government, as we know it, by placing a Ministry in office which, for the first time in our Federal history, united sole responsibility with the power to exercise it, and to stand or fall by the manner of the exercise of that responsibility. Prior to its formation Parliament had passed a comprehensive tariff, as satisfactory as any such tariffs can be. No mortal man has ever lived, or will live, that can devise one which will give universal satisfaction. It formulated a scheme assuming an equitable share out of the profit to the subsidised industries to the workers by means of an appeal from the State Wages Boards to an Inter-State Commission. This was intended to prevent any such Board in one State undercutting the rates fixed in another. The last Government completely reorganised the land defence forces. It supplanted a mosquito fleet proposal with the beginnings of a real fighting navy. It translated public sympathy with the offer of a Dreadnought to the Mother Country into the creation of an Australian fighting unit co-operating with the Imperial Navy, having the dual power of the offensive and defensive. It wisely and boldly floated a loan with a sinking fund to enable this defence to be placed at our shores at once, in view of emergencies which might reach and strike us any moment. It anticipated provision for our growing agricultural industries by the proposed establishment of an Agricultural Bureau. It appointed a commission to report on the best means of maintaining and developing a sugar industry by white labour alone. This is but a fraction of its record.

From a Parliamentary standpoint the conduct of the country's business, the administration of its public departments, and the

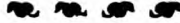
statesmanlike grasp of the difficulties of finance, afforded a record of efficiency immeasurably superior to that of any of its predecessors. This is not to say that strong resistance was not offered against some of the vital portions of its policy. But most of this resistance was very much after the manner of the exile from Erin, who, on his arrival in the United States, was "agin the Government anyhow."

It is for these reasons that the victory seems to me to be largely outside the pendulum law, and to be the result of the gathering momentum of forces steadily concentrated beforehand. I venture a further reason for this conclusion. The Government and its supporters had strongly fused together the forces of Liberalism in Parliament, and had blotted out minor party differences with a view to presenting the solid front of the united party against all the forces of Socialism and the opponents of Federalism.

The crucial questions for our consideration now are these: (1) Will the Labour Socialist Party proceed to carry out their programme? They have had the same class of political goods in the shop windows of every State for the past 20 years. They have now found customers for their goods. They must find and sell the goods, or some of them. They may not be able to supply all the goods, and much will not be up to sample. They will then call in to their aid apologists of the type of Mr. Prendergast, and, like bucket-shop plungers who have lost the grip of the market, ask for time. They will certainly attempt some of their programme. The attempt will in all probability follow the characteristic lines. There will be rockets and explosives in the air. They will not, and are not expected, except by the young bloods and senile enthusiasts of the party, to shift or even touch any solid rock on earth. The political engineers of the party will then be in the happy position to point out to the young bloods and senile enthusiasts the awful grandeur and terror of these fireworks; and to appeal conclusively to the unshaken earth in indignant refutation of the charge that they would tear up anything if they got into power. This kind of thing will end some day in the blowing up of the premises where such "fakes" are manufactured. A lot of fascinated potterers round the workshops will be the subject of journalistic epitaphs, but the day is not as near at hand as some of the Liberals anticipate. In the art of saving one's face the engineers of the party can give points to the élite of the Chinese embassies.

(2) Are the Australian electors generously bent on giving a fair time and trial to some of the essential and characteristic portions of the Socialistic programme as distinguished from that of Liberalism? In the writer's opinion they will do so. They will expect, and probably insist, on one or two experiments being carried out during the present Parliament. The public will then sit down quietly to think, and it is just about then that the explosion will take place. Its precise date and time cannot be

predicted. It will probably be very much hastened by the conduct of the Opposition in Parliament, who have two courses open to them—to sit down and take their gruel quietly, or to go round on the war-path selecting and giving their own food.



SOCIALISM AND SUFFRAGISM.

Conrad Noel writes the following in the "Church Socialist Quarterly":—

Few Socialists would deny that women should be admitted to political citizenship. Mr. Bax's "Legal Subjection of Men" is not, as my friend Mr. Cecil Chesterton points out, an argument against the suffrage, but an effective *reductio ad absurdum* of a particular Suffragist argument, namely, the legal subjection of woman. It is sometimes urged that the present time is not the moment for a democracy to concern itself with this question; that the wage-earners and their supporters have, even now, enough guns to break the outer barricades of capitalism, and that it is playing the enemy's game to spend our energies in crying for more electoral weapons when those same energies are all needed for the economic battle now begun.

Against this contention are brought two arguments, the one bad, the other good. The first is that the enfranchisement of woman would immediately strengthen the cause of that economic reconstruction which is called Socialism. The second is that we gladly welcome women as political comrades in the work of our societies, that an effective and fairly widespread electoral demand is being made on the part of women, and that it is ungenerous, even by indifference, to help in withstanding so just a cause.

Let us examine this first contention for a moment. It is based on the amazing assumption that most women are Socialists, and can therefore be safely dismissed in a sentence by asserting, quite definitely, that they are not. I have even heard it argued by suffragists, who ought to know better, that because many of the leaders are Socialists the millions of women to be enfranchised would naturally vote Socialist. One might as well assert that because many of the leaders are anti-Socialists the millions of enfranchised women must, therefore, necessarily vote against Socialism. If you want a complete example of anti-democracy, you must go to the executive of the W.S.P.U., who refuse to allow the women, for whose right to vote they are clamouring, even to elect their own committees; if you want an assurance that the whole people are not to have the vote, you must go to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in the pages of the "Daily Mail," or in the presence of a middle-class audience at Earl's Court. If you want the fomentation of sex war between working men and working women, go to Miss Eva Gore Booth, Suffragist. If you want

eloquent appeals about the dangers of democracy, go to Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Lady Francis Balfour, foes of democracy, and friends of the limited Bills, supporting them openly, because they will raise an effective barrier against "the dangerous demand for Adult Suffrage." Instances of this kind could be prolonged *ad infinitum*, but the pro-Socialism of some leaders, and the anti-Socialism of others, has "nothing to do with the case." The million or so votes to be liberated will, for the most part, and for the time being, be anti-Socialist votes, simply because the million or so new voters happen, for the most part, and for the time being, to be anti-Socialist.

The second argument against the contention, that we must deflect energy needed for the economic battle into the ineffectual channel of electoral and political reform, seems to me to be as good as the first one was bad. It is argued that although it might temporarily set back the tide of economic reconstruction, we all admit the justice of the "Votes for all Women" movement; we ourselves feel that it ought to be granted and must come sooner or later; that there is an increasing demand on the part of women for this obviously just thing; that we welcome women as comrades into our societies, and are glad of their political services. Is it not, therefore, churlish, illogical, and altogether unfair, to hinder, not, indeed, by opposition, but by indifference, their work of political emancipation? This is an argument that appears to me unanswerable. And it is no more use our urging the counter argument that our women comrades exaggerate the importance of the vote, than to argue that our Irish comrades exaggerate the importance of self-government. An obviously just demand, when withheld, rightly swells in importance until it be satisfied. For this reason, although I am convinced that the immediate consequences of Adult Suffrage for men and women will mean a temporary set-back to our main propaganda, I am heartily in favour of the measure, provided always that the demand for it be an increasing and effective demand on the part of disenfranchised men and women of the working classes.

There is one consideration in favour of Adult Suffrage which should secure for it the active support of Socialists who are opposed to the limited Bills. For the Adult Suffrage Bill, and for that Bill alone, men and women come together in interdependent comradeship to work for a mutual interest; the battle on behalf of an unjustly treated sex is waged, but it is waged not on the woman versus man issue, but on the Socialist issue of poor and oppressed men and women versus their male and female oppressors. That vile, inhuman, and anti-democratic thing, the sex war, so dear to the heart of a certain type of Suffragist, is not allowed to obtrude itself, and the true Socialist objective of lamb versus wolf, oppressed versus oppressor, overworked and underfed (male and female) versus underworked and overfed (male and female), is kept always to the fore.

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THE PREVENTION OF DESTITUTION.

BY H. QUELCH.

The part of critic is seldom a grateful one, and to look a gift horse in the mouth is proverbially ungracious. Yet it frequently falls to our lot to criticise adversely proposals which meet with almost universal approbation, and to critically and unfavourably examine the good gifts which from time to time the master class in all benevolence prepare for the delectation of their too easily satisfied slaves.

This critical attitude has earned for us very considerable opprobrium. We are "captious" and "carping"; we manifest a "spirit of Pharisaism," and are "unable to find good in anything that does not emanate from ourselves"; we are "too narrow, too doctrinaire," "blatant" and "conceited," and all because we decline to shut our eyes and open our mouths and swallow blindly any old quack measure of reform which may be flung at us.

"We urge reform; when it comes, because it is not revolution, we sneer at it." On the contrary, we do not sneer at it; we vigorously oppose it, not "because it is not revolution," but because it is not the reform it pretends to be. That was the case with the so-called "Licensing Bill" of the present Government, which

was not a licensing Bill at all, but a Bill for abolishing licences. We want temperance reform ; but we don't want the iniquitous, Puritanical reactionism of the " Licensing Bill." Yet, because we did not cordially welcome a measure which included everything from which a measure of temperance reform should be free, and left everything out which should be included in such a measure, we were ill-conditioned, bibulous critics of a well-intentioned Liberal Government !

So, too, with other measures of " social reform." For years we Social-Democrats agitated for Labour Exchanges. Yet when a beneficent Liberal Government establishes Labour Exchanges we can say nothing bad enough about them ! What an ill-conditioned, cantankerous, Pharisaical lot we must be ! Only these Labour Exchanges were just what we had *not* asked for—an excellent illustration of " how not to do it." We wanted real " Labour " Exchanges—establishments which, while provided by public bodies, would be under the control of organised Labour ; where Labour, and not Capital, would be the purveyor of its own commodity. The present Labour Exchanges are as grotesque a caricature of what we asked for as would be, say, a corn exchange run, not by farmers or corn dealers, but by corn porters ! And so we might go on enumerating the many measures of so-called reform which it has been our duty as Social-Democrats to oppose and expose. The latest instance is the doubtless well-meaning report of the Minority of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law.

Because we Social-Democrats are profoundly dissatisfied with the present Poor Law and Poor Law administration, and because we have persistently and consistently agitated for drastic changes in the present system, it is assumed that we ought to jump at any proposed change—good, bad, or indifferent—without question or examination. Because the present system is bad, any change, it is assumed, should be enthusiastically welcomed ; and because we do not share in the enthusiasm

with which many of our friends are tumbling over each other to endorse the report and recommendations of the Minority of the Poor Law Commission we are an ill-conditioned set of carping, captious critics, who can find no good in anything—not even in the reforms for which we ourselves have clamoured.

In answer to our critics we can only say that in the present instance, as in so many others, the proposed changes are in almost diametrical opposition to those we have asked for; and we take leave to doubt if they have been even cursorily examined by the majority of those who have so hastily endorsed them.

Shortly, the recommendations of the Minority of the Commission, as regards all at present receiving relief, except the able-bodied, are these: The Abolition of the Boards of Guardians, and the transfer of their functions to the County and County Borough Councils and their various committees. The substitution for the Poor Law Relieving Officer, and for the Relief Committees of the Boards of Guardians, of a sort of glorified Relieving Officer, to be styled the “Registrar of Public Assistance.”

The duties to be entrusted to this official are many and varied, and his powers are correspondingly extensive. He is “to be charged with the threefold duty of:—

“(1) Keeping a Public Register of all cases in receipt of public assistance;

“(2) Assessing and recovering, according to the law of the land and the evidence as to sufficiency of ability to pay, whatever charges Parliament may decide to make for particular kinds of relief or treatment; and

“(3) *Sanctioning the grants of Home Aliment proposed* by the Committees concerned with the treatment of the case.”

In the plenary powers thus to be placed in the hands of a permanent official—for it is insisted that the appointment of “Registrar of Public Assistance” should be a permanent one—we see manifested that love of bureaucracy which is so mischievous a charac-

teristic of the authors of this report and recommendation.

Moreover, this "Registrar of Public Assistance should have under his direction (and under the control of the General Purposes Committee of the County or County Borough Council) the necessary staff of Inquiry and Recovering Officers and a local Receiving House for the strictly temporary accommodation of non-able-bodied persons found in need, and not as yet dealt with by the committees concerned."

This is nothing more nor less than a proposal to create a perfect hierarchy of bureaucracy. The present democratic "Destitution Authority," the Board of Guardians, is to be abolished, and a new "Destitution Authority," consisting solely of permanent officials, is to be set up in its place.

What advantage is to be gained by this change it is difficult to see; the disadvantages are obvious. The authors of this scheme, while paying frequent and eulogistic tributes to the Boards of Guardians, contend that they have failed to perform the functions allotted to them, and that these functions are of so extensive and varied a character that it is impossible for any single body to efficiently perform them. That, moreover, by reason of this multifarious character of their functions and duties, it is impossible to regard the Boards of Guardians as "*ad hoc*" bodies, and they find their work in each department constantly being overlapped by that of one or another of the various committees of the County or County Borough Council. Therefore the whole of the work should be transferred to these committees.

That is the argument; and if it could be shown that these various committees had performed the duties entrusted to them with exemplary efficiency there might be something to be said for that argument—although even then it would be by no means unanswerable. But that is the last thing that could be claimed for them. No one can deny that the adminis-

tration of popular education has suffered through its transference from an *ad hoc* authority—the School Board—to a County or County Borough Committee ; and this, although the scope and area of that administration has been enlarged. And the reason for this is not far to seek. The duty of an education authority is much too important to be relegated to a Council Committee, meeting behind closed doors, and not directly answerable to the electorate, but to a Council whose chief duties are the administration of public services bearing no relation whatever to education. Sanitation, lighting, the making and maintenance of roads, open spaces, and of tramways, the assessment of local taxation, and the administration of the various Acts relating to public health—all these afford sufficient scope, it might be supposed, for the most energetic and indefatigable of town or county councils, without extending the field of their energies into regions hitherto supposed to require the undivided attention of those engaged therein. Even if the energies of a council were not sufficiently engrossed by the various duties necessarily belonging to it, the relegation of the important work of education meant the overshadowing of that work by a multitude of other concerns and interests of vastly less importance individually ; and to all intents and purposes, popular education is completely withdrawn from public control and supervision, and relegated to bureaucratic permanent officials or self-appointed voluntary busy-bodies.

No Councillor, it is assumed, can give equal attention to all matters coming under the control of the council, but must specialise on one or two. The various committees, therefore, are composed of those members who have given special attention to the particular subject in hand. That is all very well in the matters that are closely related with each other in municipal administration, and thus we have a Drainage Committee, a Works Committee, a Tramways Committee, a Parks Committee, a Watch Committee, a Finance Committee, and so on. But to pretend that education

is on the same level with these co-related services is obviously absurd. Yet an Education Committee of a county or borough council has no more direct responsibility to the public than any other committee, and in an election educational questions are thrust into the background, and those of lighting, trams, roads, parks, and especially of rates, obscure all considerations of good schools and proper education for the children of the people.

Yet it is to this subordinate and obscure "Education Authority" that it is proposed to hand over the care of the children at present under the charge of the Guardians. It is frequently said of the Guardians that they are rather guardians of the rates than of the poor. How much more is this likely to be the case with an Education Committee not directly responsible to the public for the care of the children, but only responsible to a council which will be much more concerned with saving the rates than saving the children? With its hundreds of unemployed teachers, its absurdly large and unwieldy classes, and its neglect to make anything like adequate provision for the necessitous children at present under its care—although it is only dealing with children who have parents who may naturally be supposed to be actively concerned with their welfare—we do not find our present Education Authority such a model as to tempt us to hand over to it the care of children towards whom the Guardians now stand in the relation of parents.

And this holds good in greater or less degree with regard to the other categories of persons towards whom—on account of their helplessness—the present "Destitution Authority" is supposed to perform the duty of "Guardian." That duty may not now be properly performed, and the persons elected to perform it may not be the best for the task; but at any rate they are directly elected for that duty, and are directly responsible to the public for its performance. There is surely no reason to suppose that the duty will be more efficiently performed when relegated to an obscure

committee, the members of which are, in most cases, unknown as such to the public ; who have no direct responsibility to the public ; who are answerable only to the Council ; and whose proposals can have no effect, except when "sanctioned" by the god evolved out of the bureaucratic machine in the person of the permanent Registrar of Public Assistance.

So far the proposals of the Minority of the Commission deal only with the treatment of destitution. Their aim, however, is much more ambitious. They claim to have evolved a scheme to abolish destitution, and have even formulated and presented to Parliament a Bill grandiloquently described as "a Bill to Provide for the more Effectual Prevention of Destitution." So far as the proposals for dealing with all save the able-bodied are concerned, however, the prevention of destitution would appear to consist of nothing but a change of names, a shifting of responsibility, and a readjustment of machinery. Poor Law Guardians are to be abolished ; the Poor Law is to be swept away, and the Poor Rate is to be abrogated. But all this will not prevent destitution, nor abolish its fertile parent—poverty. We do not get rid of things by changing their names ; and there will be just as many destitute, sick, diseased, and aged and indigent men and women, and just as many poor, underfed, orphan, deserted and destitute children—though we abolish the Poor Law—and just as many persons requiring relief, though the Poor Rate be no longer levied and we no longer speak of Outdoor Relief, but call it "Home Aliment" instead.

It is, however, to the second part of their scheme, that dealing with the able-bodied, that the authors look to prevent destitution. In its proposals for the abolition of child labour, the reduction of that of young persons, and the limitation of that of adults, the Minority Report will receive the hearty endorsement of every Social-Democrat. So, too, with the proposal of a State subsidy for the out-of-work funds of trade unions. In this connection, however, it may be

remarked, in passing, that this proposal has not, so far, found much favour among trade unionists themselves. That is a point worth noting, as the endorsement of the Minority Report in general by various Labour organisations is urged as evidence of its soundness, and as a reason why we should swallow it without question.

So much for the good points. When, however, we come to examine the general proposals for dealing with the unemployed question, the real cause of able-bodied pauperism, they will be found to be either inadequate or mischievous, and generally both. The Report and the Bill framed upon it appear to be based on the assumption that, as a rule, there is somewhere a vacancy for every unemployed man, provided only that he has been properly trained. Therefore, the remedy for unemployment, the abolition of able-bodied pauperism, and the prevention of destitution arising from unemployment is simply a matter of adjustment.

Here there is no Socialistic nonsense about unemployment being inherent in the capitalist system ; no fantastic economic heresy that poverty is caused by the exploitation of the unpaid labour of the proletariat ; that such poverty grows with the development of that exploitation ; and that destitution is only an aggravated and inevitable form of that poverty. Not at all. The authors of this Report are practical politicians, who suffer from no delusion that surplus-value comes from unpaid labour. They understand, if no one else does, that surplus-value is made in exchange ; and that the increasing productivity of the working-class, instead of increasing the precariousness and decreasing the chances of employment, really increases the demand for commodities and the area of employment. It is, therefore, not a question of organising the labour of the unemployed on useful, productive, self-supporting work, independent of the capitalist labour market. The unemployed question can be solved inside the capitalist system ; by the appointment of a Minister of Labour at Five Thousand a year, with comfortable

appointments for an unlimited number of subordinate bureaucrats, whose duty it is to be to collect or to disperse labour just as the demands of the capitalist labour market require its concentration or distribution. This collection or dispersal of labour is to be effected by means of a net-work of Labour Exchanges which are to draft men hither and thither as the requirements of the capitalist labour market demand. Among other functions the National Labour Exchange and its branches and local committees are to "ascertain what demands are occurring or likely to occur for particular kinds of labour, and to afford facilities to enable persons to keep in continuous employment by informing them in advance of such demands for labour," and "to secure by the dovetailing of occupations as far as possible continuous employment throughout the year for all persons employed."

Where the assiduous efforts of the Exchanges in giving information, or in "dovetailing occupations," fail to discover an opening for an unemployed man, he may, unless the Minister for Labour decides to send him out of the country as an emigrant, be provided with maintenance in a training establishment. It is quite clear that if there is no opening in capitalist employ for such a man it can only be because he has not been sufficiently "trained," and so he must go into training, "physical and mental, including technological," until he is really fit to fill the vacancy which, heretofore, neither he nor the Labour Exchanges have been able to discover.

For any man who gets sick of repeated "training" and prefers to shift for himself, or who refuses to accept any employment offered him by the Labour Exchanges, or in any other fashion manifests the characteristics of a "work-shy" or vagabond, a short and simple method of treatment is to be provided by the Minister for Labour in the shape of a "Detention Colony," to which he "may be committed by a court of summary jurisdiction" "for any period not exceeding twelve months."

This provision, of course, like all the others, only applies to the poor. The wealthy "work-shy," who "has habitually failed to work according to his ability," is not in the least degree affected by it.

Information and "dovetailing" by the Labour Exchanges, coupled with the insurance funds of the trade unions, and the salutary influence of "training establishments" and "detention colonies," it appears, are expected to suffice to suppress unemployment, or at least, to deter the unemployed from daring to become destitute under normal conditions. For periods of exceptional slackness a further provision is to be made, in the shape of Governmental works and services, which are to be estimated for each year but which can be deferred to provide employment on the occasion of such exceptional depression.

It is really extraordinary that anyone having the most superficial knowledge of unemployment and its causes should seriously put forward such proposals. It is still more extraordinary that we Social-Democrats, who were the first to call attention to the growing seriousness of unemployment, and who have for some five-and-twenty years been pointing the way along which alone any solution can be found, should be taken to task for not endorsing these naïve, inadequate and mischievous proposals. These proposals are certainly neither Socialism nor Socialistic. They are bureaucratic and coercive, and give every occasion for blaspheming to the enemies who say that bureaucracy and coercion and Socialism are convertible terms. The Social-Democratic proposals for dealing with the unemployed have been published over and over again, and they may be set out at length in a future article. They do not consist of penal "Detention Colonies," nor schemes for the maintenance of a wage-slave class, or for increasing the "fluidity" and "mobility" of labour in the interests of the master class. These latter proposals naturally emanate from bureaucrats and experts, but they merit the opposition, not the support, of all Socialists and Democrats.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST IN POLITICS.

By J. ADDISON.

(Concluded from last issue.)

These actions were primarily due to the growing power of another class in feudal society, viz., the free burgesses of the towns, who, dissatisfied with the limitations placed upon their freedom by the Guilds of that period, sought in free competition, and the unlimited acquirement of wealth and equality of rights among owners of commodities, the beatitudes of a perfect social system. The trade Guilds of the feudal period regulated quality, labour, and price of commodities produced, but this class, which had forced a recognition of political rights from the oligarchy of the time, now determined in turn to use that power to their own advantage.

In the Communist Manifesto, page 8, it says :—

“The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

“The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its

place. The Guild masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

"Meanwhile, the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant modern industry, the place of the industrial middle-class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeoisie."

This class, whose brief history is an epitome of the worst forms of the struggle for existence, after breaking up in pitiless fashion a system containing some really idyllic relations between man and man, could only secure its success and stability by securing the confidence of the democracy and gaining them to their side against the landed aristocracy. This they did by struggling for the enfranchisement of portions of the masses, who could be relied upon to support them in their conflict with the reactionary landlords.

This, then, was the nucleus of the great Liberal Party, which substituted for the ancient order of patriarchy and the right of existence and protection to the meanest of a class the form of a cash-payment for services rendered. With the callous device of "Free Trade"; "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost"; the devotees of the Manchester School of Political Economy have exercised their political powers with more relentless cruelty on the masses than have their prototypes the Tory Party.

It was only natural that government by a party inspired by greed should have produced, by the effects of its spoliation of the working class, a spirit of impatience and a desire to defend themselves against the excessive exploitation of their labour. Against what are now considered as very innocuous organisations Acts were passed to suppress trade unions, and Conspiracy Acts of the most one-sided description still

encumber the Statute Book, the work of this so-called party of freedom. After successfully struggling against the prejudices of a narrow-minded class of parvenus, and establishing their trade organisations on a legal basis, the masses have seen these organisations threatened, and even struck, by the military forces at the instigation of the leaders of the same party. To secure profit at the expense of human life, human degradation, poverty, slow starvation, and the massacre of children, they fiercely opposed the Factory Acts; and, consistent with their class prejudices and class interests, they have opposed, and are about to oppose, every limitation of the hours of labour likely to benefit the working classes.

Socialists are condemned for preaching a class war, and our Liberal press endeavours to point out the identity of interest between Labour and Capital. To them there is no such thing as class legislation, which is class war. I was amused by a short article which appeared in the "Dundee Advertiser" of April 6, 1909. Here it is. It is headed "The Lords and their Own Interest":—

"The fact of the matter is the House of Lords will pass nearly anything that does not touch the personal or sectarian interest of its members. When Bills which do not offend in that sense go to the House of Lords, in 19 cases out of 20 the Chamber does not even pretend to be a revising Chamber. But send a Bill along which touches, no matter how tenderly, property or land, or any other subject in which the Peers happen to be interested, and it is all alive. If a wholesome rule were passed prohibiting a Peer from voting on a subject in which he has a self-interest, a rule which applies to humbler bodies, the House of Lords would for practical purposes disappear from the Constitution."

What a nicely conceived idea! But mark the words, "a rule which applies to humbler bodies." There is no use advising the application of the principle to the House of Commons as it is at present constituted,

because that would mean the extinction of that House for all practical purposes too. The article is like a great many from the same source, sheer nonsense. But it has one virtue. It unconsciously unfolds what I have been labouring to prove—that the struggle for existence is being waged, class against class, and the arena of the conflict is the Legislature of the country.

Engels, in his "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," says:—

"The materialist conception of history proceeds upon the principle that, next to production, the exchange of its products is the groundwork of every social order; and that in every social system that has arisen historically the distribution of the products, together with the social divisions into classes and orders (you will notice the same formulæ in natural historical research by Darwin and others), depends upon that which is produced, the manner in which it is produced, and also upon the manner in which the articles produced are exchanged. According to this, the prime causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be traced, not to the heads of men, not to the increasing perception of 'eternal truth and justice,' but to the changes in the methods of production and exchange; they are to be traced not to the philosophy but to the economics of the respective periods."

In other words, force is the cause of the birth of a new era. It may be solace to the unthinking, selfish individual to say, "Well, the system will last my time," but that does not affect the truth of the position, nor does it secure for the wage-earner an immunity from the evils arising out of it. Let us look at the position closely and sum up conclusions. During the evolution of industry the workers have been divorced from the means of production by the larger concerns swallowing up the smaller. "Big fish eat little fish, and the little fish eat mud." Capitalistic expansion must go on in order to survive. Limited liability companies, syndicates,

and trusts absorb the petty capitalist in the struggle to gain the markets. The worker is condemned to a lifelong wage-labour. Unbridled competition causes every form of economy to be practised by the capitalist. New machinery displaces labour, causing an ever-increasing growth of the unemployed army. This army, in turn, is used by the capitalists who create it to keep down the cost of labour-power. The result follows that as the means of production develop in efficiency the portion of wealth produced that goes to the workers in the form of wages grows less and less in proportion as the volume of wealth increases. Then follows stagnation through overproduction. The workers have to starve, not because they have produced too much, but because they have not received sufficient in exchange for their labour to make an effective demand for the commodities they have produced. At each industrial crisis the misery of the masses grows more acute, and murmurs of rebellion are heard, because, as Engels says, "The capitalist form of production prevents the productive power from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents them from doing." These crises become chronic, with the inevitable result that as the larger organisms of production, i.e., the trusts and stock companies, are incapable of further directing social economy, the State in the form of the democracy must step in and free the means of production from its capitalistic conditions, in order to give it freedom to work, by socialising the product. The system is perfecting its downfall with mathematical precision by the very laws that are inherent in it. It is but a question of time. But before that climax is reached there are hardships to be suffered, and, I fear, blood to be spilt. America, to-day, is in the throes of a crisis that is shaking its social foundation to the centre, and we hear of tens of thousands of the unemployed in New York being charged by the mounted police. Unless constructive legislation of a Socialistic nature

keeps pace with the growing ravages of capitalism—and I am afraid it cannot do so—the dawn of a new era will be red with the blood of martyrs in the cause of humanity.

“To say that no great cause is left is to tell us that we have reached the final stage of human progress and turned over the last leaf in the volume of human improvement. The day when this is said and believed marks the end of a nation’s life.”

These words were written by John Morley in 1870 and embodied in his work, “On Compromise.”

The propaganda of Socialism has awakened the slumbering giant of Labour, and he is slowly shaking himself free from the fetters of misplaced confidence in moribund political parties. Already we see the effect in the coalescing of the two parties representing Land and Capital when questions affecting the welfare of Labour are being considered, or at an election time when Labour is making its claims to be represented in the council of the nation. Hitherto, no great ideal has inspired the actions of the rising democracy, unless it be that of “creating Socialism in the midst of existing society,” whatever that may mean. The law of self-preservation—the struggle for existence—on the part of the trade unions of the country has recently undergone a change in its methods. The judge-made law of Justice Farwell in the Taff Vale decision compelled the leaders to adopt political methods to safeguard those institutions so dear to them, or that they are so dear to. It was a mere incident in the “class struggle,” but signifying much when the new political movement took the form of independence of the orthodox parties. We see in the action Labour gradually raising the struggle to a higher place, to make effective and equal conditions, and securing a better vantage-ground in politics than they have ever secured by their revolts in the past. By the seizure of political power they have at last a voice in the making of those laws that govern their social and economic destinies. They have that which,

if fully strengthened and rightly guided, will eventually deliver their class from economic slavery into a free and happy people. But will the Labour Party, as at present constituted, without any definite object beyond that of merely grasping at opportunities to pass reforms that only palliate the extreme cruelty of a system, accomplish this historic task? Can the capitalist system (which is but the prototype of the destructive forces at work in the lower forms of nature), be so modified, so changed and spiritualised, as to become tolerable and enduring? You might as well say—"We have reached the limits of civilisation; let us reverse the order of progress, and go back to the varying conditions in their sequence through which society has passed." There is no such thing as social reversion, there is no finality of progress. The Labour Party is but the expression of democratic unrest, with a hope, Micawber-like, that "something will turn up." That something will turn up is certain, but it will be the dregs of that "hope deferred that maketh the heart sick."

The Labour Party, disavowing the principles of Socialism, is, as Quelch has pointed out, "necessarily and essentially a compromise." No Socialist who has studied his principles correctly can compromise the same. Scientific Socialism recognises the course of law, and no law can be abrogated by the inclinations of men. It is related that when Galileo was compelled by the Church to abjure the heliocentric doctrines he had taught he did so to gain a limited freedom and peace to end his days in, but while he recanted he muttered, "Nevertheless, the earth still revolves round the sun." The political rejection of Socialism by the trade unionists, and its recantation by the I.L.P., does not affect its truth in the least. The economic law of capitalism grinds the faces of the poor more effectively than ever, and as time goes on will demonstrate *still more effectively* by that great school-master, starvation, its incapacity to satisfy the needs of the human race.

I do not antagonise those political forces of Labour that the exigencies of the time have called forth. I recognise in them the beginning of a working-class political organisation that as time passes will shape itself ultimately into a well-knit Social-Democratic Party with a revolutionary object in view. Force, economic force, pressing upon all sections of the working class, has called into existence a variety of protective organisations that are graded in accordance with the scope of their objectives, and which are called the working-class movement. There are the friendly societies, the temperance, co-operative, and trade union bodies, the Labour Party and the Socialist Party, each one adapting itself to certain formulæ, performing its functions in the social economy, and coinciding with the various specie that exist under the one genera in natural history. In order to present a clear conception of the importance of this analogy, and the bearing it has on the subject I have chosen, allow me to slightly paraphrase the quotation I gave from Darwin on opening, and read it thus :—

“ Let it also be borne in mind how infinitely complex and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all *working-class organisations* to each other and to the *economic* conditions of life ; and, consequently, what infinitely varied diversities of *objects* or *principles* might be of use to each under changing conditions of life. Can it, then, be thought improbable that other *organisations* useful in some way to the *working-class* in the great and complex battle of life should occur in the course of many successive generations ? If such do occur, can we doubt that *organisations* having any advantage over others would have the best chance of surviving ? On the other hand, we may feel sure that any *organisation* the least *helpful* would be destroyed. This preservation of favourable *objects* or *principles*, and the destruction of those least *helpful*, I have called ‘ The Survival of the Fittest. ’ ”

Politics are but the means towards the end. I have endeavoured to show the great use to which they were

put—to filch the land from the many into the possession of the few—also securing the liberty of the exploitation of the working class by the rising middle class, on the fall of Feudalism, thus binding the working class in economic fetters, and merely changing their form of slavery. With the development of modern industry grows that gravest of all social phenomena, the unemployed; industrial crises follow each other in rapid succession; capital can no longer expand because of the inability of the masses to buy the products that are produced at terrific speed by improved machinery that has supplanted labour. The system totters and falls to pieces by its own inherent laws. Another system takes its place. That system is Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, with the ultimate socialisation of the product. To assist the birth of the new era the political character of the working-class movement must change from the present-day compromise of Labourism to that of Socialism. Constructive measures towards Socialism must go on apace with the disintegration of the old and rotten system of capitalism, so that the period of transition shall be painless as far as possible.

“ Uprising from the ruined old
I saw the new;
'Twas but the ruin of the bad,
The wasting of all that was ill.
Whate'er of good the old time had
Was living still ! ”

Through the aid of a sound Socialistic education, society, instead of struggling blindly and aimlessly forward, as it is and has been, will have found an objective; and, as politics are but the reflex of the general economic conditions that prevail at the time, it will throw aside all the worn-out shibboleths of parties and the parties they belong to, and constitute the Social-Democratic Party as the “ fittest to survive ” in politics.

MALLOCK v. MARX.

By H. W. HOBART.

There are doubtless many readers of the "Social-Democrat" who, like myself, have a very limited knowledge of Mr. Mallock. He may be a man of great literary ability and of high social status; but, judging from the book now before me, "A Critical Examination of Socialism," I should say he was the greatest literary juggler it has been my lot to read. The way he juggles with definitions, terms, phrases, and quotations—to use his own words—makes it difficult, "unless we suppose him to have taken leave of his senses, to imagine that he can himself believe in the medley of nonsense propounded by him."

In reading through his book, however, one is certainly not pleased with the extreme modesty of its author, and it is only because of the title of the book, and the desire to learn all that the opponents of Socialism have to say against it, that one is persuaded to finish reading it. There is a great danger, nevertheless, that some readers may mistake his latent modesty for crass arrogance and sublime egotism. This would be a pity; and so I hasten to warn all my readers against such a possibility. That Mr. Mallock is a wide reader of Socialist literature is evidenced by the fact that he has apparently read the title of "The Communist Manifesto" and a portion of the "Fabian Essays." He is also well acquainted with "the intellectual Socialists of to-day," for he mentions Mr. Sidney Webb several times, and thus makes the singular plural.

I like his logic, too ; there is none of—

“The musty, fusty rules
Of Locke and Bacon,”

but true modern logic, such as so easily proves “that a horse chestnut is a chestnut horse.” And yet he essays to be serious, as though he possessed no sense of humour.

His first chapter is supposed to be historic, and he is candid enough to admit Socialism to be only a theory of a new society. In the contents is a remarkable sub-head to the first chapter. It is, “Socialism an Unrealised Theory.” This is an illustration of his wonderful perspicuity, and suggests a new riddle: “When is a theory not a theory?” Answer: “When it is realised.” This is no mere aphorism, for on page 6 of his book he says “The *theory* of Socialism is, therefore, as a *practical force*, primarily that form of it which is *operative* among the mass of Socialists.” (The italics are mine.) I shall not quarrel with his diction, however (although he does distinctly say that theory is an operative practical force), for there are more important matters to be dealt with. Passing on, therefore, from his supposed historical survey we come to his audacious references to Marx. When I read his criticism there flashed through my mind something about “the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose.” Of course, the quotation has no reference to Mr. Mallock or Karl Marx, but somehow I could not disconnect them. The head and front of Marx’s offending, according to Mr. Mallock, is a quotation which Marx never used: “All wealth is produced by labour, therefore to the labourers all wealth is due.” Although Mr. Mallock frets and fumes for many pages, he does not give even the semblance of proof that Marx used these words in any of his writings. He endeavours to make a show of argument, however, in the following manner:—

“The practical outcome of the scientific reasoning of Marx is summed up in the formula which has figured

as the premise and conclusion of every congress of his followers, of every book or manifesto published by them, and of every propagandist oration uttered by them at street corners [these remarks would lead one to believe that Mr. Mallock had attended every Socialist Congress, read every Socialist book and manifesto, and listened to every Socialist speech delivered at the street corners]—namely, ‘All wealth is produced by labour, therefore to the labourers all wealth is due’—a doctrine in itself not novel if taken as a pious generality, but presented by Marx as the outcome of an elaborate system of economics.”

Mr. Mallock then pretends to re-state the various arguments of Marx, not to quote Marx’s words, but to show “the practical outcome of the scientific reasoning” of Marx; but he does even this so clumsily that unless the reader had previously read Marx’s “Capital” he would be extremely puzzled to understand what Mr. Mallock means. Coming to the tail of Marx’s scientific reasoning, and looking with scrutinising enquiry for the sting, he discovers it in these sentences: “The rich are getting richer, the poor poorer, the middle-class is being crushed out.” “Then the knell of the capitalistic system will have sounded. The producers will assert themselves under the pressure of an irresistible impulse; they will repossess themselves of the instruments of production, of which they have been so long deprived.” “The expropriators will in their turn be expropriated.” And Mr. Mallock’s comments on these words are: “This concluding portion of the gospel of Marx—its prophecies—has been so completely falsified by events that even his most ardent disciples no longer insist on it.” Who these ardent disciples are he does not say. Neither does he attempt to show in what direction Marx’s forecasts have been falsified.

I know it is a little superfluous to produce facts which are self-evident, but it is sometimes necessary. Marx says “the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer, the middle class is being crushed out.” Mr. Mallock

denies this, and yet official returns show that pauperism is on the increase, periods of unemployment are longer and frequenter, and the death duties show that millionaires are multiplying like mulberries. As to the middle class being crushed out, the very existence of the Middle Class Defence Association is evidence of their dying agonies, to say nothing of the pitiful whines of G. R. Sims and Arnold White in the "Referee." But Mr. Mallock has got to make out a case, or his occupation will be gone.

Throughout the whole of Mr. Mallock's writings there is a subtlety and a seductiveness, not calculated to assure or enlighten, but dangerously near prevarication.

His book professes to be a "Critical Examination of Socialism," but in reality it is a criticism of what Mr. Mallock conceives to be Marx's Socialistic teaching. Here Mr. Mallock shows his lack of perception, for Marx's "Capital" is purely an analysis of the capitalist system of production, and is not, nor is it intended to be, a prospectus of Socialism.

The reader can now imagine the character of this "Critical Examination of Socialism," and will easily discern the specious arguments which Mr. Mallock puts forward as logical reasoning. Starting as he does from a basis which has no existence, and trying to build up a structure on this imaginary foundation, the exposure of his sublime ignorance of Socialism and his gross misrepresentations are apparent on every page, and are dominant throughout the whole of the work.

In the first two chapters Mr. Mallock says nothing particularly attractive or new, but in the third chapter he begins his enlightening comments and versatile quibbles. It is in this chapter that he begins the Herculean task of informing the world of the absurdity of Marx's teachings. It is in this chapter that he commences to reveal the wonderful creative and productive power of what he calls "the directive faculties." It is in this chapter, too, in which he discovers that the great ability of this ideal section of the community is

really the axis upon which the whole industrial world revolves, and that, as a reward for their kindly condescension in displaying this great directive ability, they are entitled to three-fourths of the total wealth; and it is on this point that we beg to join issue with Mr. Mallock, not because we repudiate directive ability, but because, if it is not a phase of labour, it is not a factor in production, but depends upon the surplus value produced by the worker for its very maintenance, while if it is a phase of labour, then it is covered by Marx's definition of "socially necessary abstract human labour."

Now let us see.

The present system is essentially a system of production of commodities.

Mr. Mallock seems to ignore this altogether, and looks upon the present system as though it existed merely and exclusively for the exercise of this fund of ability which he claims to have discovered. He does nothing more than just to hint at it, whereas Marx thrashes out his contentions right through. For instance, Marx says: "A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy, makes no difference."

Mr. Mallock would have some difficulty in showing that proposition to be unsound or incorrect, and equally difficult to show that capitalism was or is anything other than a system existing for the production of commodities.

Marx next proceeds to show that a commodity possesses two factors: use-value and value. The first is the substance of value, "the utility of a thing makes it a use-value."

The second factor, value, which is the expression of the magnitude of value, requires much more comprehensive explanation. It is not difficult to understand if one is disposed to understand it, but it affords plenty of scope for a sceptical quibbler. Nevertheless,

no matter how much the sceptic may quibble, the analysis as presented by Marx stands unrefuted—namely, “that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labour socially necessary, or the labour-time socially necessary, for its production.”

Let us try a simple method of explaining this, and see whether it corroborates Marx or Mallock.

A table is a labour product.

Its component parts are: Wood, iron, glue, and polish; they form the raw material; although the wood, the iron, the glue, and the polish are also labour products.

Can Mr. Mallock deny this? These component parts have to be shaped, fitted, and fastened together before they become a table, and to do this some workman has to exercise his mind, his intellect, his judgment, his knowledge, and his muscles.

The “directive ability” of the second person has not entered into this product.

Just as the wood, the iron, the glue, and the polish are comprehensively described as raw material, so the mind, the intellect, the judgment, the knowledge, and the muscles of the worker are comprehensively described as labour.

Surely that is clear.

Thus, then, a table consists of raw material and labour.

But there is something else required before the table can be made. The worker must have tools—a rule, a saw, a plane, a brad-awl, a screwdriver, a hammer, a chisel, a glue-pot and brush, a polishing rubber, and perhaps a lathe and lathe chisels and chucks.

These are the instruments of production, and each one is itself a commodity.

(To be Continued.)

THE MONTH.

Parliament has been prorogued for three months, and for that period, at any rate, the Government is safe. The Liberal papers which some months ago were clamouring for an election in June now pretend that, but for the death of the king, an election would have taken place in June or July. That is sheer nonsense. Asquith and Balfour understood each other perfectly well. The one did not want to go out, and the other did not want to come in—just yet—and therefore there was never any likelihood of an election this year.

The fear of an election, however, seems to have overawed most of the members of the House of Commons, and to have completely paralysed the Labour Party. The ruse by which the latter were tricked into running away from their own amendment to the Address rather than defeat the Government was most amusing. It was a ruse common enough in warfare. When it is desired to know the disposition of the enemy's forces there is a reconnaissance in force, followed by a strategic movement to the rear when the desired object has been attained and the enemy has shown his hand. The Tories made a demonstration against the Government and the Labour men feared that their amendment might be carried by Tory votes and the Government be defeated. They immediately rallied to the Government, and both Ministry and Opposition got exactly what they wanted—the assurance that the Labour Party were safe, and might be relied upon not to defeat the Government.

There was only the Irish to be reckoned with, and they had been squared with the promise of the Veto—and, perhaps, Home Rule—if they would only be good boys and vote the Budget. And so the "great democratic" Budget was passed without more ado, and its successor, "made in its own image," the "hum-

drum" Budget, followed with unprecedented rapidity, and the way was clear for the Veto!

Oh, no, not yet! There were other measures of transcendental importance to be dealt with before the Veto could be tackled. There was the King's Civil List and the Accession Declaration to be discussed and decided; to say nothing about the cost of the late King's funeral to be liquidated. All that took up time. In the meantime, just to show that he was still in earnest, the Featherstone Premier arranged a little Conference on the Veto with his friends of the Front Opposition Bench, what time—as a further earnest of his sincerity—he created seven new Peers. Radicals fretted and fumed, the Labour men alternately whined and blustered; but all to no purpose. Asquith and his Tory friends smiled blandly, and politely told their critics to "wait and see."

And so for the time being the curtain has been rung down on the sorry farce, and Radicals and Labour men have been nicely done once more. The great fight, for a sight of which they abandoned so much, is "off," and for them "the harvest is past and the summer is ended, and they are *not* saved."

And so for the time being the curtain has been rung down on the point of view of our Labourists, was a far worse piece of treachery and trickery than any other of which the Government has been guilty. Mr. Snowden waxed wrathful and menacing over the refusal of the Government to grant special facilities for the passing of the Ladies' Fancy Franchise Bill. He, it appears, would be quite prepared in this connection to bring about that defeat of the Government which no neglect of any mere social question would justify.

As an evidence of the essentially bourgeois character of this measure, we might quote a letter sent by one of its chief protagonists, Mr. Keir Hardie, to the "Daily Chronicle," as follows:—
"To the Editor of the 'Daily Chronicle.'

"Sir,—Your Parliamentary Correspondent has declared so often and so emphatically that the Women's Suffrage Bill now before Parliament bars out married women that one is forced to feel that he really believes this to be so. Will he, therefore, tell us what he makes of Clause II. of the Bill, which reads as follows: 'For the purposes of this Act a woman shall not be disqualified by

marriage from being registered as a voter, *provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property*? That seems fairly conclusive on the point.

" J. KEIR HARDIE."

That does seem fairly conclusive on the point—which we have taken the liberty to emphasise by italics—that married women are not excluded from the franchise by the Bill so long as they are rich enough to possess a property qualification apart from that of the husband. It is only married women of the working class who are to be barred.

The lamentable plight into which their pro-Liberalism has led the Labour Party is causing considerable disquiet and searchings of heart among the Socialist members of the I.L.P. There have been many signs of incipient unrest among the rank and file, and now four members of the National Council of that body have given expression to the growing feeling of dissatisfaction in a trenchant criticism, issued as a pamphlet, of the whole policy of the Labour Party.

Says Mr. Leonard Hall, who leads off: " The entire original theory upon which the I.L.P. was laid down, launched, and navigated up to 1906—the theory that Labour must fight for Socialism and its own hand against BOTH the capitalist parties IMPARTIALLY—has been abandoned. Yet in the strong common sense of that theory lies the sole justification for the existence of a *separate* Socialist-Labour Party at all."

But that is exactly what we of the S.D.P. have been saying all the time. Only we have maintained that the theory of hostility to both bourgeois parties was never adopted in practice by the Labour Party—hence our withdrawal. Not only was that theory never given expression to, but those of us who urged it upon the Labour Party were vehemently denounced as ill-conditioned, cantankerous critics, who were more concerned with shibboleths and dogmas than with practical progress, and who cared for nothing but to thrust our Marxist theories and dogmas down the throats of unwilling trade unionists. Leonard Hall and his colleagues must be careful, or they will share in the like condemnation.

Mr. Hall goes on: " The process of demoralisation began to be publicly flagrant when the leaders of the Party threw them-

selves with gratuitous fervour and inconsistency into a prolonged campaign in support of the Liberal Government's Licensing Bill, to the subordination of unemployment and the other things that mattered. We were treated for twelve months to a grotesque exposition of Primitive Methodism in politics that made us wonder who we were, and if the whole movement had been tricked into a masquerade of mistaken identities."

That is almost word for word the criticism which we have passed upon the Labour Party, and there is much more of the same kind, all saying "ditto" to what we have said over and over again. The difference between ourselves and Mr. Hall and his friends, however, is that we said these things when they might—and should—have served as warnings. The question is now whether it is possible to get the Labour Party out of the quicksands in which it is being engulfed.

