

The

Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



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 the political and intellectual history of that epoch.—KARL MARX.



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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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REPRESENTATION AND REFERENDUM.

By H. QUELCH.

It can scarcely be doubted that Mr. Balfour did us a disservice when he suggested that the question of Tariff Reform should be submitted to a Referendum.

We Social-Democrats have always been in favour of the Referendum—especially in such vital questions as determine our relations with other countries and involve the maintenance of peace or the outbreak of war. And we had always supposed all serious Radicals to be equally in favour of the only really democratic method of securing "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." "Measures, not men," we were told, should be submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. We agreed. In all that makes for the democratisation of our political machinery, and for enabling the will of the people—for good or ill—to be expressed in legislation and administration, we stand for the most advanced Radical programme. We may, as a matter of fact, claim to have taken over the whole political stock-in-trade of the Radicals—in so far as it makes for democracy—neglected by them in their pursuit of Imperialism, Puritanism, and other false gods.

(RECAP) Nevertheless, the Radicals had never abjured their

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faith in political democracy. It was still in their "programme," although its performance was constantly deferred. But some day, some day, in the dim and distant future—when the Labour Party had been translated to a House of Lords inhibited from passing any but Liberal Bills; when the Welsh Church had been disestablished and the Nonconformist Conscience had been appeased by the appointment of a dissenting divine as headmaster of every elementary school; when every public-house had been closed and the workman had been freed from temptation because there was nowhere for him to go outside his doss-house but the factory, and cocoa had been established by law as the national and only beverage—in that happy, but, alas, distant time, we were led to suppose the Radicals would seriously begin to think about giving practical effect to their programme of political reform. Until then, of course, the House of Lords and these other urgent reforms block the way. Get these settled and then the way will be clear for Payment of Members and Election Expenses, Adult Suffrage, Proportional Representation, Shorter Parliaments, and—the Referendum!

And then Balfour as good as promises that in the event of his Party coming in they would put the question of Tariff Reform to a popular vote before trying to put it into operation in an Act of Parliament. And at once it was suddenly discovered what a mischievous thing the Referendum would be. That which was right before, became wrong; that which was white was now black. Simply because the proposal came from the Tory camp! It was impossible that any good could come from the Tories. Therefore the Referendum, which had hitherto been regarded as a Radical measure, as the best and most perfect means of giving expression to democracy, was scouted as a device of the Evil One, and a wicked and fraudulent dodge to dish the good Liberals.

There is little doubt that had Balfour made the suggestion sooner, so as to have united his Party on

the Referendum as an electoral cry, he would have given the Liberals a very bad time in the election. As it was, raising the cry as late as he did, the Liberals were mightily scared by it, and were hard put to it to find reasons for opposing and repudiating the Referendum. Their leader, Asquith, was very wroth. In one breath he declared that he would never be a member of a Government which depended upon a Referendum, and in the next he asserted that the recent General Election, from which he claims to have obtained his mandate, was a real Referendum. Every conceivable objection is now urged against the principle of the Referendum by those whose chief political cry is that, above all, they desire that the will of the people shall prevail. They demand the suppression of the Lords' Veto because it is opposed to the will of the people. But the will of the people as they understand it, is not expressed, or should not be expressed on any clear and definite question or principle, but is expressed by elected representatives who may be elected on a whole multitude of contradictory issues—or none—and who, by some mysterious virtue attaching to their election, know better than the people themselves, not only what is good for them, but what is their *will*, on every one of those questions.

The recent election was loudly proclaimed by the Liberals to be a contest between "Peers and People," the Liberal-Labour-Nationalist Party being the "People's Party," and the Tariff-Reform-Tory-Unionist combination being the "Peers' Party." But that was really not the case at all. It was not "*People versus Peers*," the common people against the House of Lords; but plutocracy and aristocracy as enthroned by haphazard election in the House of Commons, against plutocracy and aristocracy reigning by right of birth or appointment in the House of Lords. That really was all the contest amounted to. The House of Lords, it is said, stands for class interests and privilege. The same could be said with equal truth of the House of Commons. The House of Commons is

nominally a representative institution. But it does not represent the common people; it represents class interests, and its chief function is not to deliberate upon measures of its own initiation, but simply to vote those of the Cabinet, and to keep the Cabinet in power. "Representative" Government has been proved a sham and a delusion, and one of the chief objections to the Referendum is one of its chief merits—that it would destroy representative government.