Messrs. Hall, McLachlan, Douthwaite, and Belcher entitle their pamphlet, "Let us Reform the Labour Party." A more appropriate title would have been in the form of a question: "Can we Re-form the Labour Party?" We have our doubts about it. The theory upon which the I.L.P. was founded is clearly stated by Mr. Hall; but unfortunately the Labour Party was never allowed to endorse or adopt that theory. Every attempt in that direction was vigorously and successfully opposed by the I.L.P. members of that Party. The result was that the Party was set going in a wrong direction, and every step taken has made a reversal to a sound theory and policy all the more difficult. Mr. McLachlan condemns any suggestion of leaving the Labour Party, and very rightly says that "Trade Unionist and Socialist must fight under one flag for their common interests." There we agree; the difficulty is that at the outset there was no agreement as to the flag to be fought under, or the interests to be fought for.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary group in the Labour Party have been persistently justifying all our criticism and going steadily from bad to worse. The King's funeral afforded them an opportunity of once more expressing their loyalty to the Throne, as well as their bitter resentment at not having been given front places at the pageant! Some opposition was given to the Civil

List by Barnes and Hardie, but not more than fourteen out of the forty members of the party could be found to vote for any reduction, and no one was bold enough to attack the principle of monarchy altogether. On the contrary those who spoke lisped, "with bated breath and whispering humbleness," reverential respect for the Throne and all the Royal Family!

In ancient Greece the Spartans used to compel the Helots to attend the obsequies of the Spartan kings, dressed in the garb of woe—they, their wives, and children. We have never heard, however, that the Helots made any great profession of grief, or regarded their compulsory attendance at the funeral of the king of their masters as other than an additional indignity thrust upon them, and a poignant reminder of their enslavement.

We could not expect anything better than this slavish subservience from our Labour Party, seeing that three-fourths of them have no conception of the class antagonism they are supposed to represent in the House of Commons.

We are glad to note the efforts which are being made to bring about the unity of Socialist forces in this country. Unity among ourselves is the chief need of the hour, and Social-Democrats should be prepared to give up much for its sake. Everything except principle we should be prepared to sacrifice for unity, but we should not be prepared to become the tail of the tail of the Liberal dog, even for the sake of this so-much-to-be-desired object.

"Unity" is in the air. The most important items for consideration at the Trades Union Congress next month are two resolutions, one advocating the amalgamation of unions on the basis of industry, and the other proposing a Conference between the Congress, the General Federation of Trades, and the Labour Party with a view to bringing about the amalgamation of those bodies. There should be no insuperable obstacle to the adoption and carrying out of both these resolutions.

The exceptional increase in naval expenditure this year has raised once more the question as to how far Social-Democrats are called upon to support or oppose such expenditure. In essence, the question appears

to us a very simple one. We are, as Internationalists and Social-Democrats, opposed to all armaments—*except such as are necessary for the national defence.*

With regard to what is necessary to the national defence there may, of course, be wide differences of opinion, and it might reasonably be argued that we should oppose every vote for army and navy on the ground that our rulers, who have most at stake, may be relied upon always to spend enough in this direction, and are much more likely to be too extravagant than too parsimonious.

That is a perfectly legitimate line of argument for a Social-Democrat to take, and, just here, we do not propose to put the other side to that argument. It is not, however, in order for a Social-Democrat, as internationalist and anti-Imperialist—and therefore pledged to national autonomy—to argue against the national defence. That, of course, is to argue for Imperialism and against the whole of the principles of Social-Democracy in regard to international relations.

As a case in point there comes the shameful surrender of Savarkar by the French police. As a fugitive on French soil the utmost the French authorities were called upon to do was to detain him until he was proved guilty or innocent of a crime justifying his extradition, and then to have surrendered or released him as the case might be. By surrendering him without any form of inquiry or trial the French police were guilty of an outrage against international law, the right of asylum, and the autonomy of the French Republic.

THE BUDGET OF THE GERMAN WORKMAN—A STATISTIC OF MISERY.

By A. LIPSCHÜTZ in "Die Neue Zeit."

(Continued.)

III.—THE EXPENDITURE OF THE WORKER.

In considering how the workman makes up his total income, how he tries to make use of every available labour-power—overtime, women's and children's work, and of other sources of income, subletting of rooms—it seems probable that the maximum of his total income is never more than the minimum of what is necessary for the needs of his household. An examination of the expenditure of the worker's household absolutely confirms this.

A.—THE EXPENDITURE IN THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF INCOME.

The metal workers' report gives the following information on the expenditure of the workers:—

TABLE XIV.

Number of households.	Average size of family.	Income, in marks.	Total expenditure, in marks.	The average expenditure (in marks) amounted to: for—							
				Food.	Pleasures.	Rent.	Fire and light.	Insurance & subscriptions.	Dress, renewals and repairs.	Education and amusement.	Sundries.
12	2.83	Under 1,200	1,145.93	564.82	75.36	143.24	56.52	69.95	143.26	19.50	73.28
80	3.57	1,200 to 1,600	1,140.69	712.77	93.12	196.29	65.92	91.60	168.49	25.56	86.94
116	3.72	1,600 to 2,000	1,579.02	832.74	104.03	261.78	76.54	110.54	219.53	35.71	118.15
91	3.97	2,000 to 2,500	2,148.56	977.15	140.86	319.77	68.48	124.49	291.92	47.25	160.64
21	5.53	Over 2,500	2,643.95	1,228.37	180.06	362.88	103.47	134.04	381.32	65.33	188.48
320	3.84	On an average	1,825.28	859.73	115.69	264.09	77.73	109.79	235.11	37.79	125.35

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TABLE XV.

Income, in marks.	Of each 100 marks of the total expenditure, there is spent for—							
	Food.	Petty luxuries.	Rent.	Fire and light	Insurance subscriptions, etc.	Dress, repairs, etc.	Education and amusement.	Sundries.
Under 1,200	49.29	6.57	12.50	4.93	6.11	12.50	1.70	6.40
1,200 to 1,600	49.47	6.46	13.63	4.58	6.36	11.69	1.77	6.04
1,600 to 2,000	47.34	5.92	14.88	4.36	6.28	12.48	2.03	6.71
2,000 to 2,500	45.47	6.56	14.88	4.03	5.79	13.59	2.20	7.48
Over 2,500	46.46	6.81	13.73	3.91	5.07	14.42	2.47	7.13
Average	47.10	6.33	14.47	4.28	6.01	12.88	2.07	6.86

The report of the imperial statistic illustrates the workers' expenditure in the following tables, XVI. and XVII. :—

TABLE XVI.

Number of households.	Income, in marks.	Total expenditure, in marks.	Average expenditure, in marks, for—				
			Food.	Clothes.	Rent.	Fire & light.	Sundries.
11	Under 1,200	1,068.84	593.36	100.18	215.05	66.04	112.21
54	1,200 to 1,600	1,435.05	787.86	134.74	241.00	69.96	201.49
296	1,600 to 2,000	1,793.18	927.32	197.79	317.63	77.09	273.35
127	2,000 to 2,500	2,185.15	1,097.26	261.44	370.42	84.18	371.85
24	2,500 to 3,000	2,655.33	1,348.16	352.41	411.51	87.59	455.66
10	3,000 to 4,000	3,224.23	1,721.86	455.68	448.02	130.85	467.82
522	On an average	1,835.06	955.06	204.67	312.52	77.99	284.82

TABLE XVII.

Income, in marks,	Of each 100 marks income, the expenditure was for—				
	Food.	Clothes.	Rent.	Fire and light.	Sundries.
Under 1,200	54.6	9.2	19.8	6.1	10.3
1,200 to 1,600	54.9	9.4	16.8	4.9	14.0
1,600 to 2,000	51.7	11.0	17.7	4.3	15.3
2,000 to 2,500	50.2	12.0	17.0	3.9	16.9
2,500 to 3,000	50.8	13.3	15.5	3.3	17.1
3,000 to 4,000	53.4	14.1	13.9	4.1	14.5
On an average	52.0	11.2	17.0	4.3	15.5

Some points on which the corresponding tables of the metal workers' report and the imperial report do not agree are to be accounted for by the different arrangement of several items of expenditure. If this is taken into consideration, the result is the following comparative table (from the metal workers' report):—

TABLE XVIII.

	In the range of incomes—					
	From 1,200 to 1,600 marks.		From 1,600 to 2,000 marks.		From 2,000 to 2,500 marks.	
	In 150 households of the imperial report.	In 80 households of the metal workers' report.	In 196 households of the imperial report.	In 116 households of the metal workers' report.	In 127 households of the imperial report.	In 91 households of the metal workers' report.
Total expenditure	1,435.05	1,440.69	1,793.18	1,759.02	2,185.15	2,148.56
Clothing and rent	375.74	364.78	515.42	481.31	631.86	611.69
Fire and light ...	69.96	65.92	77.09	76.54	84.18	86.48
Sundries..	201.49	204.10	272.35	264.40	371.85	332.38
Food ...	787.86	805.89	927.32	936.77	1,097.26	1,118.01

The category of income under 1,200 marks is omitted in this table: of these, the number of households accounted for in both reports is but small, and the differences in the items of expenditure are relatively greater, although they hardly count for much. The categories over 2,500 marks do not allow of comparison without being previously reconstructed, as they are differently tabulated in the two reports, as may easily be seen in Tables XIV. to XVII.

Table XVIII. shows how perfectly both reports agree.

Let us now examine the individual items of expenditure. Half of the total expenditure is for food. It is here of great interest to notice that in the transition to the next highest scale of expenditure the law laid down by Engels that the percentage of expenditure for food falls progressively with the height of the total expenditure is only borne out to a slight extent; in the lowest categories it amounts to 49.29 per cent. (or 55.96 if one adds the petty luxuries), which is paid for food, while in the highest scale it is 46.46 per cent. Here it is important to note that the number of members in the family rises with their income, and that the absolute expenditure on food cannot therefore remain stationary but must increase step by step, as Table XIV. shows.* But the actual sustenance value of the food also becomes greater, which is proved by the fact that the expenditure on food *per head* gradually increases, as the fourth column of the following Table shows:—

TABLE XIX.

Average number of members of family.	Income, in marks.	Total expenditure per head.	Of the total expenditure per head, in marks, there falls to—							
			Food.	Petty luxuries	Rent.	Fire and light.	Insurance & subscriptions.	Dress, re-newals and repairs	Culture Instruction and amusement.	Sundries.
2.83	Under 1,200	405 64	199.94	26 68	50 70	20.01	24.76	50.71	6.90	25 94
3.57	1,200 to 1 600	404.12	199.93	26.12	55.06	18.49	25 70	47.26	7 17	24 39
3.72	1,600 to 2,000	472 61	223 76	27.95	70.34	20.56	29 70	58.98	9 59	31 73
3.97	2,000 to 2,500	540.99	246.04	35 40	80 52	21.77	31 35	73.50	11 90	40 45
5.53	Over 2,500	478.23	222.19	32 56	65 64	18.72	24.24	68 97	11 81	34.10
3.84	On an average	475 53	223.98	30.14	68.80	20.25	28 60	61 25	9 85	32 66

* Also in Table XVI. (of the imperial report) this increase of the absolute expenditure on food may be seen, only here the reckoning for the number of heads in the different categories of income is not given.

How great is the aspiration of the workman to improve his food with his increasing income is shown by the fact that 37.5 and 38.1 per cent. per head of the extra expenditure which occurs on passing from the second to the third and from the third to the fourth scale of income is spent on food. This is shown by the following table:—

TABLE XX.

Income, in marks.	Total extra expenditure per head, in marks.	Of this, extra expenditure on food, in marks.	Extra expenditure on food, per cent. of the total expenditure, in marks.
1,200 to 1,600	—	—	—
1,600 to 2,000	68.49	25.66	37.5
2,000 to 2,500	68.38	29.79	38.1

As Table XIX. shows, the expenditure on food per head sinks in the highest scale of incomes, over 2,500 marks. In the same way the whole standard of life is worse in this highest scale of incomes than in the preceding one; a glance at the table shows us that. It is just this class of income where, as is seen in Table III., the work of the other members of the family brings in 2 per cent. of the total income—a new confirmation of the fact that the exploitation of every source of income, in addition to the man's wages, is forced upon the workers by poverty.

As regards all the other expenditure, we see an increase in the same way as in the expenditure on food: Tables XIV. to XVII. It is true, however, that this rise does not always take place to the same extent with regard to the various items. The rise of expenditure on the different items is not only to satisfy the needs of a larger number of persons, but in all the necessities of life there is an improvement, as Table XIX. shows, where the expenditure by head in the different scales is given.

In Table XV. we see that the percentage of expenditure on education and amusement increases, relatively, very much. But it is only a trivial sum which remains to the workman from the extra income when he has provided for the necessary demands of a raised standard of life. Of great interest in this relation is the dissection of the respective total additional expenditure which distinguishes the various steps of income into its different items.

This reckoning is founded upon Table XVI. (from the imperial report).

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TABLE XXI.

Income, in marks.	Total increased expenditure, in marks.	Extra expenditure per cent., in marks, of the total extra expenditure for—				
		Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Fire and light.	Sundries.
Under 1,200	—	—	—	—	—	—
1,200 to 1,600	348	55.9	9.9	7.5	1.1	25.6
1,600 to 2,000	358	39.0	17.6	21.4	2.0	20.0
2,000 to 2,500	392	43.5	16.2	13.4	1.8	25.1
2,500 to 3,000	470	53.4	19.4	8.7	0.7	17.8
—	—	47.9	12.8	12.8	1.4	22.1

About 48 per cent. of the extra expenditure by which the highest scale of income exceeds the lowest is for food. After accounting for the extra expenditure for housing and clothing, only 22 per cent. remains for other expenses. But these other expenses are also, for the most part, indispensable things—such as railway and omnibus fares, school books, soap, etc. For culture and amusement the workman only has at his disposal 1.36 to 3.18 per cent. (or on an average, 2.4 per cent.) of the total extra expenditure, as is shown by a dissection of the extra expenditure in Table XIV., from the metal workers' report:—

TABLE XXII.

Income, in marks.	Total extra expenditure, in marks.	For food, per cent. of the total extra expenditure, in marks.	For culture and amusement, per cent. of the total extra expenditure, in marks.
Under 1,200	—	—	—
1,200 to 1,600	295	56.3	2.05
1,600 to 2,000	319	46.1	3.18
2,000 to 2,500	389	44.0	2.97
Over 2,500	495	58.7	1.36
—	—	52.0	2.40

(To be continued.)

PROPOSED STERILISATION OF CERTAIN DEGENERATES.

By ROBERT R. RENTOUL, M.D., ETC.

In 1903, I proposed—among other items—that it should be made illegal for any person to issue a permit to marry, or to join in marriage, or to marry any idiot, imbecile, feeble-minded, epileptic, lunatic, chronic inebriate, habitual vagrant, habitual criminal, drug habitué, sexual pervert, deaf-mute or markedly neurotic. I further proposed that all the above—these not being legally responsible for their actions—should be so surgically operated upon that they could neither beget nor conceive offspring. These proposals I would have brought forward some ten years antecedent to 1903 could I have induced some publisher to publish them! But it is a strange feature in the publisher's moral standard that he will bring out a novel reeking of the sensual, erotic and prurient, but will refuse to publish a work relating to the *mental* conditions of poor humanity.

The laws relating to the marriage of degenerates in the United States of America are of educational value, but to the sane only, as it is not just nor reasonable to punish lunatics and the feeble-minded for their marriage or other actions; it can be at once seen that such laws are to these of no use. Nor will any practical person suggest that the feeble-minded consider the question of marriage when begetting offspring. Were there a compulsory medical examination of every person before marriage, the above laws would be more useful. But here, again, the degenerate class would beget and conceive—marriage or no marriage; law or no law. Some years ago I called attention to the case where five weak-minded, unmarried females had been delivered of fifteen idiot infants in a workhouse. Dr. Potts next told of where, in one workhouse, sixteen feeble-minded, unmarried females had no less than 116 idiot children. Later, Dr. Branthwaite has pointed out that 92 habitual inebriate women had had 850 infants. Will these poor demented demand marriage before maternity? I think, to sterilise them is the only real cure. It was for this reason I suggested that we should surgically sterilise the degenerate classes. I proposed that in the female we should divide and ligature the fallopian tubes (fallec-

tomy), and in the male either divide and ligature the vasa deferentia (vasectomy): or, divide and ligature the spermatic cords (spermectomy). These are simple and harmless operations; they neither injure the mental nor physical condition; nor do the first two weaken the desire or power. They effectually, however, prevent procreation. They are fully described in the second edition of my work—"Race Culture or Race Suicide."

In this country there is a steadily-growing feeling in favour of my proposal. It is being now discussed in France, Germany and Switzerland; yet, so far, America is the only country which has legislated upon my proposed operation.

Thus, on February 10, 1907, the State of Indiana passed the following Act :—

"An Act to prevent procreation of confirmed criminals, idiots, imbeciles, and rapists—providing that superintendents or boards of managers of institutions where such persons are confined, shall have the authority and are empowered to appoint a committee of experts, consisting of two physicians, to examine into the mental conditions of such inmates.

"Whereas heredity plays an important part in the transmission of crime, idiocy and imbecility, therefore be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana that on or after the passage of this Act it shall be compulsory for each and every institution in the State entrusted with the care of confirmed criminals, idiots, rapists and imbeciles to appoint upon its staff, in addition to the regular institution physician, two skilled surgeons of recognised ability, whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with the chief physician of the institution, to examine the mental and physical condition of such inmates as are recommended by the institutional physician and Board of Managers. If, in the judgment of this Committee, procreation is inadvisable, and there is no probability of improvement of the mental condition of the inmate, it shall be lawful for the surgeons to perform such operation for the prevention of procreation as shall be decided safest and most effective. But this operation shall not be performed except in cases that have been pronounced unimprovable."

This Act does not specify the operation to be performed: it includes confirmed criminals and rapists; it relates only to those confined in institutions. It fails in not providing a heavy penalty against those who sterilise degenerates without official sanction.

On April 20, 1909, the State of California legislated as follows :—

"Chapt. 720: An Act to permit asexualisation of inmates of State hospitals, and the California Home for the Care and Training of Feeble-minded Children and of convicts in the State

prisons. The people of the State of California, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:—

“Section 1: Whenever in the opinion of the medical superintendent of any State hospital, or the superintendent of the California Home for the Care and Training of Feeble-minded Children, or of the resident physician in any State prison, it would be beneficial and conducive to the benefit of the physical and mental or moral condition of any inmate of the said hospital, home or State prison, to be asexualised, then such superintendent or resident physician shall call in consultation the General Superintendent of the State Hospitals and the Secretary of the State Board of Health, and they shall jointly examine into all the particulars of the case with the said superintendent or resident physician, and if in their opinion, or in the opinion of any two of them, asexualisation will be beneficial to such inmate, patient, or convict, they may perform the same; provided, that in the case of an inmate or convict confined in any of the State prisons of the State, such operation shall not be performed unless the said inmate or convict has been committed to a State prison in this or some other State or country at least twice for some sexual offence, or at least three times for any other crime, and shall have given evidence while an inmate in a State prison in this State that he is a moral and sexual pervert; and provided, further, that in the case of convicts sentenced to State prison for life who exhibit continued evidence of moral and sexual depravity the right to asexualise them as provided in this Act shall apply whether they have been inmates of a State prison either in this or any other State or country more than once.”

It will be seen that this Act differs considerably from that of Indiana. Thus, the Indiana Act places the carrying out of the Act upon two skilled surgeons and the institution physician, these forming a “committee of experts.” If this committee think sterilisation advisable, then the operation takes place.

In the California Act the superintendent or resident physician must call in consultation the General Superintendent of State Hospitals and the Secretary of the State Board of Health—two very important officials.

The Indiana Act refers to “confirmed criminals, idiots, imbeciles and rapists.” But the California Act follows my original suggestion in so far as it includes those guilty of sexual offences, and moral and sexual perverts. It also applies to those who have committed such offences outside the United States.

Neither Act lays down what operations shall be performed—vasectomy, spermectomy, fallocotomy, ovariectomy, or orchotomy. The California Act uses the word “asexualised”—thus permitting ovariectomy and orchotomy. This is a very grave mistake, as my proposals would in no way rob the patient of his or her sex characteristics. To “asexualise” a person certainly means to rob them of their sex powers and sex characters. Both Acts

include males and females. Neither of the Acts make it an offence if other surgeons operate on persons for the purpose of preventing impregnation or conception. This also is a very grave lapse, and should be remedied forthwith.

On August 12, 1909, the State Legislature of Connecticut enacted as follows :—

“An Act concerning operations for the prevention of procreation. Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives in general assembly convened.

“Section 1 : The Directors of the State prison and the Superintendent of State Hospitals for the Insane at Middletown and Norwich are hereby authorised and directed to appoint for each of the said institutions respectively two skilled surgeons, who, in conjunction with the physician or surgeon in charge at each of the said institutions, shall examine such persons as are reported to them by the warden, superintendent, or the physician or surgeon in charge, to be persons by whom procreation would be inadvisable.

“Such Board shall examine the physical and mental condition of such persons, and their record and family history so far as the same can be ascertained, and if in the judgment of the majority of the said Board procreation by any such person would produce children with an inherited tendency to crime, insanity, feeble-mindedness, and idiocy or imbecility, and there is no probability that the condition of any such person so examined will improve to such an extent as to render procreation by such person advisable, or if the physical and mental condition of any such person will be substantially improved thereby, then the said Board shall appoint one of its members to perform the operation of vasectomy or oophorectomy, as the case may be, upon such person. Such to be performed in a safe and humane manner, and the Board making such examination, and the surgeon performing such operation, shall receive from the State such compensation for services rendered as the warden of the State prison or the superintendents of either such hospitals shall deem reasonable.

“Section 2 : Except as authorised by this Act, every person who shall perform, encourage, assist in, or otherwise promote the performance of either of the operations described in Section 1 of this Act, for the purpose of destroying the power to procreate the human species; or any person who shall knowingly permit either of such operations to be performed upon such person—unless the same be a medical necessity—shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars, or imprisoned in the State prison not more than five years, or both.”

The second section of this Act is of the utmost importance. It will be noted that the Act, unfortunately, provides for the removal of the ovaries. But why remove the ovaries when divi-

sion and ligation of the fallopian tubes will act as perfectly? My whole aim is not to remove either the testes or ovaries.

In 1905 the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania passed a Sterilisation Bill, but, so far, the State Governor has refused to sign it. This Bill is as follows:—

“Whereas heredity plays a most important part in the transmission of idiocy and imbecility,

“Therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania that on the first day after the passage of this Bill it shall be compulsory for each and every institution in the State entrusted with the care of idiots and imbecile children to appoint upon its staff at least one skilled neurologist and one skilled surgeon of recognised ability, whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with the chief physician of the institution, to examine the mental and physical condition of the inmates.

“If, in the judgment of this committee of experts, and the Board of Trustees, procreation is inadvisable, and there is no probability of improvement of the mental condition of the inmate, it shall be lawful for the surgeon to perform such operation for the prevention of procreation as shall be decided safest and most effective, but this operation shall not be performed except in cases that have been pronounced non-improvable.”

This Act refers only to hospitals for idiot and imbecile children, and does not refer to habitual criminals, sexual perverts, lunatics, or other degenerates.

In 1906 the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin discussed a Sterilisation Bill, but postponed passing it until an investigation was made regarding the mental defectives of the State.

In 1908 the State of Oregon Legislature passed a Sterilisation Bill, but as the State Governor did not sign it it has not yet become law. It will, however, be again presented in January, 1911, when, if a majority of each House vote for its passing again, it will become law, no matter whether the Governor refuses to sign it.

This year (1910) a Bill for Sterilisation was introduced into the Ontario (Canada) Legislature, but their Prime Minister spoke so strongly against it that the Bill was withdrawn.

These references complete my knowledge regarding the Bills passed and rejected by different Parliamentary bodies. A reference to the last edition of my work* shows that many influential persons are in favour of my proposal. Later than its issue, Dr. J. Kerr, Medical Officer to the Education Committee of the London County Council, in his 1908 Report, when writing on mentally-defective children and their proposed segregation, says: “A much more humane and scientific idea than mere segregation, and more economical to the State, would be to deprive such individuals of the objectionable powers and capacities, at the same time

* “Race Culture or Race Suicide,” Second Edition.

relieving them of the passions and desires before the time at which these develop." (Page 62.)

In 1906 Dr. Stansfield, Medical Superintendent Banstead Asylum, reported to the Asylums Committee, London County Council: "The question of the sterilisation of the insane becomes more and more pressing." He further pointed out that the birth-rate among the degenerate class is not falling at the same rate as that of the sane. Statistics show that the average fertility of degenerate parents is 7.3 when compared with four of non-degenerate parents.

What are the alternatives to my proposals?

Forced Abortion.—Dr. Clouston, in the 6th Edition of his "Mental Diseases," recommends abortion and premature labour in cases of marked insanity. This is of little use: the woman could become pregnant repeatedly, and every neurotic female would be demanding abortion.

Murder of Degenerates.—To me it is extremely painful to find so large a number apparent Christians demanding the murder of a class of persons who are not legally accountable for their actions nor mental conditions. It would be a strange action for the community to appoint certain medical murderers to kill off degenerates! Fancy a poor struggling practitioner being offered £50 or £100 to kill an idiot child, or a senile relative. The mere idea of the lethal chamber is repulsive to any thoughtful man or woman.

Forbidding the Degenerates to Beget Children.—Such a proposal is as helpful as is that of abortion or murder! The degenerate may be said to fear neither God nor Law. Certainly he or she will not consider the sad result of either actions. And practical men know that the mental and physical contamination of our race does not begin only after a marriage ceremony.

Suicide.—While one considers the large yearly number of insane, and others, who perform suicide, and who thus help to keep down the great total of weak-minded, weak-willed, and degenerate classes, it is to be noted that while suicide increases so also does degeneracy—therefore, suicide will not give much help.

Lifelong Incarceration.—Were all degenerates likely to beget tainted offspring so dealt with, the expense to the taxpayer would be unbearable. It is more than heavy at present. In my work, "Race Culture or Race Suicide," p. 36, I show that in one year in the United Kingdom we expended £13,081,000 on the upkeep of the mentally and physically degenerate classes. This expenditure is absolutely unproductive. Not only so, but it renders the work of these asylum doctors and others therein engaged as absolutely unproductive. The Lunacy Commissioners have lately pointed out that asylum expenditure has increased from £200,535 to £370,474, or 78 per cent.—that is, no decrease of insanity, but enormous increase of expenditure. I think that

£50,000,000 yearly would not cover the cost—more than we expend upon our Navy each year! One lunatic has been known to cost Poor Law Guardians £1,300. But the question of expense is not the only objection to lifelong incarceration. The proposal is cruel. It is suggestive of punishment, and punishment of the irresponsible: There is surely a large degenerate class who could be allowed to be at large if only they had been sterilised. The sexual degenerate, the sane epileptic, the harmless weak-minded, the confirmed drug habitué, and inebriates, the confirmed vagrant, and confirmed criminal, the prostitute, and the markedly neurotic class. These are active begetters of markedly degenerate children; but they can work, or be made to work. Something less drastic and less expensive to the taxpayer than lifelong incarceration is wanted, and that is my simple, non-dangerous and non-expensive proposal—sterilisation.

This much is certain. For years we have been content to build palatial asylums and overload the taxpayer so that he is so pressed that he can neither marry, or if married have a large family. The Commissioners in Lunacy state in January, 1909, there were in England alone 128,787 insane officially reported (we know there are some thousands more *not* reported). In one year the increase of the insane—even with the help of those poor suicides—was 2,703. In 1859 there were only 36,742 officially known insane. Since then the insane rate has increased by 250 per cent., while the population has increased only 81 per cent.—a magnificent display for a nation supposed to be educated, even up to the seventh school standard! One in every 250 of the population is officially described as a lunatic! One in every five criminals is a lunatic. Two of every three in inebriate houses is feeble-minded. These figures are but a finger-post pointing thoughtful minds to a ghastly future. The medical inspection of school children is bringing a sad state of affairs to the point. The mentally-defective children—about 150,000 in number in England—will beget an army of insane. We have about 34,015 “sane” epileptics—all potential begetters of more insane. Sociologists know that a very large proportion—probably 75 per cent.—of vagrants, criminals, alcoholics, deaf-mutes, drug habitués, sexual perverts, rapists, the weak-willed, the markedly neurotic and prostitutes are mentally defective, and *must* bring forth degenerates if we curse them by allowing them to. Shortly before Dr. Barnardo died (1904) he wrote me saying: “Some step will have to be taken in the near future if we are to protect the nation from large additions of the most enfeebled, vicious and degenerate type.” Do we propose to permit the degenerate class to go on begetting more and more degenerates until there are more insane than sane, and until we sink the already overtaxed taxpayer beyond recovery? To-day unthinking society says, “Yes.” I feel certain, however, that the to-morrow will say, “No”; and with no uncertain, cowardly, popularity-hunting or shuffling voice.

THE REVIEWS.

HOW RUSSIA IS ABOUT TO RECOVER HER LOST POSITION.

Dr. Dillon writes the following under the heading "Foreign Affairs" in the current "Contemporary Review":—

And now all of a sudden the balance of the world's military power has again been shifted—in a way, too, that few deemed possible: by eliminating two elements of Russia's weakness—her military rivalry with the Japanese in Asia and her relatively unfavourable trade balance.

Smouldering hostility between the two peoples, which might at any moment flame up into the consuming fire of another Manchurian war, has changed into friendship apparently overnight, or, at any rate, so unexpectedly that some press organs erroneously affirm that the Russo-Japanese Convention was M. Izvolsky's impulsive reply to Secretary Knox's neutralisation scheme. As a matter of fact, the conversations on the subject began long before Mr. Knox's plan had ever been heard of. On the other hand, two years' abundant harvests have infused strength into Russia's finances to an extent which was deemed impossible a twelvemonth ago. It is not an exaggeration to state that even the highest and most competent financiers in Russia did not, and could not, foresee any such boom of prosperity, agricultural, industrial, and commercial, as is obvious to everyone to-day. Material prosperity is growing like a bewitched mango-seed. Now those two beneficial changes, to which I might add others, are themselves the fruitful sources of far-ranging change in the politics of the world. Are they equally welcome to all? One may reasonably doubt it.

It would be an exaggeration to contend that this extraordinary betterment in Russia's condition has already reversed the relative strength of the two main groups of European States—Russia, France, and Great Britain on one side, and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. There are no bewitched mango-seeds in the field of politics. As yet things are as they were. But, looking fairly and squarely at the established facts, one may safely say that most of the money and the troops heretofore absorbed by the Far East—and the troops there would, I am told, soon have to be doubled—are now available for any other of Russia's frontiers, where their presence might be useful or

necessary. And the value in men, roubles, and fighting strength generally which this displacement of the Far Eastern danger has conferred upon Russia in Europe will be gauged aright by European experts who have a trained eye for such valuations. They will perceive, nay, have already perceived, that a fresh guarantee has been created, for the world's peace, a fresh barrier against would-be peace-breakers. But they also discern that it is a guarantee which entails a serious depreciation of the war equipment of those military Powers who, in the public opinion of Europe, would have come out of a campaign victorious. What the military Powers Germany and Austria would have accomplished with every thousand fighting men and every thousand pounds last year they will be able to effect no longer. Therefore a forward policy or a spirited attitude which a twelvemonth ago would have involved no risks on their part will rightly be considered perilous in a few years. In other words, there are many contentious questions, involving interests, but not vital interests, of theirs for the sake of which they could, and did, risk hostilities quite recently, but which will not lure them from the Council Chamber to the battle-field in the future. They will abstain from making a cavalry charge. Diplomatic circumspection, laborious mining and counter-mining, will take the place of a dashing onslaught. Accordingly, war has become correspondingly less likely, and peace more secure.

RUSSIA STILL NEEDS FIVE YEARS' EXTERNAL PEACE: WILL SHE GET THEM?

That is one way of looking at the matter. There is another. The financial sacrifices—in the shape of self-taxation—which the military Powers are ungrudgingly making for their vast equipment will in future bring in fewer and less tangible returns than heretofore. In consequence of this their assumed military superiority will not be discounted in diplomatic campaigns as liberally as in the spring of 1909. And the difference will be keenly felt. Now, can such a change be sincerely welcomed by those who thus lose by it? Hardly. Will it be received with cheerful resignation, or will an effort be put forth to counteract it? That is the question. And if action be taken, whither will it lead?

As yet only the seed has been sown. It is too early to discuss the flowers, much more the fruits. The effects of the Russo-Japanese Convention, which, if once realised, will reach far and endure long, cannot make themselves felt instantaneously. An interval of time is indispensable, an interval during which Russia can avail herself of the favourable turn taken by affairs, can reorganise her army and navy, consolidate her finances, put order in her internal politics, and reassume in the political world a position worthy of her. For those purposes a period of not less than from five to ten years of tranquillity is requisite. And one ardently hopes it will be vouchsafed by fate. For if before

the lapse of that term the improbable took place, and the peace of Europe were broken by the Great Powers, the advantages of the Russo-Japanese Convention would be frustrated, and Europe would be face to face with the unknown. The superiority of the two military Powers would still continue the formidable reality which it was in 1909. That is the cardinal fact of the situation. The coming advent of Russia cannot be reasoned away; it might be eliminated by an outbreak of hostilities. But however eager for the fray a nation may be, and however patriotic its leaders, neither would provoke an armed collision intentionally merely because the moment happened to be favourable, and is only a moment. The statesmen of whom one knows that they would not have scrupled to bring on a war deliberately are very few; and, what is more to the point, they are dead.

Unluckily, dangers to the world's peace arise spontaneously. The ordinary course of events brings them in its train independently of deliberate efforts of the human will. They are almost always cropping up, and one of the tasks of the statesman is to dislodge or elude them. Even at the present moment of general tranquillity and averseness to war the number of cloudlets in the sky which might gather and lower and let loose a destructive storm is not by any means inconsiderable. Crete, for instance, is but a speck on the globe, but the Cretan difficulty is a smouldering fire which will continue to glow and to endanger the peace of Europe until it has been extinguished by annexation. The acute crisis recently produced by the exclusion of the Moslem deputies from the Assembly, because they declined to take the oath of fidelity to King George of Greece, is over, thanks to the courage and foresight displayed by Venizelos. But the fire has only been covered with ashes, beneath which it still glows on. In a few months' time it may be burning anew. Again, when the general elections to the Greek Chamber take place another live coal may be shot out of the Cretan furnace, with dire consequences to South-Eastern Europe. Or the Czar of the eighth magnitude, Ferdinand, who is burning with a desire to twinkle as a Czar of the fifth or fourth magnitude, may fly off at a tangent to his present orbit, and seriously affect the whole constellation of Powers.



SOCIALISM AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

Under the above heading the "Medical Press" for June 15 has the following:—

"In order to illustrate the feeling towards the profession that seems to prevail in the minds of at least one section—there are several sections—of the Socialistic body, we gave, about a year ago, some quotations from the 'Red Catechism' used in the Socialistic Sunday-schools. One of the lessons deals with hospitals, and, in the form of question and answer, sets forth

that in these institutions students and doctors make experiments upon poor patients in order that they may sell the knowledge they gain to the rich. The poor must, therefore, avoid hospitals. Teaching of this sort seems to be carried on now in a wider field. In a recent article in the 'Social-Democrat,' the statement is made that, 'in spite of the doctor's being paid to cure disease, he actually profits by its continuation, and his economic incentive is to reverse his *raison d'être*.' The article goes on to urge that the longer the doctor takes in effecting a cure the more pay he receives, and that the system of pay not only makes unscrupulous practices possible for the whole profession, but makes it unavoidable by a considerable section. Medical men are further accused of being callous and brutal, because, to be successful operators, they must be indifferent to the sight of pain. These Socialists evidently believe that the process of training for the medical profession develops in the candidate a condition of permanent moral obliquity approaching criminality, and that the doctor's trade, in fact, consists in preying cruelly upon weak and suffering humanity. Unless the moral qualities of doctors were first improved, it is, however, not easy to see how the proposed remedies would act. The doctors would remain just as wicked if hospitals were, as it is suggested, put under the control of the State, and practitioners were paid fixed salaries to look after certain districts. The only safe plan for Socialists of a certain class seems to be to discard legitimate medicine entirely, and trust to the miracle-working practitioners, and the purveyors of 'secret' remedies for all diseases, whose advertisements fill the columns of the newspapers."

What our medical contemporary fails to observe is that we Socialists apply to the medical profession the rules of capitalist competitive society, as they are constantly reiterated as arguments against Socialism. It is contended, for instance, that not only is self-preservation the first law of Nature, and self-interest the mainspring of human action, but that Socialism is impossible because nobody even does, or ever will do, anything except from the meanest and most selfish motives. Surely we have no reason to rule the medical profession out of society in general, and to say that its members, and they alone, give their services to humanity out of pure philanthropy and from motives of sublime altruism! Men enter the medical profession just as they enter that of the law, or into any other business, in order to make a living, and it is no reflection upon them to say so. The statement that a doctor is not paid for curing a disease, but "profits by its continuation," is merely one of fact. That many, if not most, doctors are kindly and humane, and conscientiously strive to alleviate suffering and to cure their patients, does not alter the fact that it is not to their interest so to do. It only proves that they, like many capitalists, are better than the system, and that the Anti-Socialists are wrong in their contention that men only work for material reward and have no other motive than self-interest.

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THE EUROPEAN WAR CLOUD.

BY H. QUELCH.

As has been the case in successive international Socialist Congresses, the question which attracted most interest in the Copenhagen Congress was that of war and armaments, and the policy of the International Social-Democracy in relation thereto. Here, again, as on every former occasion, the Congress declared unitedly and emphatically in favour of peace: international arbitration, the progressive reduction of armaments, and of the organisation and application, by the working class of all countries, of every effort and every means to prevent war, to hinder armaments, and to "seek peace and ensue it."

On this subject the resolution of the Congress was clear, definite, unambiguous and all-embracing. It is true that a definite expression of opinion in favour of a general strike in the event of war was rejected; but the resolution does not preclude the resort to that means wherever or whenever it may be found possible. The resolution re-affirms that of Stuttgart, to the effect that:—

"In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their Parliamentary representatives in the

countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, *to do all they can to prevent the outbreak of war*, using for this purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious, and which must naturally vary according to the acuteness of the class struggle, and to the general political conditions.

“ In case, notwithstanding their efforts, war should break out, they shall be bound to intervene to bring it to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilising the economical and political crisis created by the war in order to rouse the masses of the people, and to hasten the overthrow of the domination of the capitalist class.”

That, certainly, does not preclude a resort to a general strike, or to any other means which “ may be efficacious ” in the various circumstances in different countries.

In other respects the resolution is not less complete and satisfactory in its statement of general principles and in laying down the line of action which it is the duty of the Socialist Party, and the organised working-class generally, to take. It is, however, in the application of those general principles, and in the particular measures (which may admittedly vary with circumstances) to be adopted in a given time and place, which constitute the difficulty and occasion differences of opinion.

That is true in many other respects. All Socialists are agreed as to the general principles of Socialism and the end in view. Everyone who believes in the socialisation of the means of production is a Socialist. Those who do not so believe are not Socialists, whatever their profession. But it is in the application of Socialist principles in present environment; in the selection of the means and the course to adopt to attain most speedily the end in view; the policy to be pursued in relation to existing actualities, and to the pressing economic and political questions of the

moment—these are the considerations which constitute our difficulties and occasion differences of opinion in a Party which is not merely a propagandist society, but seeks, and indeed is forced, to take an active part in the economic and political life and struggle of to-day.

The same considerations apply with equal force to the question of the means to be adopted against war. All means, says the International Congress, practically, are justifiable in order to promote peace and prevent war. Precisely. "Peace at any price!" said the great peace-protagonist, Mr. P. A. Taylor. "Yes, I *am* for peace at any price; even at the price of war." And we agree. We agree, moreover, with the declaration of our comrade Vaillant—"Better insurrection than war." But who believes that insurrection—"war against war" in the most literal sense—would be possible in England or Germany—or, indeed, in any country, except, perhaps, Spain or Italy—in the event of the outbreak of hostilities?

The whole question of the maintenance of peace, therefore, resolves itself into one of the means to be adopted in any given set of circumstances. In this connection there has been considerable controversy in our own ranks, and some of us have come in for considerable censure because we have ventured to suggest that in existing circumstances the maintenance of a strong British Navy is necessary, not only for the protection of our national autonomy, and even our national existence, but also for the maintenance of peace in Europe. It is contended that, in making and maintaining that suggestion, we are running counter to all Socialist principles and to the expressed declarations in its Congresses of the International Social-Democracy. Nevertheless, I venture to support the contention, and maintain that it is not opposed to the resolution of the Congress, but is, on the contrary, quite in keeping with that resolution, which enjoins the use of any means for the prevention of war that may, in the circumstances, be practicable.

That is not to say, of course, that we should be

willing to support every demand of the British Government for increased supplies for armaments—either naval or military. Quite the contrary. Had I been in the House of Commons, I should have followed the example of our comrade Thorne and voted against the increased Navy Estimates, just as I have written and spoken against them outside. But I should not have contented myself with a silent vote. I should have insisted, as I have over and over again insisted, that it was the duty of the Government to show cause, to demonstrate the necessity of this enormous increase in naval expenditure, and to shape its foreign policy so as to avoid or remove that necessity. Contending, as I do, that it is the duty of the British Government to maintain an efficient national defence, I nevertheless assert that it is the duty of Socialists and of the representatives of the working class to refuse to vote a single penny for armaments while these are used to support, and the national defence itself is imperilled by, an aggressive imperialist foreign policy. I think we could reasonably say to our rulers: Not a single man nor a single penny for Army or Navy until you “mend your manners”; until you carry out your bond; until you evacuate Egypt; cease to bleed India; abandon your truckling to the Czar and other despots, remove the stigma from this country which now attaches to her as “perfidious Albion,” the chief faith-breaker among the nations, and restore to her the character she has always professed as the champion of small and oppressed nationalities.

That, it appears to me, is a perfectly clear, definite and reasonable course of action for Socialists and the organised working class to take. But that is quite apart from the general proposition that the maintenance of an efficient British Navy is essential to the national defence and to the world's peace; that it is the duty of the Government to maintain that efficiency, and of Socialists to support the Government in that duty. It also leaves open the question as to how far the present defence is adequate.

On this last point Socialists may reasonably differ. As to the first, I have no doubt whatever. To my mind, all the facts go to show that Germany, or rather Prussia, threatens the peace, the democratic progress and the national liberties of Western Europe. In her aggressive policy she has only two powerful obstacles to reckon with—the British Navy and the French Army. The Prussian objective is not the subjection of France or the annexation of England. The invasion of France or of England may or may not form part of the plan of campaign, but Prussia's objective is the annexation of Holland and Denmark, with all that that involves. The chief obstacle to the attainment of that object is, obviously, the British Fleet. Prussia's first move, therefore, must be to destroy the British naval power, and that the German naval programme is directed to that end appears to me to admit of no doubt whatever. That is the situation as it presents itself to me, and as all the evidences go to prove.

Now, either that is the position or it is not. I simply submit that it is the position, and that there is overwhelming evidence in support of that view. I contend, moreover, that this opinion is very widely held in Holland and Denmark, although in both countries there is a growing hope that the rising tide of Social-Democracy in Germany will thwart these aggressive designs.

But if that is the position, it is no answer to our contention as to the duty of the British Government in maintaining an efficient Navy to say that between the people of England and the people of Germany there is no cause of quarrel. That is a self-evident truth. There was no cause of quarrel between the peoples of Russia and Japan, and none between the people of this country and the Boers. But that eternal fact did not prevent war. In the latter case Britain was the aggressor, and we did not hesitate to say so, and to condemn and oppose the war by every means in our

power. But that did not prevent the masses of the people enthusiastically supporting the war.

Still less is it an argument against this view to say that in this connection both Germany and Britain are equally to blame, and that it is the duty of Socialists in both countries to oppose their own Government and keep their own wild beast under control. If that were the case, the whole situation would be simplified. If it were merely a contest between two great Powers for territory or a market—as is sometimes contended—we should have no other duty than to put every obstacle in the way of our own filibusters. But that is not the case. In most cases the “balance of criminality,” as Mr. Balfour would put it, lies on one side or the other; and in the present instance it is Germany and not Britain which threatens the peace of Europe. In saying this, I do not claim—nor does anyone else claim—any excess of virtue for this nation or its Government. We have never hesitated to denounce the British Empire as the most piratical Power in the world. It is not because Britain is any better than Germany, but simply because the interests of the ruling class so determine, that in the present circumstances it is Germany which threatens and Britain which defends the peace in Western Europe just now. It is no answer to my contention, moreover, to say that the autonomy of Holland or Denmark is no concern of ours, and that the people would be just as well off under German rule as they are now. That is certainly not the opinion of the Danes or the Dutch themselves, nor is it the experience of those Danes, or the Poles, who have come under Prussian rule. Neither is it any answer to say that we have no country to defend; that it is the landlords’ and capitalists’ country, and that we have no concern except to curb the ruling class here, let the ruling class of other countries do what it may against us or them. In the first place we, as Socialists, are concerned with the maintenance of peace; and in the second place to the defence of the autonomy and

integrity of independent nationalities. Therefore, a menace to both the one and the other is pre-eminently our concern.

We find that menace now to come from a certain quarter. While, therefore, I admit that we should strenuously oppose any policy of our Government which is likely to provoke, justify, or even excuse that menace, it does seem to me unreasonable, in the circumstances, to suggest that it is our duty to also oppose without discrimination any measure of national defence. Yet that, it seems, is what some of our pacifist friends would have us do. It is as though my neighbour was compelled by his landlord to keep in his back-yard a ferocious dog, which he tried unavailingly to control, and yet at the same time adjured me to leave my front door open and to abandon all means of defending myself against the dog, on the ground that the dog was not his and the house I live in is not mine!

The people of this country do not own this country. That is perfectly true. But they have to live here. In the event of a war, or even the threat of a war, it is the poor who would have to suffer all the privations. The rich could get away. The poor could not. They would hunger and starve, hemmed in like rats in a sewer, while their masters looked on from afar, amused spectators, and even, may-be, reaping a rich harvest from the horror and devastation of which the poor were the victims. I do not own the house in which I live; so far as the house itself is concerned, it is a matter of no moment to me if it were destroyed to-morrow, and I have no doubt my landlord is insured. But these considerations would not lead me to look on with indifference if I saw another landlord preparing to set fire to the house, nor induce me to frustrate any efforts my landlord might make to protect his property. Quite the contrary. Although the house is not mine, my belongings are in it, and my present and essential interests lie in not being burnt out. Landlord against landlord, the man from whom I rent my house is of no more concern for me than any other.

He is probably no better than any other, and I have certainly no interest in defending him or his property. But I have an interest in protecting my own belongings which are sheltered in his property.

So it is with the international situation. As between two great piratical Powers, Britain and Germany, the proletariat have no interest on one side or the other. But when one of them is contemplating an act of aggression, the interests of the proletariat are on the other side. That is the view we English Social-Democrats have maintained when the aggressor was Britain or Russia. We did not hesitate to vigorously express that view in the Boer War, when Britain was the aggressor, and when many of our present-day pacifists were justifying that act of brigandage. We did not hesitate to express it against Spain in Morocco, America in the Phillipines, or when Russia was the aggressor in Manchuria and Finland, or to strenuously oppose any treaty or dealings with the Czarist despotism. I do not, therefore, see any reason why we should suddenly adopt another standpoint now that, not Russia nor Britain, but Germany, threatens the world's peace and the liberty of smaller nationalities. We did not complain, but rejoiced, when every nation in Europe joined us in a chorus of condemnation of British imperialist aggression in South Africa; and if Britain threatened Denmark or Belgium, or Holland, or France or Germany with attack, we should be the first to protest, to vigorously oppose, and to appeal to our Continental comrades for their co-operation in such opposition. I do not see why the same rule should not hold good in the present instance. Imperialism is imperialism, and aggression is aggression, whether it be British or Russian, American or German. I, as a Social-Democrat, am opposed to all forms of imperialism, and I think we English Social-Democrats have as good a right to condemn German imperialism and aggression as our Continental comrades have to condemn the same curses when they happen to be British.

It seems to me, therefore, that, while we are bound to oppose British imperial expansion, we are bound to support British naval supremacy in Western Europe; that in so doing we are conforming to the terms of the resolution of the International Socialist Congress, because, in existing circumstances, that supremacy is necessary, not only for the national defence, but for the maintenance of the peace of Europe. That supremacy, in my opinion, does not involve the continuance of the present insane competition of armaments. It does, however, as I think, involve the retention of all those powers of defence—including the “right of capture”—at present held by this country. I am aware that the “right of capture” has been condemned by the International Congress, and in view of that condemnation I could not *advocate* its retention. That does not, however, alter my opinion that its surrender would be a serious, if not fatal, blow to the defence of these islands; nor is it true, as Keir Hardie said at Copenhagen, that it was the refusal to surrender this which provoked German naval expansion. German naval expansion began long before that refusal was made, and the excuse that the German naval programme was dictated by the need of protecting her mercantile marine is mere subterfuge. The convoying of merchantmen by men-of-war would be utterly out of the question in modern naval warfare.

Why, then, it may be asked, not surrender the right of capture, and so ensure the immunity of trading vessels in time of war?

For a number of reasons. Among others, private property—all treaties or Hague agreements notwithstanding—cannot be immune in war time, but is liable to capture or destruction, merely as an act of strategy. No military commander could afford to hesitate to destroy railways, bridges, trees, or buildings, which could be used against him by the enemy; and no British naval commander, I imagine, would allow an enemy's merchantman to steam up the Thames, or

would hesitate to capture her, in time of war—not as an act of piracy, but simply as one of defence.

Moreover, Socialists have no interest in “professionalising” war, or in preserving the property of the master class from attack or injury. It is capitalism, says the Copenhagen resolution, which causes war; therefore let the capitalist class understand that war will injure them in their most sensitive part—the breeches pocket. That it will not be a mere gladiatorial contest, in which warships alone will be battered and sunk and sailors and soldiers be killed, while they, like vultures, gorge themselves with impunity on the corpses; but that their dearly beloved property also will be at stake. That fact is more likely to give them pause than any peace resolutions.

In the meantime, so far as the present crisis is concerned—for let there be no mistake about it, there is a crisis—our course is clear; the course we have always advocated, that of coming to an agreement with our German comrades as to joint action in both countries. The task of bringing this about is imposed upon the International Bureau by the concluding paragraph of the resolution:—

“For the proper execution of these measures the Congress directs the Bureau, in the event of the menace of war, to take immediate steps to bring about an agreement among the working-class parties of the countries affected for united action to prevent the threatened war.”

A VISIT TO THE BUENOS AIRES PENITENTIARY, WITH SOME SUGGESTED THOUGHTS ON THE CRIMINAL QUESTION.

By MANUEL M. TERRERO, A.R.S.M.

During a recent journey to the Argentine I was privileged to be allowed to visit and see throughout what I believe to be the finest model prison in the world—the Penitenciaría of Buenos Aires. It is far easier over there for any person, not prompted by mere idle curiosity, to obtain such permission than in this country—probably because they have nothing which needs concealment; whereas our own system, though doubtless much improved of late years, is in many respects so defective that the authorities may well shrink from publicity.

The Deputy Governor, Senor Sunico, who kindly took me round in company with an old friend, a Commissioner of Police, presented me on leaving with a description of the prison and the system on which it is conducted, compiled by the Governor himself, Senor Ballvé. This, together with my own recollection, has afforded me material for an article on the subject which I trust may not prove wanting in interest to readers of this Magazine.

The guiding principle of the Buenos Aires system is this: That the idea of punishment as mere revenge, giving like for like, "thine eye shall not pity; but life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot"—that this, the old Mosaic injunction, is mere antiquated wickedness and folly; that the protection of society in the

first place, and the reformation of the criminal in the second place, should be the only objects considered in any civilised penal system. Sir Robert Anderson tells us that Sir John Bridge, a most enlightened criminal judge, once said to him, "I have nothing to do with punishing crime; that rests with a higher Power. My business is to protect the community."

The Penitentiary was finished in 1877, its general plan being doubtless inspired by the then celebrated Philadelphia Prison.

The whole of the buildings, except the Governor's house, are enclosed by an outside wall seven metres, or nearly eight yards, high. This wall, constantly paraded along its summit by sentinels armed with loaded rifles, constitutes the chief strength of the prison and affords absolute security against escape.

Inside this we find the guard-house, offices for the staff, infirmaries, workshops, laundry, bakery and kitchens, gymnasium, school house, gardens, and seven pavilions containing the cells—five of 120 each and two of 52 each—i.e., 704 in all. The five larger pavilions are reserved for those condemned to penal servitude, No. 7 for those condemned to simple imprisonment, and No. 6 for prisoners awaiting trial who have not been granted bail. With these latter especially, the very greatest care is exercised in their separation into distinct groups, so that there may be no risk of contamination of juvenile or first offenders by either the professional or worst class of criminal. The five larger pavilions are constructed on what is known as the "radial system." The great advantage of this is that all five galleries and consequently every one of their 600 cells is commanded by and under the constant observation of the guard stationed in what is known as the Centre of Observation. The advantages of this plan are obvious. The four spaces between these five pavilions are occupied by spacious gardens. There is consequently a fine school of gardening, and there is also a large exercise ground

and gymnasium. The whole space covered amounts to about twelve hectares or nearly 30 acres.

Discipline, education, and work, together with a total absence of any needless suffering, while having due regard to the deterrent side of the punishment question, constitute the keynote of the whole system. It is based upon the common-sense notion that the average prisoner may be said to be of the same flesh and blood as ourselves. Often a victim of circumstances, he has a sense of justice just as most of us have—imperfect, we may own, but roughly correct, nevertheless. If you treat him brutally he retaliates in kind if he can, and small blame to him. He well knows that society must protect itself against crime, and will, as a rule, submit to reasonable punishment—possibly with a bad grace, but that is only human nature after all. If responsive to brutality, he is probably equally so to kindness, and this was certainly borne out to my own observation by the almost entire absence of that fierce, sullen, and sulky expression only too common among our own convicts. Senor Sunico assured me that flogging was unknown, and that discipline was without difficulty maintained with no punishment, except the punishment-cell and bread and water diet. In spite of the fact that many of the prisoners have what might be termed dangerous weapons constantly in their hands, he assured me he himself never went about armed, and that, so far as he knew, none of the warders carried an arm of any description. This one fact alone to my mind points to a great triumph of what is a severe yet just and humane system, tempered with tact and kindness. One wonders what injustice and ill-treatment may not have provoked the several outbreaks at Dartmoor of which we hear but meagre reports. Of one thing we may be certain, the authorities will never let us know the real and whole truth. To one who knows Dartmoor as I do, the mere fact of sending men out to work in the bitter weather there experienced, ill-fed and insufficiently clad for that terrible climate, alone con-

stitutes torture of the most indefensible description. Which of us who had experienced it but would leave that place with bitterness and hatred in his heart against the men and system responsible for such cruel and needless suffering?

To return to our immediate subject. The discipline is, quite properly, exceedingly rigorous, and the convict is clearly given to understand that he will under no circumstances be permitted to oppose his own will to the prison regulations and the orders of his superiors. This kind of discipline is not bad for anyone, and is good for most. If we do not get it at school, in the Army or Navy, through our own parents or children, through our husbands or wives, or in prison, then we certainly have missed something in the way of moral training and character-forming which nothing can make up for.

The convicts have to rise at 4.30 a.m., and 9 o'clock is the hour for bed. In the latitude of Buenos Aires, one thus gets about the maximum amount of daylight hours for work, etc. These 16½ hours are roughly spent thus: nine in manual labour, three in study, and the balance of four-and-a-half is allowed for meals, rest, and physical exercise. There is a fine exercise ground and gymnasium. This is in every way more reasonable and beneficial than our system, where what is dignified by the name of "exercise" consists of a monotonous hour's tramp round and round a dreary yard—I have seen it at Dartmoor—just about as pleasurable and health-inducing as the to-and-fro walk of the poor caged carnivori in one of our zoological gardens.

I myself am not a smoker, and therefore cannot be accused of undue prejudice in favour of what is, I suppose by courtesy, known as the "fragrant weed." I will, however, make this concession to our anti-tobacco friends, that I regard it as a needless habit liable to degenerate into a more or less troublesome and even dirty one. After all, women seem to be quite well without it, as is the case too with a consider-

able number of men. But I am sympathetic enough to recognise that, having once adopted the habit, the deprivation of it may constitute quite needless and wanton cruelty. In accordance with this idea smoking is permitted even during working hours, and in fact the Government actually provides the necessary allowance of tobacco to those who desire it.

The alcohol question is on a totally different plane. Alcoholic drinks, as in no sense food, as quite needless in health, and as a potent factor in crime, are with very good cause strictly forbidden except when ordered by the doctor for special reasons. As deeply interested in this question, myself a life-long abstainer, I asked my friend the Police Commissioner what his 25 years' experience had taught him as to the relation between crime and alcohol. His reply came promptly, "I regard alcohol as the direct cause of 40 per cent. of the crimes committed in this country." I happened shortly afterwards to be dining at the house of another old friend, a judge of the Criminal Court of Appeal, and asked him the same question. His answer was, "My experience, extending over the same length of time, has told me that it is a cause, direct or indirect, in every case of crime which has ever come before me." I consider this evidence especially valuable. Both men were speaking of their own experience, and neither of them is himself an abstainer.

A so-called "Conduct Tribunal" is constituted from among the higher officers of the prison, whose duty it is at stated intervals to classify the prisoners according to their conduct. There are six grades thus formed, from "pesima," "very bad," up to "ejemplar," that is, "exemplary." The prisoner is subjected to certain privations or granted certain privileges, in accordance with the grade to which he is relegated. As in our own system, good conduct entitles the convict to a certain proportional remission of sentence.

Senor Balivé tells us that though the old rule of absolute and perpetual silence still exists on paper, he considers it absurd and anti-scientific as in opposition

to the natural laws of human nature, and therefore in practice the authorities connive at its violation, except in such cases and at such times as it is needful for purposes of order and discipline. It is in fact, I am glad to say, a rule "more honoured in the breach than in the observance."

The food is ample, wholesome, and well prepared—very different from the state of things in our own prisons. Meat is given daily; 400 gramines (about 1lb.) of first class white bread is the daily allowance, and as regards variety—a most important point—there is nothing left to be desired. Four meals daily are served: early breakfast, breakfast, tea, and supper; our own convicts get but three. To my mind it is quite inconceivable that good work, either physical or mental, can be expected from the miserable diet allowed in our prisons. The average ignorant person is but too apt to forget that one can no more get work, which means expenditure of energy, from the human machine without proper and sufficient fuel than from any other. That grand generalisation of modern science, the doctrine of the conservation of energy, applies equally in the case of the navvy, the brain-worker, the convict, or the poor underfed mite forced to attend the elementary schools of our large cities. No food, no work; bad food, bad work. The saying of a German philosopher, "Ohne Phosphor kein Gedanke"—without phosphorus there could be no thought—expresses in crudely materialistic form an undoubted scientific truth. Those who in effect deny it must do so from either want of sympathy or from ignorance. I am charitable enough to think it is mostly from the latter. To attempt to force work out of an insufficiently or improperly fed animal is sheer cruelty, and yet the Departmental Committee on Prison Dietaries declare among other principles that this diet should be sufficient to maintain health and strength and must not be regarded as punitive. Why, therefore, the present state of things should be allowed to continue is, as the late lamented Lord Dundreary

aptly expressed himself, "One of those things no fellah can make out." As regards its *quantity*, many prisoners have borne witness to its sufficiency as regards themselves. But we must also have regard to *quality*; take as an example the hard, indigestible, flavourless, suet pudding served for dinner once a week in our prisons—well may it be said that God sends the food and the devil provides the cooks—and we must also recollect that what may be ample for one person is apt to be semi-starvation to another. I was once told by a Portland warder that he had known men pick up and greedily devour any dirty substance from off the ground which could by any stretch of the imagination be included in the category of food—a piece of raw cabbage, for instance. Jabez Balfour tells us in his book that he had heard of prisoners who would devour uncooked offal, and of one unhappy wretch, well-born, who tried to appease his hunger by eating the marrow which he extracted from decayed bones he was set to crush for manure. How some of our good friends would hold up their hands in holy horror if told that such things were happening in "barbarous" Russia!

(*To be continued.*)

MALLOCK v. MARX.

By H. W. HOBART.

(Continued from last month.)

When, therefore, a table is completed it consists of raw material, a portion of the instruments of production, and a portion of the labour-power of the workman.

Still no "directive ability" is requisitioned.

If the workman makes the table for his own use, it is merely a product of labour; but if the table is made for the market, and the worker receives wages for the expenditure of his labour-power, then the table becomes a commodity, and the labour-power of the worker, purchased by his employer, also becomes a commodity, and here, according to Mr. Mallock, enters directive faculty.

As a labour product the table fulfils only the first of Marx's proposition—it is a use-value, that is, it possesses utility. But how and when does the value contained therein become known?

Not until it is placed on the market, not until it becomes an article of commerce, not until it exchanges with some other commodity, can its value be manifest.

This is what Mr. Mallock is incapable of seeing; his contention being that the directive ability of a second person adds the value to a commodity. But surely the table, as a labour product or a commodity, is just as valuable—the exchange on the market does not *add* the value, but only manifests the existence of the latent value. The value is there all the time; but until the table is brought into contact with some other commodity no one knows how much or how little

value it possesses. Then in what way can the directive faculty of the second person add value to the table?

Ah, but, says Mr. Mallock, "if we adopt the scientific theory of Marx that labour pure and simple is the *sole* producer of wealth [NOTE.—]just as an illustration of the "frigid and calculated" misrepresentation of Mr. Mallock, read the following from page 10 of "Capital":—"We see, then, that labour is *not* the only source of material wealth, of use-values produced by labour. As William Petty puts it, labour is its father and the earth is its mother."], and that labour is productive in proportion to the hours devoted to it, how has it happened—this is our crucial question—that the amount of labour which produced seven at one period should produce 33 at another? How are we to explain the presence of the additional 26?"

I can see Mr. Mallock winking with a knowing look; but the answer is very simple.

Let us come back to the workman and the table.

If the workman had to make his own tools, dig the iron, fell the trees, make the glue and polish, it would take him a considerable time to make the table. But all these things are done for him. The tools are made, the tree is felled, the timber is planed and prepared, the legs are turned, and the glue and polish are ready to hand for application. Consequently, he "makes" the table in much less time. Or, rather, he can make 33 in the same time as he could originally have made seven. That is to say, it is not one workman who "makes" the table, but many—the woodman, the toolmaker, the glue maker, etc., etc.,—or, in all, scores of men instead of one. This is social labour, and the time taken is the socially-necessary labour-time.

Now see how Marx explains this:—

"The labour-time socially necessary is that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and

intensity prevalent at the time. The introduction of power looms into England probably reduced by one-half the labour required to weave a given quantity of yarn into cloth. The hand-loom weavers, as a matter of fact, continued to require the same time as before; but for all that, the product of one hour of their labour represented after the change only half an hour's social labour, and consequently fell to one-half its former value. We see, then, that that which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labour socially necessary for its production. . . . Productive activity, if we leave out of sight its special form, viz., the useful character of the labour, is nothing but the expenditure of human labour-power. Tailoring and weaving, though qualitatively different productive activities, are each a productive expenditure of human brains, nerves, and muscles, and in this sense are human labour. They are but two different modes of expending human labour-power. Of course, this labour-power, which remains the same under all its modifications, must have attained a certain pitch of development before it can be expended in a multiplicity of modes. But the value of a commodity represents human labour in the abstract, the expenditure of human labour in general. And just as in society, a general or a banker plays a great part, but mere man, on the other hand, a very shabby part, so here with mere human labour. It is the expenditure of simple labour-power, i.e., of the labour-power which, on an average, apart from any special development, exists in the organism of every ordinary individual. Simple average labour, it is true, varies in character in different countries and at different times, but in a particular society it is given. Skilled labour counts only as simple labour intensified, or, rather, as multiplied simple labour, a given quantity of skilled being considered equal to a greater quantity of simple labour. Experience shows that this reduction is constantly being made. A commodity may be the product of the most skilled labour, but its value, by equating it to the product of simple unskilled

labour, represents a definite quantity of the latter labour alone. The different proportions in which different sorts of labour are reduced to unskilled labour as their standard are established by a social process that goes on behind the backs of the producers, and, consequently, appear to be fixed by custom. For simplicity's sake we shall henceforth account every kind of labour to be unskilled, simple labour; by this we do no more than save ourselves the trouble of making the reduction."

But Mr. Mallock knows this, for he says: "The answer of Marx, and of those who reason like him, is that, owing to the development of knowledge, mechanical and chemical especially, and the consequent development of industrial methods and machinery, labour as a whole has itself become more productive. But to say this, is merely begging the question. To what is this development of knowledge, of methods, and of machinery due?"

Before we proceed to answer this proposition of Mr. Mallock, let us analyse it, and see what it contains, and what answer he himself gives. Passing by his assertion that Marx's explanation is "merely begging the question," what can be said of the last sentence quoted, i.e., "To what is this development of knowledge, of methods, and of machinery due?" After treating the reader to four pages of reiterative twaddle, Mr. Mallock answers his own question this way. To make it quite clear, I give the question and the answer:

Question: To what is this development of knowledge, of methods, and of machinery due?

Answer: Two factors: 1. Machinery. 2. The growing application of exceptional mental powers, not to the *manual labour of the men by whom these powers are possessed*, but to the *process of directing and co-ordinating the divided labours of others*. (The italics are Mr. Mallock's.)

To strip off a little of Mr. Mallock's fringe: The development of knowledge, of methods, and of

machinery is due to "the growing application of exceptional mental powers." Or, to be plainer still, the development of machinery is due to the development of machinery, and the development of knowledge is due to the development of mental powers.

Or to be a little more lucid: This development of such specific attributes being due to the growing application of exceptional mental powers, not to the manual labour of the men by whom these powers are possessed (so the men who possess the exceptional mental powers do not apply them) but to the process of directing and co-ordinating the divided labour of others (evidently by men who do not possess these exceptional mental powers). And Mr. Mallock talks about begging the question.

But what is our answer to Mr. Mallock's question—"To what is this development of knowledge, of methods, and of machinery due?"

It is due to the efforts of past generations of workers, the growing intelligence of the present generation, the spread of education, the demands of society for more rapid and complete production, and the ready manner in which the workers can adapt themselves to changed methods of production. It is society that evolves rather than the man; and with the evolution of society increased demands are met by increased supply; and improved demands by improved supply.

Of course, Mr. Mallock will not accept that answer, because he wants to introduce his "directive faculty" nostrum, and his answer given above is evidently the best he can do in that direction. If that is so, then it is absolutely worthless; for he proves nothing, and does not even make a sensible assertion; nay, more, if what is printed in Mr. Mallock's book is what he wrote, then it is simply vituperative nonsense. So much for his "crucial question."

After this humorous tautological critical examination of the error of Marx in daring to describe all labour as simple necessary social human labour in the abstract,

Mr. Mallock treats us to a really brilliant illustration of how "the function of the directive faculties" "is applied to the operations of modern labour," and his illustration is a printed book (he should have said two books).

"Let us take two editions of 10,000 copies each, similarly printed, and priced at 6s. a copy; the one being an edition of a book so dull that but 20 copies can be sold of it, the other of a book so interesting that the public buys the whole 10,000. Now, apart from its negligible value as so many tons of waste paper, each pile of books represents economic wealth only in proportion to the quantity of it for which the vendors can find purchasers. Hence we have in the present case two piles of printed paper which, regarded as paper patterned with printer's ink, are similar, but one of which is wealth to the extent of three thousand pounds, while the other is wealth to the extent of no more than six pounds. And to what is the difference between these two values due? It obviously cannot be due to the manual labour of the compositors, for this, both in kind and quantity, is in each case the same. *It is due to the special directions under which the labour of the compositors is performed.* But these directions do not emanate from the men by whose hands the types are arranged in a given order. They come from the author, who conveys them to the compositors through his manuscript; which manuscript, considered under its economic aspect, is neither more nor less than a series of minute orders, which modify from second to second every movement of the compositors' hands, and determine the subsequent results of every impress of the type on paper; one mind thus, by directing the labour of others, imparting the quality of much wealth, or of little or none, to every one of the 10,000 copies of which the edition is composed."

The absurdity of this illustration is apparent on the face of it, and shows a lamentable lack of knowledge of the details of printing commensurate only with the ignorance of a schoolboy. What becomes of the cost

of production? What instructions are given, and by whom, to the other branches of the printing trade? Surely Mr. Mallock does not think that the compositor sets up the type, works the machine, folds and binds the volume, and supplies the customers all from the multitude of "minute orders" contained in the author's manuscript! If Mr. Mallock does think that, then he had better spend a little time in studying the art and mystery of printing. If he does not think that, then there is absolutely no point in his illustration.

But we will forgive him his ignorance, and deal with his illustration as though it were common sense, and test it in the light of Marx's theory of value—namely, that the value of a commodity is based on the socially-necessary average human labour required to produce it.

The two books Mr. Mallock introduces are the same. The paper is the same, the composition is the same, the printing the same, the ink and wear-and-tear of machinery the same, the binding and warehousing the same, and the result, as regards the number of copies, is the same—10,000 each. Presumably, therefore, the publisher had to pay the same amount for the production of each book. The printer who undertook the printing of these two books paid for his material, allowed for his wear-and-tear, paid his rent, rates, taxes, bank charges and wages, and netted his 5 or 75 per cent. profit on the transaction all out of the amount paid him by the publisher. The publisher* on his part gets £3,000 for one book and £6 only for the other. But wherein does that affect Marx's theory? To fully appreciate the position of Marx the commodities must exchange—there must be a market—whereas in the case of the book of which only 20 copies were sold there was practically no market. The book may have been a very exhaustive disquisition on the microscopic bacteria of Egyptian

*Mr. Mallock ignores the publisher and gives all to the author.

mummies in the British Museum, and may have been the result of many years' careful research and intrepid drudgery on the part of its author, and may yet prove to be the most important scientific treatise on that particular study the world has ever known. Yet, because the general public are not sufficiently interested or trained to appreciate such a contribution, the book has practically no sale—it has no market—it does not exchange as an ordinary commodity; its "value" is not manifested, and it is therefore quite incomparable as an illustration. All Marx's reasoning and argument is based on commodities—useful and necessary articles—and in no case does he attempt to compare the relative value of an exceptional product with a common necessity. His contention is that all exchange is an exchange of equivalents, i.e., equivalents in value, and this value can only be expressed by contact in the open market. It is then that some common factor becomes manifest, and Marx has clearly and definitely demonstrated that this common factor is socially-necessary human labour.

And how does Mr. Mallock confute this position? By simply imagining an impossible hypothesis and reasoning from this false position. A publisher does not usually publish a book without some idea of its possible sale, and he would be a poor stupid man who could not estimate within the extremes of 20 and 10,000. And, even then, Mr. Mallock's figures are faulty. No publisher, or author, ever yet got £3,000 for 10,000 6s. books, nor £6 for 20 6s. books. Not only are his figures faulty but his reasoning is ridiculous, for surely the author of the 20-copy book conveyed the same minute orders to the compositors through his manuscript as the author of the 10,000-copy book? If, therefore, the quality of his orders shows such a disparagement as 20 is to 10,000, he must have been a poor idiot indeed, and a very dubious champion of the great "directive faculties" claimed for his class by Mr. Mallock.

(To be Continued.)

THE MONTH.

The event of the past month was the Great International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen, and the event of the Congress was, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the resolution on arbitration and armaments.

Some of the other resolutions, it must be admitted, were scarcely worthy of an International Socialist Congress. That on unemployment, for instance, was so feeble and conservative as to arouse the indignant opposition of even our Labour Party representatives. There was nothing of a revolutionary or of a progressive character in that resolution, and nothing that the most conservative British statesman could not approve, as calculated to palliate and make tolerable the existing condition of things. The British delegation did well to unanimously protest against such a futile resolution, and to circulate a statement of proposals of a more virile character.

Far too much importance, again, was, in our opinion, attached to the question of co-operation; although there is little fault to be found with the resolution of the Congress on the subject. Working-class co-operation may be very useful as a means of subsidising the political movement. Our Belgian comrades have found it to be so, and even in this country—where co-operation has become a form of petty capitalism, and the chief object of the co-operator is to secure a big “divi”—even here there are instances of co-operative enterprises providing, to a limited extent, the Party sinews of war. That has been notably the case with the Twentieth Century Press, the Pioneer Boot Works, and the Canning Town Bakery. But for the T.C.P. we could not have kept a Social-Democratic Press going; the Pioneer Boot Works has been a splendid source of revenue for the Party headquarters; and the Canning Town Bakery—a purely local effort—has been of very great service to the Socialists of West Ham in their local work.

There is no reason whatever why these enterprises themselves should not be very widely extended ; or why, in the matter of local effort, they should not be imitated and made to render still greater service to the cause. As a means of education, moreover, and of demonstrating the fact that the capitalist is unnecessary, and that the working class can organise and "run" all the necessary work of the world without him, co-operation has been, and still may be, very useful.

Beyond that, we see no value in the co-operative movement. The idea of its founders, that it would in itself prove a revolutionary agency, and form the basis of the industrial organisation of the future, has been dispelled by experience. As an agency for social reconstruction, or even for social amelioration, co-operation has produced absolutely no effect whatsoever. It has not supplanted, or even hindered, capitalist development, and as a factor in the future reorganisation of industry co-operation is not likely to "cut any ice" at all. Successful as co-operation has been as a trading concern, it is a mere drop in the ocean compared with capitalist enterprise, and it is to the development and trustification of capitalism rather than to working-class co-operation that we must look for the economic basis of the social organisation of the future.

Notwithstanding the "reformist" character of the Congress, we do not by any means share the pessimist views of the movement generally which are apparently held by some of our comrades. The key-note of the Congress was unity. A resolution in favour of Socialist unity in the various countries was unanimously adopted by the Congress ; that unity has already been attained in several countries—notably France—against the greatest difficulties ; and the Congress itself was an achievement of unity.

Now, obviously, unity involves compromise, a compromise entailing the falling-in of the more advanced section. With any body of men marching together it must always be the slowest and most backward, not the swiftest and most advanced, who determine the pace. That is a fact which is so self-evident as to be constantly overlooked by those critics who so readily condemn us for remaining outside the Labour Party. If any such combination is to keep together, the most progressive elements may, of course, stimulate and quicken the less progressive ; but, in order to keep with them, they *must* accommodate their pace to the latter.

That is what appears to be the case just now with the whole international movement. But we do not believe that movement has lost its revolutionary spirit or has obscured the end by a too assiduous regard for the means. On the contrary, the old revolutionary fire stills burns, and there appear to be stimulating agencies which will quicken the pace and cause the whole line to advance.

On the other hand, there is a growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the reformist tendencies resulting from compromise and an overdose of Parliamentarism. This dissatisfaction finds expression in attacks upon political action generally and a barking back to the old anti-Parliamentary methods of what is called "direct action." In consequence of the supineness of the Parliamentarians we are told that "politics are played out," when, as a matter of fact, so far as the working class is concerned, they have never been "played in."

Thus just now we have the advocacy of "Industrial Unionism," which, in so far as it seeks the greater consolidation and unity of present industrial organisation and the bringing of the unorganised into line, is worthy of all commendation, but which, in the form it usually takes, of an insensate attack upon all existing working-class organisation—industrial and political—is disruptive and may be highly mischievous.

Outside the Congress Hall at Copenhagen a leaflet headed "Syndikalisten" was freely distributed. The following is a free translation :—

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS.

PHARISEES!— Once again you are meeting in congress with the question "The emancipation of the working class" on the agenda; once again you have met to calculate the easiest and, for yourselves most agreeable ways in which you, pretending to aid the suffering working class, are able to swing yourselves up to those places in social life from among the working class by whose help you have climbed to place.

You know it, Pharisees. You must know that your political juggling only benefits yourselves, that the working class does not get one atom nearer the goal through your sitting in the "legisla-

tive" assemblies—but *that your labour only helps to lull the workers to sleep.*

You must know, Pharisees! that the working class has no use for "Social-Democratic mayors," who *only look after* the interests of the capitalist class—the working class has no use for "Social-Democratic Ministers of State," who are only good for hindering and stultifying all economical action on the part of the working class.

Pharisees! You know that the unemployed demand bread—that the working class demands deeds.

Therefore, down with political juggling. Down with the party authority. Down with the Pharisees.

Long live direct action.

THE GOVERNING BOARD OF THE
SYNDICALIST UNION.

That leaflet is an illustration at once of the hostile attitude of the "Industrial Unionists" towards the existing political and industrial organisation of the working class, and an evidence of the growing discontent among the working class with their political leaders, and with the results, so far, of political action. If only it should have the effect of stimulating the Parliamentarians to more energetic action the result will, however, be all to the good.

The present "Labour unrest," the spasmodic and "unauthorised" strikes on the railways, in the shipbuilding industry, among the colliers, and in the textile trade, are all evidences of the growing feeling of discontent—even among the organised workers—with the present tactics and methods of carrying on the class struggle on their side. The leaders will have to look to it; to adopt a more strenuous line of action, and to make up their minds to *lead*, or they will be left without followers.

Another evidence of the same discontent is to be found in the carpings of the Labour Party leaders against the Osborne decision, and their piteous appeals for voluntary contributions to enable them to retain their economic independence of the bourgeois parties. Had they won and retained the confidence and support of the rank and file of their own membership—of the men who really created the Labour Party—they could snap their fingers at the Osborne decision, and could rely with certainty upon the voluntary financial support of their own followers.

The compulsory contribution to the maintenance fund of the Labour Party is twopence per annum per member. Twopence per annum ! It speaks volumes for the failure of the Labour Party that in four years it should have failed to convince the average member of a trade union that it is worth the sacrifice of a pint of four ale once a year !

This is not a question, be it observed, of Socialist dissatisfaction with the Labour Party. Socialists pay the trade union levy without a murmur, and also subscribe voluntarily and cheerfully to their own Party funds. It is simply a question of the dissatisfaction of the rank and file of the trade unions, who feel that the Labour Party has failed to "make good."

THE BUDGET OF THE GERMAN WORKMAN—A STATISTIC OF MISERY.

By A. LIPSCHÜTZ in "Die Neue Zeit."

(Concluded.)

The German workman is so lucky as to be able to raise the sum of 37 pfennigs a week in the lowest, and 1 mark 26 pfennigs in the highest, scale of incomes to spend on culture and amusement.* O, Germany, thou great nation of poets and philosophers, where a workman's household of nearly four heads, on an average, has at its disposal the vast sum of 73 pfennigs a week for culture and amusement! Seventy-three pfennigs a week for a family of four persons with which to cover the expense of newspapers, books, note-paper, stamps, concert and theatre tickets, railway and omnibus fares for pleasure trips and excursions, extra expenditure during excursions, etc.! Unfortunately, just in this important item a comparison with the imperial report is not possible, owing to the different manner of tabulating.

The fact, shown so clearly by absolute agreement of the two reports—that the half of the total additional expenditure had to be used for food alone—throws a lurid light on the driving force inside the trade union struggles, in so far as they move within the income limits, which are under consideration—which applies almost to all wage struggles. These struggles are up to 50 per cent., a struggle for bread in the most direct sense of the word.

B.—THE RELATION BETWEEN SIZE OF FAMILY AND STANDARD OF LIFE.

In considering the sources of income in the workman's household we mentioned the enormous part played by the work of the members of the family.

The question now is as to how far the larger number of persons affects the standard of life, the possibility of expending a given sum per head.

Already, the consideration of Table XIX. shows us that when the transition to the next highest scale of income is coupled with a greater increase of the average number of heads the standard of life, expressed in the average expenditure per head, remains stationary, or decreases—in the transition from the first into the second, and from the fourth into the fifth category. This

* Metal workers' report, page 26, in the very instructive section regarding

** The household accounts of average weekly income and expenditure."

phenomenon alone suffices to show the tendency of the greater number of heads to depress the standard of life. This tendency shows itself quite unmistakably if one groups the families, not according to income, but according to the number of heads in each group, as the imperial report has done. Out of the total of 852 households, 391 so-called normal families were chosen, in which there were no grown-up children who partially provide for themselves:—

TABLE XXIII.

Number of persons in family.	Number of families.	Expenditure per reduced 1.0 head, in marks.	Number of persons in family.	Number of families.	Expenditure per reduced 1.0 head, in marks.
2	43	1,199 10	6	43	759 71
3	89	998.62	7	21	776 44
4	93	917 54	8	5	729.50
5	93	850.37	9	4	659 41

The above-mentioned tendency of the larger number of heads is illustrated in detail, specially for the workmen, by the following tables:—

TABLE XXIV.

Number of persons in family.	Number of households.	Average expenditure, in marks, for—					Total expenditure, in marks.
		Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Fire & light.	Sundries.	
2 to 4	274	867.81	184 43	317.24	75 70	288 89	1,734 07
5 to 6	181	1009 41	215 87	311 64	79 64	285 75	1,902.31
Over 6	67	1165 02	257.18	295.58	82.91	265 67	2,066 36

TABLE XXV.

Number of persons in family.	Number of households.	Out of each hundred marks expenditure, there is spent for—					Total expenditure, in marks.
		Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Fire & light.	Sundries.	
2 to 4	274	50.0	10 6	18 3	4 4	16 7	1,734.07
5 to 6	181	53.1	11.3	16 4	4.2	15.0	1,902.31
Over 6	67	56.4	12.4	14 3	4.0	12 9	2,066.36

THE BUDGET OF THE GERMAN WORKMAN. 417

The first table shows that the total expenditure does indeed increase with the increasing number of heads. But nearly the whole additional expenditure is for food. We also see a rise in the expenditure on clothing. On the other hand, the expenditure for rent and sundries shows a decrease—a decrease alongside of the increased “welfare,” if one chooses to characterise this by the height of the total expenditure. The whole misery of the larger families is brought before our eyes by the second table, which only shows the percentage of the single items of expenditure to the total expenditure. Especially significant is the relatively enormous decrease of the column entitled “Sundries.”

A good idea of the effects of a large number of heads on the standard of life of the poorer families may be gained by dissecting some of the items of expenditure into sub-sections, as the imperial report has done for *all* the households. The expenditure for clothing is divided into—

TABLE XXVI.

	Average expenditure, in marks, of families—		
	With 2 to 4 persons.	With 5 to 6 persons.	Over 6 persons.
Dress	201.44	245.38	275.39
Linen and bedding ...	23.30	25.98	25.07
Cleaning and washing of dress and linen ...	28.51	32.10	31.36

While the expenditure for clothing increases, the expenditure for linen and for cleaning and washing of clothes shows only a slight increase, or even decreases; a sign that the limitation reaches everything that goes to constitute the comforts of life. Exactly the same applies to the expenditure on the dwelling :—

TABLE XXVII.

	Average expenditure in marks, of families—		
	With 2 to 4 persons.	With 5 to 6 persons.	With over 6 persons.
Rent	324.00	335.49	379.38
Ornamental garden and flowering plants ...	2.76	2.42	2.52
Arranging the dwelling, upkeep and cleaning...	77.28	68.53	64.72

The relatively large decrease in the expenditure on the arrangement and upkeep of the dwelling is characteristic. Here, and in Table XXVI., the increased domestic work of the wife may be assumed to play a part.

The limitation of all that is not absolutely necessary is also clearly seen in the expenditure on light :—

TABLE XXVIII.

—	Average expenditure, in marks, in families of—		
	2 to 4 persons.	5 to 6 persons.	Over 6 persons.
Fire	60.28	66.65	71.33
Light	25.81	28.35	25.42

The rise in the expenditure on firing may be taken as parallel with the increased expenditure for food.

Very remarkable is the limitation in the expenditure for the purposes of health and care of the body :—

TABLE XXIX.

—	Average income, in marks, in families of—		
	2 to 4 persons.	5 to 6 persons.	Over 6 persons.
On care of the health ...	43.86	39.91	34.95
On other care of the body ...	10.20	9.68	7.65

The same applies to the expenditure on culture in the narrower sense of the word :—

TABLE XXX.

—	Average expenditure, in marks, in families of—		
	2 to 4 persons.	5 to 6 persons.	Over 6 persons.
Newspapers, books and clubs ...	55.31	51.19	47.01
Amusements ...	39.02	34.06	31.10

In Tables XXIV. to XXX. all the figures apply to the expenditure of the families. The difference in the standard of life would appear still more forcibly if we were to reckon in each case the expenditure per (reduced) head. How far the limitation goes in the expenditure on what is not absolutely necessary is shown by Table XXXI. :—

TABLE XXXI.

Number of persons in family.	Number of households.	Total expenditure per head in marks.	Total expenditure, in marks, per head, in families of from 2 to 4 persons, equals 100.	Expenditure, in marks, per head for—				
				Food.	Clothing.	Rent.	Fire and light.	Sundries.
2 to 4	225	995 62	100	100	100	100	100	100
5 to 6	136	819 84	82	92	87	73	78	69
Over 6	30	750.61	76	82	88	67	74	63

In no other item of expenditure can the limitation go so far as in that for "sundries." It amounts here to 37 per cent., as against 18 per cent. in the expenditure for food.

For the individual items classified under "Sundries" it is not always justifiable to reckon per head. We will give the numbers for only three such items :—

TABLE XXXII.

	Expenditure, in marks, per head in families of—		
	2 to 4 persons.	5 to 6 persons.	Over 6 persons.
Health and the toilet	24.85	14.01	13 13
Intellectual and social needs ...	48 08	29 26	24 88
Instruction, school fees,* and accessories	9 91	10 86	21.87

The last line of the table shows the increasing expenditure to meet the needs of the children in the large families.

C.—DEFICITS AND SURPLUSES.

The fact, demonstrated in the preceding sections, that the income, which is got together by extensive exploitation of every possible source, still barely suffices to meet the most necessary expenditure, while all the expenditure for purposes of culture, etc.,

* In some places there are still school fees.

has to be limited to the utmost extent—this fact explains why a great number of households end the financial year with a deficit. The following table from the metal workers' report gives valuable information on the point:—

TABLE XXXIII.

Number of households	Income, in marks.	Households with surplus.	Households with deficit.	Households where income and expenditure are equal.	Average surplus (+) or deficit (—), in marks.	Percentage of surplus to the total income.
12	Under 1,200	4	8	—	—41.56	—
80	1,200 to 1,600	52	28	—	+ 5.64	0.4
116	1,600 to 2,000	87	29	—	+27.42	1.5
91	2,000 to 2,500	69	21	1	+58.38	2.6
21	Over 2,500	16	5	—	+90.29	3.3
320	1,856.19	228 +70.45	91 —67.58	1	+30.91	—

The surpluses and deficits fluctuate in general between a few pfennigs and a few hundred marks. On an average it is demonstrated that in cases of an income of 1,200 to 1,600 marks the expenses can only just be met—a surplus of 5.64 marks. The surpluses occurring in the case of the higher scales of income are also so small as to fall short of, for instance, any items of income in the said scales. In addition to this, it must also be taken into consideration that almost all the budgets close on December 31, and that almost all those who kept accounts had shortly before the end of the year received a payment of wages which would have to last eight or ten days more; the small "surpluses" may therefore be looked upon as a *quantité négligeable*. The incomes of hardly any of all the households allowed the workers to practise the virtue so extolled by over-clever social politicians—namely, that of saving.

If one chooses to consider the surpluses attained as "savings" it is evident that (see last column of Table XXXIII.), also taking the percentage, this virtue can be practised the more extensively the higher the income of the household.

It is also interesting to compare the average height of the surplus of the total number of households, 30.91 marks, with the average amount of relief afforded to the total number of households, 55.74 marks. If the relief were absent the households would end the year with an average deficit of about 25 marks.

The information given by the imperial report concerning deficits is, as the statistician himself accentuates, not reliable. They are,

by the way, larger, which fact is accounted for by a less careful notification of the items of income.

4.—SUMMING-UP.

As the results of both statistics fall together, the following conclusions, drawn from their combined study, may be considered as official:—

1. Nearly 90 per cent. of the German workmen receive a wage which does not equal the average total income of the working-class household.
2. Forty per cent. of the workers are dependent upon additional earnings. In 50 per cent. of the households the other members of the family also work. Only 6.6 per cent. of all the households meet their expenditure by the man's wages alone.
3. In the transition of a workman's household into a higher scale of income the determining factor is, in an average of 30 per cent. of cases, the co-operation of the other members of the family.
4. Nearly half of the additional income accruing to each scale of income over and above the next lowest is spent on food.
5. Therefore all wage-struggles are, up to the extent of 50 per cent., struggles for better nourishment.
6. The poorer families of over six persons have a surplus of income over those of two to four persons, which is more than 46 per cent. due to the co-operation of the children.
7. This additional income is almost entirely used for food (see Table XXIV.); the co-operation of the children is, therefore, an indispensable source of income to the German workman.
8. In spite of the co-operation of the children, it is impossible to bring the standard of life in the large families up to that in the smaller ones; the standard of life sinks with the number of children, especially as regards everything not absolutely essential to the support of life.
9. The German workman spends, on an average, 73 pfennigs a week for instruction and amusement for a family of four.
10. If one subtracts the trade union benefits and sick relief from the workers' income, the households closed the year with an average deficit of 25 marks.

We should like to conclude the examination of the two reports with the words with which a smith's wife in Charlottenburg closed her letter directed to the Metal Workers' Union in reference to the report: "This is how one has to screw and pinch and save at every corner, and then we are barely able to keep ourselves alive."*

* Metal workers' report, page 90.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN PRUSSIA.

By EDMUND FISCHER.

With the exception of Mecklenburg, which has no modern constitution, and where the knights, the old feudal lords, the squires, rule and legislate just as in the Middle Ages, Prussia, owing to her political situation, is the most reactionary of all the confederate States of the German Empire, and is doubtless the most retrograde of all the European States. For her electoral system is much worse than that of Russia, and far more backward than that of Turkey. Therefore the country is governed by an Agrarian and Conservative minority, which is guided by the squires of East Prussia: it is this minority which dominates the Parliament and makes the Government work. This is not all. An upper chamber—the House of Lords—formed chiefly of hereditary members and of representatives of the Prussian nobility, has resolved not to allow the slightest breath of progress to enter legislation. As to the Ministry, it is only legally responsible to the King, who alone appoints and dismisses the Ministers and whose power is absolute. But as Prussia, owing to its power, exercises a preponderating action in the Empire, the general policy of Germany is in that way modelled on Prussian methods, especially as the Chancellor of the Empire is at the same time President of the Council of the Prussian Ministers. This explains the weakness of the German Reichstag and the power of “personal rule” in Germany. It is known that the Imperial interventions in foreign policy, which have already so often troubled international relations that peace has been threatened, reinforce in a large measure the feeling of insecurity which prevails in international affairs, and also cause all countries to be mistrustful of Germany. That is why the struggle for universal suffrage in Prussia is looked upon in the whole of Germany, not only as a question concerning Prussia alone, but as one in which the whole German people is interested, and this is the reason why it is of importance from an international point of view. But international democracy and Socialism are most interested in the victory of democracy in Prussia. For she to-day is the strongest

bulwark of reaction in Europe. She tries to check the democratic evolution of other countries, and by her policy she tends to exercise a reactionary influence. The system now existing in Prussia dates from 1829, and is due to a victory of reaction.

The revolution of March, 1828, had given Prussia a constitution, universal suffrage, and the right of meeting. According to the law of the 8th of April, 1828, each Prussian citizen of good character of the age of 24 had a vote provided he had lived for at least six months in the district for which he was to be a voter. The election was indirect, but the primary elections were by ballot. But after the defeat of the democratic movement in Prussia, and after reaction had won nearly all along the line, King Frederick William IV. suppressed universal suffrage—secret and equal—by the dictature of the 30th of May, 1829, and replaced it by the electoral system of three classes which still exists. The essential feature of this system is the division of electors into three classes, according to the amount of direct taxation which they pay. The elections are indirect, the voting is public. The electors of the first degree do not therefore vote for the deputies, but for the electors of the second degree, who in their turn vote for the deputies. There are therefore *primary electors* and *electors voting for the deputies*. To be a primary elector a man must be a Prussian, aged 24, enjoying his civic rights, and not in receipt of poor-law relief. The elections are organised in the following manner. Every 250 inhabitants may elect one elector of the second degree. The Communes having less than 750 inhabitants are joined by the *landrat* (a Government official) with other neighbouring Communes for the purpose of electing these delegates. Communes having 1,750 and more inhabitants are divided into several primary sections, and in such a manner that each may elect not more than six electors of the second degree. The primary electors are classified, according to the amount of direct taxation paid, in three classes, it being understood that each class pays, for its share, the third of the total amount of taxes paid by all the primary electors of the section. On the voting day, the primary electors are summoned in each section to meet at the most convenient hour of the day for the majority of the electors. In each district the secretary calls out the list of the primary electors of each class separately, beginning by the most highly-taxed citizens and keeping strictly to the order as given in the electoral list. As he is called the primary elector comes to the table and calls out the name of the man for whom he votes. If more than one delegate is to be elected, then he calls out as many names as there are delegates to be elected. The electors of the second degree afterwards meet and choose the deputies in the same way. To be eligible for election as a deputy a man must be a Prussian, at least 30 years of age, in possession of his civic rights, and having lived at least a year in Prussia.

This summary of the electoral system is sufficient to show that it robs the non-propertied classes of all real power, and that it is quite contradictory with the state of modern society. While economic and political evolution remained in an embryonic state, the Liberals were able for a certain time to have a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. In 1858, when the most brutal reaction had spent its force, the Liberal Left obtained for the first time the majority in the Chamber—for in 1862 the Conservatives only had 12 seats. That was the time of the so-called Constitutional struggle, when the Liberals refused to vote supplies, but this did not trouble Bismarck in the least, who governed without a Budget having been voted by the Parliament. But after 1866 the Landtag again became different. The Governmental pressure on the officials, the economic reprisals against those who had voted for Opposition candidates, and on the other hand the increase in the wealth of the superior classes and the decrease in wealth of the middle classes—all these united causes made the success of Opposition candidates more difficult. The Prussian Landtag elected on the day when the battle of Koeniggratz was fought contained 125 Conservatives, 65 members of the Left Centre, and 83 Progressives. Since then there has always been a reactionary majority in the Landtag. It is true that from 1870 to 1879, and more particularly from 1877 to 1879, the National Liberals formed the most numerous group, for in those two periods there were 175 National Liberals, 69 Conservatives, 88 Clericals, and 67 Liberals, but at that time the National Liberals, even more than at the present time, had nothing Liberal about them but the name.

Since 1880 the Conservatives and the Clericals (the Centre) have always had a preponderating majority. From 1899 to 1903 the Prussian Landtag had 202 Conservatives, 100 Clericals, 75 National Liberals, and 36 Liberals.

Till the elections of 1903 the Social-Democratic Party had taken no part in the elections for the Prussian Landtag. So little interest was taken in these elections that the number of voters fell in 1898 to 18.36 per cent. of the total number of electors on the register and to 15.67 per cent. for the electors of the third-class. It was in 1908 that the Social-Democrats everywhere took part in the elections. The number of voters went up to 32.8 per cent. of the electors, but the following was the result: 212 Conservatives, 104 Clericals, 65 National Liberals, 19 Poles, Danes, etc., 36 Liberals, and 7 Social-Democrats. The Conservatives and the Clericals together have more than two-thirds of the total number of seats. The following gives particulars of the social position of the members of these two groups: 113 landed proprietors, 58 officers, 44 officials, 15 Catholic priests, 5 Protestant pastors.

The system in force can give no other result—for generally the electors of the first and second class alone decide elections,

as it is only in those classes that men own property. Here are some examples taken from the election of 1893, for which detailed statistics exist. At Halle, which was then divided into 53 sections, the first class contained 1 elector, the second 6, and the third 269. Therefore the one single elector of the first class had as many votes—that is to say, he could elect as many electors of the second degree—as the whole of the 269 electors of the third class! The seven electors of the first and second class could elect twice as many electors of the second degree as the 269 electors of the third class! In all the primary sections of the constituency of Halle the first class contained 448 primary electors, the second class 1,578, and the third class 16,370. Therefore the 2,026 primary electors of the two first classes had the right to elect twice as many electors of the second degree as the 16,370 primary electors of the third class. Similar cases occur in all the constituencies. At the last elections in Berlin in 1908, for example, 194,035 primary electors voted, and there were 40,751 in the second class, and 7,293 in the first. In the whole of Prussia, as a rule, 6.43 primary electors of the first class could elect a delegate, while it took 22.8 of the second class to do so, and 138.6 of the third class to arrive at the same result. It must also not be forgotten that the votes are given openly, and this prevents officials from voting for the Opposition, and in the country and often in the towns it also makes it difficult for the workers and the small shopkeepers to be independent.

On January 4, 1882, William II. published a Royal decree which declared: "I do not in the least wish to prevent freedom of voting, but so far as my officials are concerned I must remind them that their oath of allegiance compels them to support my Government at elections." All officials must, therefore, unless they do not mind being dismissed, vote for the Government.

Besides which, the constituencies are so arranged as to give the majority to the Agrarians.

In 1908 2,525,600 primary electors voted, and it has been possible to know how 2,215,961 voted. The following table shows the result of the votes:—

	Primary Electors.	Deputies.
Centre	502,594	104
Social-Democrats	601,093	7
Conservatives	356,110	152
National Liberals	320,751	65
Poles, Danes, etc.	227,304	19
Liberals	98,498	28
Free Conservatives ...	63,140	60
Radicals	22,225	8
Agrarian Union	15,154	Nil
Anti-Semites, etc.	9,092	Nil
Total	2,215,961	443

Thus the Social-Democrats, though they obtained the greatest number of votes, elected seven deputies out of 443. With a system of equal and proportional representation they would have obtained 105 deputies, while the Conservatives would have had 73, the Centre 88, etc.

But how comes it that the people of Prussia have tolerated for so long such an electoral system? In 1867, when a scheme for a constitution for the union of Northern Germany was being discussed, Bismarck himself said that in no other country had there been instituted a more mad and wretched system of representation. If, he added, the inventor of this law had been able to realise its practical effects, he would never have drafted it.

It is true that at that time Bismarck and the Conservatives were afraid that this plutocratic system would give too much power to the Liberal middle classes; and, too, he thought that there would soon be a struggle between the middle classes and the proletariat, and he hoped that then he would be able to crush the middle classes. But after the war of 1870 the state of things was entirely changed. When the Conservative parties had acquired a safe majority in the Landtag; when the middle classes had forgotten their Liberalism; and when the Social-Democracy had begun to develop; then none of the middle classes seriously thought of advocating an equal voting power in Germany. The Government then cared still less for electoral reform. The fear of Social-Democracy stifled completely in the breast of the middle classes all aspirations towards free voting. It is true that now and then the Clericals and the Liberals laid before the Prussian Landtag motions in favour of electoral reform. But these motions, which were hardly serious, met with the opposition of those who were adverse to all electoral reform, and they had a majority of votes—they remained nothing but vain efforts. Both the Liberals and the Clericals did not want a reform which might be advantageous to Social-Democracy. For the Democrats captured votes from the Liberals; and that party, both in Prussia and in the Empire, has become impotent. The action and the progress of Social-Democracy have resulted in causing all attempts at electoral reform in Prussia to come from the Social-Democracy outside Parliament. Before, however, beginning the struggle with any chance of success Social-Democracy had to become a power. Besides, no one took any interest in the elections as long as Socialists did not take part in them. This appeared impossible, especially that, as the trade union organisations were weak, employers would be able to take action against the workers, who, even in towns, voted for Democrats. It was in 1893 that E. Bernstein first advocated taking part in these elections, but the Party Congress—held at Cologne—*unanimously* rejected this proposal. The members were, however, urged to take part in an agitation in favour of equal, secret and direct universal suffrage. In 1900 the Mayence Congress urged all

members to take part in elections, and in 1903, for the first time, the Social-Democrats took part in the electoral struggle in Prussia.

It is true that the result has not been very brilliant, but more interest has been taken in the elections since that time. After the election of 1908, Prince von Bülow had stated in the speech from the throne (on October 20, 1908) that the "organic development of the suffrage" was an important problem which should be solved. This was a promise which was fulfilled on February 5, 1910, when the Government submitted a Bill for the amendment of the law relating to representation.

It was not of much importance, and tends to aggravate the state of things. One deputy showed his contempt for Parliament by saying that the Emperor could order any lieutenant "to take ten soldiers and close the Reichstag." The agitation has gone on, and doubtless next year when the Reichstag has to be re-elected there will be more Socialists returned. And even in the Landtag more Socialists will be elected, and as the democratic spirit spreads more in Germany, the Prussian squires will cease to rule, and Germany will enter a period of democratic evolution. This will be the work of the German Social-Democracy.

(From "*La Revue Socialiste*.")

Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.

[Since this article was written the Prussian Upper House rejected some amendments accepted by the Government, which then withdrew the Bill.—J. B.]

THE REVIEWS.

SPAIN AND THE VATICAN.

Dr. Dillon writes on the above in the current issue of the "Contemporary Review." He says:—

Whenever there has been grave trouble in Spain, whether domestic or international, it is generally safe, when inquiring into the primary cause, to act on the maxim, "*Cherchez l'église.*" For at the root of most of the civil and foreign wars waged by that chivalrous and ill-starred nation have lain dogmas of the Catholic religion or interests of the Catholic Church. To this rule there has been hardly any exception, from the struggle against the Moors, which began at the opening of the eleventh century and terminated at the close of the fifteenth, down to the Carlist wars waged within the memory of the present generation. In the drama of her history during that long period Spain played the part of champion of the Papacy—and was satisfied with her rôle. It was mainly Spain—well seconded by Austria—that won back for Rome much of what it had lost through the Reformation in numbers, possession, power and prestige. Thus, gradually among the inhabitants of the Peninsula the token of true religion became fanatical devotion to the Church and the Holy See. Formidable sacrifices of blood and money, which practical people grudged to offer up even at the shrine of their national interests, were cheerfully made by Spain for the behoof of the Vatican or the successor of St. Peter. The nation, forgetful of itself, its strivings, its needs and its mission, offered an example of unnatural self-sacrifice which is unparalleled in the annals of Christian countries. Its main interest ceased to be national and became ecclesiastical. The Spanish citizen, like the member of a religious order, had no country but the Kingdom of Heaven; and was well-nigh as amenable as the friar or the monk to the authority of the Pope, to further whose interests became one of the chief aims of his existence. It was in the reckless pursuit of that end that Spain forfeited her due place among European nations, lost her oversea possessions, and allowed her political faculties and functions to become numbed, perhaps atrophied. She may probably recover the use of them in time, but the tragic

element of her situation lies in the significant fact that she cannot even now extricate herself from the Slough of Despond without the help of those same religious congregations against which Senior Canalejas has elaborated his plan of campaign! This is an extraordinary—almost an incredible—state of things, but it cannot be reasoned away; it must be reckoned with. The late Prime Minister of Spain, Senor Silvela, an enlightened Conservative, in a long conversation which I had with him some years ago, made that cardinal factor of the situation clear to me, and asked me to judge his public attitude towards the religious congregations in the light of it.

English readers are unable fully to realise the extent to which the peoples subject to the Spanish Crown were thus denationalised, demeaning and feeling themselves as Roman Catholics first and Spaniards afterwards. For it is a case without parallel. The Papacy was, and still is, looked upon in Spain as an institution to the full as national as the monarchy itself. One of the principal Clerical press organs of Madrid, "El Universo," published an article towards the end of July in which the following curious passage occurs: "Neither in Spain, nor for Spain, is the Papacy a foreign Power. The Pope is quite as national, quite as Spanish, as the King, as the Cortes! To break with the Pope is tantamount to breaking with Spain. For that reason all good Spaniards should to-day join in the cry, 'Long live the Pope!' because this cry includes in itself this other, 'Long live Spain!'" . . . In some respects Spain is still a mediæval State, a dependency of the Vatican, a protectorate of the Papacy. And the attempt, very modest in its beginnings, made by Don José Canalejas y Mendez to modify this unbearable situation, to win back for the State some little and indispensable part of its lost independence, was the origin of the present struggle. If Cardinal Merry del Val had assimilated the maxims of State which underlay the policy of Leo XIII., he would have given the Conservative Premier, Senor Maura, his way in those small matters, and have thus avoided a bitter fight for far-reaching principles. It is my personal belief that the Papal Secretary of State is unwittingly driving his Spanish adversary further into the Anti-Clerical camp, provoking a trial of issues between the principles of modern political and social life and those of the mediæval theocracy, and generally furthering the cause which he is most anxious to ruin.

Thus Spain in modern times, having lived aloof from the progressive nations of Europe, is now paying the price of isolation. The French Revolution, indeed, sowed seeds of Anti-Clericalism there on an arid soil, which bore short-lived, but noteworthy, fruit; convents and monasteries were given over to the flames, religious orders and congregations were suppressed, and diplomatic intercourse between Madrid and the Vatican was interrupted for fourteen years. The reconciliation was finally effected by means of a *modus vivendi* known as the Concordat, which still

regulates the respective rights and obligations of Church and State. I might add, without doing violence to fact, that the privileges which that Concordat conferred upon the Papacy in Spain have since been surreptitiously increased in number and extended in scope. The method by which these subsequent and illegal concessions were wrested from the Spanish Government consisted in conjuring up the spectres of Carlism and of Anarchy, **terrifying the ruling monarch, and then undertaking to exorcise them.** These tactics have seldom failed. The same bogies are again being employed to-day, but Senor Canalejas is unmoved by the phantoms.

Although there is no discoverable law fixing the right number of monks and nuns for any given Catholic country, it seems to be admitted on all hands that Spain is suffering from a plethora of them. They have become an economic burden, and may in time be treated as a political plague. That they have rendered great services to the nation in the past, as well as great disservices, is not to be denied. It is likewise fair to admit that even now they are generally doing their best to benefit the population according to their lights. It is they who teach the children of the common people to read and write, who enable waifs and strays to learn a trade, who nurse the sick, visit the unfortunate in gaols and hospitals, and generally strive to let in sunshine upon the lives of the millions who, if there be no hereafter, had better never have been born. . . . If the machinery for gratuitous primary instruction, which is thus being worked by the religious orders and congregations in the Peninsula, were brusquely stopped in consequence of their expulsion, the Government would be sorely embarrassed. For there are no funds available for State education; and, in spite of the clever budgetary estimates of Senor Cobian for 1911, which include a loan of 1,500 millions of pesetas, to be spread over ten years, it may well be doubted whether the State can take over a work of such magnitude for some years to come. Hence the necessity for compromise, patience and circumspection.

But to return to the present struggle. The first step taken by Senor Canalejas was, as we saw, to restrict the influx of congregations and to lessen the number of those who had illegally established themselves on Spanish soil. That was on May 31. Ten days later he promulgated a Royal decree, putting a new and liberal interpretation on Section II. of the Constitution, which had been construed as a prohibition for non-Catholic Churches to "manifest" their cult. Henceforth, Lutheran churches, Methodist chapels, Jewish synagogues, etc., may have such tokens of their character, such symbols of their respective religions, as may be pleasing to the chiefs of the sect.

Simultaneously another Royal decree was issued rescinding the law which forbids every public gathering of religious bodies that do not belong to the Catholic Church. Against these measures the Vatican protested with energy. Senor Canalejas, it reasoned, has indeed shown his hand. He is planning neither more nor less than a campaign against the Catholic religion. One passage of the protest is worth quoting: "On the one hand, Senor Canalejas is opening the Protestant churches, on the other hand he is closing Catholic schools. Consequently, we have to do with a systematic and generally Anti-Clerical policy. If by means of this policy the Government brings about a rupture, it alone will have to bear the whole burden of the blame." This menace of a rupture is the usual refrain of Roman protests against Spanish measures asserting the sovereignty of the State.



FREE TRADE IN PEACE AND WAR.

The first article in the September "Nineteenth Century Review" is by Lord Cromer on this subject, being a paper read before the International Free Trade Congress held at Antwerp in August. Cobden, in 1842, described Free Trade "as the best human means for securing universal and permanent peace." The writer says that "the world has not as yet had any adequate opportunity for judging of the accuracy or inaccuracy of Mr. Cobden's prediction, for only one great commercial nation has, up to the present time, adopted a policy of Free Trade," so the question remains where it was 70 years ago. Further on he says: **From the dawn of history uncontrolled commercialism has been one of the principal causes of misgovernment, and more especially of the misgovernment of subject races.** The only history of the Spaniards in South and Central America, as well as the more recent history of other States, testify to the truth of this generalisation. Similarly, trade—that is to say, exclusive trade—far from **tending to promote peace, has not infrequently been accompanied by aggression, and has rather tended to promote war.** Tariff wars, which are the natural outcome of the protective system, **have been of frequent occurrence; and, although I am not at all prepared to admit that under no circumstances is a policy of retaliation justifiable, it is certain that that policy, carried to excess, has at times endangered European peace.** There is ample proof that the tariff war between Russia and Germany in 1893 "was regarded by both responsible parties as likely to lead to a state of things dangerous to the peace of Europe." Professor Dietzel, in his very remarkable and exhaustive work on "Retaliatory Duties," shows very clearly that the example of tariff wars

is highly contagious. Speaking of events which occurred in 1902 and subsequent years, he says (pp. 16-17) :—

“Germany set the bad example. . . . Russia, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Switzerland, Portugal, Holland, Servia followed suit. . . . An international arming epidemic broke out. Everywhere, indeed, it was said : ‘We are not at all desirous of a tariff war. We are acting only on the maxim so often proclaimed among us, *Si vis pacem, para bellum.*’ ”

Can it be doubted that there is a distinct connection between these tariff wars and the huge armaments which are now maintained by every European State? The connection is, in fact, very close. Tariff wars engender the belief that wars carried on by shot and shell may not improbably follow. They thus encourage, and even necessitate, the costly preparations which weigh so heavily, not only on the industries, but also on the moral and intellectual progress of the world.

To sum up all I have to say on this subject: I do not for a moment suppose that universal Free Trade—even if the adoption of such a policy were conceivable—would inaugurate an era of universal and permanent peace. Whatever fiscal policy be adopted by the great commercial nations of the world, it is wholly illusory to suppose that the risk of war can be altogether avoided in the future, any more than has been the case in the past. But I am equally certain that, whereas exclusive trade tends to exacerbate international relations, Free Trade, by mutually enlisting a number of influential material interests in the cause of peace, tends to ameliorate those relations, and thus, pro tanto, to diminish the probability of war. No nation has, of course, the least right to dictate the fiscal policy of its neighbours, neither has it any legitimate cause to complain when its neighbours exercise their unquestionable right to make whatever fiscal arrangements they consider conducive to their own interests. But the real and ostensible causes of war are not always identical.

When one irritation begins to rankle, and rival interests clash to an excessive degree, the guns are apt to go off by themselves, and an adroit diplomacy may confidently be trusted to discover some plausible pretext for their explosion.

Free Trade mitigates, though it is powerless to remove, international animosities. Exclusive trade stimulates and aggravates those animosities. I do not by any means maintain that this argument is by itself conclusive against the adoption of a policy of Protection if, on other grounds, the adoption of such a policy is deemed desirable; but it is one aspect of the question which, when the whole issue is under consideration, should not be left out of account.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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THE LABOUR PARTY'S SURRENDER.

By H. QUELCH.

Quite a sensation has been caused by the decision of the Executive of the Labour Party to propose to the next Party conference the abandonment of the written constitution and pledge. The idea of those responsible for this step appears to be that by abandoning the pledge the chief ground upon which the Osborne judgment against trade union contributions to the Party was based will be removed and a reversal of that judgment made easy.

Of course it is pretended by the leaders of the Party that the Osborne judgment has not affected their decision at all ; that there really was no "pledge" in the strict sense of the word ; that if there was it never has been and could not be enforced, and that its abandonment has been contemplated for some time. All this is mere bluff which deceives nobody. If the pledge was never enforced it was simply because it was more honoured by the leaders in the breach than the observance, and there was no penalty attached to any such breach other than the expulsion of the offending member from the Party. Nevertheless, the

constitution which every candidate had to sign was a very distinct and explicit pledge, and so far from any contemplated abandonment the tendency in recent years has been to make it more rigid and narrow. Thus, for instance, prior to the Portsmouth Conference, the Party members were prohibited from giving any support to the candidates of any Party "not eligible for affiliation." At Portsmouth these words were altered to "not affiliated," thus restricting the electioneering activities of the members to the support of their own Party candidates, no matter what claim the candidates of any body "eligible for affiliation," but not actually affiliated, might have upon them.

No matter how the leaders may now try to belittle the Constitution, or whatever reason they may have for making light of it, the fact remains that the "Constitution" was the only common "platform" the Party had; the only thing that really constituted it a Party, and that to it was attached a very distinct and explicit pledge. At the Conference in London at which the Party was launched, the Constitution was formulated as follows:—

"The establishing a distinct Labour Group, who shall have their own Whips, and agree upon their policy, which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which for the time being may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of Labour, and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency; and, further, members of the Labour Group shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of Resolution 1."

We Social-Democrats endeavoured to make it a distinctly Socialist Constitution, and from time to time we pressed for the adoption of definite Socialist principles, and of a programme. Our efforts in this direction have always been ineffectual, and so the Constitution has remained practically the same, a pledge of united and independent action in Parlia-

ment in any direction that may from time to time be decided upon. This Constitution, therefore, is the only asset that the Party possesses, as a political instrument, and once abandoned its theoretical *raison d'être* disappears, as its practical reason for existence was long since surrendered by its subservience to the Liberal Government.

The pledge attached to the Constitution which a candidate had to sign exacted that:—

1. Candidates and members must accept this Constitution; agree to abide by the decisions of the Parliamentary Party in carrying out the aims of this Constitution; appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour Candidates only; abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any Parliamentary Party not affiliated, or its candidates; and they must not oppose any candidate recognised by the National Executive of the Party.

2. Candidates must undertake to join the Parliamentary Labour Party, if elected.

It is quite clear that should this Constitution and pledge be abandoned, the Party necessarily loses all cohesion and resolves itself once more into its several elements. Liberal members of the Party will be quite free to support Liberal candidates, and Tory members will be equally free to support Tories. There may then be "Labour members," just as there were before the L.R.C. was formed, but there will be no Labour Party. Men like Mr. Charles Fenwick, who refused to sign the Constitution, who stuck to their Liberal Party as well as their Liberalism, may well say that had there been no pledge there would have been no Osborne judgment.

Whether the Party Conference will agree to the abandonment of this written pledge remains to be seen. There is but little doubt that it will. Seldom if ever have the delegates to the Conference rejected the recommendations of their Executive, and there is little

reason to expect them to do so in the present instance, even though the abolition of the pledge means the surrender of the last claim to unity and independence. The Parliamentary Labour Group has always been a go-as-you-please party, notwithstanding the pledge, and the rank and file of the Party may reasonably conclude that a pledge which means so little may very well be abandoned, especially if there is anything to be gained thereby.

Whether their expectations in this latter particular will be realised is quite another matter. It is very generally assumed that there has been some assurance on the part of the Government that if the pledge is abandoned a measure will be introduced to reverse the position in which the unions have been placed by the Osborne decision. There may be good ground for this assumption, but the Labour Party will not be wise to rely too much upon any such assurance. It is scarcely likely that the Government, however well-intentioned, will be able to do anything effective in the matter before the election, and after the election, we may anticipate, the whole situation will be altered.

Whatever the Labour Party may or may not do, therefore, we see no reason for anticipating an early reversal of the Osborne decision. Nor are we greatly concerned about it so far as it affects the maintenance of the present Labour Group in the House of Commons. We Social-Democrats have no desire to compel non-Socialist trade unionists to contribute to the maintenance of Socialist members of Parliament, and that is the only ground of complaint of the supporters of the Osborne decision, who claim to speak on behalf of the "oppressed unionists," groaning under the intolerable burden of a compulsory contribution to the Labour Party of less than twopence-halfpenny per year! We certainly do not complain that such contributions—paltry as they are—cannot be enforced. On the contrary, we maintain that a genuine working class party could rely upon the voluntary contributions of its members—the Socialist organisations have no

means of enforcing levies—and that had the Parliamentary Labour Group been worth its salt, its members would be able to snap their fingers at the Osborne judgment. There is no other working-class political party in the world which depends upon the compulsory levies of trade unions, or that would be in any way affected by a legal decision similar to that in the Osborne case. It is not the more or less spurious revolt of the minority against the levy, but the indifference of the enormous majority of the affiliated trade unionists, which constitutes the indictment of the Labour Party, and so strikingly demonstrates its failure. The Labour Party boasts an affiliated membership of a million and a half; but not one in ten of the members is prepared to sacrifice a pint of four ale once a year for the maintenance of the Party! It is idle, in the circumstances, to pretend that the rank and file of the trade unions regard the Osborne judgment as an intolerable hardship, or are burning with indignation and seething with revolt against it. The Osborne decision does not prevent any trade unionist contributing to the funds of the Labour Party if he wishes to do so. It only prevents him from being compelled so to contribute. If there were any strong feeling in the trade unions, therefore, against the judgment, that judgment could have no detrimental effect upon the funds of the Party, but rather the reverse. The quite pathetic concern shown by the Parliamentary Group over this matter, which excels any they have shown in relation to any other question whatever, is a measure of their own failure and of the indifference of the rank and file.

On the other hand, the Osborne decision is, in our judgment, fundamentally wrong and unjust because it interferes with the right and liberty of a trade union to dispose of its funds according to the decision of the majority of its members. The object of a trade union is to promote the industrial interests of its members. A trade union which affiliates to the Labour Party regards that affiliation as a means of promoting those

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interests. That would appear to be quite as legitimate a use of its funds as the support of members in a strike which had been agreed upon by a majority. And the hardship to the minority is no greater in the one case than the other. It is, indeed, absurd to talk about hardship at all in this connection. The total contribution to the Labour Party by any affiliated body is less than twopence-halfpenny per member per year. The levy made upon the members is more than that, but that is simply because the election expenses have to be borne by the organisation to which the candidate belongs, and not by the Party. As a matter of fact, several of the larger unions, with one or more members in Parliament, receive from the Labour Party in the salaries of these members almost as large a sum as they contribute to the Party funds. Thus the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants paid in 1908 in contributions for their 97,000 members £886; while their three members of Parliament, Messrs. Hudson, Thomas, and Wardle, draw £660. The A.S.R.S. is the union of which Mr. Osborne was a member, and against which the famous judgment was given. How little cause for complaint Mr. Osborne and his friends of the minority had is seen when these facts are borne in mind, and when it is further remembered that the three railwaymen's members of Parliament are members of the Railwaymen's Union; that they were selected by that union, and not by the Labour Party, to be Parliamentary candidates; and that only one of the three, Mr. Wardle, is a Socialist. With other large unions the conditions are even more favourable, as some actually draw more than they contribute.

In truth, if there is any section of the Labour Party which has a right to complain it is the small unions who are quite unable to nominate Parliamentary candidates of their own; who have little weight or influence in the Party, and whose only privilege is to pay their contributions. It has been more than once suggested that these should be

permitted to group together with the Party for electoral purposes; but that proposal has found little favour in the Party counsels. The small unions, therefore, help to supply political funds to the larger unions who dominate the Party. If the pledge is abandoned there will be no reason for these smaller unions to remain affiliated, because the control that pledge apparently gave them over all members of the Party will have disappeared. On the other hand, with the disappearance of the pledge the Parliamentary members of the big unions will regain that liberty of action of which the pledge explicitly deprived them. There will thus be no need for affiliation and no bond of union more definite or rigid than that which existed between the trade union members of Parliament before the Labour Party existed. The abandonment of the pledge, therefore, is a policy of despair entered upon in order to save the revenues of the Labour Party, but which, whether it succeeds in attaining that end or no, must inevitably lead to the break-up of the Party.

A VISIT TO THE BUENOS AIRES PENITENTIARY, WITH SOME SUGGESTED THOUGHTS ON THE CRIMINAL QUESTION.

By MANUEL M. TERRERO, A.R.S.M.

(Continued from last month.)

To return to the Buenos Aires prison discipline, I may add that the most scrupulous cleanliness both of person, cells, and the prison in general is insisted upon, there being ample bathing and washing accommodation.

Here an idea may occur to my readers as it did to me. I said to Senor Sunico, "All this is quite reasonable and common sense as applied to, say, 19 out of 20 prisoners, but there will always be the odd man with whom nothing can be done, either in the way of punishment, discipline, or kindness." His answer, in effect, was, "Certainly, such men forming the exceptions, are either insane in effect, or else are merely wild beasts in human form. Such men are not treated here; the former are deserving of pity and go to the proper place for them, the Asylum, and the latter are promptly drafted off down South to a penal colony, where they are at least prevented from contaminating their fellow-prisoners, are subjected to a special treatment and discipline, and get no chance of injuring by violence either their co-workers or guardians." This is very much superior to our own practice, where savage attacks upon warders and fellow-prisoners are of daily occurrence.

One important and beneficent feature is the fine hospital accommodation, up-to-date in every conceiv-

able branch of medical and surgical science. Even the dentistry department struck me as containing everything needful for the highest branches of the art. The infirmary wards are bright and cheerful, and the separate cell system is not considered necessary as with us. One of the saddest sights I ever experienced, and one which will remain with me to my own dying day, was the sight of a poor convict in a dull, dreary infirmary cell of the Wormwood Scrubbs Prison. He was, or looked to be, an old man, and was rapidly dying of consumption. He lay there gazing into vacancy, and quite alone but for the unsympathetic attendance of the hospital orderly, himself a fellow-convict. He was, of course, allowed to want for nothing needful to a man in this condition, and the Deputy-Governor told me he had communicated with his people, who were free to come and visit him if they could or cared to do so. Perhaps the saddest feature of it all was this gentleman's further remark that no one had hitherto availed himself or herself of this permission, and that no one seemed likely to.

One grand result of all this humane and sensible treatment is the comparative rarity of cases of insanity in the prison, there being a very different state of things in the prisons here. During the last seven years the percentage of insane cases has been only 2.11 per mil, absurdly small when compared with what is known, to say nothing of what is *not* known, as the result of incarceration in other countries. One of the chief causes of insanity in our prisons is the cruel system of solitary confinement. Until comparatively lately it was the rule that every prisoner condemned to penal servitude must pass the first nine months of his term in solitary confinement. In practice this means 23 hours out of the 24 locked up in his cell, one hour being left for so-called "exercise." No wonder that but few passed through such a terrible ordeal unscathed in mind, and that in a considerable number of individual cases the rule had perforce to be relaxed, though often after irreparable mischief had already

been set up. After we "sickly sentimentalists" had railed in vain for many years against this needless and dangerous torture, the authorities seem at last to be in effect acknowledging we were right; and I understand that the system is now so far modified that in the case of "star" prisoners—that is, first offenders—the term is reduced to three months; to six months in the case of intermediates; while it is still left untouched as regards recidivists. Of the 48 hours which make up Saturday and Sunday, even now 38 hours and 15 minutes have to be spent in close confinement, and this during the whole term of the imprisonment.

Except for very special reasons, a certain number of hours' attendance at school-classes is obligatory and is part of the system of reform. Myself a firm believer in the moral and intellectual benefits of a rational system of education, it rejoiced my heart to see a dozen fine class-rooms with all needful for that purpose.

The whole key to the education question was once admirably, though quite unconsciously, expressed to me by a Millbank warder who was conducting me round the old prison which occupied the present site of the Tate Gallery. Referring to the manual labour going on around me, I said, "This is all very well for those accustomed to use their hands in such work, but what could it possibly make of one like myself, book-educated and but little else?" He would be practically useless to you." He replied, "We are always charmed to get a well-educated man in your sense here. He has been accustomed to use his head, and, however ignorant he at first may be of any particular work, we soon manage to teach him to do it well." A quite unconscious tribute by a comparatively uneducated man himself to the real benefit of education, which does not so much depend upon the actual book-knowledge acquired, but upon its training effect upon the mind—upon its efficacy, in fact, as a system of mental gymnastics.

Senor Ballvé speaks of the wonderfully beneficent result of this system of educating prisoners, the extra-

ordinary pleasure which even the most uncultured minds experience as their mental horizon spreads out, bringing within their purview subject after subject to interest them more and more as their knowledge increases. Among many examples he cites that of an old fisherman, practically uneducated when he entered the prison, but who later on, acquiring interest in his studies, actually composed a most interesting lecture on "America before Columbus," and, illustrating the same with lantern slides, produced a discourse worthy of being delivered before any scientific body. Which reminds me that popular lectures are occasionally given in a large hall devoted to the purpose; these are likewise much appreciated, and have an improving and refining influence.

Another weak point in our system is the comparative poorness of the prison libraries. The Buenos Aires Penitentiary has a magnificent library of 1,600 volumes, well chosen so as to give pleasure and instruction, and thus help to exert that refining and improving influence which can only be realised by those who love books and know the valuable results to be obtained from a course of appropriate and enjoyable literature. One of the most frequent complaints from the unfortunate occupants of our prison cells is of the bad light for reading. Though there may be no difficulty in obtaining readable books and time in which to read them, yet this privilege is largely neutralised by the bad light in the cells. In the Penitentiary the cells are well lighted, electric lighting being available when needed, and in addition they are roomy, clean, and well ventilated, the bed, while not luxurious, being such that no one need be kept awake by reason of its discomfort.

The refining influence of art is recognised by allowing those who wish to paint or draw during certain hours, the needful materials being supplied by the authorities. Being, like so many indifferent artists, very devoted to the same pursuit myself during leisure hours, I was naturally charmed with the notion of this

privilege, and the idea entered my head—I had been in an anxious, worried and tired frame of mind for some time—"What a nice place for a rest cure." And to speak the truth, as regards brightness, general material comfort, and pleasurable occupation, I would by far prefer the Buenos Aires Penitentiary to any workhouse I have yet seen.

Now, it is just here that many of our well-intentioned but shallow-thinking friends say, "Where, then, does the punishment come in? If criminals are better treated than the deserving poor, are possibly made more comfortable than in their own poor surroundings, are we not putting a premium upon crime?"

No one will accuse Sir Robert Anderson of sympathy with crime, or of more than sensible humanitarian feelings on this subject, so I may reply in his own words from an article in the "Nineteenth Century" for February, 1908:—

"The maxim that crime must be punished ranks with the eternal verities. I denounce it as both false and mischievous. There is no obligation whatever to punish crime; and the infliction of punishment, save with some intelligent and beneficent aim, is not only senseless but barbarous."

Now, I maintain that this is exactly the problem satisfactorily solved by the Buenos Aires system. The "intelligent and beneficent aim" is the reform of the criminal and the protection of society, and if it is found in practice that this is best attained by a reasonably humane treatment then we are bound to proceed on such lines. Whatever the supposed delights of the prison may be, but few care to experience them a second time, and we find that only about one in every 10,000 inhabitants of the Republic is found as a convict in the establishment, and those we may safely assume are not there of their own good will and wishes.

What our good friends always forget is that deprivation of liberty is in itself quite sufficient as a deterrent, without there being the slightest need to

either torture the criminal or brutalise ourselves and those who have the actual administration of the prison discipline.

An old and valued friend of mine, clever and most kind-hearted, a medical man in Buenos Aires, to whom I related my experiences of the visit, said, "I am ashamed to think that criminals are so pampered in this enlightened city. I would not detain them in prison at the expense of honest men. I would flog them severely and let them go." I said, "What if they offended again, as many probably would do, if only to avenge the cruelty and degradation?" "I would flog them more severely and again turn them loose, and so on indefinitely." He quite forgot, as I pointed out and finally convinced him, that such a course would merely turn loose a certain number of brutalised, revengeful savages to possibly wreak their vengeance upon innocent victims. In fact, we hear but too much thoughtless talk upon such lines as these, even in these comparatively enlightened times.

If our treatment was more humane, there would be less compunction in dealing with the habitual criminal upon common-sense lines than at present. This type—a minority fortunately—lives in and out of prison all his life. He is a social pest of a most dangerous kind, whose mission it is to prey upon society, and is, for the most part, utterly irreclaimable. To allow such men to go about free in our midst simply because no specific crime can be brought home to them—they are all well known to the police and under more or less constant observation—is sheer folly. Society should never allow the words to be addressed to it which the Duc de Montaucier spoke out to Louis XIV., referring to a man who was not executed till after his twentieth murder: "This man has only committed one murder, the first, and it is you, sire, who, by letting him live, have committed the other 19." This was brought home to me forcibly some years ago on witnessing the trial of the Muswell Hill murderers, Fowler and Milson. These men broke into the house

of an old man, known to live alone and keep money by him. Coming down in the early morning on hearing the noise, he was brutally murdered, and for a long time the crime could not be brought home to its perpetrators. But from the first suspicion fell upon these two men, who, as an inspector told me, were well-known to the police and ought never to have been at large. At last proof was forthcoming, one of them turned Queen's evidence, and both were deservedly executed. Now, I regard society in its corporate capacity as a guilty accomplice in this murder for having permitted such characters to go about free, well knowing that sooner or later some innocent being must pay a severe penalty. Hanging these men, however it may have gratified our feelings of righteous indignation, did not give back to that poor old man his money, and, less still, whatever pleasure he derived from living to hoard it up.

What would be said of anyone who, having captured a man-eating tiger or a rattlesnake, should say, "His right to liberty is inalienable, no specific offence having been brought home to him," and should thereupon turn the said creature loose into a crowd to work his will upon the first unfortunate victim who crossed his path. In such a case the truly humane and common-sense man would surely say, "We will not needlessly torture the poor creature, but he must never go free again. Let us consign him to some place of detention—the Zoo, for instance—where he may finish his days peacefully, but have no chance either of harming anyone, or of leaving descendants to prey upon or injure his neighbours, the human species." Now, the fact that the human animal belongs to our own species seems to me to make no difference whatever as regards the principle of the treatment, and the actual danger is likely to be greater.

Many people believe that the large number of habitual criminals would be a bar, both on the score of expense and of trouble, to any drastic treatment of this nature. Sir Robert Anderson, however, tells us

that if but seventy well-known thieves "were put out of the way, the whole organisation of crime against property in England would be dislocated, and we should immediately enjoy an amount of immunity from crimes of this kind that it might to-day seem utopian to expect."

I once again repeat that the chief deterrent in imprisonment is deprivation of liberty, and that if these good gentlemen knew that they were exposed to perpetual loss of it many would consider whether it were not worth their while to turn their, in many cases, undoubted talents to a better use. So high an authority as Sir Robert Anderson is of this opinion.

While going round the prison Senor Sunico pointed out to me a rather pleasant, bright-looking man, who, he told me, was an Englishman sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude for a murder on board ship, and he kindly gave me leave to talk to him for a short while. The man seemed intelligent and spoke quite nicely and reasonably. Probably his crime, as is only too frequently the case, was the result of mere drunkenness. On account of his good conduct his sentence had been reduced to 15 years; he had served $9\frac{1}{2}$, leaving $5\frac{1}{2}$ to finish. I said I hoped he was fairly comfortable and well treated. His answer was that he had nothing to complain of on that score, "But, sir," he burst out, "nothing makes up for the loss of liberty."

(To be concluded.)

MALLOCK v. MARX.

By H. W. HOBART.

(Continued from last month.)

But what is it exactly that Mr. Mallock would have us understand by his illustration? He means, obviously, that "the directive faculty" of one author is worth £3,000, and that of the other £6, for towards the close of the paragraph he speaks of "imparting the quality of much wealth, or of little or of none, to every one of the 10,000 copies of which the edition is composed." This, to say the least of it, is subtle reasoning. It is intended to prove that the socially-necessary average human labour of Marx has nothing to do with the value of the book, and is quite separate and distinct from "the directive faculty." But it does not show this at all. What it does show is that "the directive faculty" of the author is inseparably bound up with the socially necessary average human labour, and is as much a factor in production as any other form of labour. Mr. Mallock certainly fails to prove—although he asserts with an assurance suggestive of a conceited egotism—that directive ability as a separate entity produces any value at all. Even his own illustration proves quite the contrary, for in the one case the same amount of directive energy results in a loss and in the other a gain. As I have already pointed out, Marx reduces all labour to common abstract human labour, but Mr. Mallock bases his estimate of the value of a book on the quality of the minute orders given by the author, and this quality is again based on the sale of the book; so that if the book

sells well, then the author is a very clever and accomplished writer, but if only a few copies are purchased the author is a "dud," and had better stop writing after the first trial. I hope I am not treating Mr. Mallock unfairly, but that is what I interpret his illustration to mean, and his explanatory sentence on page 52 in no way affects that interpretation, although he does shift his position a little.

This is what he says: "The labour in question no doubt determines the price at which the printed paper can be sold at a profit, or without loss; but the number of copies which the public will be willing to buy, or, in other words, the value of the edition commercially, depends on qualities resident in the mind of the author, which render the book attractive to but few readers, or to many."

To speak of the "price" at which the printed paper can be sold and the "commercial value" of an edition is a mere juggling with economic terms, and Mr. Mallock must be hard pressed indeed to have to have recourse to such tactics. What he really means, as I have already said, is that if the book sells well the author is a genius, but if it is a drug on the market, then the author is a fool. But in his exuberance at having "discovered" that the primary factor in the production of a book is the "directive faculty" of the author, he, out of the abundance of his heart, gives him the whole £3,000, and totally ignores the "directive faculty" of the other able partners in the production, amongst which is included the directive ability of the landlord (who takes the rent), and that of the local and imperial authorities (who take the rates and taxes), the gas or electric light company (who insist on payment for their special commodity), the engineer (who supplied the machinery), the paper maker, the ink maker, the typefounder, and the hundred and one other contributors to the production of the book, who all claim special payment for their special ability before the author has a single farthing in recognition of his great directive ability.

Let us again look up Mr. Mallock's exact words: "And to what is the difference between these two values due? It is due to the special directions under which the labour of the compositors is performed." It is now getting interesting. Evidently the "directive faculty" of the £6 author is considerably below zero. But he dies—as Milton did, for example, whose directive ability in producing "Paradise Lost" was only worth £5, and after his death the immense value of his "directive ability" became manifest, and someone else realised the £2,994 he ought to have had. Was that robbery or confiscation? Or did the dead author, by some occult influence, after his demise, convert his latent directive faculty into an active and remunerative agent, and thus let his ability fall, like Elisha's mantle, on to the shoulders of his successors?

In the meantime, we again ask, what about the cost of production? The book was produced, it cost something to produce it, and this cost of production had to be met. In the case of the £6 book, its cost could not have been met out of the proceeds, because they were only £6 or less; so it must have been met out of the takings from the other book, in which case the £3,000 of directive ability is reduced to pay the cost of the £6 book. And if, as does happen sometimes with publishers, there were several £6 books and only one £3,000 book, the latter sum becomes proportionately smaller. This may be the *reductio ad absurdum*, but had Mr. Mallock read more of Marx and less of Mallock, he might not (I cannot say he would not) have laid himself open to such an attack.

Compare the foregoing proposition of Mr. Mallock with what Marx teaches. The former makes no provision for the exchange of commodities or the vagaries of the market, or even for the cost of production, but gives the entire sale price over to the author. The latter (Marx) clearly shows that commodities exchange at their cost of production, and this cost of production is based on the socially-necessary human labour, plus, of course, the raw material, or the gifts of nature. If,

therefore, the author's ability is included in the cost of production it comes under Marx's definition of the socially-necessary human labour; it is neither more nor less than an attribute of production, and, as such, is open to the ordinary market competition, and dependent upon the market price of the commodity. Well, then, Mr. Mallock may reply, if commodities exchange at their cost of production, and both books cost the same to produce, why is there such a marked difference as between £6 and £3,000? Ay, there's the rub. That shows the faulty character of the hypothetical case. All things being equal, the two authors should have received the same consideration for services rendered. If, of course, the £6 book was of such a nature that it fulfilled no want or requirement, it was not a use value, but was so much waste labour, and as Marx says: "Lastly, nothing can have value without being an object of utility. If the thing is useless, so is the labour contained in it; the labour does not count as labour, and therefore creates no value."

Before taking my final farewell of Mr. Mallock and his two books, let me tell him a secret or two. I know something about printing and compositors' work. In the first place, he is entirely in error in thinking that compositors are paid merely to place a number of letters in parallel lines. You can get letters in parallel lines from the typefounders, or from the youngest apprentice when he has set up the "pie," but neither of these is compositors' work. The compositor has to translate some worse than Egyptian hieroglyphics into common sense and good grammar; he has to punctuate and simplify some terribly involved sentences (I guess the comps. on Mr. Mallock's book had a rough time), and he has to arrange this mass of signs, words, and phrases into an orderly and handy volume. If Mr. Mallock thinks this can all be done easily by the compositor without ability, let him get possession of the MSS. of Mr. Charles Dickens, Mr. Edmund Yates, Mr. Dutton Cook, Mr. Henry Escott, or Mr. Cunninghame Graham, and try and decipher

and translate their respective caligraphies into English. Or he may occupy his leisure by trying to make sense of the following words, without their punctuation marks:—

“That that is is that that is not is not is not that so.”

This sentence contains 41 minute instructions to the compositor, and those instructions are carried out literally; yet Mr. Mallock would probably dismiss them as meaningless and absurd; but when the compositor’s “ability” has been brought to bear upon them they take the following form, and become simple: “That that is, is; that that is not, is not; is not that so?”

Of course, I am fully aware that Mr. Mallock can shift his ground. There is much of the slipperiness of the eel about such logicians. He will probably reply: “I did not say that the labourer possessed no ability; I merely asserted that for the directive faculties . . . I have applied . . . the name of ability!” But if the labourer has ability, and the ability man has no labour, then the labourer is the more valuable of the two. And if Mr. Mallock admits that, then he may as well burn his book.

But Mr. Mallock does not confine his meaning to the author; he includes all the recipients of large sums of money from any source whatever. In fact, the mere receipt of large sums of money stamps the recipient as a man of ability.

.Ability, forsooth! Amongst the shareholders and directors of public companies! The directive ability is not with these; it is with certain men chosen from the ranks and paid a little higher salary than the workpeople in order to direct the workers’ energies, and frequently only for their bullying propensities. Managers are appointed, but not always because of their ability; frequently because of their relationship or friendship with some of the directors. How many men have been pitchforked into prominent positions

because they have big banking accounts, or because they are related to a wealthy director, or are bosom friends of someone in position? And how few have really been appointed because of their ability to direct or manage! Here is the son of a managing director—a young harem-scarem, just leaving Oxford or Cambridge—given charge of some industrial concern because “he must be doing something in the way of business.” He drives up to the factory in his motor about 11 o’clock, dashes through the works, goes back to the counting-house, draws a cheque for his day’s expenses, and then proceeds to Newmarket, Epsom, or Kempton Park for the rest of the day.

This is one phase of directive faculty according to the gospel of Mr. Mallock.

Or, may be, some supercilious friend of the managing director, a “thorough business man,” who has a wonderful capacity for driving the workmen, who knows, or says he knows, when a man is earning his money or not. He has no belief in men of experience. “Experience,” he will say; “we want men to do the work, not those who have had experience of work. If there is any experience required, I am the one to supply it. Experienced workmen are mostly aged workmen—but we want young men in our factory.”

This is another phase of directive faculty.

Or he may be a man who has been looking for a soft job and a big salary. By his persistent insinuations he initiates himself into the confidence of the directors and persuades them that he is the man they want to manage their business. If there is a vacancy in any department it happens to be “just the very position for which he is suited.” Or, if there is no vacancy, well, he convinces them, by all kinds of specious arguments and promises of commercial triumph, that he must be given a position. He sometimes has a small coterie of friends, and these, too, have to be provided for. If they can bully the workmen, cheat the customers, or at least make a pretence of being busy, they are

all right. He and they, too, may be away all day at golf, race meetings, or other sports; he may be engaged in Parliamentary work; he may be away for weeks at a time; still, his directive ability is the great motive power which is driving the firm along. The possibilities of wireless telegraphy are dwarfed into insignificance by the doings of these owners of great directive ability. They can direct when they are absent, they can direct when they are present; they can direct while they are enjoying themselves; they can direct when they are engaged in imperial business for the nation, and they can direct when they are asleep. Yes, men with directive ability are simply marvels.

But directive ability is a very comprehensive term. It is like charity—it covers a multitude of sins and sinners. There are the foremen of the numerous departments of industry involved, who receive a few shillings a week more than their fellows because of their "directive faculty." Then there are the overseers, the managers, the managing directors, the cashiers, the travellers, and the leading hands—all receiving "directive ability" pay. And this runs through the whole gamut of industry.

Now, let us look at this ability question in another way, and see what part it really plays in the production of value. An enterprising man, with a knowledge of most branches of the building trade, a man with excellent directive ability, a man with a small capital, starts building. His capital is not quite enough by itself to launch out very lavishly, but with the aid of a few thousand pounds, borrowed at 4 per cent., he makes a beginning. Several houses are finished and waiting for tenants, or buyers. Unfortunately for him neither the one nor the other seem to want his houses. Weeks pass and soon lengthen into months, still the houses are empty. Then the mortgagees begin to press for their money, and ultimately they foreclose, and the man is ruined. According to Mr. Mallock this man's "directive ability" had no "value," because he did not make money. But, then, were the houses

worth nothing because this man had not been able to sell them, or let them? Truly they had not quite fulfilled all the conditions of a commodity—they had not yet met a market. But the value was there. The value created by the necessary average social labour. All there, but not manifest, because there had been no exchange. After a little while the mortgagees succeeded in selling them at a good price. But the energy and ability of the builder which contributed to this wealth was as nothing, because he did not get anything for it; but the mortgagees, who had contributed neither labour nor ability, got a fairly big share of the wealth—the rent of their ability!

Take the case of a burglar. Does Mr. Mallock claim that because the burglar is successful in getting “wealth” by his ability that he has *produced* that wealth?

Or a company promoter or money-lender who may make a small fortune in a little time; is the wealth they become possessed of produced by their ability?

Mr. Mallock may repudiate such cases; but where is the difference? If the money realised by the sale of a book measures the ability of the author, or the salary of the manager of an industrial concern measures his directive faculties, surely the same argument applies to the cases I have cited?

And the constructional engineer; he may have the practical knowledge of the essential requirements of a bridge across the river, but to bolt a plate, drive a crane, or cut the timber necessary for shoreing would be quite outside his ability. And yet these things are absolutely necessary before a bridge can be of any use, and 50,000 plans would not rivet a plate.

This is how Mr. Mallock puts the position:—

“Each man knows the object of what he does, and can co-ordinate that object with the object of what is done by his fellows. But when the ultimate result is something so vast and complicated that a thousand men instead of three have to co-operate in the

production of it, when a million pieces of metal, some large and some minute, have to be cast, filed, turned, rolled or bent, so that finally they may all coalesce into a single mechanical organism, no one labourer sees further than the task which he performs himself. He cannot adjust his work to that of another man, who is probably working a quarter of a mile away from him, and he has in most cases no idea whatever of how the two pieces of work are related to each other. Each labourer has simply to perform his work in accordance with directions which emanate from some mind other than his own, and the whole practical value of what the labourers do depends on the quality of the directions which are thus given to each."

(To be concluded.)

NO BROTHERHOOD WITHOUT LIBERTY.

(TO THE IMMORTAL MEMORY OF FRANCESCO P'ERRER.)

From o'er the hills the sound of church bells ringing
Within me wakes the memories of the past.
A calm and peaceful eve. I, onward singing,
Am led with feelings full that follow fast
With thoughts of early days. No outgrown creeds
Enshrine my soul, but sweet contentment breeds.

Far in the west, veiled in a crimson mist,
Droops slowly down the golden orb of day,
Leaving behind a purple train that kiss'd
The evening scene as though it fain would stay.
And, onward I, filled with a holy calm,
Enter the porch and seek the church's balm.

A white-robed priest within the chancel stands
As through the incensed air the organ swells,
He holds to heaven aloft his jewelled hands
And chants "Our Father"—and the spells
That led me on are broken, and I sink
Into an empty pew to think—and think.

When to the gloom mine eyes accustomed grow,
I see about me scattered here and there
The village congregation, meek and low,
From aged worn to bonny childhood fair,
Whilst in a special pew behind the door
The paupers sit. Oh! "Blessed be ye poor."

In front of all, ensconced in high-backed pew
Sits at his ease the pompous lordly squire,
He slumbers, safely hid from vulgar view,
Till, wakened by the singing of the choir,

He thunders out a sonorous "Amen"
Much like a lion roaring in his den.

And once again the preacher's on his feet,
He talks of brotherhood and holy love,
Again ascends to heaven in music sweet
The prayer "Our Father." But to me, above
The sensuous ecstasy and pious zeal,
Is that grim bench of paupers, all too real.

"Thy kingdom come, on earth Thy will be done,"
With holy unction chants the pious priest :
This for his text, he tells us of that One
Who bids us gather at the sacred feast
And there partake in common of the food
In fellowship, and Christian brotherhood.

But, out I go into the evening air,
'Twould choke me to stay longer in the gloom.
I must be free and cannot linger where
Sweet Liberty lies sleeping in a tomb ;
And to my soul there comes this verity,
There is no brotherhood in Slavery.

BENJN. E. TRAYNER.

THE MONTH.

"Prosperity" has been the keynote of the leading articles in our Liberal Free Trade Press for months past. Trade is booming, we are told; our national wealth is increasing by leaps and bounds; Free Trade has been vindicated, Tariff Reform is completely snowed under; and, from the point of view of material well-being, we ought to be the happiest people under the sun.

What puzzles the worthy scribes who write these panegyrics of capitalist Free Trade is the insolent, the inconsiderate and unreasonable persistence of poverty. Here we are, they say, a wealthy nation, wealthier than ever before in the world's history, and yet, somehow, poverty and pauperism continue to spread, unemployment does not materially diminish, but on the contrary, tends to increase, and has, from an epidemic, become a chronic disorder of the body politic. Why is this? The answer is so obvious and so simple that it has escaped their notice. The simple fact, of course, is that all this prosperity is solely the prosperity of the propertied class, and therefore constantly tends to increase and intensify the poverty of the propertyless. It is not *national* prosperity at all, but merely the prosperity of a class.

That in a society in which all the means of production—and therefore the total wealth-production—are the property of a class, the increase of wealth, of wealth production and of productivity should involve greater poverty among those whose sole means of existence are derived from the services they are called upon to render to the possessing class, seems so clear and obvious to a Social-Democrat that it is difficult to understand why it is not apparent to everyone else. That if those who possess everything find their wealth increasing and all their wants and desires satisfied with less and less labour on the part of those who have nothing but their labour to dispose of—and who must sell their labour or perish—the condition of the latter must become more difficult, precarious

and helpless seems a self-evident proposition. It is extraordinary, therefore, to find quite a number of people—including some Socialists, whose theories are based upon that proposition—who seem to be quite unable to grasp a fact so simple.

As a consequence, we have the proposals of the Minority of the Poor Law Commission, which, however good in some details, ignore this simple fundamental fact, and are based upon the assumption that destitution, pauperism and unemployment are due to defective administrative machinery and to individual shortcomings, and are not the essential results of existing economic conditions.

Destitution, therefore, it appears, is to be abolished by expunging the word from our vocabulary; by abolishing the Poor Law Guardians, and by handing their duties over to the Committees of Borough and County Councils—who already have too much to do to do it well—and to a superior relieving officer called the Registrar of Public Assistance. Thus by abolishing the authority whose sole duty is to relieve destitution, destitution ceases to be! It is an easy and convenient method of getting rid of an evil—to ignore its existence. It is only another form of Christian Science, or faith-healing.

In the same way, unemployment is to be got rid of by assuming that it is never universal in all trades and industries, but is always particular or local, and therefore is abolished by "training" men for different occupations, and transferring them from one to another as one or the other waxes or wanes. As Mr. Sidney Webb puts it: "By taking care that whenever men were going to be turned off from gasworks, these particular men were instantly secured a job on the brickfields—to give only one illustration—a great deal of this seasonal unemployment could be prevented."

In vain is it pointed out that by improved methods these "seasonal" trades have become more constant and less intermittent, and that there is no single industry to-day in which there are no unemployed. To call attention to these facts is described as a "mere mouthing of phrases," utterly unworthy of the attention of "practical" statesmen and reformers. And we are vehemently condemned for not giving our enthusiastic support to such a futile weaving of ropes of sand as these practical statesmen are now engaged upon.

All that would not matter much were the proposals merely futile. But they are mischievous as well. If carried out in their entirety, we should not only have not abolished destitution or cured unemployment, but we should have saddled ourselves with an intolerable bureaucracy which is more easily called into being than got rid of. And in our present system of class government we always realise the worst part of our demands—never the best. That is all the more reason for making our demands as good and complete as possible.

The Labour Exchanges afford an illustration of this. For many years we Social-Democrats agitated for Labour Bureaux, established and maintained by the municipalities, but under the management and control of the trade unions. The Liberal Government, however, has established Labour Exchanges which are nothing more than agencies for the supply of cheap, or blackleg, labour to the employer, and incidentally have provided snug berths for a number of young bureaucrats and "experts." A striking illustration of "how not to do it."

Recently our predictions with regard to this shameful travesty of what Labour Exchanges should be have been strikingly fulfilled. And now these institutions are being vehemently anathematised by the trade unions. But we pointed out their mischievous character at the beginning, and no one paid any heed. It may be gratifying to be able to say, "We told you so," but it would have been far better had our warnings been listened to. It will be precisely the same with the proposals of the Poor Law Commission if they are ever carried out. All that is good in them—the abolition of the pauper stigma and disqualification; the abolition of the workhouse; the equal treatment of the indigent sick with others; the abolition of child labour; the systematic reduction of the hours of labour, and the enactment of a maximum working day; the regularising of Government work and so on—all these demands, with others of a more revolutionary character, we were the first to formulate, have agitated for years, and are prepared to work with anyone to get realised. When, however, it comes to abolishing democratic control; to instituting a huge, all-powerful bureaucracy; to stereotyping and systematising unemployment for the benefit of the master class, we are bound to condemn such proposals, and to oppose them by every means in our power.

A striking commentary on our much-boasted prosperity, as well as on the jejune proposals of some of our friends for eliminating the consequences of the existing class antagonism, is the recent outbreak of hostilities in the industrial world. Of course, the workmen are wrong, according to certain self-styled "leaders." Working men always are wrong in the opinion of these highly superior and "practical" persons. The fact remains, however, that the men who struck were goaded into doing so by the intolerable exactions of the masters, and that the latter took advantage of the opportunity to lock out thousands of other men. These latter were, even from the employers' point of view, perfectly innocent of any wrong-doing, and they were locked out simply because it suited the masters' book, and would help them to bigger profits while inflicting a heavy blow on the unions.

And all this while the employers were hypocritically pretending that they desired industrial peace. The only industrial peace that will satisfy them will be one in which the men are such abject slaves as to tamely submit to any conditions of extortion and exploitation. There are not wanting signs, however, that they have shown their hand a little too plainly this time, and that their action, instead of breaking and crushing the organisation of the working-class, will have the effect of strengthening and consolidating it.

That, certainly, was the impression given by the Trades Union Congress. Never, in recent years, has such a militant, revolutionary spirit been shown in a Trades Congress, or greater desire been manifested for unity. The resolution in favour of uniting the three sections of the working-class movement—the Congress, the Federation of Trades and the Labour Party—only just missed being carried; while that in favour of the closer federation and amalgamation of existing unions on the basis of industry instead of trade was adopted by a large majority.

On every hand in the industrial world the past month has presented us with signs of revolt, of the growth of revolutionary sentiment and of the recognition of the underlying class antagonism which makes industrial peace on reasonable terms impossible. And this is the time of all others chosen by our "practical politicians"—we cannot call them Revisionists, because they never knew anything to revise—to tell us that the time of revolution is

past, and that the Labour Party has killed revolutionary Socialism in this country.

No doubt the wish is father to the thought ; but it is so far from being the truth that revolutionary Socialism was never so much alive in this country as it is at the present time.

Revolution is in the air. The German Congress at Magdeburg expressed in no uncertain terms its repudiation of the futile tactics of the Revisionists. Their excuses for compromise were riddled through and through by Bebel, who showed by historical experience that, even from the standpoint of practical influence on current politics and social reform, the uncompromising policy of revolutionary Social-Democracy secured the best material results.

Revolutionary Social-Democracy does not disdain "palliatives," nor repudiate political action. But it demands palliatives that are revolutionary and not reactionary in their tendency, and that are conceded by the master class from fear and not as rewards for services rendered, and it uses political action as a means to the end and not the end in itself. The palliatives acceptable to the Social-Democracy, therefore, do not tend to make the capitalist system more tolerable and stable. They are essentially subversive of that system in their effects. And the political action of Social-Democrats is not hampered by any regard for the convenience of any bourgeois party, but is independent of and hostile to them all.

The day of revolutions is past, say our "practical statesmen." As Marx said, according to them there has been history, but there will be history no more ! And, as if to give the lie to them, we have just had the fourth of a series of more or less successful violent revolutions within the past few years. There was the Russian revolution ; at first a tremendous success, although afterwards defeated in a deluge of blood and fire. Then there came the Turkish revolution. Then that of Persia. Now it is Portugal's turn. Each of these revolutions has, of course, been political, but it has been largely the result of social unrest and economic development, and, above all, the lesson of each is the same, that—our so-called "evolutionists" to the contrary notwithstanding—all Governments rest upon force ; that any fundamental change will be resisted by force by the dominant class ; and that they are no more

susceptible to moral suasion not backed by force than any dominant class has ever been.

How ruthlessly, too, the master class are prepared to use force has been once more demonstrated in Berlin, where neither youth nor age was spared by the Prussian police. Men, women and children went down before the sabres of the brutal instruments of Prussian capitalist rule. It was a lesson which the Paris Commune taught, but which we in these latter days seem in danger of forgetting—that no more bestial, savage, inhuman, cowardly, blood-thirsty or ruthless class have ever held rule than the modern bourgeoisie.

The same lesson has been written in letters of blood in the United States of America. It has been good to meet our brave and stalwart comrade Haywood, who so narrowly escaped the hangman's noose already adjusted around his neck by the bloodthirsty capitalist Thugs of Colorado. Haywood knows by dire experience that the tender mercies of the capitalist are cruel, and an interview with him is an excellent tonic for those who are experiencing any relaxation of the fibre of bitter and relentless hatred of capitalism which should characterise every Social-Democrat.

The British Government still declines to surrender Savarkar to the French. The matter is now to be referred to the Hague tribunal. In the meantime, it is understood, Savarkar is to be tried, but no sentence passed upon him is to be carried out until the question of his extradition has been decided by the Hague tribunal. That is a grossly improper proceeding. It assumes his conviction, a conviction which will be used to prejudice and prevent his surrender to the French authorities, and the latter should insist that Savarkar should be first of all given up to them.

ARBITRATION AND DISARMAMENT.

A CRITICISM OF THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS.

(From the "Leipziger Volkszeitung," September 15 and 16, 1910.)

The question of disarmament and arbitration with which the Copenhagen Congress occupied, or, more strictly speaking, was to have occupied, itself was finished off with a resolution demanding obligatory arbitration courts, general disarmament, etc. Those who read in the Congress reports the debates on this question, in the Commissions and before the full Congress, will be surprised to find that only one speaker tried to go into the question itself, and that even he, thanks to the manner in which the chairman, Van Kol, conducted the proceedings, was unable fully to express himself upon it. A decision was taken which forced the International to adopt a certain attitude, although the question has not been debated at all in the Socialist press. This omission must now be made good. If the Congresses of the International are not to sink to the level of mere sociable gatherings, if their decisions are to be binding for the Social-Democratic Parties, they must be the result of earnest mental labour on the part of their members. And there is yet another reason which strongly urges the German press, in particular, to go deeply into the question: The resolution of the International Congress defines the basis of the foreign policy which the German Social-Democracy must adopt; it lays down the point of view from which the German Social Democracy must take up its stand towards imperialism in general, and, in particular, to the English-German antagonism and naval armaments.

I. DISARMAMENT.

The resolution upon the question of disarmament runs: "The Congress expects from the Social-Democratic representatives in the Parliaments constantly renewed motions in favour of general disarmament, first, and above all, for an agreement by which the naval armaments should be limited and the right of capture at sea abolished."

The question of disarmament really seemed to have been settled long ago for the International. Many decades have passed since the old International scoffed so bitterly at the bourgeois dis-

armament enthusiasts who coquetted with Bakunin, and, as far as the German Social-Democracy is concerned, the German Marxists have hitherto had no reason specially to discuss what is the meaning of the noise about disarmament. The withering scorn with which they treated the bourgeois disarmament apostles, and the ironical raillery with which they set aside comrade Jaurès's exalted sentiments which so often and so strongly reminded one of the former, proves that in the German Social-Democracy no cannons are needed in order to shoot the sparrows of general disarmament. If we would touch upon the question at all, it is not in order to demonstrate the impossibility of disarmament—we think we can spare ourselves that in our paper—but only to emphasise that the Social-Democrats, by drawing up the demand for a citizen army, have already declared the impossibility of disarmament under capitalism. With the demand for disarmament we thus have an indirect revision of our party programme, and this, moreover, without any previous discussion. We admit that the party programme, especially its second "practical" part, could bear a good deal of alteration, but that this should take place in this way without discussion, and moreover in the direction of bourgeois utopias long since laughed at and ridiculed by the Social-Democracy, really is, in our opinion, not in the interest of the party.

General disarmament is needed by those who drew up the resolution as a framework for the demand for an agreement by which the naval armaments and the right of capture at sea should be abolished. It goes without saying that it is the duty of Social-Democracy and its representatives in Parliament to fight to the utmost against militarism and naval armaments. But can this be accomplished by the proposed methods? In answering this question we can express ourselves all the more briefly in that before the Congress we published three leading articles on the question in the light of the concrete German-English example. But let us first draw the reader's attention to the vagueness of the resolution. What kind of agreement does the resolution mean? A general international agreement, or one which is limited to a given group of nations? The first is altogether impossible. The field of world-politics, where the interests of the Powers conflict, is so extensive, these interests so varied and so constantly developing, that it is impossible to discover a standard by which the strength of the Navy of each State could be determined, and then, if one could succeed in doing this, every change in the relative power of the States, every technical revolution of any importance, would necessitate a new agreement, in which from the beginning the question would be decisive: what tribunal could force any Power to abide by an agreement which might not suit her convenience?

But if those who drew up the resolution had in their minds a concrete grouping of the Powers, let us say a German-English agreement, then they were wandering, not, indeed, in the fields of a utopia created by their pens, but also not in those fields in which

the Social-Democratic solutions are developed. A German-English naval agreement is not an impossibility, although the German bourgeoisie are at present fighting against it for all they are worth. The financial distress, which, in conjunction with the need of preserving England's supremacy at sea, makes the English statesmen friendly to such an agreement, may also win over the German citizens to the idea, maybe, when the increasing burden of taxation has embittered the labouring masses to such an extent that the German bourgeoisie will begin to be afraid of them. But would an agreement of this kind keep the armaments in check for long? If one looks at the question, not in the abstract, but in relation to the concrete conditions of world-politics, the answer is decidedly in the negative. For what would a German-English agreement mean in the first instance? An understanding between the two Governments as to the German-English antagonisms in the Near East and in other parts of the world—namely, the destruction of the English-French-Russian entente, which was a product of the Anglo-German antagonism. If that were the case—and without getting over these antagonisms there could be no question of a naval agreement—then the limitation of armaments at sea would be followed by an increase of armaments on land, for the understanding between England and Germany would necessarily be looked upon by France and Russia as a menace to them. Is that a cause to which Social-Democrats should give their enthusiastic support? Comrade Ledebour, who was "reporter" on this question, both on the Commission and before the full Congress, at Copenhagen, opposed this argument with the question: "Are we to abstain from extinguishing a fire which has broken out in Copenhagen for fear it should break out later in Berlin?" To this argument one can reply—to adopt the metaphor—that the deliberate removal of a fire from one barn to another has not hitherto been looked upon as part of the function of the fire-brigade. And, besides, a German-English naval agreement would, even in the field of naval policy, only have a temporary effect. For the extent of the German-English armaments is not determined by German-English conditions alone. A strengthening of the naval power of Japan or China, a Japanese-American agreement, etc., would suffice to upset the effects of the German-English agreement, not to speak of the influence of revolutions in technique. That this is so even bourgeois advocates of a German-English agreement know.

Just one day before "Vorwärts" published, in the most prominent place, an article which, in a somewhat melodramatic tone, advocated this agreement, Colonel Gädke wrote in the "Berliner Tageblatt" of August 4: "But now the limitation of armaments has defined itself to such an extent that no one in either country any longer thinks of an agreement laced up in the Spanish boots of forcible judicial enactments, of a more or less legal document. It goes without saying that each of the two countries would reserve to itself the right of receding from the arrangements

as soon as it found itself menaced by the armaments of any third party. But one could even agree, in the event of this happening, that before any measures were taken there should be a friendly interchange of opinion and, as far as possible, a new arrangement between the two countries."

So says Herr Gädke. As far, indeed, as the last clause of the passage quoted above is concerned we think that an increase of armaments against a third party as a result of a friendly interchange of opinion with England would not be any pleasanter to us for the fact of the English bourgeoisie having graciously given their consent; for it is not on account of the frowns of England that German Social-Democracy opposes armaments. In any case, we think we have proved that the demand for a naval agreement has nothing to do with the struggle against imperialism and against militarism.

II.—COMPULSORY COURTS OF ARBITRATION.

By the side of the demand for general disarmament, the Copenhagen resolution constitutes it the duty of the Social-Democratic deputies "constantly to repeat the demand that compulsory courts of arbitration should decide in all cases of international strife."

While the demand for disarmament was an unspoken version of the party programme, the supporters of this latter demand can base it upon that programme, which says: Settlement of all international disagreements by means of arbitration courts. But the party programme is not a paper Pope, whose separate clauses absolve us from the duty of independent criticism, and a glance at the historical situation in which, at that time, this demand came into the programme will show us that we cannot regard the courts of arbitration as a means of combatting imperialism. The demand for courts of arbitration was placed in the Erfurt programme at a time when, after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, the party not only had not the possibility of great mass-actions in view, but when, on the contrary, it issued the caution: "Comrades, do not allow yourselves to be provoked." It was the time when it was necessary, for fear of massacre, to restrain the masses from First of May demonstrations. In that situation the object of the demand for international arbitration courts was set forth less as a means of protection against the dangers of war—and it is a question of that in the Stuttgart resolution on war, and in the Copenhagen disarmament resolutions—than, in the first instance, in order to set the principle of a peaceful world-policy against the principles of a blood-and-iron-policy. We will not now examine further in how far this demand was the relic of the time of a Socialist Rationalism. To-day it is a question of a means of combating Imperialism, and we all know that the ultimate means to that end is a mass-action, the possibility of which has been proved by the Russian revolution, and by the rising of the Spanish proletariat.

In this new historical situation it is above all necessary to clear up the question as to whether the arbitration courts are a means of which the proletariat can make use in their struggle against imperialism. The experience of the last 20 years tells us this is not the case. The Governments have only appealed to arbitration courts in cases of disputes which were not worth a single charge of powder, but the American cannons thundered when it was a question of the Spanish colonial properties; those of England went off on account of South Africa; and those of Russia and Japan on account of Manchuria. One may say that proves nothing as to the future. But only he can say that who sees something different in the growth of imperialism than being the last refuge of capitalism from the advance of Socialism. Whoever keeps this character of imperialism in his mind will see that the most important function of Social-Democracy is to keep on referring the masses back to themselves, and convincing them that they alone carry in themselves the safe-guard of peace.

(To be Concluded.)

THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORKING MAN.

We reproduce the following, by Temple Scott, from a recent number of "The Forum" (New York), by courtesy of Mitchell Kennerley :—

A citizen of Europe visiting the United States in the second half of the last quarter of the eighteenth century would have witnessed a new nation's homage to its most distinguished and most successful worker in the cause of Republican principles—Benjamin Franklin.

A citizen of the United States visiting Europe, a hundred years later, might have happened to find himself in the Kensal Green Cemetery, in London, in time to witness a few devoted men and women paying their last reverent farewell to their leader, as they placed in its grave the dead body of Karl Marx, the Socialist.

These two men—Benjamin Franklin and Karl Marx—are typical of their principles. The one, a respectable tradesman, gifted with a shrewd common-sense that instinctively tacked with every contrary wind to a safe harbour, was a servant in heart as well as in deed. The other, a scholar of an antique succession, with a magnificent and even royal indifference to his own welfare, and with a spirit chivalrous and self-centred as any knight of old, was an aristocrat and master in every fibre of his being. The one was of a smug, smiling, complacent nature, a man who had learned from adversity the lessons of economy, prudence and discretion. The other was an open, fearless, loving nature, a man whose enthusiasm for humanity sent him adventuring, reckless of personal consequences. The intellect of the one could rise in delight to the portentous platitudes of "Poor Richard's Almanack"—mediocrity's "Vade-Mecum." The genius of the other elaborated, after almost a lifetime of devoted thought, the book "Das Kapital," the most searching analysis ever accomplished of the basic principles which govern social evolution. And yet, to-day, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children to whom the name of Benjamin Franklin is a household word have never even heard of Karl Marx.

It would seem as if this were one of the ironies of fate; but it is not. On the contrary, it is of the nature of things. Immediate success catches the superficial, who gladly accept a present achievement as an excuse for inaction and indolent content. The respectable and reputable mediocrity of a Benjamin Franklin is

the mediocrity of the average man to whom respectability is a badge of honour. He understands it. Teach him how to use it by means of a genuflexing discretion, and you have the typical Republican citizen. What matters if this conduct of life brings in its wake the diseases of hypocrisy, bribery, graft and social treachery? These evils are provided against by law; and if people will be foolish and will be indiscreet, the law must punish them. Whatever you do, be careful not to be found out—that is the golden rule of service which a century's experience of government by democracy has precipitated. It is the Golden Rule of Slavery.

But the adventuring, thought-arousing enthusiasm of a Karl Marx is, to say the least of it, uncomfortable and disquieting. It does not leave you alone; it compels you to be up and doing—up and doing not for yourself only, but for yourself and everybody else; for yourself because for everybody else. It demands devotion to an ideal, and that is not easy for people who worship Mammon for one hundred and sixty-six and Jesus Christ for two out of the hundred and sixty-eight hours of each week. Of course, it is a proper thing to have an ideal, as it is a proper thing to have a silk hat—it is necessary for certain occasions. It is necessary when we desire to convert a false value into a seeming real value. Oh, yes, we believe in an ideal; but our democracy cunningly manages to prostitute it as it does every aspiration of the soul—to sell it in the market-place, having first made of it a Golden Calf. That is why we find Benjamin Franklin's "Autobiography" in every home; and that is why Marx's "Das Kapital" is buried in the dust of public libraries.

Some day a brilliant genius will re-melt the gold of Marx's book and use it to decorate a new institution that must arise in the course of events. Then, it may be, even children will lisp reverently the name of the Saviour of the working man. For Marx's book and Marx's life are the struggles of a Titan with the ignorance of classes and masses.

Those of us who are nobly touched by the spirit of unrest and discontent, and who find inspiration in seeing a great man fight his fight, will be grateful to Mr. John Spargo for a thirteen years' devotion to his hero's life story. This book of his—"Karl Marx: His Life and Work" (New York: B. W. Huebsch)—is a notable achievement. It reveals, and most sympathetically and convincingly reveals, a personality and a character so splendid and so appealing in its human qualities that it is impossible for any reader to lay down the book without a profound reverence for the man who devoted himself to the work of redeeming his fellow working men. It will surely serve to keep green the memory of Karl Marx's noble spirit until such certain time to come when that spirit shall have made itself manifest by the power of its embodied thought. I am more than grateful to Mr. Spargo. His biography compels me to a confession of having misunderstood

Karl Marx. I am hoping that his book will be read by many who, like myself, have hitherto known of Karl Marx only through the pictures presented of him by professorial expositors and academic critics. If they do, they will meet a splendid fellow, a man who, in spite of a wayward temper, a satirical tongue, and a domineering spirit, was a delightful lover and father, an abiding friend, and possessed of a heart ever tender to suffering and sorrow. They will also meet a born leader of men—a practical politician and statesman of rare insight.

These two sides of Karl Marx's character—the thinker and the worker—have rarely been exemplified in one personality with his distinguished excellence, and with such extraordinary power. In the midst of a period of general upheaval, such as the year 1848 saw, when Marx's association with Socialistic societies reached to almost every capital of Europe, he found time not only to keep in touch with their movements, but he, at the same time, elaborated and placed on record the famous "Communist Manifesto"—that resounding bugle-blast of modern Socialism. In 1864 he organised the International Working Men's Association, and for twelve years was its guiding head. In spite of the enormous labour this position entailed he was all the time writing his great work on political economy. In the many years of his life in London, when he was struggling against poverty and even want, he yet found time to write the Socialist propaganda addresses and despatch written opinions and advice to the various organisations scattered throughout Europe.

He could join hands with Heinrich Heine, Friedrich Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle and labour with them for the cause to which he had devoted himself. But he could also take up arms against Michael Bakunin, the aggressive revolutionary, who lived to ruin Marx's labour of years. And such was the quality of his genius that friend and enemy alike confessed to its supreme power.

For we must never forget, in measuring this man's worth, that the times in which he lived were fraught with mighty potentialities for the future; that he not only realised those potentialities, but placed himself on their side, openly and fearlessly. He had thought out the process of historical evolution in social life and had outlined its line of direction through the struggle of class against class. He denied a moral purpose to this struggle, even though that moral purpose was the battle-cry of the enthusiasts. He knew better, and he proved it. It was not a propaganda for virtue as against vice that he carried on; it was a propaganda for the education of the masses so that they might realise their own power and use it in opposition to a society that was subjugating them and their labour by appropriating the products of their labour. "*Communism*," he said, and by that word he meant Socialism, "*deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of Society; all that it does is to deprive him of*

the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation."

It may sound like the language of paradox to speak of Karl Marx, the Socialist, as an aristocrat. If it does, it is but the paradox in which all truth appears. Only a noble soul can act and live nobly; and to act and live nobly is to spend one's self in largesses—and to do this is no spirit of condescension, but rather in humility and gladness that we have to give what is worthy of being received. Surely such a giver is of the elect! If I view Karl Marx in this light I am but stating what his life abundantly reveals. It is your Democrat, your Republican, your Radical, who is forever gathering, keeping and hoarding. When he does spend he spends meanly and grudgingly, as one who has not been accustomed to open the flood-gates of his nature. Or he spends with a vainglorious eye to the good things that are to come back to him. And he rarely spends himself—he has no soul to give.

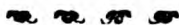
The Socialism of Karl Marx has no place for such publicans and panderers. Be they capitalists or wage-earners, they are slave-drivers and slaves; and where these exist there can be no nobility. All are alike ignoble.

In saying this I may be looking through Socialism to something that is beyond; but I am saying no more than I find in Karl Marx's life and teaching. I can draw no other conclusion from his doctrine of surplus-value, a doctrine that posits the *raison d'être* of the capitalist society in which we live, to be the constant effort to obtain surplus-value. This constant effort, it further states, is at the bottom of all our social and political struggles. If this be so then, following Marx's reasoning, the time must come when the labouring class, in order to save itself from complete servitude, must expropriate the capitalist class. When that time comes production will no longer be carried on for the surplus-value it yields, but its place will be taken by co-operative endeavour without thought of class-exploitation. This does not mean that all men will be equal, nor even that all men will equally enjoy life; for a doctrine cannot alter the constitution of human nature. But it does mean that the ignoble distinctions between master and servant, between classes and masses, will cease to exist. All men will be masters—masters of their craft. All men will be servants—servants of the social community.

It is ridiculous to speak of the dignity of labour under a system which produces the sweat-shop and the poisoned factory; which sets working-men uniting to deprive other working-men of the opportunity to earn their livelihoods; which looks upon the product of labour not as something that is good, and desirable, and beautiful, but as something that is cheap, and saleable, and ugly. This is the very graveyard of ambition—a bleak Aceldama of Sorrow, in which Art and Beauty are pale wandering ghosts,

haunting the ruined cloisters of cathedrals whose altars have been defiled by the worshippers of 'Dagon and Ashtaroth.

This also I have found in the life of Karl Marx—that a brave spirit will live bravely and think bravely despite affliction, persecution, and misunderstanding. Karl Marx was not only an extraordinary thinker; he was also an extraordinary man. His thought will live after him. That is his legacy, his magnificent legacy to the humanity he loved.



A VISION.

By ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth—a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labour reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl in trying to win bread with the needle—the needle that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair the married harmony of form and function—and as I look life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope.

THE REVIEWS.

TRADE UNION UNREST AND THE CLASS WAR.

Under the above title H. M. Hyndman writes in the "English Review":—

It is quite absurd to say—and I know what I am writing about—that the trade union leaders ever foment a strike. I have never known an instance, and I have watched the trade union movement for a great many years. No, the truth is that of late the trade union leaders have been almost too anxious to secure permanent peace between the wage-earners and their employers, and have been apt to forget that under existing conditions the capitalists always have the whip-hand of the labourers, skilled and unskilled. Quite unintentionally, therefore, nay, with the very best intentions, they have put it in the power of managers and directors to make out that the men have broken agreements, when really they are only resenting and revolting against aggravating and unjust interpretations of arrangements that should never have been entered into at all.

Take the case of the railway men. Mr. Bell committed them to an agreement with the directors, because, rightly or wrongly, he believed that, owing to the attitude of the older men, a strike was hopeless. But what has happened since? The railways, one and all, have been curtailing competition and reorganising their affairs in every direction. Quite right as a matter of business. There was, and is, an immense amount of waste and useless haulage on English railways, as any one who has any knowledge of American railway management is well aware. But the result of these changes has scarcely been satisfactory to the men, however advantageous they may be to the shareholders. Granting that the directors are bound to do their best for the companies, the employees cannot be expected to look at the matter from their point of view. When also, as I am assured is the case, advantage has been taken of the settlement to try to force the men by petty annoyances into ill-advised action, we cannot be surprised that patience has its limits even though the men themselves admit that

the strike is no remedy. The same reasoning applies to the Welsh pitmen. These invaluable and hard-worked public servants—for such they are just as much as the railway men, or the post office employees, or the workers in the dockyards and arsenals—engaged in dangerous and ungrateful toil, are face to face with a huge coal combination or federation which differs little, if at all, from a coal trust, handled by capitalists who certainly cannot be accused of having any excessive amount of sympathy with their men. Yet the trade union leaders have pledged the rank and file, regardless of changing economic conditions, to a five years' agreement with the coal-owners. And these colliers, thus turned over for that period to what they call "five years' penal servitude," have learned that there is no compelling necessity for them to be slave-driven as they are; but that by combination and co-operation on their side, and the control of the forces of nature and society by the producers, all might enjoy a happy, useful, contented life. Is it surprising that even the most moderate are joining in the growing revolt? The same remarks apply with little modification to the cases of the boiler-makers and cotton-workers. They are bestirring themselves because they feel that they have been sacrificed to the yearning of their leaders for peace. One thing is quite certain; no great organisation of the workers will ever accept a long term agreement again. They did not understand what was being accepted in their name, and even if they had understood conditions have changed.

Conditions have changed. The steady rise in the money value of the articles which go to make up the standard of life of our working class is a very serious matter indeed for them. What the precise percentage of reduction may be in the purchasing power of their wages, which are estimated on a gold basis, I do not pretend to say; but it is very considerable, and equally certain is it that this great modification, to the disadvantage of the wage-earners, was not contemplated when the long-term arrangements were entered into. The wages even of the bulk of the skilled workers are at all times far too near to the mere subsistence level; but when this level is suddenly brought down some 10 or 15 per cent. at least all round, owing to the depreciation of the value of gold by greater production at decreased cost, and the workers are inhibited under agreement from taking any steps to adjust their remuneration for their sole commodity, labour-power, to the increased cost of its maintenance in effective working order—why, then, "unrest" of a very serious character indeed is likely to follow. And, in my opinion, this decrease in the purchasing power of wages estimated on a gold basis is certain to continue, and accounts for the clamour not only in this country but all over the world against the enhanced cost of living.

Beside these important economic and social matters the Osborne judgment, as it is called, is a small issue. And yet, as often happens, it is creating, perhaps, more stir than anything else,

and has finally shaken the confidence of the mass of the workers in the fairness of our judges where class questions are involved. It is taken as a blow at majority rule in trade union organisations, which are, and always have been, governed by such majority rule. If such trying and important issues as strike or no strike, levy or no levy, for foreign workers are decided by the vote of the majority, no matter how active and able the minority may be, surely it is preposterous to argue that no trade union has the right to apply its funds to political purposes for the benefit, real or supposed, of all the members and even for the whole working class.

I have not often the advantage of agreeing with Mr. Sidney Webb, but on this point he and I are absolutely at one. The judgment is disgraceful, and ought to be cancelled by Parliament at once. But that does not in the least alter the fact that if the M.P.'s of the Labour Party had been worthy of the position to which they were elected, and had fulfilled, even partially, the anticipations of their followers, they could have afforded to laugh heartily at this class-made judicial decision. At Copenhagen the Labour members of the House of Commons claimed that they represented and spoke for no fewer than 1,500,000 enthusiastic supporters. Very well. Why, then, should they be so desperately chagrined at losing the right of compulsion by majority? The pitiful sum of 4d. per head would give the Labour Party £25,000 a year, and that ought to be enough to keep 40 members and leave a fair margin for election expenses. And I say this in no carping spirit, seeing that I have agitated for 30 years past, and am agitating still, for payment of members and all reasonable election expenses out of the National Exchequer: a reform which the Labour Party itself could have forced from the Liberal Party had it taken the matter up in earnest and pushed it to the front from 1906 onward.

But whatever may be the causes of the general discontent and ill-feeling which now prevail, there can be no doubt of their existence. They are not confined to trade unionists, nor are they immediately the outcome of Socialist propaganda. That, of course, has a widespread effect, but it has not brought about this wave of unrest by itself. Other minor, but more direct, influences have been at work. Yet that Socialism will gain ground in consequence of this more or less spasmodic and unorganised revolt is unquestionable. Socialists alone have told the working class, in season or out of season, that, even if all the palliatives which they themselves have so long advocated were carried into effect, no permanent good could result to the proletariat as a whole until the power of one class to employ and pay wages to another class should be finally put an end to. Having exhausted all the possibilities of error, they are now coming to the conclusion that we are right, and the course of events is helping forward the realisation of collectivism and communism much more rapidly than seemed probable even a little time ago.

SOCIALISM ACCORDING TO WILLIAM MORRIS.

Mr. William Sinclair writes the following, under the above heading, in the current "Fortnightly Review":—

Morris now convinced himself that the evolution of society was only to be attained by and through Socialism. The meanness of the modern competitive commercialism, with all the sordidness that follows in its train, was to a man of his education and artistic temperament extremely distressing and distasteful. As early as 1881 his attitude towards current politics and social questions began to be very marked—a period which was remarkable on account of the Liberal Government adopting a course of coercive legislation in Ireland, and their failure to advance the cause of social reform in England. He joined the ranks of the Social-Democratic Federation in 1883, which was committed to the furtherance of social problems in which he was then intensely interested. Owing to causes which need not be particularly referred to now, it then appeared to Morris as the only organisation working in the right direction. But two years later, owing to differences of opinion regarding their propaganda, he, along with others, withdrew from the ranks and founded the Socialist League. By education and character he was chosen as leader, and became the representative of those who advocated the principles of revolutionary international Socialism. In seeking to change the basis of society, they insisted that Socialism should destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities. What was this proposed change, and how was it likely to be accomplished by Morris and his followers?

To begin with, Morris founded and financed an official organ of the League named the "Commonweal." The first number lies before me, and contains the manifesto issued to explain the principles advocated by the members and others. The first issue of this journal was dated February, 1885. The manifesto is an interesting document, and may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. Society consists of two classes, the one possessing wealth and the instruments of its production, the other producing wealth by means of those instruments, but only by the leave and for the use of the possessing classes.
2. The possessing class, or non-producers, live as a class on the unpaid labour of the producers, and the workers strive to better themselves at the expense of the possessing class, and the conflict between the two is ceaseless.
3. The rich classes possess all the instruments of labour—that is, the land, capital and machinery; the producers, or workers, are forced to sell their labour on such terms as the possessing class will grant them.

4. Modern society, in its relations described, is founded on the basis of producing for profit.

5. The profit-grinding system is maintained by competition; there is always a war among the workers for subsistence wages, as well as among their masters and middle-men for the share of the profits wrung out of the workers; while there is a competition always, and sometimes open war, among the nations for their share of the world market.

6. Therefore the necessary results of this so-called civilisation are only too obvious in the lives of the working-classes—in the anxiety and want of leisure amidst which they toil, in the squalor and wretchedness in those parts of our great towns where they dwell; in the shortness of their lives; in the terrible brutality so common amongst them; and lastly, in the crowd of criminals who are as much manufacturers of our commercial system as the cheap and nasty wares which are made at once for the consumption and the enslavement of the poor.

Briefly stated, that is an indictment of modern society as viewed by Morris and his followers. Now let us see how they propose to alter the conditions of labour to arrive at what may be termed economic freedom. The reformation, not to say revolution, was to be looked for in the undernoted direction.

1. As the *people*, who are the only really organic part of society, are treated as a mere appendage to capital—as a part of its machinery—the land, the capital, the machinery, factories, workshops, stores, means of transit, mines, banking, all means of production and distribution of wealth must be declared and treated as the common property of all.

2. This change in the method of production and distribution would enable everyone to live decently, and free from the sordid anxieties for daily livelihood which at present weigh so heavily on the greatest part of mankind.

3. The test of duty would rest on the fulfilment of clear and well-defined obligations to the community rather than on the moulding of individual character and actions to some preconceived standard outside social responsibilities.

4. Education would become a reasonable drawing out of men's varied faculties in order to fit them for a life of social intercourse and happiness, for mere work would no longer be proposed as the end of life, but happiness for each and all.

5. Co-operation so-called—that is, competitive co-operation for profit—and nationalisation of land alone would be useless so long as labour was subject to the fleecing of surplus-value inevitable under the capitalist system.

6. The Socialist League therefore aimed at the realisation of complete revolutionary Socialism by education and agitation to

overthrow the capitalist system, working for equality and brotherhood and single-hearted devotion to the religion of Socialism, the only religion professed by the League.



KRUPPS IN FIGURES.

The following is taken from an interesting article entitled "Germany's War Factory" in a recent number of "World's Work." The article deals exclusively with the well-known Krupp works at Essen, which employ 70,000 workers:—

"It is impossible to describe the immensity of the fittings and arrangements of the Essen establishment without giving a few figures. The firm has its own waterworks, makes its own gas, and generates its own electricity. The gasworks supply more gas for the factory town than is used annually in Munich—namely, 20,000,000 cubic metres. And yet the 37,000 gas jets distributed all over the establishment do not suffice for illuminating purposes, and electricity in the shape of 2,700 arc lamps and 30,000 incandescent lights have to be pressed into service. Over 300 steam-boilers generate the steam for the 7,200 different machines and the 2,224 electric motors at work. More than 450 miles of cable and wire, and over 600 telephone stations and 20 telegraph stations, are required to facilitate communication throughout the works.

"At Essen alone the dwellings built by the firm for the accommodation of workmen in the shape of handsome villas, situated in miniature garden cities, house over 35,000 persons. The same applies to all the other Krupp works. Hospitals, convalescent homes, dining-halls, schools, industrial and other libraries, baths, savings banks, concert halls and clubs are in evidence everywhere, and are in great request. By means of co-operative stores, to which there are slaughter-houses and bakeries attached, the workmen can obtain food and other necessities of life at a minimum cost."

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THE REVOLT OF LABOUR!

By FRED KNEE.

The capitalist classes and their press affect to be amazed at the awful depravity shown by Boilermakers, Miners and others in breaking their agreements, and, what is perhaps puzzling to them, throwing over their own duly-appointed leaders. The man in the street, so far as he is permitted to think at all, in the fleeting moments stolen from a consideration of Crippen and football, has condemned these men, and has marvelled at their lack of honour and lack of discipline. The trustified press declares that these things are the sign of the break-up of trade unionism; in which they are encouraged by some "Labour" writers who try to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

There is no effect without a cause. What are the causes, general and local, which induce men to defy agreements, and to refuse to "follow their leaders"?

The main underlying general cause is the impossibility of a lasting agreement between Capital and Labour. To maintain the status quo is impossible. That should be patent to every Social-Democrat. The tendency on the part of speculating combine shareholders to demand an ever-increasing rate of profit has succeeded as the chief capitalist motive to the former driving force of competition between competing concerns of the same kind. A competition still remains, but it is the "thirst for gold" spirit of speculation, which follows hard after the biggest dividend, and the possessor of which will, without other consideration, sell Coal Combine shares and buy Kaffirs as soon as ever the latter promise a more profitable investment than the black diamonds. This imposes upon the managements of industrial companies the necessity of forcing the utmost out of their profit-producing slaves. The arrival of the trust changes the competitive struggle in the form, but anon increases its intensity so far as the wage-earners are concerned.

It is necessary for the better producing of profit that there should be "industrial peace." That is why with up-to-date employers there is no longer any disposition to ignore the trade unions, who are very useful sometimes to this end. The unions have been following very slowly in the wake of capitalist development. In the same sections of the skilled trades there have grown up huge amalgamations, with their tens of thousands of members; though the divisions set by the employers are still reverently observed to the detriment of further amalgamation. As our friend Tom Mann is fond of pointing out, and quite rightly, there are a score or more of unions in the engineering and allied industries whose work is very similar and who should be more closely united. But, curiously enough, with amalgamation and with hugeness of numbers, especially with the piling-up of huge funds, there steals over the management committee of the big amalgamation a spirit of caution, even of timidity, which is absent from the smaller union, sometimes

with very little money to brag about. There are bound to be many questions arising for the consideration even of the committee of a small union, especially where piecework prevails; but in the case of an amalgamation, with branches in every corner of the country, the management committee would be overwhelmed with details unless there was some understanding with the employers. They are, therefore, glad to enter into an agreement for five, and sometimes for even so long as seven years—and always breathe a sigh of relief when the respective pens of employers and employed are put to paper. And that also suits the employers very well.

It surprises me when I hear “collective bargaining” spoken of (vide the circular issued by the recent Boilermakers’ Executive with the recent ballot papers) as the “first principle” of trade unionism. You may search the “objects” of the older unions for this precious “first principle,” but you will not find it. The object of trade unionism used to be to uphold the price of labour *against* the encroachments of the employers, not in agreement with them. “Collective bargaining” is an after-thought, forced on Capital and Labour alike because of this straining after industrial peace, and the apparent necessity for securing it for lengthened periods.

The extent to which collective bargaining has settled upon the Labour world is shown in the recent volume issued by the Board of Trade. There we find that no less than 1,696 of such agreements exist, involving 2,400,000 workpeople. That would appear to cover practically the whole of the trade union community. Some of these “agreements” may partake of the nature of those concluded by my own trade union (the London Society of Compositors) with the Master Printers’ Association, after the points in them had already been enforced by the union and had been in actual operation. Two such occur to me at the moment—both connected with the restriction of overtime. Back eleven years ago we made a rule

compelling a member who had been on nightwork to remain away eight hours before resuming work ; the employers objected and protested, but were eventually induced to agree to the inclusion of the rule in the "Scale." When, two or three years ago, we were likely to strike the whole trade over a small lock-out, we took advantage of the fact to settle a matter over which there had been much futile discussion with the employers, and we decreed that no member should work more than eight hours overtime in any one week. We started to work the new rule, and the employers were soon induced to agree. Such "agreements" have no element of objection in them from our point of view ; though the other side may dislike them. We have not always been able to secure agreements that way, and the most of them have been secured by conference with employers, in one case by arbitration. We, however, are relatively a small society, and two-thirds of our members work on an area two miles square. Such an advantageous position has militated against our amalgamation with the main body of printers in the National Typographical Association, because the latter would not grant to London any more local autonomy than to an ordinary branch of a few score members.

Even with the London Society it is sometimes necessary for members or a "chapel" attached to a particular printing office to take matters into their own hands. We have agreements with the employers, quite a number of them, with provisos that questions in dispute shall be submitted to the respective associations for discussion, and so on ; we even have a rule to the effect that members must not strike without permission. And it is desirable that such rules should exist, and that up to a certain point they should be observed. But when an employer or a company manager systematically rejects charges made, and when, while reference to joint committees is proceeding these charges extend into many pounds, and there seems to be precious little likelihood of the money coming their

way at all, it is not to be wondered at that the men concerned should succumb to the temptation to take advantage of the employer's necessity, "to mock when his fear cometh," and to suddenly refuse to print unless the money is paid instantly. I can imagine what would happen to an Executive of ours who took any drastic steps to punish the men in such case; there would be a stormy delegate meeting, at which the committee would be censured and repudiated with emphasis.

But you cannot easily have that vigorous expression of opinion in a big amalgamation. The discontent against the employer, the anger at the union Executive for "giving the game away," these kindred feelings are to a large extent dissipated, so far as any representative meeting is concerned. The members at a branch meeting, especially the branch immediately concerned, may rage, but their representative to a general council may not be elected on that particular consideration. Even if he is, there are other branches not so immediately concerned, and it will take a long time for their representatives to be as much fired with indignation and zeal as he is. There will have to be many applications of the lash, many unjustifiable encroachments, before the men generally kick.

But sooner or later, inevitably, they will kick. The cause of the present confusion is that the men immediately concerned have kicked a little before the others were ready to do so; though in the case of the Boiler-makers the others have backed them up.

To apply the term "a denial of representative government" to the action of the men represented in repudiating the action of their representatives is an ignorant playing with words, an obtuse falsifying of the situation. Even if it were a denial of representative government, what of that? Representative government in politics has always been a modified expression of democratic control, not the thing itself. Were we to regard everything as settled because our plenipotentiaries have come to a provisional agreement

there would surely be no need to take a referendum ballot at all. The very fact that the Boilermakers' Executive had to submit to the ballot the agreement arrived at by the society's representatives and those of the employers should have saved them from so colossal a fallacy. The fact that the ballot had gone against the agreement showed that the representatives of the men had erred in their judgment—at least, so the men regarded it. The only cure for that in the political world is to appoint other representatives more in accord with the view of the electors: that may suggest itself to the members of the Boilermakers' Society.

With trade union Executive officers of the bigger amalgamations there obviously must grow up a different habit of thought from that prevailing among their members. Having to do the work practically of lawyers, there is no help for it; they have to live nearly up to the lawyers' level.

The very additional comfort which is absolutely necessary for the production and maintenance of an efficient trade union official has the effect, as I pointed out in "Justice" over a dozen years ago, of inducing different habits of mind. I say this in no hostile sense to many of my friends, and I believe that they would be bound to agree with me; though there are some who are so prosperous that they at any rate have in their own persons achieved the harmony of the classes. They meet the employers—they are anxious for peace: they do not intend to give anything away. Even without threats from the other side of a general lock-out they are prepared to agree—even for a term of years—to what may even appear to them to be a good bargain for the men they represent. They may agree that should any dispute arise on points of detail they shall be settled by conference or arbitration. They have honestly tried to keep in view the interests of the delver in the mine or the hammerer of steel or the operator on the machine. But——

It is quite easy to see where and how they may fail. It is years since they themselves had to work at

these things; and, however strong their recollection, there are the years between: and they count. Moreover, conditions in the industry itself may have changed; and the incidents of irritation and hardships filter very slowly and in diluted form from the actual worker, through branch official to district official, and on to the general office. And the man at work feels the irritation, has to deal with the hardship day by day, feels cheated hour by hour. Decision on the point at issue is far off; his Executive is far away, its action is slow; deliverance from this particular bondage seems hopeless that way; he is tied up for five years; must not move for five years; must be cheated for five years; and even then there may be no redress. He sees, too, that for every encroachment to which he submits the company's foreman will attempt another. So he kicks—he breaks his contract! And not one of my readers, with anything of Man left in him, but would do the same.

The sanctity of contract under such circumstances is only enjoined upon workmen by their well-to-do tutors. In commerce, whatever the contract, it is held to be annulled if the goods supplied are not up to sample and specification, or if payment is in whole or part withheld.

Revolt will out. Even our friends who have smattered at biology and regard society as an organism might have known that. Whether it be a rat or an elephant, internal disorders in "an organism" will sooner or later make themselves manifest and there will be a breaking-out. No artificial rules will prevent that. So here in the industrial world; and, instead of lecturing the men for insubordination to leaders, if anybody is to be lectured it should be the leaders when they mutiny against the men.

I have before me an interesting diagram showing the reason for the trouble at the Ely Pit, Penygraig, the immediate cause of most of the trouble in South Wales. The diagram shows a comparison of the strata at this pit with those at the Cymmer Pit, Porth—the Bute seam in both cases.

Underneath the "cleft top" there come :—

ELY.							Ft. In.	
Clod	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5
Inferior Coal	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10
Coal intersected by nodules of Ironstone	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0
Hard stone	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1½
Coal	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1½
CYMMER								
Cold	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10½
Coal	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	8

"The same cutting price per ton is offered for working the seam at Ely as at Cymmer." It will easily be seen that at Ely there is a vast amount of unproductive labour. "1s. 9d. is the price per ton offered for cutting both seams, and this is the rate all along which has been paid on the pay tickets of the Ely men. The average number of trams filled in the best places is four per shift. Yet, on this number, at the rate of 1s. 9d. per ton, they barely make one man's consideration rate between the two. And yet, on this same rate per ton, they are demanded to make the living of the two."

The language, though technical, is pretty plain. The men by their action declared that if they had to starve they might as well do it above ground as below. Besides, such starvation would involve less labour. Their Federation leaders were helpless, could do nothing, were bound by a five years' agreement. There is a limit to human endurance—they came out; the Combine closed the mine; other pits struck in sympathy. I do not blame them, but hope they will succeed. The pitiful wail of the capitalist press over the pit ponies left in the mines is hypocritical and would probably be comic to the ponies, who, if they could be consulted, might prefer death to life. The acts of real sabotage against the mines have been few; and but for the mineowners attempting to run their concerns with blacklegs there would have been no rioting. The Liberal Government sided, quite naturally, with the

mineowners, sent armed police and horse and foot soldiers—with ball cartridge—to provoke and if necessary to kill.

The Boilermakers, though more peaceful, are yet maligned by the capitalist press for repudiating their leaders, and we are told that this means the breakdown of trade unionism. It does not, It means the death-knell of the hard-and-fast penal servitude agreements for seven years or five years; and I sincerely trust we have heard the last of any union acting as the employers' agents in punishing the members of the union. Just for a moment, to emphasise what this means, I give one or two questions and answers appearing in the Boilermakers' ballot circular reporting the interview between the Society's representative and one of the Employers' Federation:—

Mr. Hill.—Will the non-employment under Clause 4 cease immediately a man has paid his fine or made satisfactory arrangement with the society to do so?

Mr. Henderson.—Yes.

Mr. Hill.—Do the periods of six months and twelve months apply to a case where a man has paid his fine or has made satisfactory arrangements with the society to do so?

Mr. Henderson.—No.

Mr. Hill.—Is the non-employment in Clause 5 the same as in Clause 4—that is, loss of employment for failing to pay a fine, or failing to make satisfactory arrangements with the society to do so and having thus defied the society?

Mr. Henderson.—Yes.

Mr. Hill.—Does Clause 5 interfere with our right as a society to pay friendly benefits, if a man has cleared up his contributions and fines?

Mr. Henderson.—No.

More than any words of mine the foregoing will show the dangerous character of the agreement which at the dictation of the employers the union officials sought to impose on their members. It is not to be wondered at that the members should refuse to be bound and gagged, or to be starved or fined, by their own union, because they declined to comply with any terms the employers chose to impose on them.

It is forgotten by many good "friends of Labour" that these incidents are only a part of the class war; that between employer and employed, between employers' federation and workers' federation, there can be no honest agreement, because they cannot contract on equal terms; that it is the greatest unwisdom to attempt to tie men up for a considerable portion of their lives to agree with whatever irritating and nefarious encroachments the employers may attempt; that any agreement is only to be in the nature of an armistice which may terminate at any time on treachery being shown by the other side. Above all, it is necessary that trade union leaders, and some avowed Socialist leaders too, should try to understand the forces with which they have to contend, whither they are drifting, and to get some idea of what is to be the outcome of it all.

We are under the guns of the enemy. We "make peace" with him because he has us by the throat. But, for the sake of mankind and all we hold dear, don't let us pretend to be pleased with the situation, but rather seek to overcome it. Let us act together more solidly, leaders and rank and file, rank and file and leaders, members and officials of one union with members and officials of the other union: not with the idea of wasting our strength in temporary agreements with the enemy, but of overthrowing him as soon as possible once and for all.

A VISIT TO THE BUENOS AIRES PENITENTIARY, WITH SOME SUGGESTED THOUGHTS ON THE CRIMINAL QUESTION.

By MANUEL M. TERRERO, A.R.S.M.

(Concluded from last month.)

It would have been of interest did space allow to have gone into the question of Free Will and Moral Responsibility at some length. Whatever be the truth, we may recollect that many good and thoughtful men have in ages denied both. Quite possibly we may be but the passive recipients of impulses, the sport of mere blind forces, and while we think we are free to act in any way we please we may merely be moving in the direction of least resistance. Of course, to the extent that we do away with Free Will—and I cannot see how man can be absolutely free, bound as he, to some extent, surely is by external circumstances, hereditary tendencies, peculiarities of the temperament, and so on—there can be to that extent no such thing as Moral Responsibility. But here our friend the shallow thinker again steps in and says, "If there be no Moral Responsibility, I don't see how you can with any justice punish." Alexander Sutherland, in his "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," satisfactorily answers this objection by a homely example. He tells us, in effect, that when he gives his cat a couple of slaps for stealing the cream there is no question of "retributive justice." You cannot measure

slaps as against cream, but there is a possible equation as between the motive power of love of cream and of fear of slaps. The punishment, in fact, is not *retrospective* but *prospective*. One is not so unphilosophical as to attribute Moral Responsibility or Freedom of Will to a cat, but one does wish the memory of slaps to enter as part of the motives next time the cream is within reach. The whole idea of deterrent punishment should, in fact, have reference to the future, to assist in making the honest or virtuous course the path of lesser resistance—i.e., the easier one. If punishment go beyond this, it is mere wanton cruelty.

Religion, too, is not neglected. To those who believe in the regenerative effect of religious belief and influences as affecting the emotions, independently of the actual truth of the fact or dogmas inculcated, this will doubtless appeal. I imagine that in a considerable number of individual cases this is so; anyway, full advantage is taken of it, while very properly no one is forced to attend the services if it be against his conscience to do so, and more importance is attached to the ethical and consolatory than to the dogmatic aspects of religion. As may well be imagined, but few decline to attend, especially as everything is done to please the eye, the ear, and the mind—attractive surroundings, pleasing music, and the finest and most appropriate preaching obtainable. I must confess I have but little sympathy with those who do not desire that the interior of their places of worship should appeal as far as may be to the æsthetic sense. I can see nothing in the sensuous delight experienced in such cases at all incompatible with the highest religious emotion. At the same time, I quite respect the views and feelings of those who think the contrary. People are doubtless affected differently in that way. I myself always continue to feel strongly the awe-inspiring emotion which the interior of a fine old Gothic Cathedral, with its stained glass, magnificent decoration, monuments, carving, pictures, and so on, never fails to call up in my mind, and especially so when to

all this is added the sound of the organ and of a fine trained choir, rolling down nave and aisles, and echoed and re-echoed from roof and walls.

Senor Ballvé considers that probably work, productive and adapted to reasonable ends, is the most important and efficacious of the three means of reforming the criminal of which I have spoken. Apart from this, the criminal has by his own deed cast upon the community the burden of his maintenance, and it therefore seems but just that he should be made to contribute by his work towards the cost of this. Again, the prisoner who leaves the gaol having acquired a trade or perfected himself in his own is in a far better position to make his living by honest work, and has not the same excuse for relapsing into crime as would otherwise be the case. I read some time ago an account of a reformed burglar of whom it was said that more than 20 years of his life had been spent in prison. Yet a well-known medical man, a student of psychology, had declared that, judging from the contour and general characteristics of his head, he should have the brain of a Cabinet Minister. Whether that is a compliment or no, I leave it to my readers to determine. He went on to say, "His case is an extraordinarily striking instance of the fact that nine times out of ten it is society that makes the criminal, and that until we get a state of affairs in which a man with brains has a chance of congenial work we cannot hope to reduce our percentage of crime." A certain portion of the value of his work is duly credited to each prisoner, and this may be applied either to starting him in life again on release, or may else be spent in helping to sustain those dependent upon him, who might otherwise be suffering privation from the absence of the bread-winner, and be themselves tempted into crime from this very cause.

Senor Ballvé properly insists that the labour must be productive, and is very severe in his strictures upon the English treadmill and crank-turning "hard labour"

system. I am not sure whether these relics of mediæval barbarism still exist, but they certainly did until comparatively lately. I myself saw the "cranks"—by which I mean the machines themselves, not their inventors and advocates—in Millbank, and a man I knew did his turn on the treadmill a few years ago. He also inveighs against the folly of destroying the products of the prison labour, as he says is done at Elmira.

Everything used in the Penitentiary is made therein, and a considerable amount of Government work, such as printing and book-binding, is likewise done. The convicts thus know that their labour is really useful and appreciated, and are thereby stimulated to take an intelligent interest and do their best in it. There are 25 workshops, all supplied with up-to-date machinery and tools for the very best work. Printing, binding, lithography, and photogravure are a prominent feature. The value in one year of the work turned out from these departments alone amounted to over 200,000 Argentine national dollars, say about £18,000. Boot-making, carpentry, machine-making, casting, and iron-work are all carried out under adequate supervision. Boots and shoes to the value of about 284,000 dols., or £25,000, were turned out for Government use in the same year. The whole prison output in the same year amounted to 692,000 dols., or about £60,000. £25,000 of this went to pay for the raw material, the prison itself absorbed another £6,000, and the very handsome balance of £29,000 remained as profit to the State. Out of the £6,000, £3,000 was placed to the credit of the convicts themselves, and about £2,500 was paid over to the persons dependent on them and to such prisoners who were actually discharged during that year. Senor Ballvé claims that no other prison in the world can boast of such a result.

There is one especially valuable department attached to the prison which carries out a most impor-

tant function, relegated in this country to voluntary agencies which I fear are able but inadequately to carry it out, despite the devotion and self-sacrifice of those who do the work. I refer to providing employment for those who are discharged able and willing to work honestly for their living. This department obtains notable successes, and Senor Ballvé quotes one instance among many where a certain homicide, a mere unskilled house-painter, acquiring the art of a skilled worker in photographic reproduction, is now the fortunate recipient of a salary of £330 a year.

Senor Ballvé's concluding remarks are so significant and well expressed that I have permitted myself to translate them for the benefit of my readers.

He says, "I must now conclude with the statement, most distinct and definite, because it is born of profound conviction, that the reform of the criminal is neither a mere Utopia, as so many sceptical minds maintain, nor is it a vain hope, but an actual reality, a patent fact demonstrated from actual experience; and though we may—and must, in fact—allow that in working for it a certain amount of failure and heart-rending disappointment must of necessity be experienced, nevertheless, we are thereby encouraged and stimulated to continue untiringly a task one of the most noble and humane which our civilisation and sense of duty to our fellow-creatures impose upon us."

I think our friends on the other side of the Channel are largely justified when they tell us that "*tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*"—that if we did but know all, all would be forgiven—a noble sentiment which might well have originated with the founder of Christianity himself. But in the case of the criminal, expiation, as a deterrent influence, must be a condition of forgiveness, and we must have some good reason to believe that the offence will not be repeated. Granted this, we may well prevent the unhappy ex-convict from being constantly hounded down by the police, as is but too often now the case, and may, in fact, *forget* as well

as forgive, recollecting the words of a witty American, who tells us that he who says he forgives but doesn't forget is trying to compound with God Almighty on the basis of fifty cents to the dollar.

I claim that the Buenos Aires system is, on the whole, as humane, deterrent, and reformatory as any which the world has yet seen, and I close with earnest hope that our own may be speedily based on similar and equally successful lines.

MALLOCK v. MARX.

By H. W. HOBART.

(Concluded from last month.)

Much of this is true ; but the concluding sentences are distinctly wrong. No constructive engineer, however able, gives instructions as to the making of the bolts, the screws, the plates, the rivets, and so on. Here and there a special piece of work may be executed according to his personal orders, but even then the knowledge he possesses of applied mechanics, the use of this or that material, is only the result of his knowledge of standard products—things already made—and which he uses because they suit his purpose and are in conformity with his design. He *produces* no wealth, but simply utilises that which is to hand in the shape of the necessary products.

Mr. Mallock, of course, introduces the directive faculty of the inventor ; but it is hardly necessary to traverse his extravagances in this connection to any great length. The poor inventor has been so buffeted about by the many opponents of Socialism that I am rather surprised that Mr. Mallock should have found sufficient of him left to make a decent target. But there he is, the poor fellow, stuck up again to be shied at.

Speaking of the invention of the telephone, Mr. Mallock says :—

“ The new apparatus is an addition to the world's wealth, not because so many scraps of wood, brass, nickel, vulcanite, and such and such lengths of wire are shaped,

stretched, and connected with sufficient manual dexterity—for the highest dexterity is very often employed in the making of contrivances which turn out to be futile—but because each of its parts is fashioned in obedience to certain designs with which this dexterity, as such, has nothing at all to do. The apparatus is successful, and an addition to the world's wealth, because the designs of the inventor, just like the author's manuscript, constitute a multitude of injunctions proceeding from a master-mind, which is not the mind of those by whose hands they are carried into execution."

In this quotation we have another illustration of the subtlety of Mr. Mallock's reasoning. When he says that each of its parts is fashioned in obedience to certain designs with which manual dexterity has nothing to do, he deliberately misstates facts. It is distinctly because the inventor could utilise scraps of wood, brass, nickel, vulcanite, and lengths of wire—already made, shaped, and fashioned by expert workmen—that he was able to give us the telephone. If Benjamin Franklin had not perceived the presence of electricity by his kite flying, if men had not worked the tin and copper mines and produced the wire by their labour, and if nickel and vulcanite had never been produced, then the telephone would not have been the useful apparatus it is to-day.

When Mr. Mallock talks about inventions he loses sight of the fact that all inventions are only so many instruments or mechanical contrivances introduced as improvements on some method already in vogue. The telephone, for instance, is an improvement on, and expansion of, the speaking tube; but it is only the concentrated congelation of hundreds of labour products after all. Therefore, wonderful as the telephone is, its introduction was entirely dependent upon the efforts of past generations of workers.

If Mr. Mallock had been content to argue that certain things owe their origin to the concept of some

master mind, and that this particular master mind had been influenced by his social environment, there would have been little cause to have quarrelled with him. But when he deliberately and recklessly asserts that brains are specialised brains if they get well paid, and that inventors are clever just in proportion as they make money, and are, therefore, the real primary producers of wealth—well, then we respectfully submit that the facts are against him. But while admitting, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Mallock has explained the presence of a factor in production which has previously been overlooked, we charge him with the same error that he attributes to the Socialists. He asserts that the Socialists have deliberately represented labour as the *sole* source of all wealth in order to deceive the labourers. We affirm that Mr. Mallock has quite as deliberately represented “directive ability” as the overwhelmingly most important factor in production on purpose to deceive the labourers.

Mr. Mallock, throughout the whole of his “Critical Examination,” insists, and insists most emphatically, that the money-lords of to-day are the real men of ability, the men of directive faculties, the great organisers of industry, the human (or inhuman) motive power that drives the whole industrial system, and that the stream of wealth which pours into the coffers of the capitalist class has its source in the ability to direct the energies of any number of labourers, or, as he puts it, “the directive faculties are the mind or the brain of one man simultaneously affecting the hands of any number of other men.” By this assumption he practically repudiates the existence of such a thing as “surplus value,” or, as it is more commonly called, “profit,” and claims that it is the just and equitable remuneration for the display of “directive ability.” Nay, he goes further than this, and says that the wages the worker receives are really more than the paltry, mediocre efforts he puts forth are worth. “Labour,” he says, “as a whole, does not, under existing conditions, get less than it produces. It gets a very great

deal more." He also makes another startling, and certainly original, assertion: "Interest is the gift of nature to the man by whom the capital is owned." Poor old nature has been made responsible for many strange things, but it is certainly worthy Mr. Mallock's great ability to discover nature giving interest to owners of capital! Of course, this lands us nowhere but in a mass of confusion; and one can scarcely conceive that even the orthodox economists who have departed this life can rest peacefully in their graves while such flaunting fallacies and rank heresies are being put forward as sensible arguments. Fancy! Profit, a wages fund for ability! Interest, a gift of nature! Mr. Mallock goes on to assert: "It is assumed that every man has a right to such wealth as he *actually* himself produces; and what he produces is that amount of wealth which would not have been produced at all had his efforts not been made." Again does Mr. Mallock ignore the old economists. Wealth is a social product, and not the work of "a man." And, even then, the truth or falsehood of his proposition is dependent upon the definition of the verb "to produce." To produce a thing is generally associated with some physical act, with the aid of some material substance.

A painter produces a work of art by arranging certain colours in lights and shades, shapes and forms.

A brickmaker produces bricks by moulding and baking clay to given sizes and shapes.

A watchmaker produces watches by making wheels and cogs and ratchets to work precisely and accurately.

But nothing, strictly speaking, is "produced" until it is finished, and becomes an article of some use or utility.

For instance, a playwright may write a play, arrange the parts, and complete all the necessary details; but the play is not "produced" until it is

staged and performed by the actors before an audience.

An author may compose a sonata, but until it is played on a musical instrument it is not "produced."

An architect may design a building, but until the last brick is laid the building is not "produced."

A play, a sonata, or a design, written and locked up in a vault could not be described as produced; neither would there be any bricks "produced" if only the clay were shaped and not baked. No bread would ever be produced if the baker merely kneaded the dough and left it in the trough.

It is evident, therefore, that before anything can be said to be produced, in the strict sense of the word, it must be complete and ready for consumption in some way or other.

The picture must be completed, the play must be performed, the sonata must be played, the design must be worked out, and the clay and the dough must be baked.

Still it is not claimed that the final stages are the only efforts of production. A product may be years in the course of completion, and all the interim efforts are portions of the production. From the inception of the idea, right through all the stages, to the completion of the work, all are factors in production.

So complex is the present system of production that no "individual" produces anything himself. An artist could not even paint a picture without paint, brushes, and canvas. A playwright might evolve the most wonderful drama, but he must have actors and an audience to complete the play; and so on.

Therefore it is absolutely absurd to talk about "the wealth a man has himself produced."

Wealth is a social product.

But Mr. Mallock goes further than this. He emphatically asserts that "the men of brain and ability" who direct "the hands of any number of

other men" are the actual producers of that amount of wealth which is over and above the "wealth which would not have been produced at all had his [their] efforts not been made."

This may seem plausible enough to Mr. Mallock and "those who reason like him," but it will not bear analysis. I have already shown that wealth is a social and not a personal product, and the efforts of an individual are only of any use or value in production in proportion as he associates his efforts with others, and conjointly produces some object of utility.

Nor is Mr. Mallock content to claim for the "man of ability"—that Goliath of intellect—a place of equal importance with the active manual labourer, but ascribes to him the pre-eminent and paramount position in production—nay, more, he unblushingly affirms that without the ability of the dominant class the worker would to-day be delving with sticks, chopping with stone axes, and feeding on roots.

Mr. Mallock's conception of ability appears to be that of a separate and distinct entity; functioning much the same as the sun's warmth does on vegetation. The sun shines, the earth fructifies, the flowers grow, and the garden becomes full of sweet scents, bright colours, and fairy shapes. So with the "directive faculty." The man breathes, myriads of labourers immediately proceed to delve, mine, build, shape, and finish the most marvellous architectural construction man can conceive. With another breath the most interesting contribution to literature, or the soaring aeroplane, or wireless telegraphy, etc., etc., etc., All out of his own head—like the boy's wooden boat.

Before bidding a final farewell to Mr. Mallock and his nebulous nothings, let me just say a word or two on his original and marvellous conception of how things will be managed under the new Social-Democratic State. He scorns, of course, the common view of a huge bureaucracy of State officials, where the organisers of labour are supposed to tumble over each other

in their scramble for the best positions. He does not venture to suggest that such a condition of confusion and muddle will exist as is imagined by his colleagues of the Anti-Socialist movement. No. Mr. Mallock must have something original. This marvellous conception of Mr. Mallock, then, is two classes of officials—the political or State official and the industrial official. The latter is subordinate to and under the dominance of the former, and Mr. Mallock very nicely allocates to each set of officials the relative positions they will have to occupy. The official directors of labour may be either free to do severally the best they can, or they may have to render an account of their stewardships to their political statesmen. The latter condition, he says, would more closely coincide with fact (mark the word fact—surely out of place in discussing a theory or a hypothetical condition) in any Socialistic society. He is careful to have the political officials elected by a majority of votes, but how the industrial officials obtain their responsible positions he does not condescend to say. Still, they would get there, and, most probably Mr. Mallock thinks, they would be subject to the eccentric caprices of the legislative officials. One can easily picture Mr. Mallock's Socialistic society from this point of view. The legislators would be prowling around all the factories and workshops with immense binoculars, spying on this official, bullying that, catechising the other, and then flashing off in a taxi-cab to the legislative chamber and enacting a law to suppress the aspirations of the enterprising industrial official. What an imagination! How far-seeing Mr. Mallock must be!

Far better is his suggestion than the ordinary idea of a State bureaucracy which most people anticipate, where myriads of uniformed officials would be trotting about ordering here, directing there, and muddling everywhere. Since the greater part of this criticism was written another Daniel has come to judgment in the person of Mr. H. G. Wells, who has asserted that the only means of organising production must be by an

army of State officials—a huge bureaucracy. He evidently had not read Mr. Mallock's illuminating, original, and splendidly comprehensive scheme. But neither Mr. Mallock, Mr. Wells, Sir William Bull, Dr. Crozier, or any other of the brilliant luminaries who twinkle so effulgently in their own firmament of Anti-Socialism are able to produce a better scheme than we propose. In any case, the system of organisation of the new State can only be speculative. It will depend entirely upon the wishes of those who are alive at its inauguration. But, even supposing we had no basis for our belief, surely it is indicative of a purer and less selfish mind to picture a good system than the mean, grasping, selfish, avaricious, spiteful system outlined by Mr. Mallock and his equally prejudiced and heartless confrères. It does not seem to occur to them that when society has fundamentally changed, the nefarious and selfish characteristics promoted by this system will give place to a more altruistic and ethical condition, and that an improved system will generate an improved personnel. They seem to be so obsessed with selfish ambition themselves that they cannot conceive any possibility of a better class of people. Anyhow, our view is just as trustworthy as theirs, and far more pleasant to look upon.

Towards the close of his book Mr. Mallock grows more reckless than ever, and, after having charged Herbert Spencer, Macaulay, Kidd, Rousseau, and others with a confusion of thought, he, in his wild, unsophisticated day-dream, lowers his lance at the mill—John Stuart Mill—and has the unbounded impudence to speak of "the profound error of Mill's argument."

And in the end, after having accumulated 300 pages of words, after having iterated and reiterated the statement that ability and not labour is the main factor in the production of wealth, he boldly asserts, on page 282: "In other words, the entire surplus values—to adopt the phrase of Marx—which have been produced during the last hundred and fifty years

have been produced by the ability of the few, and the ability of the few *only*."

Thus, then, the conclusion to which we are forced, may be reluctantly—after seeing this literary Don Quixote ride full tilt at all philosophers, economists, moralists, teachers, and students—is that he has discovered—a Mare's Nest, for as we said in the beginning, in the middle, and now at the end, ability produces nothing by itself, is only a factor in production, and, as such, is fully covered by Marx's phrase: "Socially necessary abstract human labour."

THE NEW RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM.

Forth from my tomb in Naishapur I break
Against the Bear and Lion leagued to shake
And strew my Rose of Asia leaf from leaf,
Averting how their interests are at stake

Not Muscovy roused old Khayyam from sleep,
But wonder England should such compact keep,
Till I beheld her people blind, and bound,
And led of sheepish wolves, and wolf-like sheep.

Methought the sheep that evermore must cry
For Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform—or die,
Went bleating round a Grey Wolf in their midst,
“Why do you keep with us—oh *why, why, why?*”

“We gave you power because you wore our fleece,
You’ve made us act like wolves the wolves to please;
Now, neither on land nor on sea may we retrench,
And where is now reform, and where is peace?”

“O, idiot sheep”! that Grey Wolf snarled anon—
“Since promise to the uttermost hath gone
And since you ne’er perform, you should be glad
Of some convenient Rock to split upon.

“The workers and the workless ones irate,
Ireland, and gentle Suffragettes, all wait
The *promise* of next Session,—you mean well
But here’s a *non-party question* racks the State.”

Then looked I round the rolling world, and read
The histories of nations vanished—

Ab, surely if other greedy beasts cry "Shares!"
Our Antelope may yet escape (I said).

Persia! where Art and Science first had home
Persia that fought with Greeks, and lasted Rome!

Is she for sacrifice indeed?—One more
Victim on empire's blood-smeared Hetacomb!

Finland's for eating—Poland went before;
And tell me which is Briton, which is Boer?

Algiers is France (all but); Corea, Japan;
Cuba, United States—Is this one more?

Nay, even while these Rubaiyat I make,
If not for Persia, for *their* interests' sake

Some Cock may crow, some Uncle Sam cry "shoo!"
Some Iron-fisted Sausage start awake!

G. W. S.

THE MONTH.

Last month we called attention, once more, to the ruthlessness with which the master class are prepared to use force, on every possible opportunity, against the workers. The case then in point was the disturbances in Berlin. It now appears that not only were the police and their protégées, the blacklegs, the aggressors, but that the whole thing was deliberately got up, in order to "teach the working class and the Socialists a lesson."

The lesson that it did teach was one which has been written in the blood of the workers by the capitalist class all over the civilised world. It is a lesson which was taught with unspeakable ferocity by the Versaillese butchers of the Paris Commune, and one which is being enforced in every strike and lock-out that takes place. It has been specially emphasised just recently in South Wales. The modern ruling class, the bourgeoisie, is the most soulless, sordid, callous, brutal and ferocious class that has ever held sway in the world's history. All ruling classes have been harsh and cruel to their subjects, but, with all their harshness and cruelty, the ruling classes of the past have been at least human, with some conception of common humanity, and some ideal. The bourgeoisie have no ideals beyond their bank balances, humanity is for them an empty phrase, and they compound for their snobbery towards their "betters" by callous brutality towards their "inferiors." Nothing gives them greater pleasure than an opportunity to indulge in a butchery of the working class. If only the workers could appreciate the regard in which they are held by their masters, the ferocious hate, contempt and loathing, they would very soon experience a very different sentiment towards their masters than that which now possesses them.

With what fiendish pleasure they gloat over any defeat or crushing down of the workers we have seen by the chorus of adulation which the whole of the prostitute press of their class has poured upon the

ruffian Briand for his illegal despotism towards the French railway-workers. Our Liberal Ministers saw in this renegade advocate of the General Strike a man after their own heart, and in his ferocious tyranny an example worthy of emulation.

The strike in South Wales gave them their opportunity. With characteristic hypocrisy "dear Winnie" assured the colliers and their leaders that no soldiers, but only police, would be sent unless there were serious disturbances, and all the time troops were being hurried into the district as rapidly as possible; although, apart from the sacking of shops at Tonypany, there had been no injury to person or property except what was provoked by the police.

The sacking of the shops we do not understand. It is an inexplicable incident in connection with a strike of miners, who generally find their best friends among the local shopkeepers. The only explanation that offers itself is that the havoc was the work of a comparative few of the more disorderly spirits who took advantage of the absence of the police to work mischief. It is quite certain that had the police been doing their duty, keeping order in the town, instead of protecting blacklegs, the shops in Tonypany would never have been attacked.

The strike of the South Wales miners is only one of the many evidences of the growing revolt of the working class against the campaign of aggression now being carried on by the organised master class. Another is the persistent rejection by the Boilermakers of the terms of settlement of their dispute agreed to by their representatives. The men and those dependent upon them are suffering terrible hardship and privation; but they say they would rather starve than accept the terms which have been offered them, and which they have now rejected, on a ballot vote, by the decisive majority of 15,563 to 5,650.

One of the immediate causes of the "Labour Unrest," as it is called, is undoubtedly the rise in prices, which has considerably enhanced the cost of living, and proportionately reduced the purchasing power of wages. Our Free Traders tell us that this rise in prices in Germany, in France, and the United States of America is due to Protection. But we are supposed to be enjoying the blessings of Free Trade, the chief of which is universal

cheapness. Perhaps our Free Traders will tell us what is causing the rise of prices in this country.

The "great Constitutional crisis" has reached another stage. The Conference of Eight, having served its purpose, has broken up without deciding anything. But that is precisely what we expected it to do. It was only invented in order to tide the Government over a difficulty. That it has done. We have little doubt that the members have had a very pleasant time together during the numerous sittings. They are still, it seems, all pledged to secrecy. None of the "secret eight" is to say a word of what took place at their seances. That is easy, seeing that nothing of importance was considered and nothing was done.

Lord Morley has resigned the Indian Secretaryship, and we are sure that our Indian fellow-subjects will join us in bidding him "good riddance." The methods of barbarism which he was responsible for introducing into the administration of India would put even the Russian despotism to shame and will brand his name with eternal infamy.

The arrest, deportation, imprisonment and torture of Indian patriots without accusation and without any form of trial have been the distinguishing features of the Morley régime. In pursuit of this policy of ruthless suppression and tyranny all law has been ignored or outraged, and even international relationships and the right of asylum have been trampled upon by the renegade Radical Morley in order to get his victims into his power.

The case of Savarkar is one of the most shameful in the whole long history of British injustice and misrule in India. This young, ardent and gifted Indian patriot was being sent to India on a faked-up charge so as to ensure that conviction and punishment by a servile Court there which Morley could not rely upon getting for his victim from an English Court. While the ship upon which he was being conveyed to his doom lay at Marseilles, however, Savarkar escaped by diving from the port-hole and swimming ashore. He might have made good his escape, but was seized by the English police who had had him in custody, and who, instead of handing him over to the French authorities, as it was their duty to do, declared he was a thief and took him back to the ship.

The case of Savarkar is to come before the Hague Tribunal. We think it was great pusillanimity on the part of the French Government to agree to that. They should have insisted on his being handed over before any international Court considered the case at all. In the meantime, it appears, he has already been tried on the trumped-up charge preferred against him, and sentenced to imprisonment for a term of years. It is understood that the sentence is not to be carried out until the Hague Tribunal has adjudicated upon the case; but the "trial" was quite clearly held in order to prejudice the international Court, and Savarkar will be kept in custody in any event until the latter pronounces upon his case, which will not be before next February.

The result of the bye-election at Walthamstow was no more than was generally expected, although the Liberal majority was scarcely anticipated to be so large. The return of Sir John Simon was none the less a disappointment, however, because it was expected. It was a distinctly anti-Socialist and anti-Labour victory. The only hope of getting any concession from the present Government lies in defeating its candidates. For them to be elected with such majorities as Simon got, in spite of Labour and Socialist opposition, is to confirm and encourage the Government in its anti-Labour policy.

If the Government counts upon the Walthamstow result as an earnest of a great Liberal triumph at the General Election, and forces a General Election on that account, it may be justified by results. But bye-elections are proverbially unsafe guides. We are told now to anticipate an election before the New Year. We see no reason, however, for it to be hastened, and can only "wait and see."

The municipal elections have gone very well for us this year. Almost everywhere our vote has increased, and there has been a net gain of three seats. In West Ham our comrades have done remarkably well, and now almost equal the Municipal "Reformers," with the "Progressives" holding the balance of power. The election of aldermen and the consequent bye-elections may result in the Socialists being the largest Party on the West Ham Town Council. We trust, however, that they will decline to take the responsibility of administration into their hands. No working-class party should do that if it can possibly avoid it; and certainly

it should not assume responsibility at all unless it is in an absolute majority.

Experience has shown that it is a very dangerous thing for representatives of the working class to take any hand in bourgeois government or administration. Bourgeois Governments *must* serve the interests of the bourgeois class, and, therefore, the representative of the working-class who—with, it may be, the best intentions in the world—takes a place in a bourgeois Government necessarily betrays the interests of the working class. He cannot help himself.

It is amusing now to listen to the criticism and condemnation of the Right Hon. John Burns by some of our good friends who could scarcely find terms sufficiently eulogistic to bestow upon him when he took office. Ignoring his record of subserviency to the Liberals, which was his claim to the reward of office, they were so silly as to suppose that he was going to take office in order to carry out Socialist principles. That he was going to achieve the impossible. Now that he has not done that, they are very angry with the poor man! We can only smile at their rage. Burns might, perhaps, have done a little better in his office, but not much. His offence has not been his administration, but the line of conduct which found its reward in a Ministerial appointment. It is the first step that costs; after that the descent to the pit is easy.

We are glad to be able to congratulate Mr. David Shackleton on his appointment to the post of Trade Union Advisor to the Home Office. He has deserved it by his long and faithful service to the Liberal Party.

We had hoped that, ere this, another and better job would have been given to the Secretary of the Labour Party. Unfortunately, however, in that case, vaulting ambition appears to have o'erleaped itself. "Statesmanship"—meaning adroitness, suppleness, diplomacy, and a due observance of the cult of the jumping cat—will carry a long way, and is, at any rate, essential to success. A too great eagerness, however, often tends to such a cheapening of the market that the price expected is made absolutely un-realizable. In the case under consideration a little more courage, and a little less of demonstrating to the Government that in no

circumstances would they be "embarrassed," might have been attended with better results.

Mr. D'Eyncourt at the Clerkenwell Police Court recently demonstrated the savagery with which the bourgeoisie regard the crime of poverty. He sent a hungry, homeless man to prison for 21 days for stealing two penny meat pies from a shop, telling him: "The only thing to do with men like you is to give you rather more than you bargain for." Probably the man himself may welcome the sentence; but the intended severity of the sentence and the magistrate's remark show how unfit he is to deal out justice, especially to members of the working class. Maybe D'Eyncourt and his class will some day get rather more than they bargain for.

The most important event of the past month internationally has undoubtedly been the development of the practical partition of Persia between England and Russia. This is one of those diplomatic crimes which, from the point of view of British imperialism, are also egregious blunders. In his mortal funk of Germany, Sir Edward Grey has been scared into a nefarious plot with Russia which will not only materially injure British influence in the East, but must prove a most valuable assistance to German diplomacy there. It is doubtful if a greater blunder in foreign policy has been made since the bombardment of Alexandria. We now see, by the meeting of Czar and Kaiser at Potsdam, and the consequences thereof, how entirely the two great militarist Powers of East and Middle Europe understand each other.

ARBITRATION AND DISARMAMENT.

A CRITICISM OF THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS.

(Concluded from last issue.)

III.—THE DEMOCRATISING OF DIPLOMACY.

The third duty which the resolution lays upon the Social-Democratic deputies, namely, "the demand for the abolition of private diplomacy and the publication of all existing and future treaties and arrangements between the Governments," is not any better than those already dealt with.

We will not here examine in detail whether the publication of existing State agreements and treaties would not have the contrary effect to that intended by the advocates of the resolution. But the demand for the publication of future treaties is significant only in so far that it is desired thereby to afford the people a view of the bartering business of diplomacy in order to rouse them against capitalist policy. This is a function of the Social-Democracy which goes without saying, and which is already imposed upon it by the inaugural address of the old International. This address demanded of the working class that they "should *themselves* master the mysteries of international State-craft in order to watch the diplomatic tricks of the Governments," but it did not say that we should demand of the Governments the abolition of "secret diplomacy" and the complete publicity of its work, and it was quite right not to do so, for the realisation of that demand is impossible under the capitalist régime.* The foreign policy of the Government is a policy of robbery and of deception. To demand of the capitalist Governments the full publicity of their diplomatic operations is to demand that they give up the only policy which they are able to pursue. What an impudent swindle is carried on under the present method of "publicity" in diplomacy can be seen most clearly from the condition of England and America. "We are almost as dependent on the mercy of two men, as far as foreign policy is concerned," writes Sidney Low in his book "Die

* It does not, of course, follow thereupon that where a Government finds itself obliged to publish documents the Social-Democracy should oppose this, as the Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung" did in the Aerenthal-Isvolsky squabble last year. This kind of peace-propaganda has as little to do with Social-Democracy as the policy of the democratic illusionists who think to ensure peace by the publication of diplomatic documents.

Regierung England's" (Tübingen, 1908), "as if we were inhabitants of a Continental monarchy where foreign affairs are conducted personally by a half-autocratic Emperor and a Chancellor who is not responsible to Parliament." But in spite of this there exists among the democracy of the Continent a child-like faith in the power of Blue Books which give information concerning every step taken by the Government—even if it be only when it is already an accomplished fact! As long ago as the year 1853, Lothar Bucher spoke against this faith in his book, still readable to-day, on English Parliamentarism, in which he proves how the Blue Books are "edited" and toned down. How are they compiled to-day? "Blue Books may not relate everything," writes Low, "and the real history of the complicated negotiations of our time will be sought in vain in the official papers laid before Parliament." And Parliamentary interpellations?

"As though it were desired specially to emphasise the repudiation of any control of this branch of national business by the House of Commons, the Foreign Office is generally represented in that House by a very young man, who may, it is true, be gifted, but has no great experience or authority," writes the same author. "It is not considered necessary to find a statesman of weight and influence in order to confer with the popular chamber upon foreign policy. It is sufficient to have there an eloquent and well-trained young official who can figure as the telephone for the greater powers above him, and make with nicety and exactitude those limited statements which it is occasionally considered desirable to communicate to the representatives of the nation."

That is how it stands with the fig-leaf of English diplomacy. And in North America? There a Commission exists for foreign policy in the Senate, which, however, has to keep secret the information entrusted to it!

If similar institutions existed in Germany they would serve to disguise Absolutism, which could use them very well as a fig-leaf. But to begin a struggle for the introduction of this fig leaf would be senseless. Still more senseless would it be, however, to expect any progress towards establishing peace from these institutions.

IV.—CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THESE DEMANDS.

We have now examined, one after the other, all the demands which, according to the Copenhagen resolution, are to be fought for by the Social-Democratic deputies in the various Parliaments, and have come to the conclusion that they are impracticable under the capitalist régime. It does not, of course, follow that we should not fight against the unlimited increase of armaments, the policy of blood and iron, of diplomatic swindling and robbery. But we do conclude that the Social-Democracy cannot look upon or use these demands as a means in the struggle against imperialism, for its present-day programme, that is, the second part of the Erfurt Programme, only sets forth demands which are realisable under the capitalist-system. So the question arises, how is it that such solu-

tions as those of Copenhagen came to be advocated at all? They are defended on two grounds. Some say: We also are convinced that they are not to be realised to-day. But that is just where their value lies. The Government must refuse them, and then we come before the masses and show them that the Government will not fulfil these quite justifiable demands. This advocacy of unrealisable demands for reasons of propaganda is, to begin with, false from the propaganda point of view, and is moreover opposed to the whole principle of Social Democracy. It is false from the propaganda point of view because our propaganda is based in the first instance on our opening the eyes of the masses concerning the causes of the present conditions, making clear to them the results of these causes on every plane, and rousing them to the struggle against capitalism. If we set forth the above-mentioned demands we should first have to awaken among the masses the belief in their practicability, in order afterwards to destroy it; that is, we should create confusion, which, naturally, is not one of the functions of our propaganda. But such a point of view would also be a contradiction to our tactical position. The harvest of Social Democracy grows precisely for the reason that the bourgeoisie will not even fulfil those of our demands which are quite possible of realisation in a capitalist state of society. The Social Democracy has always refused to set forth demands in the realisation of which it does not believe (as, for instance, the demand for the right to work), whether they were "revolutionary" or not. And why should we depart from this standpoint solely in regard to foreign policy? Is it that it provides us with too little material for propaganda? Does not the agitation against the terrible burden of armaments, the barbarism of war, the evil of the sale and barter of nations, suffice to arouse the masses? One might, on the contrary, be tempted to believe that these provide more material than our deputies can cope with. How otherwise could it be explained that, for instance, comrade Ledebour could, in the Reichstag debate on foreign policy in March of last year, declare the German Social Democracy to be satisfied on the whole with the attitude of the Government, which during the Servian-Austrian crisis supported Austrian Imperialism? Such a sin of omission on the part of such an inveterate enemy of imperialism as Ledebour can only be explained by the immense abundance of material for propaganda, which does not permit the careful study of details.

But there is a second method of defending the demand under criticism. We must take up our position towards every question of the day, declared Ledebour on the Commission at Copenhagen. We cannot, of course, pursue such a "childish" policy as daily to demand Socialism and only Socialism. The demands contained in the resolution are, in his opinion, our replies to those questions of the day in relation to which we cannot go on eternally demanding Socialism. But here we reach the fountain-head of the error and confusion. This point of view shows that it

is not real agitational or propagandist necessity, but Parliamentary *apparent* necessity, which leads us away to proposing such demands. Why should not the Socialist deputy be able to say to the masses: In these questions one can accomplish nothing in Parliament? The interests of the bourgeoisie in them are consolidated into granite, which may, indeed, be broken to pieces with the iron hammer of revolutionary mass-action, but cannot be worn away by the drip-drip of Parliamentary action. The agitational effect of this appeal to the independent action of the masses would surely be very great. The deputy himself, who regards speaking out of the window as his function, speaks, however, before the forum of the bourgeois deputies. That leads him off to attempt to convince them. Even if his intuition tells him he is wasting his breath, he seizes upon such means of convincing them in order not to be looked upon as a "childish" politician, a Social-Democratic musical-box which can play nothing but the air of the Social Revolution. This may be admirably illustrated by the fact that Ledebour advocates the coupling together of the demand for a naval agreement with the demand for the abolition of the right of capture at sea. He considers it a particularly happy move on the chess-board, because he thinks he has found an argument for his bourgeois Parliamentary opponents: "You say the Fleet is necessary for the protection of commerce? Very good. We will, simultaneously with the retarding of the growth of armaments, also abolish the danger to commerce which is involved in the right of capture at sea. Therefore, vote for our motion!" This argument is, of course, only intended for Parliament, where it is to take the weapon from the hands of our bourgeois opponents. In the mass-propaganda it is unnecessary, because we can there prove to the masses—as the Social-Democratic press has done a thousand times—that the Fleet is anyhow not in a position to protect commerce. Further, in the propaganda among the masses this argument is directly injurious, because it is not any part of our business to stir up the masses to protect bourgeois property. The proposal is, therefore, only explicable from the Parliamentary point of view. And so, also, with all the other demands criticised here. However Utopian they are, they have the form of a Parliamentary motion, and appear to the deputy who would be something more than an agitator to be necessary and useful.

The Parliamentarian confusion, which is inseparable from these demands, is calculated to injure our propaganda among the masses and our struggle against imperialism. They injure our propaganda in that they, as already mentioned, create illusions among the masses. In the Commission of the Copenhagen Congress an article of "Vorwaerts" (August 5, 1910) was quoted as a proof of the correctness of these demands, which, in order to advocate a naval agreement with the English bourgeoisie, not only went as far as a calm recognition of English imperialism, but explained the whole Social-Democratic conception of imperialism, not through the class

interests of the proletariat, but through a half-lyrical, half-parsonical appeal to "wholesome common-sense," and similar phrases. Ledebour, indeed, repudiated the responsibility for this article. But what else was it than an illusion when, with that fiery temperament of his that we all appreciate so much, he declared it to be a great success achieved by German Social-Democratic action in the Reichstag, in the question of the Anglo-German understanding, that Bülow and Tirpitz should have been pinned down as liars? Is it really a success, let alone a great one, that the virtuous Bülow should be stripped of his veil of virtue and shown up as a thoroughly bad man? Are these the weapons for us to use against capitalist world-policy?

The confusions of the article-writer in "Vorwaerts," or of comrade Ledebour, are not their fault. They arise out of the situation. One cannot press demands which have nothing to do with our movement and our historic conception without falling into bourgeois illusions and trains of thought. And if even well-schooled comrades cannot avoid these, how will it be with simple agitators? Therefore, we say that these demands are injurious to our propaganda.

But as regards the action against imperialism, the demands we have criticised are, above all, harmful because they inculcate in the proletariat the belief that something can be done in Parliament against imperialism. This belief has no foundation. The only means by which the tide of imperialism can be stemmed, or by which the results of imperialist policy can be turned to account for the liberation of the working class, is the social revolutionary action of the proletariat. To prepare the proletariat for this by means of propaganda and organisation is the most important function of the Social-Democracy, and belongs to the duties of the Social-Democratic deputies. How can they fulfil this duty if they try to inspire in the proletariat the belief that agreements between capitalist States or arbitration courts could constitute a safeguard against war or aggression?

The resolution of the Copenhagen Congress in the question of disarmament and arbitration courts is thus untenable and harmful. It was formulated through the most active co-operation of the delegates of the German Social-Democracy, who brought the authority of the party in the Reichstag to bear upon it. It is, therefore, the duty of the German Social-Democracy to work against the mischievous effects of the resolution by a discussion on this question. A detailed debate is all the more necessary because this is one of the most important questions in German politics. Year by year the importance for the international proletariat of this question of world-policy increases. The questions bound up with it are, however, still so new, so far removed from the every-day practical work of the working-class movement, that it is no wonder the attitude of the International vacillates concerning them. It is only by means of discussion that the question can be cleared up, and to that end these articles are intended to serve.

A WOMAN'S OPINION ON THE PROPOSED LAW AUTHORISING INQUIRIES INTO THE PARENTAGE OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

By L. M. COMPLAIN (in "La Revue Socialiste").

After Easter the Senate had under discussion the proposed law which would authorise inquiries being made into the parentage of illegitimate children. For thirty years or more women have been calling on the gods—i.e., the Senators and Deputies—to vote such a law in France. The Senate has been discussing this law, but the women are only giving them partial thanks.

Women are strange creatures; they get what they asked for, but they ask for more. But have the gods given them what they were sighing for? There is the question, let us look at it closely.

We will ask your pardon for examining it as a woman and not as a jurist. For, alas! we are not a jurist! Under the technical terms of the text of a law we only see living things. We only speak in the name of sentiments of justice which life has injured. If these are sufficient reasons we may be allowed to speak.

What do women ask for? For a law preventing the scandal of those free unions where the birth of children entails no responsibility; where the father, when he pleases, can leave his mistress and his children and can go and carry on the same game elsewhere. A law which will prevent the misfortune of those poor too-confident women, who, as soon as they become pregnant, are either resigned or kill their children. A law which will prevent the worse scandal of all, when the servant in town or country, or the work-girl, shall be driven away as soon as nature shows her weakness.

Such are the three cases for which we hope the new law will afford a remedy. (I do not speak of cases of rape or forcible seduction, which the law already punishes.) Let me say at once that we have been successful in the first case. The mother of an illegitimate child, even if she be a minor, will be able to bring an action if she openly lives, at the time of the child's birth, with the pretended father. An action may also be brought if the father has paid any money for the care of the child, and if he ceases to do so.

But in the second and third case, a legal action can only be brought against the father if he goes on living with the mother, or

if there is promise of marriage, or some *written proof*. Some *written proof* was what Feminists were afraid of, as they feared that it would restrict, if not annul, the effects of the law if the parents were not living together.

For no one is ignorant of the fact that seducers and insincere or selfish lovers do not write much. Now that one little love-note may bring them before the Courts they will write less than ever. Do you think that the farmer who seduces his servant, or that the farm servant who thinks that the maid will enable him to pass his time pleasantly, are great letter-writers? And does a fellow workman or a master write much more? To ask the question is to answer it. If, formerly, men were inclined to write they will be less likely to do so now, thinking of the consequences. One of the most certain results of the law will be to make them surer than ever that no one should ever write, and "proof by letters" demanded by the law will become one of the myths of another age which will rarely survive. Only good men will write, and the law will not apply to them.

Thus, through the meshes of the law, a large number of abandoned children.

The objections which we have just raised are so evident that it is impossible that the senators have not considered them. If they have not done so it must be because they are afraid of blackmail. It is right that blackmail should be suppressed; we should not object if there were a clause in the law stating that any woman having been guilty of such an offence should at once be tried by the Court before which the case was being tried. Women more than any other members of society are interested that these kind of persons, who tend to alienate the sympathy of the public from deserving mothers, should be severely punished.

There is, however, another reason which has been invoked in favour of this written proof. The authors of the proposed Bill wish that an illegitimate child whom his father has recognised as his child might bear his father's name and have legal rights on his fortune. This would go beyond the provisions of the English and German law, which only enable the child to be supported by his father for a certain time. It would appear that France, ashamed of having lagged behind her neighbours in the cause of justice, was anxious to recover ground by a more generous law and one more in agreement with our need of logic. But to grant the illegitimate child all these rights it has been thought that there must be some written proof, though many fathers would thus be able to evade their responsibilities. Let us remember that the law will affect those fathers who have given some proofs of their affection and their sincerity; those will be liable who shall have lived with the mother and have supported the child for some time. Those who have evinced paternal feeling even for too short a time will, according to the law, have to fulfil their duties to the end. But as to the other fathers, who are more cowardly or more

clever, they will escape and will be protected by the law. This may be good law perhaps, but I am certain that it is unjust and immoral.

The law, too, as regards the child born from incest or adultery is also unjust. The married man may safely be responsible for many bastards, but the bachelor will have to pay, especially if he has written letters or looked after the mother.

Perhaps after this description of the law it is not strange that women should refrain from cries of joy on reading the proposed Bill.

Is there any means of satisfying them? There are two, which we commend to the deputies when they have to consider the law. The first is to strike out of the law the clause relating to proof by writing. The second would be to introduce in the law one or two clauses to the following effect:—

When a case occurred to which Clause 2 is applicable (that which refers to proof by writing) the mother of the child or her representative might ask for an allowance for the child, which would cease when the child could earn his living, and at the latest when he reached the age of 21. The judges might take into consideration all the circumstances of the case, and all children, even those of adulterous intercourse, might be allowed to come under it.

I am not certain that the deputies will agree to this, and I admit that it is awkward to create two classes of illegitimate children. The better way would be to do away with written proof if there was moral proof. It is no use to say that this cannot be done, for in many country districts the father of an illegitimate child is as well known as if the infant had been born in lawful wedlock. Then, if this were done it is quite possible that the Senate might not agree to the amendment, and then the question to be considered is whether it would be better to pass an incomplete law which recognises a good principle and to amend it afterwards, or to wait till the progress of public opinion enables us to obtain a complete measure of justice.

It is not for us to answer. I will only say this. Do you think that if women had the vote such laws could be voted? Do you not think that children would be better protected? And my conclusion is, Give us the right of voting and the right of being elected in Parliament, so that juster and more moral laws may be made.

THE REVIEWS.

ENGLAND AND EUROPEAN UNREST.

In its "Review of Events" the "Fortnightly Review" contains the following :—

Let it be remembered that nearly six months have passed since King Edward's death and King George's accession. Time presses. In six months more we shall be approaching the Coronation. Simultaneously the meeting of by far the most important Imperial Conference yet held must go far to determine, and may absolutely determine, whether Imperial Union is to remain possible or to become hopeless. For a hundred years the whole problem of defence has not been so grave and urgent. Even Unionists hitherto reluctant to face some realities of modern democratic politics now perceive that if the Socialist struggle for the control of all industry and property is to be successfully resisted, social reform will have to be more resolute and comprehensive than most sympathetic thinkers on the subject had hitherto ventured to dream. The Portuguese revolution, the danger in Spain, the French railway strike, the Moabit riots in Berlin, the vast movement of popular unrest now surging even in the United States—these are signs of a new and perilous epoch to which no sane man can be blind. Nor let any confused mind attempt the crude argument that Socialism and social reform are the same thing, and that to advocate the latter is only to promote the former under another name. Nothing of the kind. Socialism and social reform are sharply distinguished things. To work for pulling down property and individual enterprise is one thing. It is another thing to strive to raise the lot of the poor, to promote their physical and moral and mental efficiency by every means; to seek the wiping out utterly of the worst blots upon industrial civilisation, with its weltering sloughs of dirt, disease, misery and degradation; to lift the whole level of life and thought among the masses. That purpose may be, and ought to be, pursued with keen vision and unsparing energy by the firmest opponents of the Socialist tyranny. Mr. Lloyd George's remarkable address at the City Temple the other day contained much truth as well as some superfluous unwisdom. This is the consideration that makes the present political situation so serious from the point of view of patriotic men. If the Constitutional Conference broke down the result would be not merely chaos worse confounded but moral anarchy in our public life. Which of us who has given even casual study to the state of unrest in Europe and beyond—to the new audacity and definition of subversive aims—can call with a light heart for conflict in the spirit let loose before the death of King Edward? That is a contingency which we ought to do our

utmost to avoid. We shall not say that its success would be well worth a very high price indeed in the shape of concession on both sides. From the first it was inevitable and foreseen that there must be a serious process of give and take if the "Council of Eight" were to make any sincere effort to arrive at a settlement by consent, and were not to be from beginning to end an organised hypocrisy. If give and take on a petty scale is found to be futile, it might be attempted on a strong scale.



STRIKES AND ALARUMS AGAIN.

Lawrence Jerrold writes the following in the current "Contemporary Review":—

The "Ouest Etat" all by itself might have struck; nobody would have marked it. It always is more or less on strike, voluntarily or involuntarily. People and things in the "O.E." seldom accomplish what they set out to do, either by their own fault or not. The stationmaster trying to get the 11.45 off by 12.50, the driver trying not to "forget" to stop at a station, wheels rolling off rolling stock, couplings suddenly ceasing to couple, "Rapide" engines all at once requiring one hour's repair in the open country, are foreseen by the norm of the O.E. "Traffic is normal. The Chartres express has arrived forty minutes late," reported the stationmaster at the Gare Montparnasse during the strike, to show that the latter had not spread to his station from St. Lazare. The O.E., which has always looked up in awe to the big sister company of the "Nord," and in wonderment at the latter's performances, and which all this summer meekly used the Nord's cast-off rolling stock, had nothing whatever to strike for, and struck simply to prove that it would do at least one thing like the Nord; it might do nothing else, at least it could strike as well as the Nord.

But the Nord, the smooth, businesslike Nord, the whole great, well-oiled system of the Nord, stopping dead! When the last train on the O.E. stuck at Asnières, passengers walked to Paris along the lines, "reaching St. Lazare in twenty minutes, a journey usually requiring forty when the trains are going normally," as "seasons" remarked. This is a pedestrian feat impossible on the Nord. One could not motor out in the time the Nord took one every few minutes to Enghien to lose one's money at the Casino, which is one of the most steadily raking in of all Europe. The morally perfect service to Enghien, the more morally perfect service to Chantilly Races, and all the arteries running up to Northern Europe—all struck numb in an hour. . . .

But the great Gare du Nord a desert; its long, shining lines stretching bare out into the distance, then in a few hours rusting—one had never imagined how soon the polish of metals goes when not kept up by expresses—was a thing that had never been seen before. . . .

Outside the station ten thousand mild and dejected people regretted no lost allurements, but waited to get home to their suburbs. They made no noise, they hardly even grumbled; nothing seemed to be done to advise or cheer them. They were left waiting hours and hours hopelessly with their bundles and their children. The only noise was made by important tourists who had to leave instantly, strike or no strike. They were far better able to stop another night or two in Paris than any of the suburban crowd were to stay over one, but had to be instantly somewhere at any price—Brussels, London, Berlin. American millionaires drew bundles of banknotes from their pockets and chartered taxicabs by the half-dozen then and there for themselves, their families and their luggage, for Boulogne and Calais. Business men, who probably had really nothing particular to do, got themselves driven straight from their Gare du Nord Hotel to Brussels for enormous sums as an advertisement; and others in the same line of business could not be outdone, but had to pay more, coming after. Even in France the new race of taxicab drivers does not appear to be a thrifty one, otherwise the men would now have enough to retire upon.

France is not nearer the dogs than she was yesterday, and she has not been saved from them in the nick of time by a master hand. All due praise to the great practical, political realist of to-day, who eight years ago bade workers take pikes against the bourgeois. But if the French railway strike had been a revolution M. Briand could not have stopped it. He had a few "leaders" arrested, most of them on non-existent charges. Against those who incited to destruction of property a case, and a pretty good case, in law exists. The others a London magistrate sitting in Paris would have discharged the next morning; for planning and ordering a strike, whether of railwaymen, or of coal miners, or of cotton operatives, is no more a breach of the law in France than in England. He placed the railwaymen under military discipline by at the same moment assimilating them, for instance, to naval reserves and calling them out as reservists, a double innovation the legality of which appears doubtful to French lawyers. The result of it all was to stop the strike. So much praise, then, to the great realist. But if the strike had been a revolution, neither a few arrests nor the impossible fiction of rendering some 80,000 men simultaneously liable to court-martial would have stopped it.



COBBLER'S AWL.

If any further proof is necessary of the inadequacy of representation the speech of the leader of the Opposition at Edinburgh on October 5 surely supplies it. By a coincidence the two statements to which these notes refer appeared not only in parallel columns in the "Daily Chronicle" but also in paragraphs side by side, the

subjects being the question of payment of members and land taxation.

To the first the integrity of the State, the honour of the modern "brute," was, of course, opposed, and after some further expression of ethical solicitude, both for individual (members) and the State (society), the fence was reluctantly taken in these words:—

"The evil would be unquestionably exaggerated by bringing into existence a class of electoral experts whose whole ingenuity would be turned, not into the service of the State at Westminster, but into keeping together as large a flock of supporters in their constituencies as would secure them in the continual enjoyment of £500 or £1,000 a year."

Nobleness obliges, ideology repeats once again. But, unfortunately for its argument, polemical materialism (the worst kind, according to a "Socialist" journal whose gentility is beyond dispute) is not only abroad now, but at home.

Parallel comes the plea for landed interest (under the agricultural form). Here the level of peasant proprietors, materially and spiritually, as the most reactionary class in the world, naturally suggests them; a "large body of small owners" serve as buffer between the honourable State and the materialised, or capitalised, world. But as this portion of the argument is not easy to reconcile with the previous zeal for progress, Cæsar's apology intervenes. Statesmanship stumbles heavily in the following words: ". . . to me who believe that of all landlords *the State is the worst*," etc. (italics mine). Scholastic logic invaded with doubt once again. Truly the statesman "meddles with no tradesmen's matters, nor women's matters; all that he lives by is the awl." The State reduced in true metaphysical fashion by its friends.

One moment represented as shrinking from expert scrutiny, the next proclaimed as incapable of conducting affairs as is—actually the case.

As a refuge in times of political trouble the Opposition is indeed, unsurpassed.

The trust in the Conference with which the speech opened might also be enlightening to neglecters of Marx. What if *all* government or authority is opposition, as this speech suggests or—repeats? Marx's description of political intelligence published long since in the "*Annali Tedextri*" seems worth quoting, so exactly do events now corroborate it here. Describing it as being such primarily because it thinks within political limits.

"Its classical period was that of the French revolution, the heroes of that being actuated by their conception, idea of the State, which they were thus far from perceiving as itself the source of social evils, the representative of, and so necessarily usurper and opponent of, social or organised movement."

(Being from an Italian translation, the words may not perhaps be a *literal* translation of the German, but the sense is the same.)

F. DALLAS ASKEW.

THE PRIEST AND THE DEVIL.

By FEDOR DOSTOYEVSKY.

Before the altar in a splendid church, glistening with gold and silver and lit up by a multitude of candles, stood a priest arrayed in beautiful robe and gorgeous mantle. He was a portly, dignified man, with ruddy cheeks and well-kept beard. His voice was sonorous and his mien haughty. His appearance was in keeping with the church, which glowed and shone with luxury.

The congregation, however, presented a different picture. It consisted mostly of poor working men and peasants, old women and beggars. Their clothing was shabby and exhaled the peculiar odour of poverty. Their thin faces bore the marks of hunger and their hands the marks of toil. It was a picture of want and misery.

The priest burned incense before the holy pictures, and then piously and solemnly raised his voice and preached.

"My dear brethren in Christ," he said, "our dear Lord gave you life, and it is your duty to be satisfied with it. But are you satisfied? No.

"First of all, you do not have enough faith in our dear Lord and His saints and miracles. You do not give as freely as you should from your earnings to the holy church.

"In the second place, you do not obey the authorities. You oppose the powers of the world, the Czar and his officers. You despise the laws.

"It is written in the Bible, 'Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and give unto God that which is God's.' But you do not do it! And do you know what this means? This is a deadly sin. Indeed, I tell you, it is the devil who is tempting you to go his way. It is he who tempts your souls, and you imagine it is your own free-will that prompts you to act in this way. His will it is, not yours. He is waiting for your death. He is burning with eagerness to possess your souls. He will dance before the flames of hell, in which your soul will suffer agonies.

"Therefore, I warn you, my brethren, I admonish you to leave the path of damnation. There is still time. O God, have mercy!"

The people listened, trembling. They believed the priest's solemn words. They sighed and crossed themselves, and fervently

kissed the floor. The priest also crossed himself, turned his back to the people—and smiled.

It so happened that the devil was just passing by the church while the priest was speaking thus to the people. He heard his name mentioned, so he stood by the open window and listened. He saw the people kiss the priest's hand. He saw the priest, bending before a gilded picture of some saint, hastily pocket the money which the poor people had put down there for the holy church. This provoked the devil, and no sooner did the priest leave the church than he ran after him and caught hold of his holy mantle.

"Hello, you fat little father!" he said. "What made you lie so to those poor misled people? What tortures of hell did you depict? Don't you know they are already suffering the tortures of hell in their earthly lives? Don't you know that you and the authorities of the State are my representatives on earth? It is you who make them suffer the pains of hell with which you threaten them. Don't you know this? Well, then, come with me!"

The devil grabbed the priest by the collar, lifted him high in the air, and carried him to a factory, to an iron foundry. He saw the workmen there running and hurrying to and fro and toiling in the scorching heat. Very soon the thick, heavy air and the heat are too much for the priest. With tears in his eyes, he pleads with the devil: "Let me go! Let me leave this hell!"

"Oh, my dear friend, I must show you many more places." The devil gets hold of him again and drags him off to a farm. There he sees the workmen threshing the grain. The dust and heat are insufferable. The overseer carries a knout, and unmercifully beats anyone who falls to the ground overcome by hard work or hunger.

Next the priest is taken to the huts where these same workers live with their families—dirty, cold, smoky, ill-smelling holes. The devil grins. He points out the poverty and hardship which are at home here.

"Well, isn't this enough?" he asks. And it seems as if even he, the devil, pities the people. The pious servant of God can hardly bear it. With uplifted hands he begs: "Let me go away from here. Yes, yes! This is hell on earth!"

"Well, then, you see. And you still promise them another hell. You torment them, torture them to death mentally when they are already all but dead physically! Come on! I will show you one more hell—one more, the very worst."

He took him to a prison, and showed him a dungeon, with its foul air and the many human forms, robbed of all health and energy, lying on the floor, covered with vermin that were devouring their poor, naked, emaciated bodies.

"Take off your silken clothes," said the devil to the priest, "put on your ankles heavy chains such as these unfortunates wear; lie down on the cold and filthy floor—and then talk to them about a hell that still awaits them!"

"No, no!" answered the priest. "I cannot think of anything more dreadful than this. I entreat you, let me go away from here!"

"Yes, this is hell. There can be no worse hell than this. Did you not know it? Did you not know that these men and women whom you were frightening with a picture of a hell hereafter—did you not know that they are in hell right here, before they die?"

The priest hung his head. He did not know where to look in his confusion.

The devil smiled maliciously. "Yes, little father, you are going to say that the world likes to be cheated. Well, now!" And he released his hold.

The priest tucked up his long mantle and ran as fast as his legs would carry him.

The devil watched and laughed.

* * * * *

This story came into my mind while listening to the sermon of the prison chaplain, and I wrote it down on the wall to-day, December 13, 1849.

[Fedor Dostoyevsky achieved fame as the author of two of the most powerful psychical studies ever penned: "Poor Folk" and "Crime and Punishment," both of which have been translated into most European languages. During his incarceration, for political reasons, in the terrible fortress of St. Peter and Paul—an imprisonment which ruined his constitution and caused his early death—he wrote the above sketch upon the wall of his cell.]

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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THE ELECTION AND ITS LESSONS.

BY H. QUELCH.

No one has yet been able to satisfactorily explain why the General Election of December, 1910, should have taken place at all. We have heard a great deal about the great "Constitutional issue," and all democrats—Socialist or other—have been adjured to vote Liberal as the only means of preserving our democratic institutions against the arrogant claims of the Peers. We have been appealed to to "trust Asquith," to give him such a majority as would enable him to once for all crush the power of the peers and the landlords, and to make the will of the people, "as represented by the House of Commons," supreme. As Asquith himself put it, in a message to a Liberal candidate, "The attempts of the peers and Tories to hamper the House of Commons in working for the good of the people must be finally and decisively repelled."

The picture of the House of Commons—plutocrats, placemen, landlords, lawyers, and prospective peers—scorning delights and living laborious days "in

working for the good of the people" is enough to raise the proverbial laugh on the face of the most sedate and sober grimalkin. It is just one of the stale old japes which come so pat to the Liberal politician, which he knows to be ridiculous humbug; but for which, nevertheless, he always finds ready acceptance on the part of the credulous followers of his party.

It is true that the people never seem to tire of all this transparent sham and humbug; but there is no explanation why it should have been resorted to just now; or why the General Election, which affords the occasion for all these furious alarums and excursions, should not have been deferred at any rate for another six months. It is said that a mandate had to be asked for on the one issue—the Veto of the House of Lords. But the opinion of the country had already been given on that question—according to the Liberal Press—with sufficient definiteness last January. Over and over again we were told that, diverse as might be the opinions represented in the composite majority supporting the Government on any other subject, it was a solid, definite, united majority against the Lords.

The Irishmen, we were told, could not, with a good grace, swallow the Budget, and the Labourists were not too well pleased with the Government on account of their neglect of the unemployed question. But Labourists and Nationalists were entirely at one with the Radicals in their opposition to the House of Lords, and would, as one man, have supported the most drastic proposals the Government could have brought forward for dealing with that institution. Why, then, did the Government not bring forward their reform proposals? For it must not be forgotten that, despite their fulminations against the House of Lords, the Liberals are as completely committed to a "reform" of that House—and not its abolition—as are the Tories. Indeed, so slight is the difference between the two front benches on this point that they could actually meet in Conference for some months to dis-

cuss the possibility of coming to an arrangement. And nobody knows, even now, why such an arrangement was not come to.

Apart from an arrangement the Government, had it really meant business, would have pressed its own proposals forward. It is idle to pretend that the Government majority was inadequate. It was precisely on this question, and this question alone, that the Government had, as we have seen, a solid working majority. That the Irishmen held the whip hand over them may be admitted, without admitting that the Irishmen wished to force a dissolution. On the contrary. The real reason for the hostility of the Irishmen to the House of Lords and for supporting the Government was that they believe the Veto of the House of Lords bars the road to Home Rule. They, certainly, must have desired that the question of the Lords should have been effectively dealt with before another appeal to the country was made. This last appeal, therefore, can scarcely be said to have been due to the Irishmen, or to their desire for a mandate to the Government from the constituencies in favour of Home Rule. There was only one question before the country, we have been repeatedly told, and that was the House of Lords' Veto. Every vote given to the Liberals was a vote given against the Lords; every vote given against the Liberals was a vote in favour of the maintenance of the Veto. That, at any rate, was the "cry" with which the Liberals went to the country; a cry of which, in one form or another, they have made use for at least a generation; and it is idle to pretend now that the dissolution was forced upon them on any other ground. Less even than the Irishmen can the Labourists be held responsible for the dissolution. They, at any rate, were prepared to make any sacrifice in order to defer an appeal to the country. Therefore, we are still left wondering why Asquith dissolved Parliament instead of tackling the task he had been, according to the claims of his supporters, set to do. The only explanation which suggests itself is that he was "as much in earnest as ever he was"; that the

task was not to his liking, that he had no stomach for the fight, and that he hoped for and anticipated precisely the result which the election promises—such a meagre majority as will enable him to once more repudiate his pledges, and absolve him from any drastic action against the Peers.

There has never been any reason to believe in the reality of the Liberal attack upon the Peers, and the dissolution has but afforded another manifestation of the hollow mockery of the whole wretched business.

It has been nothing but a sham fight; the fight between Liberals and Tories never is or can be anything but a sham fight. That is the first, the old lesson, to be learnt from this election. That is not to suggest, for a moment, that all Liberals are hypocrites and liars, or that there are no honourable men among them. On the contrary, there is little doubt that the majority of the members of the Liberal Party are honourable men—according to the bourgeois code of honour—and quite as good personally as the members of any other political party. That, however, does not alter the fact that the Liberal Party is as much an “organised hypocrisy” as the Tory Party ever was; that it exists as an instrument for maintaining and promoting the interests of the plutocracy just as much as ever the Tory Party does, and that when Liberals pretend they are “for the people and against the Peers,” and that they desire the freedom of the House of Commons from the control of the Lords in order to “work for the good of the people,” they are indulging in as arrant a piece of humbug and hypocrisy as was ever perpetrated.

“But see what they promise,” we are told. Exactly. They are given to making promises, and it would be too much to say that they never fulfil their promises. But when they do, as a rule they “keep the word of promise to the ear” only to “break it to the hope,” as witness their double-dealing over South African slavery, and their miserable blackleg Labour Exchanges.

“But they couldn’t do any better,” we are told. Exactly, again. We never suggested that they could.

It is not for their performance we blame them—or the lack of it. It is for their promises, and for their hypocritical pretences by which they have deluded the people. But, above all, we blame the people, the credulous Radicals (who really do want something done), and even Socialists, who persist in pinning their faith to those who have deluded and betrayed them over and over again, and who, as they should know by this time, cannot possibly accomplish that which Radicals and Socialists alike wish to see achieved.

That is the next and the most important lesson to be learnt from this election—that we must absolutely destroy this pathetic faith in the Liberal Party and in Liberal promises before any further progress can be made. In this election we have seen avowed Socialists elected with large majorities—where there was no Liberal opposition. On the other hand, Socialists fighting against both Liberal and Tory have, in every case, been overwhelmingly defeated, and this where Socialist propaganda has been most vigorous and effective, and where Socialist organisation is strongest.

These facts prove two things—that it is not the principles or opinions of the Socialists which cause their defeat, and that the specious professions and hypocritical promises of the Liberals have their effect in winning Socialist support and gaining Socialist votes. Tories and Liberals understand each other perfectly well. They play into each other's hands very nicely. The Tories used to call Chamberlain Jack Cade; now they call Lloyd George a Socialist. That suits their book exactly, because many Socialists are bluffed by that make-believe fighting. "Lloyd George must be on our side," they say, "see how the landlords and Tories attack him!" And it is all part of the game. And as long as that game goes on and is played successfully, there is little prospect of any real progress.

The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the working class themselves, and as an instrument to that end we need an independent working-class party,

inspired with Socialist ideals. The chief obstacle to the creation of that instrument is the Liberal Party, as this election has once more demonstrated. So long as this is the case our efforts, politically, must be directed to getting that buffer Party out of the way. There is no reason whatever why a Socialist should vote Liberal. All their promises are fly-blown and worthless. Even if fulfilled they would mean nothing for us. They do not even propose, now, to abolish the Lords' Veto, only to limit it, and to follow that with "reform" which will make the Lords, as an instrument of reaction, stronger than ever. Their political reform proposals, until they include Proportional Representation, or at least the Second Ballot, are of no value to us, and there is every reason to suppose that the Tories would outbid them, as they have already done with the Referendum. On the other hand, by voting for the Tories we could get the buffer party out of the way, and thus get a chance to organise the Socialist forces as a political instrument. That was the lead given by the Social-Democratic Party Executive, and it had notable results in several instances in losing seats to some of the worst Liberal bounders. Had it been universally followed there are a score or so of constituencies now held by Liberals which would have been lost to them, and a clear opening made for their capture by Social-Democrats for revolutionary Social-Democracy.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

By JNO. RHIND.

The great, the wise do err betime,
Whilst mediocre's the truth divine
... sometimes —THE WRITER.

INTRODUCTION.

I am aware that few of those who read this essay will agree with the conclusions contained herein; and no doubt there will be many errors in details. Nevertheless, I claim the principle is sound, or, at the least, has a scientific basis, which is more than can be said for the orthodox explanation of the law of the "survival of the fittest" as applied to human society.

It may be as well at the outset to inform the reader that, although the writer is an "evolutionist" and a Darwinian in the scientific sense of the terms, he does not accept the general interpretation. In other words, he denies that the law of the "survival of the fittest" as expounded by Darwin obtains in human civilised society—i.e., the higher races of mankind. Darwin himself, in explaining the "theory" of the survival of the fittest, always refers to animals in a state of nature, or under domestication, and not to humanity. He tells us the key to his theory he found in Malthus's "Essay on Population."

Malthus argued that the population increased in geometrical proportion—e.g., 2-4-8-16-32, and so on; whereas the food supply only increased in arithmetical proportion, 1-2-3-4-5; consequently, the population tends to increase beyond the means of subsistence.

Hence poverty amongst the great mass of the people was an inevitable "natural law," as unalterable as the "laws of the Medes and Persians"; the checks for keeping the population down being war, pestilence, and famine. This was a very acceptable explanation to the capitalist and landlord classes, who said: "You see, now, that the poverty from which you suffer is not our fault, but a law of nature which cannot be prevented." A very consoling theory for the exploiting classes; Darwin being so greatly impressed with this "essay" that he asked himself if it could be applied to animals in a state of nature, and finally came to the conclusion that it could.

The ruling classes were delighted with this confirmation (?) of the "inevitability" of "poverty," and claimed they survived as a natural consequence of being the fittest, and the workers, being the unfit, must go to the wall. And, strange to say, we find even students of science acquiescing in this unscientific rendering of the "survival of the fittest."

Darwin called it the "Struggle for Existence," or the "Survival of the Fittest." The latter phrase he adopted from Herbert Spencer as being a better title than his own. I think, however, that Darwin's "Struggle for Existence" is not only more easily understood, but has a greater scientific meaning.

HOW THE "LAW" OPERATES.

The law of the survival of the fittest is a natural law which is accepted to-day by practically everyone. Our point is: it must not be applied universally and without qualification. Let us briefly inquire how it operates.

It is estimated that six pairs of salmon, given favourable conditions, would supply enough food for the whole population of the world. If we take the codfish, turbot and flounder, we find they deposit no fewer than from 7 to 12 million eggs in a year, each capable of becoming a cod, turbot or flounder. And so with other fish. Apply this all round, and we shall

see, were such conditions possible, the sea would become a solid mass in the space of one year. Hence the struggle for existence, and the truth of the saying: "Big fish live on little fish, and smaller on still less." Thus it is clear the sea must be one huge slaughter-house, there being no other means by which its inhabitants can procure food.

Coming to land animals, we find that the progeny of one pair of rabbits in five years' time would consume every vestige of vegetation in Great Britain. So the vast majority must inevitably be killed off by some means or other. A caterpillar will eat six hundred times its own weight of food in a month. More than a million seedlings are yearly produced from a single dandelion plant. These are a few examples taken as illustrations, though they could be increased almost indefinitely. Still, they are enough to prove the inexorable law of the "struggle for existence," or the "survival of the fittest," which goes on unrelentingly. We must, however, remember that the higher the organism the fewer the number of the offspring. This alone, so far as those of the same species are concerned, tends to mitigate the struggle.

EVOLUTION OF THE STRUGGLE.

When we refer to the lower forms of life, speaking generally, we find that individualism reigns supreme, each organism striving to exist irrespective of the existence of other organisms, according to the law of "self-preservation." Thus in the first stage cannibalism prevailed, and survives even at the present time amongst savages, with whom the food supply is uncertain. But as we advance to higher forms of life the individual struggle is supplanted by the group struggle, those animals of the same species combining for protection against those of other species. This gregarious instinct is developed in proportion as we reach the human species, amongst whom it is developing, not instinctively but consciously, and on a higher plane, more especially by Socialists, who realise that

in protecting others they protect themselves—that the happiness of each can best be secured through the happiness of all. Here, then, intervenes another “natural” law, called by Prince Kropotkin

MUTUAL AID.

Just in proportion as this law obtains, the struggle for existence, or the survival of the fittest, ceases to operate. We have already stated that species combine for protection against other species. Let us now inquire how these laws “cancel” each other. Everyone, we think, will admit that the law of the survival of the fittest is a purely individualistic law *in extenso*; if this is admitted the ground will be more clear. We will commence our inquiry with the elephant species. It is well known that elephants are fond of bathing early in the day at the river sides; consequently, hunters are always on the look-out for them at such places. On the other hand, the animals, from bitter experience, when they hear the crack of the rifle know they are discovered, and perhaps one or more are captured. The next step for them to take is to migrate to new and safer quarters. The “leader” of the herd, which is generally the bravest, swiftest, and most sagacious of them all, goes ahead in search of a suitable place. Having done so he returns. When all is ready they prepare for their new quarters, not anyhow but in perfect order, for the best protection of the whole herd. They form a square with the older and stronger on the outsides and the younger in the centre, the leader keeping a little apart from the rest so that in case of attack he may be free to fight and protect his following, even to the extent of sacrificing his life for the sake of the herd. The leader has all the attributes to constitute him as an individual, according to the “law,” the fittest to survive. Yet in case of attack he may be killed or captured (to be captured is equal to being killed so far as the law is concerned), and so not survive; and so with the others. Or, take the case of the harmless stag which, if attacked

when accompanied with young, will defend them with the courage of a lion; though it would be the best fitted to escape, and so survive. Or, again, wolves, which are gregarious animals—at any rate in the winter when food is scarce and life in greatest danger—will fight amongst themselves for the leadership, the victor being accepted. Once this leadership is attained, his own survival is not even instinctively left, but rather that of retaining the leadership at the cost of his own life the moment it is required in defence of the pack. This social instinct is developed more or less in all gregarious animals, and is absolutely antagonistic to the instinct of each for itself—the survival of the fittest.

THE PRESENT STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

Animals can at the most gather food offered them by nature. Some person may say, "What about ants, bees, beavers, and the like?" My answer is: That is practically all they do, and so far as we can ascertain they have reached the end of their evolution—i.e., their progress and development. They do exactly as other ants, bees, and beavers did before them—work instinctively, not consciously. For instance, whoever heard of bees raising flowers for the sake of the nectar? Savages are a little further advanced, having a slight knowledge of tools, and means of increasing their food supply. Nevertheless, the struggle is still there and demands its victims, but not to the same degree as among the lower animals.

The barbarians are still further advanced in respect of their food supply, having a knowledge of cattle-breeding and the raising of crops, and among them some form of communism generally exists. Still, there are times with them when food is scarce, as in times of famine, over which they have little power.

With civilised man the outlook is altogether different. Famine becomes an impossibility owing to his power over the forces of nature. He can, to a

great extent, control natural laws. And, time being allowed, the writer is sanguine enough to believe that mind will, in the end, conquer matter—that for all practical purposes man will control the “Cosmos.”

Whoever thinks of a famine occurring in a civilised country? Such an idea would be absurd owing to the power of man over nature. Let us give an illustration of this power. Take the plague, called the “Black Death,” of the 14th century, which is reputed to have destroyed, at the fewest, one-fourth of the population of Europe; in some towns, even three-fourths. It was a contagious epidemic; the result of natural laws. Such a plague to-day in Europe is an impossibility. Why? Because man can control the natural laws which caused it. To-day we have knowledge of those laws; during the 14th century people were ignorant of them. It is our knowledge of disease, medicine, sanitation, hygiene, etc., which enables us to prevent plague ever again establishing itself amongst us. In other words, man being able to control the laws which cause plague, can suspend them, or make them inoperative.

So with regard to small-pox, and for the same reasons. A small-pox epidemic is now impossible; yet our forefathers of the Middle Ages took it as a matter of course that they would sooner or later during their life contract it, just as most mothers to-day believe that their children are sure to contract measles. Such havoc did small-pox cause that the average length of life during the reign of Queen Elizabeth is estimated to have been only nineteen years, whereas to-day it is forty-five.

Apply this power of man over nature to our food supply, and it will become at once self-evident there can be no possible struggle for existence so far as the necessities of life are concerned. Civilised man has only, as it were, to tickle the surface of the land to procure an almost unlimited supply of all the food he requires. So that, instead of the supply increasing,

as Malthus stated, in arithmetical order, it increases more as 1-2-4-10-50-200-1,000, and so on. That is far in excess of the increasing population. In a word, it is almost unlimited according to our present wants.

Let me again draw the reader's attention to the fact that the "struggle for existence," or the "survival of the fittest," hangs on the food supply. This must ever be kept in mind. It is the key to the position; there is no other. Were there a sufficient food supply for all animals there would be no need either for a "struggle" or the "fittest." Man, therefore, having gained mastery over the laws which determine his food supply, puts an end to, or suspends, the law of the "struggle for existence," and consequently of the "survival of the fittest."

To make the case more clear, it may be stated that the difference in yield of food between uncultivated and cultivated land is approximately as 1 to 1,800. This is the result of man working in a conscious and reflective manner. Animals, on the other hand, obtain their end principally by instinct. I can imagine some reader objecting: "Yes, but the difference between the 'brain power' of man and that of animals is only one of degree, not of kind." To which we reply: Granted! Quite true, but the degree is of such magnitude that it cannot be bridged. Even the higher animals, so far as we understand them, have reached the end of their mental evolution. So that in this regard we are forging ahead of the animal kingdom in an accelerated degree. Such being the fact, it seems absurd to suppose that this "law" affects animal and man in precisely the same manner as the survival of the fittest presupposes. There is apparently, on the surface, some analogy, just as there is in Herbert Spencer's "Social Organism" theory; but in both cases the seeming analogy breaks down at almost the first point of investigation. We have, further, to remember that animals have no power to limit or control the number of their offspring. Man has, and does.

WHAT CONSTITUTES THE FITTEST?

This is a legitimate question, and one that must be answered if we are to be convinced. And the onus of defining it lies with those who put forward the theory. Let us illustrate our meaning. If we ask, What is weight? it would be no answer to say ponderosity, seeing that weight is a relative term, and therefore must have a basis. A scientist, therefore, takes a cubic centimetre of water as his unit, at four degrees centigrade (about 39 degs. Fahrenheit), at which water is at its greatest density. This he names a gramme, and is his starting-point, from which all weights are reckoned. So with the question: What is heat? This also is a relative term. So the scientist once more takes water; this time at freezing point, where it ceases to be water and becomes "ice"; and at boiling point, where it also ceases to be water and becomes "gas." The heat generated from freezing-point (zero) to boiling point he divides into a hundred equal parts, which he calls degrees. This is the basis from which all degrees of heat are reckoned. In these two instances we have the definition demonstrated (a scientific basis) of heat and weight. Now, no theory can pass from that of hypothesis to that of science (which is fact) until it can be demonstrated after this manner. Again, then, we ask for a definition of the survival of the fittest as applied to civilised man. And we make bold to answer: There is no man alive who can give one. If we ask, Who are the fittest? the answer is: Why, those who survive. Then we ask, Well, who survive? Now the answer is: The fittest, of course. This is no answer, but simply tautology—talking in a circle.

With animals it is quite different. For instance, a green insect on the green leaf of a tree would stand a better chance of escaping being gobbled up by a bird than one whose skin was brown. So a strong, swift, cunning lion would be more fitted to procure food, mate, and leave progeny than a weak, slow, and feeble one.

These comparisons, however, cannot be made in civilised society, since there is no natural scarcity of food, nor danger of animals seeking us as prey. We are told that the law is that the weak and infirm go to the wall, whilst the strong and vigorous survive. Yet we find in human society such monstrosities as Tom Thumbs, midgets, armless men, bearded women, and the like have a far better chance of life, in almost all its bearings, than the great mass of the people. Hence we ask: Are these examples among the fittest? Or are those who live longest? If so, prisoners and lunatics are far more fitted than the toiling masses. In fact, our criminal class are amongst those who live longest. In which case we had better qualify to become outlaws. Their average life is estimated to be about 56 years; whereas that of the working classes is little over 30. Is it wealth? Millionaires are comparatively short-lived, and, on their own admission, are rarely happy. Again, if imagination is the quailfying factor, then the Marie Correllis, Rider Haggards, and Rudyard Kiplings would be more fitted than our Huxleys, Darwins and Herbert Spencers. Is it physical strength? Here, navvies and agricultural labourers are an easy first. Or, if none of these, then what is it? As a matter of fact, there is no scientific definition, nor can there be one seeing that animals living in a state of nature are on a different plane from that on which man exists.

See how little the upholders of the Survival of the Fittest theory understand their own case in regard to the population. We are told the fittest (meaning the classes) are not increasing in numbers in proportion to the rest of society; whereas the unfit (meaning the masses) are increasing to such a degree as to become a danger to the well-being of the community. Yet, on their own theory, the fact that the so-called degenerates exist in increasing numbers is proof they are the "fittest." Otherwise, they could not survive and multiply. And we even find scientific men speaking in this unscientific manner.

We are further told that in human society the struggle takes another form—viz., as to who shall be the exploiters and who the exploited, etc. Such statement is mere nonsense, and not worth taking into consideration. It cannot have two interpretations—we cannot “have the cake and eat it.”

NO STRUGGLE FOR THE CLASSES.

What struggle have our aristocracy, with their laws of primogeniture and entail, which bestow on them and their children the perpetual possession of the land, which is by right the heritage of mankind? Did anyone ever hear of a lion, tiger, or other animal marking out a certain portion of land and claiming it as a hunting-ground for themselves and their progeny for ever? Then there are hereditary and other sinecure offices which they bestow on their younger sons, and which invariably carry certain fixed incomes. Under such conditions as these they can, as the saying is, “sleep 24 hours to the day and yet command the best of material products in the world.” To talk of people being thus placed having to struggle for existence or of being the fittest would be sheer lunacy. And so, in a less degree, with the middle class. For, on the whole, what struggle do they experience? They can almost to a man select their calling, and always a remunerative one, owing to the social standing and influence of their parents. We never hear of the son of the professional classes starting life as a navvy or an agricultural labourer. No, to all intents and purposes they have no struggle unless they are either stupid or degenerate. And not always even in that case.

The only struggle that takes place is on the part of the workers, who have to fight, not against “mother earth,” to make her yield a sufficiency of all they require for their sustenance, for that is yielded in abundance, but rather against those who appropriate all the wealth the workers produce, except so much as will allow them to exist as wealth-producers.

Nothing akin to this has, does, or can possibly exist amongst animals (I trust no one will quote ants). In nature, equal opportunity in general reigns.

Let the child of my lord at birth be transferred to the labourer's cottage, and the labourer's child to the palace; then in, say, 20 years' time bring them together for comparison. If his lordship's son, brought up and educated (?) by the labourer, be considered to be unfit, no need to ask the reason why.

Some time ago Mr. C. W. Saleeby, writing in the "Tribune" on "Infantile Mortality," said: "It is simply untrue to speak of infantile mortality as a process of 'natural weeding out of the unfit.' The process is exactly not a process of selection. On the contrary, it is as blind as it is brutal. The overwhelming majority of these babies, as of all babies, come into the world healthy—not unfit, but fit. That is the answer to people who cackle about natural degeneration." In another article he says every doctor knows that the theory of the children of the poor being weeded out because they are unfit is a pure myth.

In further proof that the Survival of the Fittest theory cannot be applicable to human kind, he says: "Thirdly; we find amongst those practices of ours which interfere with natural selection all such as prejudice the fairness of the start; and one finds it impossible to meet the arguments of Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace that the inheritance of property is incompatible with the principles of selection, in that it makes the start unfair. To accept this conclusion of Mr. Wallace's is not merely to part company with Spencer, the great exponent of the principles which I am trying to lay before the reader, but it is to run counter to almost universal practice. Therefore, if I saw any possible means whereby the inheritant of property could be reconciled with the principles which, so far as I can see, are indefensible, I would gladly welcome them." ("Nature and Man," Harmsworth's "History of the World.") We must never forget that Wallace shares the honours with Darwin for the dis-

covery of the law of evolution—and, we may proudly add, is a Socialist.

RECAPITULATION.

Although the law of the struggle for existence, or the survival of the fittest, is a natural law, and is in force to-day amongst animals in a state of nature, yet I claim it does not obtain amongst the higher races of mankind, and, I may add, or amongst our domesticated animals, seeing man protects them from this struggle for his own benefit. We may even extend this exemption to wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, etc., etc., which he cultivates for his food supplies. He never allows wild vegetation to interfere with the growth of these foodstuffs. It is the power of man over his food supply that voids the "struggle for existence" in higher human society, and consequently of the "survival of the fittest," not in the generally accepted but in the scientific rendering of the terms. I have also given evidence from eminent scientists in support of our case. It is true that the majority of scientists are upholders of the opposite interpretation, yet they are gradually finding out the weakness of their position and abandoning it.

I have also stated that Darwin always, in expounding the theory of the Survival of the Fittest, referred to animals in a state of nature or under domestication, and not to man himself. In support of this I will quote the closing sentence on the "Struggle for Existence": "When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally prompt, and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy survive and multiply." (Chapter III., "Origin of Species.")

Now, will anyone assert that Darwin had in mind, when he wrote the above, the human species? I think not.

I have further shown that as we pass from the lower animals to the higher, and from the higher

animals to the lowest of the human species, the "struggle for existence" becomes less and less severe, until finally we reach civilised man himself, when this struggle for existence (for food, clothing, etc., etc.) ceased in its entirety, owing to man's power over the causes which called it into existence. Let me quote authority in support of this contention :—

"For the sake of completeness we must add a second qualification to the Malthusian principle in the case of man, which is that he is a creator, and can achieve, amongst other things, what is practically equivalent to the creation of food. Just in so far as man makes his environment, moulding nature to provide him with the means of sustenance, just in so far the Malthusian principle requires correction. We may say, then, that one of the results of progress has been, is, and will be, persistently to lower the importance of the Malthusian principle until it becomes of purely historical interest." (Saleeby, "Individuality and Progress.")

This, then, is my case, and I feel sure if students of science would only reflect more on the discoveries made therein, instead of accepting interpretation without criticism, the superstition of the "Survival of the Fittest" being applicable to human as to animal kind alike could never have prevailed as it does to-day.

If I am asked to define the "fittest," the reply is: that is for my opponents to do. But I will define who are the "fit." All who are capable of producing enough wealth to supply all their natural wants are "fit"; and every normal man is positively able to do so. Yea, even the outcasts of society, so-called unemployables, feeble-minded, and epileptics, who gravitate to the Salvation Army Shelters are a source of profit to their patrons, so easily is wealth produced to-day. Thus we see the struggle for existence, or the survival of the fittest, is a pure delusion so far as the higher races of mankind are concerned.

DEFINITIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

By H. L. WOODS.

It having been thought necessary by two prominent members* of our Party to point out that democracy is not in itself a solution of the problems with which we are confronted, a member of the Party who is by no means prominent is moved to express his opinion.

The word democracy is taken in two senses by Belfort Bax (1) the good of the people as the end and aim of all political action, and (2) the dominance or dictatorship of the majority. But to the unfortunately non-prominent member of our Party it seems that consideration of the first definition forces one back upon the second as its inevitable corollary, and that, consequently, there is but one sense in which the word can legitimately be taken. The weakness of the first definition consists in its not going an ultimate beyond cavil or dispute, and therefore failing to differentiate democracy from most other political theories. All it does is to raise the new difficulty of determining what exactly is "for the good of the people," not from the standpoint of any unit or section of the community, but from that of the community as a whole, and this difficulty is so formidable that we are forced back upon the second definition as the only way out.

For how is the community to discover what is for the people's good unless it accepts the opinion of the majority as a criterion? Immediately outside this criterion another is sought; we find ourselves con-

*Belfort Bax, "Justice," August 20; H. M. Hyndman, "Justice," August 27.

fronted by a welter of standards amongst which the community, as a whole, has no means of judging. Owing to the manifold difference of mental and temperamental outlook between the various units of any community causing fundamental differences of opinion concerning any given theory of its regulation, it is quite impossible to find a means of determining the "goodness" or "value" of the theory in question. All units naturally believe their theories to be "good," but the community, as a whole, has no means of ascertaining which is really "good" other than by accepting the opinion of the majority.

The being who could put his temperamental and mental bias on one side and adjudicate impartially between conflicting theories would be a beautiful abstraction, and, even were he a reality, he would not help us, for he would have to persuade his fellows to follow his example before they could be brought to acknowledge the justice of whatever conclusion he might reach. As the units of a community are not beautiful abstractions but more or less ugly realities, so do we find the impartial attitude impossible to them, and are consequently confronted by a welter of opinions devoid of any means of appraising their respective "value" or "goodness." In England we have Socialists, Liberals, Tories, Anarchists, etc., all claiming their various theories to be for the "good of the people," and all denouncing those who disagree with them as enemies of the public good. Tariff Reformers say Free Traders are selfishly clinging to an obsolete system to further personal ends; Free Traders say Tariff Reformers are seeking to impose tariffs for their own aggrandisement; both say Socialists are lazy and grasping self-seekers, eager for "boodle" minus work; and the last say the two former are robbers, living on the exploitation of the people. Which party is "right," and whose system is for the "good of the people"? I do not here ask this question as a Socialist, but as one endeavouring to find an answer from the standpoint of the community composed of

these warring elements. And in that capacity I can find no answer.

We Socialists, of course, believe Socialism to be for the "good of the people," but we are faced by other units in the community who are not prepared to accept our standard, and there is no means of determining which is right. Socialists believe that their system is one which must appeal to every reasonable and intelligent person whose judgment is not warped by personal considerations; individualists believe the same of their gospel; Liberals, Tories, and all other sections believe the same of theirs. Each of the parties is right from its own standpoint and wrong from that of the others. Every theory is for the public good if approached from the standpoint of its supporters, and the reverse if approached from any other. But which is for the public good from the standpoint of the community as a whole is an insoluble problem.

So that democracy in the first sense—viz., the good of the people as the end and aim of all political action—is nothing more than a fine-sounding word beneath whose brilliant banner all parties can fight, and gives no definition of the word to distinguish it from other political cries. For the reason—to sum up the foregoing in few words—that it does not give any ultimate beyond which it is impossible to go. It is a definition that does not define, but merely raises a new and insoluble difficulty. It would even permit a despot who sincerely believed his despotism to be for the good of the people as a whole to call himself a democrat!

If a definition of democracy is to be found beyond which it is impossible to go, and which raises no new difficulties, it must contain an ultimate—a criterion—which every democrat can accept as lying explicit or implicit in his creed. Whether it satisfies our personal desires is another—and irrelevant—matter. This definition I hold to exist in the second one mentioned by Belfort Bax—viz., the dominance or

dictatorship of the majority. Indeed, when we analyse the first definition and grapple with the difficulties arising from the impossibility of determining what is for the "good of the people," we are forced back upon the second. So this latter is the true one, lying concealed behind the hopelessness of the first.

Behind every sense in which democracy might conceivably be taken lies the fact that it implies the right of every adult unit in a community to have a voice in its government and control, and, that being given, we have no option but to admit the right of the majority to govern as an inevitable result. Do we not? We are face to face with a contradiction, for any State in which the majority does not govern would be theoretically an oligarchy, however small the numerical difference between the governors and the governed. For example, any State in which the wishes of half the people minus one over-rode those of half the people plus one would be an oligarchy and not a democracy. This illustration I freely admit to hold an almost impossible contingency, but it is employed to make the point clear.

There would be no object in universal suffrage were it not as a means of ascertaining the wishes of the majority, and to ascertain their wishes only to act in discordance with them would be a stultification of democracy. And, again, if we allow a minority to rule we meet once more the difficulties of the first definition, for by what criterion are we to determine *which* minority shall govern? Democracy, then, is seen, upon examination, to imply the dominance of the majority by a *reductio ad absurdum*; and, furthermore, this sense is seen to lie implicit in the very conception of democracy, and anyone who attacks it destroys the principle upon which it is based.

That democracy means the dominance of the majority is a definition that does give us an ultimate, and one which draws a sharp line of cleavage between the democrat and the non-democrat. This dividing

line was not given by the definition previously considered, for we saw it would permit oligarchs, despots, etc., to range themselves as democrats provided they sincerely held that their measures were for the good of the people. But this second definition is perfectly clear, it contains a principle about whose implications there can be no dispute, and supplies a criterion which can be accepted or rejected without ambiguity. It gives a clear issue, which the other does not.

Having thus endeavoured to become, as far as I can, a beautiful abstraction, and to examine the two definitions of democracy from an impartial standpoint, I now propose to throw up that Olympian rôle and approach the question awhile from my own standpoint as a more or less ugly reality. Before I proceed to do so, I must solemnly warn my readers against confusing the statements made in my two capacities. What I am now about to say has no bearing upon my previous statements, and I warn all against uncalled-for exultation over inconsistencies between my views as a beautiful abstraction and as a more or less ugly reality.

Speaking, then, as an ugly reality, I say that I quite appreciate the force of the warnings of Bax and Hyndman against glorification of the majority. Indeed, the more socialistic a democrat the less must he inevitably think of the majority. I, as a Socialist, regard the democracy as ignorant and stupid. I am compelled so to think because it does not accept my ideas. If I regarded a majority antagonistic to my social theories as enlightened and intelligent, I should be condemning by implication those very theories, and labelling myself as unintelligent. The mere fact of my views being in disaccord with those of the majority obliges me to that extent to believe the majority stupid. I must either do that or be forced to hold that my Socialism is only acceptable to the unintelligent and unenlightened minority. I should lay it down as a general principle that anyone holding views other than those of the majority must either hold it unintelligent

or believe himself to be so. The latter alternative is revolting to all of us ; consequently, we have Bax and Hyndman writing in "Justice" to point out that we should not make a fetish of democracy.

It will be just the same under Socialism if the socialistic State holds individuals striving for what they consider to be an even better organisation of society. Let us call these latter Anarchists. Then they, sincerely holding a theory unacceptable to the majority, must either consider themselves unintelligent or the majority so, and, consequently, they will write articles in their papers pointing out that the Socialist democracy is ignorant and stupid. No! they won't do that, but, being dependent upon the democracy for that extension of their ideas which will give them power, they will write in more guarded language, and point out the folly of making a fetish of the democracy.

Obviously, from my point of view, the best method of governing the country is that it should be governed by people who agree with me. Belfort Bax has a similar feeling, and expresses it with his usual sly humour. Thus: "Were I certain of finding a man or group of men whose single aim, without a thought of their own interests or of those of any privileged class, was the establishment of Socialism, I, for one, should hail their advent to power, even if it were over the heads of our present-day democracy." Bax is a Socialist! Substitute Tariff Reform for Socialism in this passage from his article, and you will have the opinion of the average Tariff Reformer.

This is all very natural and proper—indeed, inevitable—when we approach the question as individuals holding certain opinions; but it becomes humorous if it be taken as having any value from the standpoint of the community as a whole. From that standpoint a criterion must be found which goes outside all our individual opinions and desires, and this is supplied by Belfort Bax's second, and not by his first, definition of democracy.

We Socialists must be for the present, like him, democrats (though without enthusiasm), for the simple reason that we cannot find any other criterion than the majority one. We cannot have enthusiasm yet because the majority disagree with us, and enthusiasm would be a cruel reflection upon our Socialist principles. When we have a Socialist majority we can be as enthusiastic as we like. But from our standpoint, and as affairs are at present, we cannot believe in democracy as a glorious thing, but we *must* accept it as an inevitable thing.

THE MONTH.

The " rushed " General Election has had the effect of thrusting other, and, in some respects, more important events into the background. The election itself has been the usual sham fight between the kites and the crows ; but which are kites and which crows it is left for the taste of each to determine. The election has decided nothing, and precisely why it was sprung upon us it is difficult to understand.

We Social-Democrats have done badly in the election. We had no prospect or opportunity of doing well. Once more the Liberals have cut the ground from under our feet, and taken the wind out of our sails. We had no chance of properly fighting more than one seat—that at Burnley ; and the success of our comrade Hyndman there ought to have been assured. That he was beaten is not creditable to the working people of Burnley, but it is a tribute to the successful humbugging and hypocrisy of the Liberals.

In no single instance did the Labour candidates fare any better where they were confronted with both Liberal and Tory opposition. In every case where they have won they have done so because the Liberals either did not dare, or did not wish, to oppose them.

Leicester, Blackburn, and Halifax, among others, may be included in the latter category ; South West Ham and Bow and Bromley in the first. In South West Ham our comrade Thorne, standing as an avowed Social-Democrat, secured nearly a two to one majority. He had very little help from outside, and no conveyances of any kind. It was a distinctly proletarian election fight, and the contest and the result alike do credit to Thorne and his supporters. Here the Liberals have been fairly driven out of the field, and the Tories might as well abandon it.

In Bow and Bromley the position is somewhat similar to that in South West Ham. Like Thorne in the latter place, Lansbury has by earnest, devoted local work made himself a power in the district. Like Thorne, too, he took up the Parliamentary fight

and contested the constituency in the Khaki election of 1900, when the Liberals were too jingo and too cowardly to fight it. Like Thorne, moreover, he was discouraged by the defeat he sustained on that occasion. But, unlike Thorne, instead of sticking to the position he had made for himself, Lansbury tamely surrendered it to the Liberals. Had he, having put his peg in, kept it there, Lansbury would have been the Social-Democratic candidate for Bow and Bromley in the 1906 election, and would have won the seat. The Liberals would not have dared to oppose him; and he would have owed them nothing.

Instead of that Lansbury withdrew, and let the Liberals capture the seat in 1906, while he went off to put up a hopeless fight against J. H. Wilson at Middlesbrough. He came back to fight Bow and Bromley in the election of last January and was opposed by both Liberal and Tory; but the Liberal was hopelessly beaten, and the Tory was returned. Now the Liberals make a virtue of necessity, and not only refrain from contesting the seat, but actually bestow their blessing upon the man whom, a few months ago, they were denouncing as one of the worst wreckers in the Socialist movement! Mr. Lloyd George makes a special appeal on his behalf; the "Daily News" includes him in the "seven good Liberal" candidates for the Tower Hamlets; and George Lansbury wins in December, 1910, as a "Labour" candidate, with Liberal recommendations, the seat which he could have won as a Social-Democrat nearly five years earlier.

Much as we like and admire George Lansbury, and heartily as we congratulate him on his success, we cannot but feel a little sore that in his case Socialism has been balked of a victory, and that what might have been a win for Social-Democracy is one for "Liberalism and Labour."

If any justification were needed for the Social-Democratic Party manifesto advising Socialists to vote "agin the Government," it was afforded by the election of Lansbury for Bow and Bromley.

The Congressional elections in the United States have afforded many more startling surprises than our Parliamentary election. The great, all-conquering "Teddy" Roosevelt, who joined the "insurgents" of his Party, and had, as he said, his opponents of the old gang "beaten to a frazzle," has himself suffered overwhelming defeat. The Democratic Party, supposed to be completely "out of it," has simply carried everything before it, and, what is more significant than all, the Socialist vote has more than doubled since two years ago, and for the first time in history a Socialist, in the person of our friend Victor Berger, has been elected to Congress.

At first it was reported that two other Socialists had been elected with Berger. That, however, was too good to be true. It is something, nevertheless, to get one man elected. It represents an immense step forward, and is but the beginning of still greater advance.

The Liberal promises here, with which they have in this election succeeded in capturing the working-class vote, have been of the most paltry description. The great cry has been, "Trust Asquith." What he would do with this misplaced trust was left entirely in doubt. Neither the House of Lords nor their veto was to be abolished. Nor was the Osborne judgment to be reversed. That was made quite clear by the Prime Minister at the close of the Session. The Government would introduce legislation to enable any trade union, on the clearly ascertained wish of the majority of the members, to engage in political action. But any expenditure incurred in such action would have to be met by voluntary contributions. There must be no compulsion. In other words, the Government is pledged to introduce legislation to enable the unions to do precisely what they have the power to do now, even under the Osborne judgment.

And the Labour Party have been demanding the reversal of the Osborne judgment, and advised all their members to make that reversal the test question in the election, and to vote for no candidate who wouldn't support it. Few, if any, of the Liberal candidates dared, after the declaration of their "great leader," to declare for that reversal. But their refusal did not prevent members of the Labour Party voting for them, Labour candidates advocating their return, and, in some cases, practically running in double harness with them.

As for other political reforms, it is understood that Asquith has pledged his Party to payment of members and of the official election expenses. That, however, was not the issue of the election; we are just as likely to get such reform from the Tories as from the Liberals, and without a system of Proportional Representation, or at least the Second Ballot, payment of members, and even of official election expenses, would be of little use to us or to any independent party.

The action taken by the Government against the South Wales Miners, and the refusal of the Home Secretary to institute any inquiry into the outrages perpetrated there by the police, might have been expected to tell against the Government. That may have been so in one or two instances, but in the main the Liberals have retained their hold on the industrial constituencies, in Wales and Scotland as well as in England. This seems to suggest that the British workman—Celt or Anglo-Saxon—rather enjoys being

hammered by his "betters," and votes enthusiastically for the men who have his fellow-workmen battered to death with policemen's bludgeons or shot down by the soldiery.

Had the working-men voters of this kingdom a spark of that class-consciousness which should animate them it would have been impossible for a single Liberal to have been returned in this election for any constituency where the working-class votes preponderate. Just think of their record! Remember their treatment of the workmen of Woolwich--and now the workmen of Woolwich have shown their gratitude by re-electing the Liberal-Labourist Crooks. The record of the Liberal Party is one long history of brutal outrages upon the working class, culminating in the last few weeks with outrage and murder among the peaceful colliers of South Wales.

"Base, brutal and bloody Whigs," O'Connell called the Liberals of his day; and they have well deserved the title ever since. Although the Irishmen have compelled them to modify the gratification of their brutal instincts so far as Ireland is concerned, they have made up for that by redoubled zeal in other directions. "Remember Mitchelstown," was the cry of the Grand Old Man to the Irish people, because of an attack made by the Irish Constabulary upon a meeting at that place. But the Grand Old Man had nothing but praise for the "admirable Metropolitan police" who battered the heads of his devoted Radical followers in Trafalgar Square on "Bloody Sunday," November 13, 1887. He knew *they* were all right. He could rely upon their votes no matter how badly they were treated. They would never, as the Irish had done two years earlier, vote Tory as a mark of gratitude for Liberal coercion. The Irishman resents coercion, and votes against it. The English workman seems quite to enjoy it, or so, at any rate, the Liberals appear to have reason to suppose.

It is a significant fact that miners were murdered at Featherstone under Asquith in 1893, people were shot down in Belfast under Birrell in 1907, and now miners are battered to death in South Wales under Churchill in 1910. From 1893 to 1907 no one was killed in a strike or lock-out by the forces of "law and order." Of course, the Tories are the enemies of the working class and the Liberals are their friends; that is why the Liberals shoot them down.

There are other ways in which the Liberals show their friendship for the working class and ensure their gratitude. Mr. Lloyd George has been indulging in some flamboyant speeches of late. He is the idol of the democracy, and the *bête noir* of the classes. We agree with the former statement, but the latter makes us smile. The working people may be taken in by him, but the

classes know their Lloyd George perfectly well. All their abuse of him is only part of the game. They are not deceived. They paint him as a terrible Radical and Revolutionist in order to mislead those who want a radical revolution. Lloyd George can join them heartily in the laugh at the success of the trick. He is such a terrible fellow! And yet he is not half so terrible a fellow as Chamberlain was when he preached the gospel of "Ransom," reminded the rich of the fate of Foulon, and was denounced by Salisbury as Jack Cade.

Admirers of Lloyd George seem to have completely forgotten all about Joseph Chamberlain. But they have forgotten even more recent matters. They have forgotten how Lloyd George has beslobbered and grovelled before the wealthy men of his own Party. They have forgotten, too, how well he served these plutocrats when he was at the Board of Trade. Mr. Lloyd George can be very sympathetic towards the poor in his speeches, and very denunciatory of the landlords; but the plutocrats he handles very gently. When he was at the Board of Trade he rendered the latter a signal service. He raised the load line on British merchant vessels. The effect of this in increasing the danger to our sailors' lives will be obvious; its mischievous effects in other directions are thus described by Mr. John Baker, Secretary of the Enginemen and Boilermen's Society, in his notes to the E.C. meeting of his society on May 7, 1908:—

"The Board of Trade by raising the load line at the behest of the shipowners added 1,000,000 tons dead weight carrying capacity to our mercantile marine fleet. Owing to this increased carrying capacity new orders were not given out. Our shipyards were emptied and men thrown out of work. Because there were a lot of men out of work the employers in the shipyards thought it a good time to seek a reduction, and the large majority of shipyard workers had to suffer this reduction. The wood working trades refused to have it, and went on strike; this has thrown thousands of men out of work AND WAS ALL CAUSED BY RAISING THE LOAD LINE. If the shipowners had been compelled to purchase 1,000,000 tons of shipping, which they would have been compelled to do to carry the extra trade if they had not got the load line raised, it would have cost them £6,250,000 to purchase, and would have taken the whole of the shipyards on the North-East Coast twelve months to build. So the workers have been robbed of a year's work, and the shipowners have pocketed £6,250,000 worth of shipping as a free gift, through the mischievous raising of the load line. Had it not been for that there would have been no reduction, there would have been no strike, and fewer men out of work. This affects our members in the steel works too, because the shortage of shipyard orders has decreased the demand for ship plates, prices have been reduced, and our members in Scotland have been reduced by 10 per cent."

The lives of sailors, the reduction of wages of thousands of workmen, the enforced unemployment of thousands of others, are all nothing to a Liberal Minister, so long as by such means he can put a few millions extra profit into the pockets of his plutocratic friends.

"Birds of a feather flock together," and what Lloyd George was ready to do for the shipowners his friend Churchill has been quite ready to do for the coalowners. The Combine, of which the good Liberal D. A. Thomas is the head, has a capital of £400,000. In little more than ten years the net profits have amounted to nearly double that sum—£795,446—and it is to safeguard these profits and to maintain the extortionate exploitation by which they are realised that Mr. Winston Churchill has sent police and soldiery against the law-abiding colliers of South Wales. But "Winnie" and Lloyd George know the British workman, and know that he will stand anything at the hands of his Liberal friends.

Our Liberal Ministers have been mightily encouraged by the action of the renegade Aristide Briand in his "firm" dealing with the French railway strikers. Of course, Briand could not count upon the support of the French working class as his exemplars here can, but he has the compensation of knowing that he is the object of the warmest admiration of our Liberal bourgeoisie. They were all, however, greatly alarmed when Briand resigned, and it was a great relief when they discovered that the resignation was only a piece of make-believe; a Liberal trick with which they are perfectly familiar.

Trade continues to "boom." The exports and imports for last month show an increase of nearly £7,000,000, and the returns for the eleven months of the present year show a considerable advance upon the whole twelvemonths of last year. And this in spite of strikes and lock-outs. But it makes precious little difference to the working class, and it is poor consolation to the locked-out boilermakers, to the South Wales colliers, and to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed, to be told that the exports of British goods have increased with every month in the year, and in November were more than three and a half millions greater in value than in the previous month.

During the month we have had to record the loss of several respected comrades. The most notable was the death of our veteran comrade Jonathan Taylor, who died at Bournemouth on November 6. Jonathan Taylor was one of the founders of "Justice," and a strenuous worker in the movement in the days of small things, when workers were few. We mourn his loss while we strive to carry on his work.

HISTORY OF THE RAILWAY STRIKE OF FRANCE, 1910.

By E. POISSON.

(Translated from the "Revue Socialiste.")

We are still too near the events, have lived too acutely the phases of them, to have any pretensions to write a kind of "historic essay." It is as a witness, careful at least to provide all the documents of the case, that I am trying to render account of the strike as a "social fact": the strike of the railway men.

The threats of repression still made, the thousands thrown out of employment, the militants in prison, force me to give a purely impersonal character to my history, from fear of furnishing pretext to the administrators of prisons and any semblance of reason to those in search of bad arguments. But this is of small consequence, because, by its nature and very existence; the railway strike was a great collective action.

HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT.

In order to find the origin and explain the causes of the movement, we must return to the autumn of 1909.

A great victory had just been gained by the railway employees. At the end of a campaign of several years, gaining greatly in effectiveness in the course of action, thanks to the firmness of will of certain militants, untiring in their efforts towards public powers, commissions, and even in the Parliamentary lobbies, and also to an increasing movement in the country of the political and economic organisations of the proletariat, the railway men had extorted a pension law which, without being completely efficacious and satisfactory, marked, however, a great progress. It imposed 20 million francs additional expenditure upon the companies.

The Union to whom this success had been owing naturally did not think of stopping there. Is not perpetual action the fate of organisations? In order to maintain positions acquired and to prepare for fresh conquests it is necessary to set to work. After the pensions must come increased wages. This was a more delicate and difficult problem. In the first place, an ancient and firmly-rooted prejudice had to be overcome. The railway servants, in a disorganised and insecure society, were regarded as privileged.

Suffering little from unemployment, insured against accidents and illness, and even, modestly as might be, against old age, this relative character of their misery served as pretext and argument against their just cause. Then, to set the public powers in movement is a difficult task—difficult, above all, to surmount Parliamentary slowness, due to two Chambers throwing backwards and forwards the ball of working-class reforms, although under Universal Suffrage it may be almost impossible to reject the direct claims of 200,000 workers, spread moreover, all over the country. That had happened with the pensions. But the question of augmentation of salaries was another thing—above all, in face of the private companies. It was from them *directly* that these concessions had to be obtained. Then these latter were strongly organised. Had they not in their pay the greater portion of the Press? at their mercy deputies and senators solicitous for employment and favours for their electors? Had they not at their head the greatest men of finance, commerce and industry? What was to be expected from such institutions? In the last analysis it was impossible to refrain from contemplating the general strike against such powers as these; impossible to avoid fixing a near date without diminishing the force of the threat and the possibility of realising it within the proletarian ranks.

It was to realise the conditions of a victory to be obtained, even at such a price, that the militants of the Union worked for a whole year, without sparing either their time, interests or efforts, braving everything with the enthusiasm of devotion to the cause of the raising of the salaries.

The first act of propaganda was a great meeting at the Bourse du Travail, on September 16, 1909, organised by the administrative council of the Union, at which the order of the day was voted unanimously.

From October 13 the "Tribune de la Voie Ferrée" published an article on the question almost every week. But this was not considered sufficient; attempts to conquer public opinion as well as other comrades had to be made. Meetings were held, conferences all over the country, with conspicuous success. Posters were got out; one, in particular, by Grandjouan, had an immense success, representing a train at halt in a station. Through the glass windows of the first-class compartments the bourgeois were to be seen reclining at their ease with, at the side of each one, a list indicating their gains, those of director, administrator or shareholder, with the company to which they belonged; while on the platform thin, worn, in working clothes, making a striking contrast to the first, were the railway servants of every category with papers indicating their meagre salaries of 2.75 f., 3 f., 3.50 f., and 4 f.

Street manifestations in Paris and the provinces were held, many resolutions were passed, and the stage after was the presentation of their case in the Chamber, during the discussion on

which the right to strike was never disputed, and the Chamber engaged the Government to "extensive satisfaction" of the railway servants' claims. Then followed a very important congress.

The campaign had roused a formidable echo amongst all classes of railway employees. Hundreds of new adhesions came pouring in. A Strike Congress was held, in which demands were clearly formulated. Without going into the particulars, for which there is not space here, the general notes are as follows :—

1. Since January 1, 1910, adhesions had flowed in. The appeal for the General Strike had an army of 100,000 trade unionists to which to appeal.

2. The increased number of the groups was a good demonstration of the diffusion of the trade unionist spirit : a proof of growing education.

3. The funds, although of sufficiently respectable dimensions, were very far from the hundreds of millions of the English and Germans, by the eve of the strike had sadly diminished to 27,131.12 f. In short, though the conditions of victory, in regard to funds, might seem to have increased in comparison to those of 1909, the figures alone prove them to have been not yet nearly sufficient. However, continued provocation on the part of the companies, and excuses which proved the Government on the companies' side against the men, became too prolonged, and the strike had to be proclaimed for the following modest claims :—

Five francs a day.

Retrospective application of pensions.

Regulation of labour.

On October 12 the strike was declared on the P.L.M. But from the provinces news came slowly. It was not certain even that they were informed, although circulars had been despatched to all the groups. Another was sent hastily by automobiles, stating that the Paris men were out, and several stations closed already. The Government had not hesitated to reveal its hostility from the very first. M. Briand said : "The strike is no myth, and must, by all means, be vanquished." His working experience served him well. In his quality as revolutionary he was able to ignore legality. If force was necessary, so much the worse for it. In order to crush the strike he forgot its legality, recognised as such by his Ministers ; and two operations must be called upon to end what he now called "an insurrectional and Anarchist movement," these being the military incorporation of the railway men and the arrest of the comrades on the committee of the strike—the first to frighten the mass, the second to paralyse their defence, and thus create a panic. The order for military incorporation for a period of 21 days appeared in the "Officiel," dated October 11, 1910, and signed by Brun, Minister of War.

The arrests took place on the morning of Thursday, under penalty of death or hard labour, according to the Article No. 17

(which has never been applied) of the law of 1845. In spite of these threats and pursuits, the railway men stood firm. A manifesto condemning the mobilisation as illegal was posted. For the prosecutions the committee declared themselves at the disposition of M. Briand at the offices of "l'Humanité," the journal founded by the ex-comrade for the workers' defence. M. Briand might command force, but at least in speech he met his equals. And, in fact, on Thursday, October 15, in the very chair of Briand himself, comrade Renault was arrested, by proxy, M. Lépine acting for the base Briand; the dignity and morality of Briand consoled by the fact that the five arrests were made, as Jaurès put it in the workers' paper, "against Republican principles and the right to strike," where these five were surrounded by more than twenty deputies of the Socialist Party, and by the ex-colleagues of M. Briand.

After such a demonstration, it is not, perhaps, surprising that the effect upon the militants should have been rather encouraging than the reverse. At this stage the Socialist Party intervened, manifestoes being sent to all claiming their duty to aid the strikers in whatsoever circumstances. The Parliamentary group decided to remain permanently in session, the deputies to be at the disposal of the Strike Committee either as speakers or to protest against illegal actions. In the afternoon the deputies went to the four corners of Paris by request of the Committee, accompanied by the militants and the Socialist lawyers, to explain the violation of rights and general illegality of the Government's measures. The Government was so terrified that it took the ridiculous measure of forbidding any delegations to the Palais-Bourbon. The Confédération Générale du Travail also could do no less than affirm its solidarity with the workers; it also got out an approving poster, a striking phrase in which ran as follows: *The politics of the railway men are five francs a day.*

In view of present prices, the publication of such a minimum might make a private employer ashamed, let alone the directors of great companies absorbing huge profits from the labour employed. The sacrifices of capitalists are indeed immense. Meanwhile, the strike continued, in spite of the denial of it by a venal Press.

On the 14th the Committee published a communication stating the widespread character of the movement. If slightly optimistic, this was necessary in a state of war, it not being the function of those at the head to diminish the sinews of war, in which courage plays a very great part. In fact, the strike had not diminished. Mobilisation was ridiculed; even non-strikers are quoted as leaving the military in order to join the strikers. In the totality about 40,000 or 50,000 railway men had responded to the appeal of their organisation.

As a mark of their desire to settle the matter peacefully, the Secretary, Lemoine, the night before his arrest, had written to

M. Briand stating the demands. After 24 hours, as M. Briand had given no reply, a second was despatched. A group of the deputies of the Seine was received by M. Briand, who then declared that he would discuss nothing with the militant railway men, letting it be understood that if the organisation of the Union demanded an audience, they knew how to obtain it. Did this reveal a desire for conciliation? After an attempt to "conquer," did they wish to "appease"? This was the impression of the deputies, and the entire Press, in publishing the audience, thought the same. But could a Government which had sought for a riot be trusted? Its arbitrary and illegal action towards the meeting organised by the Socialist Federation of the Seine in favour of the railway men (more than 10,000 citizens protesting against the Governmental measures) had the right of numbers alone to defend themselves against foul play. They owed it to the organisation, to "l'Humanité," in which all provocation had been warned against, they owed it to their own will, not to lend themselves to Governmental designs. M. Briand had evidently desired bloodshed. The regiments of infantry, of cavalry and horse artillery massed round the meeting, the precautions taken by him in the afternoon to announce trouble in order to divest himself of his responsibility, prove his state of mind.

The reply of the Committee was made in dignified terms: that it would be impossible to find any of the Committee non-militant, that although the secretary was under arrest, two others had replaced him, and, finally, that the "Syndicat National" and of the "Fédération" were always ready to discuss with the Government and with the companies the interests of the railway men. On 30 representatives presenting themselves at the Place Beauvau to ask M. Briand to negotiate with the Union, he replied that he would consult with his colleagues, and, finally, on their return the following morning, a refusal to receive the delegation was the reply. His determination was clear—the pretence that all was peace, and to pose as the saviour of order and of society.

His reply was written on the 16th:—

1. That he regarded the strike as finished.
2. That the Government had no intention of recognising the solidarity of the mass of the workers with the authors of those criminal acts which had preceded, accompanied, or followed the declaration of the strike; that he was at their disposal for any means by which to ameliorate their status; that he had already obtained some concessions from the company, which, since the strike, had been increased, owing to fresh interventions between the Minister of Works and the companies.

3. Repetition of his readiness to receive authorised deputations.

Endeavours to organise a demonstration proved 15,000 still on strike in Paris alone, which demonstration was forbidden by M. Briand, and measures of the utmost severity were employed to repress further demonstration or movement of any kind. Domi-

ciliary visits were made, false charges of every kind brought against the men, the police finally distributing sham bombs!

So ridiculous were these measures that public feeling remained more on the side of the strikers than otherwise, and this in spite of a fact which had inconvenienced it to such an extent.

After ten days the strike was forced to end, hundreds were arrested, and the maximum penalties imposed. The Socialist lawyers did their best in defence of those condemned, but several hundreds are in the Republican gaols.

Within the two last days all the energy of Briand had been directed towards repression of the strike he had formerly upheld. The Press was unscrupulously employed to magnify every detail against the strikers, who were condemned on the text of a law dating from 1845. The retreat was made in good order, with a few exceptions, discipline prevailing as it had done all through. Although we are still too near the events to obtain all possible lessons from them, a few notes can, even now, be profitably made.

From the co-operative point of view a great measure of success attended it, whatever may have been said to the contrary. Although no contract, no act, no word, not even a hope has been given by the Government or companies, still, in itself, the strike demonstrated a great deal. It revealed discontent among so numerous a body that fear of public opinion and of electoral revenge will obtain for the railway men all that they demanded during the strike, and that within a very short time.

Already M. Millerand, during the strike, promised for the Government the demanded five francs a day. Have we not seen the Nord Company pretending that the five francs were already given, and that the strike had not that as its cause? For the other claims, which, after all, were secondary, it will be the same. And, still further, I hear within these last days from Sotteville that all those local claims for which years were not sufficient have been acceded to en bloc since the return to work.

But for us the supreme interest is that of the Union as really the safeguard of all the rest. Many have been the attempts against it, which it is to be hoped comrades will be firm enough to withstand, and endeavour to reconcile internal differences.

But the strike affords much food for thought. The conditions under which it was declared ought not to be renewed again. No precautions should be neglected to prevent such a movement taking place before the organisation feels sufficiently prepared. The discipline of the Union should be recognised as supreme, superior to any spontaneous movement. Moreover, we cannot insist too much upon the necessity in the public meetings of ratifying only those trade unionist decisions which are valuable, because thus alone do the men take the responsibility which is theirs. As to the arguments to be drawn from this recent movement for or against the General Strike, all that can be said is that its possibility has been at least demonstrated. During nearly a week the service was

interrupted, if not stopped, for three of the companies—in the Nord completely—and this one of the most rich and powerful, because owned by the Barons Rothschild. Could this not be quoted at our next International Conference, when direct action is opposed to war? Certainly it was far from realising our desires ; but it was at least the possibility, and that in itself is a great deal.

To ensure success in the future, the necessity for having, not a minority, but the immense majority of all the workers with us must be understood.

The rôle of "l'Humanité" was very important in the strike, and was perceived as such by the railway men, when the whole Press was employed to influence public opinion against the strikers. To have one organ entirely free from any Ministerial influence and from any dealings with the companies or the financiers in which to express their wishes, defend themselves against calumny, and to make their decisions known to their adherents rapidly, was of supreme value. It cannot be said that the paper profited ; on the contrary, the strike represented heavy losses to it financially. It has, moreover, opened a subscription in favour of the victims which will quickly exceed 50,000 francs.

SOCIALISM DEFINED.

By WILLIAM RESTELLE SHIER.

Socialism is an interpretation of the past, a diagnosis of the present, a forecast of the future. It is at once a philosophy of history, a system of political economy, and a business proposition. It is all these, and more ; it is a world-wide political movement with definite principles and definite demands.

The Socialist interpretation of history rests upon the theory of economic determinism, a term which almost explains itself, meaning that the economic forces at work in any society determine the nature of the ethical, social and political institutions of that society. In other words, to quote from one of the most distinguished exponents of this doctrine, economic determinism lays down the proposition that "in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of 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 ; that, consequently, the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society) has been a history of class struggles ; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation . . . without emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles." It is upon this conception of history that the Social-Democratic movement bases its faith in ultimate success.

As a system of political economy, Socialism teaches that labour is the sole creator of value. From this definition of value is deduced the theory of surplus value, which means simply that profits are made, not by selling goods for more than they are worth, but by not paying labour the equivalent of what it produces. This unhappy position of the wage-worker arises from the commodity nature of his labour-power. Not being in possession of the means of wealth production, his only asset is his labour-power, which he must sell to the capitalist in order to earn a living. Now, the amount he receives in exchange for his services is not determined by what he produces, but by a combination of two other factors—namely, the standard of comfort and the law of supply and demand. The working man, having sold the use of his

labour-power to the capitalist, renounces all claim over the products thereof, and in this way allows himself to be deprived of the full value of what he produces. In the course of his day's work he first produces the equivalent of his wages, which takes, say, three hours, and all that he produces after that is profit for his employer. Surplus value (profit) is realised from unpaid labour-time.

Add to these two doctrines of economic determinism and surplus value the ethical principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and you have completed the philosophical tripod upon which modern Socialism stands or falls.

The fact that the existing social order has been a necessary product of evolution, and that without it the co-operative commonwealth would be an impossibility, does not make the Socialist any less bitter in his attack upon present-day institutions. In his estimation, most of the evils which afflict the body politic to-day have their roots in competition and private ownership of capital. The former gives rise to all the mal-adjustments of our present industrial system, such as unemployment, hard times, and the incalculable waste of wealth and effort; the latter to the profit system; and that in turn to the ruthless exploitation of labour. Trace the social problem to its source, he says, and you will find that men sell liquor for profit, connive at immorality and crime for profit, promote wars for profit, corrupt legislatures for profit, adulterate food for profit, enslave their fellow-citizens for profit, sell themselves body and soul to the devil, all for profit. Hence the revolutionary character of his remedy, amounting, as it does, to tearing up capitalism by its roots and reorganising society upon an entirely different basis.

In the world of business Socialists propose nothing less than the nationalisation of all highly developed industries. Its platform distinctly calls for the collective ownership of the principal means of production, distribution and exchange. This is tantamount to having the nation own the trusts. Thus under a Socialist régime capital would be concentrated in the hands of the State, and the people, through the executive of government, would own and operate manufacturing establishments, mines, forests, railways, steamship lines, telegraphs, telephones, banking and insurance systems, departmental stores—in short, all industries that can now be managed on a colossal scale.

Politically, Socialism is a working-class movement that is based upon the ideas set forth in the foregoing portion of this article. It is international in scope, has a voting strength of close on to eight millions, is represented by almost three hundred deputies in the various legislatures of the world, and is pushing its propaganda night and day by a host of daily, weekly, and monthly papers, by an ever-increasing stream of books and pamphlets, and by thousands of hall meetings, street-corner speeches, and the tireless tongues of its great army of devotees. It is frankly a party

of revolution, a party which avows its intention of seizing the governing powers in the name of the working class, and of using them as weapons in its struggle to gain possession of the means of life. That is the ultimate aim of the Social-Democracy. Of its immediate demands a brief summary will suffice here. In politics the party stands for universal adult suffrage, for the initiative, the referendum, and the right of recall, for proportional representation, and the abolition of the senate. In matters international it advocates arbitration between nations, the substitution of citizen armies for standing armies, and the right of each country to govern itself. But not so much stress is laid upon these reforms as upon the industrial part of its programme, which calls for Governmental employment of the unemployed, State insurance of the workers against old age, disease, accidents, and death, abolition of child labour, the holding of employers responsible for injuries to their employees, more rigorous inspection of mines, shops, and factories, and the shortening of the work-day.

These are the fundamental tenets of Marxian Socialism, the only Socialism which is a power in the world to-day.

THE REVIEWS.

ANATOLE FRANCE.

The first of a series of articles on our great French comrade Anatole France, by the Count S. C. de Solssons, is given in this month's "Contemporary Review." He writes :—

M. Pelissier, one of the cleverest of French critics, has said that Anatole France is such a literary personality that it is difficult to characterise him, or to link him with any group of writers. His is a distinct individuality, notwithstanding here and there one sees in his work certain influences of former and contemporary artists and thinkers. Moreover, his earlier works are different from those which he has produced in his maturity.

His literary gift is delicate and sincere, free from artificiality and juggling tricks; he is discreetly witty; an able and painstaking artist of a somewhat sensuous but sober temperament; an experienced virtuoso, a sceptic, sometimes full of pain and spleen, a capricious novelist, adapting form to a temporary view or sentiment.

He is not possessed of stability, of dogma. With him sentiments are but changeable; ideas express but sentiments; uncertainty is permanent. He has no system and often contradicts himself; he is not antagonistically disposed towards any school. He is exceedingly well read, but does not boast of his condition as do the naturalistic writers; he shows it only occasionally and modestly. His fancy is not very lofty, his feeling not very intense; on the other hand, he is endowed with a sharp intelligence that inclines to irony.

One might fairly say that his narrations lack simplicity, but one must not forget how admirably he renders the smallest heart-beat, what a charming coseur he is, how masterfully he expresses his thoughts. He brings forth the contents of a soul fond of philosophical pondering. He loves the beautiful, and seeks for it everywhere. He is always a poet of soul, of refinement; besides, he interprets the human comedy from his own philosophical point of view.

His thoughts are as swift as is Parisian life; they are as full of variegated colours as is the River Seine on a sunny day; while his wit shines like the boulevards at night. Warm Celtic blood rushes

in the veins; his temperament is passionate, although it is subdued by centuries of culture; his irony is biting, which is a French characteristic; it is impossible to imitate it, as it is impossible to imitate the elegance of a *femme du monde*; it passes from one to another subject, and opens wide and unknown horizons, but veils them with a gauze of scepticism that sometimes verges on a delicate pessimism.

This makes him quite different from the materialists, and brings him near the modern idealists, who are disposed to psychological analysis. He is better qualified to make an analysis than a synthesis of life; he must make personal confidences; he is fond of illusion, although he does not believe in it. His analysis is more subtle and more elegant than Maupassant; we feel in it refinement and literature, in the meaning Verlaine has given to that word.

Anatole France is tall and broad-shouldered, his hair is grey. He does not talk much, and dislikes bombast; when he speaks his words are flexible and arouse thousands of thoughts. He expresses himself distinctly and elegantly. He delights that he was born in the capital of France, not far from the Renaissance Louvre and the Valois and Gothic towers of the Palais de Justice, that remind him of the time of St. Louis.

He was born in 1844; his father, Noel Thibault, was a bookseller, and took the name of "France." He was well-known among scholars as a courteous bibliophile. He hailed from the province of Anjou, the inhabitants of which are known for their charming manners and common sense. Du Bellay, one of the most sincere lyrical poets of the Renaissance, came also from that country.

Like Du Bellay, Anatole France is frank, sad, dreamy. When but a youth he read much of religious books, suggested to him by his pious mother. That kind of reading made him a dreamer of a contemplative disposition that carried him far away from reality.

In the bookshop of old Thibault there gathered the lovers of rare volumes; the boy listened to their talk, and little by little he formed for himself a cult of books, which characterises him now as a mature man. Instead of playing, like other children, he read old books and meditated how to write new ones. He was especially fond of history, of which Paris has produced so many brilliant writers. At college his fancy was for Virgil and Sophocles. During the classes he would dream, to the great discontent of his masters, and would make mistakes in his Latin exercises, although he understood better than anyone else the beauty of the classical poetry. He admired the Latin strength, but he loved the Greek softness. When he finished his college education he did not think himself qualified to write, and he spent several years—this happens very seldom with young people—of contemplative and solitary life

in study. He was bashful and awkward. His learning became encyclopædic. As to the method necessary for the study of history, he acquired it by listening to lectures at the *Ecole des Chartres*. He began his literary career by criticism, for from his childhood he had been in communion with mighty spirits, dwelt on heights, and lived in art for art.

The passion of his life was for old, beautifully-bound books, the quiet of his study and thinking of what he had read. The bibliophile became a critic; the critic developed into a poet; the poet turned into a novelist.

Anatole France had made himself acquainted with all the epochs of art, and understood that everything is changeable, subject to foreign influences, and even to annihilation. The then prevailing scepticism whispered to him that everything is an illusion, while his epicurean temperament suggested that one must be serene and live as pleasantly as possible. Time spent agreeably is spent usefully, but the best way of spending it is the contemplation of the beautiful in its numberless manifestations. One must not spend too much time with woman, for, although woman be a masterpiece of creation, she cannot fill up life. Our own times are vulgar, and it is better to search for the charm and originality of the past, to fathom the depths of the soul of the great ones, and to live above human kind and its epochs, for learning and art.

M. France could not help being influenced by Taine, as everybody then was, and that influence made him a sceptic, for although Taine protested when he was accused of scepticism, his philosophy was gloomy, and forbade expectation; it demanded the annihilation of all illusions in regard to man and his tendencies.

There is no doubt that Renan also influenced him, for he is religious, and looks on the world through science, although he does not believe that its mission is to regenerate morals, politics, society. For this it would be necessary to be an optimist, which Anatole France has never been, although he no longer maintains the passive attitude of a thinker or artist. Like Renan, he is not a Positivist, for he is a poet, and his mind, embracing the whole of human thought, cannot sympathise with a narrow doctrine.

THE LORDS OF THE WORLD.

(From the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung," May 1.)

On the outskirts of the town, where the wilderness of houses ends, stands a great factory. In the early hours of the morning it awakens to life. From the tiny garrets of close tenement buildings, from the metropolitan railway stations, and from the stopping places of the tramways, hundreds of feet hurry thither—brawny men and pale women. The fire has already been glowing for a long time in the mighty furnaces. From the high chimneys a column of smoke rises. The wheels of two enormous steam-engines, groaning, begin to move. A harsh whistle announces the commencement of work. And now thousands of wheels, large and small, begin to turn. In a few minutes they are all moving at terrific speed, and in their deafening roar the chatter of the men and women who stand beside them is silenced.

In one of the large rooms stands a young workman. After an insufficient night's rest he had come to work tired, almost dazed for want of sleep. He presses a button with his fingers and the electric current sets in motion the iron monsters which, arranged in two rows, stand all along the room. The steel slaves obey man's command, hundreds of wheels turn, innumerable levers move, they pull and bend and turn, hammer and file, and join together at man's command. And the young workman wakes up now in the roaring noise. He hurries from one machine to the other, and with a practised eye overlooks their work. A pull at the lever and all is still. A pressure on the button, all is again in motion. The young man's heart grows warm within him. Is he not master in this place? And do not the iron slaves obey his will as the armies obey the commander-in-chief? Does he not govern the forces of nature which the scientific mind of man has brought into subjection? And with sparkling eyes he remembers the words of the Hellenic poet which he had once heard at a meeting: "Much that lives is powerful, but nothing is more powerful than man."

Then suddenly his face darkens. Yes, now that he is alone with his work he is indeed master in the lofty hall. But how had he stood yesterday trembling like a coward before the foreman who had invited him to come to a meeting of the "yellow" trade unions! The "Yellows"—those are the slavish souls who bend their backs before the officials of the workshops, the Judases who betray their own brothers. And yet he had not dared to say "No" to the foreman! All his life he had belonged to the Reds. Already, as an apprentice, he used to go out with them on the First of May to the Prater.* It was then that he had first

* The great pleasure-park of Vienna.

realised that all the workers must combine together in the struggle against capitalism. Then later, when he had finished learning, he had joined the organisation. His activity in the circle of his comrades had ever been a joy to him. How proud he had been when he was first chosen as a "Vertrauensmann"! How he had rejoiced at every victory of the party! And now, after so many years, was he to be a traitor to the great cause? And yet he had yesterday not dared proudly to repudiate the impudent offer of the foreman! Only a few days ago a few dozen of his mates had again been discharged. Should it be the same with him? He had thought of his wife at home, who perhaps at this very moment was giving the breast to their boy; and he had not dared to say "No"! And as he thinks of it a fearful disgust with himself comes over the young workman. Here, it is true, in the workshop, over his machines, he is master. But when he stands face to face with the foreman, the overseer, not to speak of the almighty director, then he must bow down trembling; then he must betray what to him is the most holy thing—his conviction—he must give in like a miserable serf.

And who is the foreman that he should behave as if he were his master? He, too, is, after all, only a poor devil; a workman's child and a workman like himself. And yet he is his master. For he has behind him the power of the capitalists who own the factory; they have him there to engage and discharge; to order and to forbid; to reward and to punish. For the honourable shareholders are—God knows where. In the sunny south, in the company of beautiful women, they enjoy the wonders of nature. In all the great cities of the world they spend their lives in useless pleasure—most of them have never seen a factory. And if one of them comes, once in a way, he stands quite uncomprehending before the artistic marvels of technique. How helpless and embarrassed these gentlemen would be if they once had to set all the machines going! And yet they are the masters. Once a year the bank sends to each gentleman a little bag of gold pieces—that is his share of the profits which flow from the factory. Once a year the shareholders assemble at their annual meeting and elect the council of management, who in their turn elect the general manager, the officials and the foremen who command the army of workers. They, who would be incapable of controlling the machines for one moment, are their and our masters; and we who are the masters of the machines, who make them and control them and lead them, are their serfs.

Thoughtfully the young workman stands still before the buzzing machines. There we, his class, work from early morning till late in the evening. Our whole life consists of work. When we go home at night we are too tired to enjoy life with our wives and children. And on Saturdays when we take our wages home they scarcely suffice for the bare necessities of existence. And yet

they, the lords of this world, do not want it to be any better. Only a few days ago, on a Parliamentary Commission, they again threw out the motion demanding the eight hours day for thousands of workers. They will do nothing against the rise in the price of food, and the social insurance only increases at a fearfully slow pace. Yet they want to introduce fresh taxes. Is there not cause for despair? Is not every struggle in vain?

The door of the machine-room opens, and an old workman enters. He can scarcely get along. What difficulty he has in walking. No wonder that his limbs refuse their service. For life has dealt hardly with the old man. When he was young it was much worse than to-day. They worked twelve hours a day then; their wages were much lower even than now; and if the workers dared to fight for an extra bit of bread, gendarmes were driven upon them. That is what had happened to the old man. He had been imprisoned in the eighties for secret conspiracy because he tried to organise his fellow-workers. This, at any rate, no longer happens to-day. And as the young workman remembers the fate of the old one, the whole history of his class seems to pass before him, the history that he loves to hear from the old man—the first May-Day festival twenty years ago; the collapse of the special law; the building up of the organisation; the struggle for the suffrage, and innumerable electoral victories and wage-struggles. And the young man's eyes begin to sparkle once more. For things *have* improved, and will continue to improve in spite of all. The old people have laid the foundations, and it is for us to go on with the building they have begun. Let the rich and mighty concoct their rascally tricks; these will only serve to open the eyes of those who have not yet realised that the workers belong to each other. To-morrow is again the First of May. Once more the red flags will wave, and tens of thousands will pour out to the Prater. And, as here, so in all the world wherever workers dwell, there will be more and more each year. We only need all to be united, brave and strong, then we shall be able to hold our own with the lords of the machines. For they are not their true lords. And when our day dawns, then all the machines all around will be ours, and with them all that they create. Then we shall be the lords of the world!

The young workman raises his head again, filled with joyful hope. A shrill whistle startles him from his dreams. It is mid-day. He stops the machines, throws on his week-day coat over his working blouse, and hurries out into the fresh air. There his wife is waiting with his dinner. "I have thought it over," he says to the young woman, "I am not going to the 'Yellows.' But to-morrow is the First of May. We will go out together to the Prater. I want to see the red flags again. And keep watch over our boy! By the time he is a man our day will have come. Then we shall drive out the idlers who live on our labour; the factories and workshops will then belong to us all together, and then *we* shall be the lords of the world!"