A member of the House of Commons loftily protests that he is not a mere delegate, but a representative. He does not represent the views of his constituents. On the contrary, they are supposed to have endorsed his own. These are generally of the haziest description—even when he has any at all. Usually he has none, and his election address and speeches consist chiefly of parrot-like repetitions of the utterances of his Party leaders. It is an advantage to the representative, of course, to have no very definite opinions of his own—or, at least, not to express them—because he is saved the trouble of changing them when his leaders decide to alter their policy. He just swings round as a matter of course.

In these circumstances it is absurd to talk about representative government, and equally absurd to elect a House of Commons of 670 members. It would be very much simpler for the electors to vote on the question of Asquith *v.* Balfour, and let the one who secured the highest number of votes select a certain number of devoted followers to compose the Government and the other to select a somewhat smaller number—in proportion to the votes received—to form the Opposition. Such a method would achieve precisely the same result as is arrived at now, and would avoid all the fuss and bother and expense and corruption and lying of a General Election. It would, moreover, be a kind of Referendum, only it would be one of personalities instead of principles. It would, too, eliminate all the various side issues and the personal influence of the various candidates, which do so much

to confuse the issues and to obscure the actual decision of the electorate on the principal matters upon which it is supposed to vote.

In the present election, for instance, the Liberals claim to have received a clear mandate against the Lords. Leaving the Labourists and Irish Nationalists out of account, however, the Liberals have only a majority of two—275 to 273. In England, Scotland, and Wales combined, they actually polled a minority of votes—2,266,878 to 2,358,430. Yet this minority vote gives them a majority in the three kingdoms of 18 seats—276 to 253 ; or adding the Labour, Socialist, and Nationalist vote outside of Ireland, a majority of 264,693 votes, and of 61 seats !

When we find that 2,773 Liberal voters in Bedfordshire Boroughs elect three members, while 2,754 Tory voters in the same constituencies have no representative at all ; that 37,286 Liberals in Durham boroughs elect 10 members, while 32,827 Tories in the same places only elect 2 ; that 18,711 Liberals elect 3 members in the boroughs of Nottinghamshire, while 18,374 Nottinghamshire Tories elect 4 ; that 1,750 Tory borough electors in Wilts have four times the representation of the 9,508 electors of West Ham who voted for Will Thorne—we see how completely haphazard the present “representative” system is, and how little right the Government has to claim to have received a mandate on any question whatsoever.

All these anomalies, of course, would be swept away by a simple system of Proportional Representation ; with every man and woman one vote, every vote would have equal value ; the electors would vote for the principles connoted by the various party titles and programmes, and the personal considerations which now so often decide an election and confuse the issue, would disappear.

Even with Proportional Representation, however, it could not be claimed that the elected representatives were the collective wisdom of the nation, and there would still be the need for the Referendum. With our

present haphazard system of electing "representatives" it is of immeasurably greater importance. But it is objected—and this by Liberals, too!—that the Referendum is so foreign, so un-English. And yet it has been put into operation over and over again in deciding such municipal questions as the establishment of a Free Library, the building of Baths, or the taking over of a Tramway service. It is the usual procedure adopted by a trade union for deciding any important matter involving the general body of the members in collective action or collective sacrifice. Surely if the voters of a municipality can be consulted on such questions as those indicated, or the members of a trade union can have referred to them the question of whether they should pay another penny a week contribution, or put forward a demand for a reduction of an hour in their working-week, the electors of the United Kingdom might reasonably be consulted on a radical change in fiscal policy, or any other question of equal moment.

It is sometimes objected that the people are not the best judges in such matters, and would probably vote wrong. But such an objection cuts at the very root of democracy and of popular self-government. It is an argument for despotism—benevolent or other—and is essentially destructive of the theory of a "mandate" given to any elected Government. If the Liberals cannot "trust the people" by means of a Referendum, how can they pretend that the mandate of this untrustworthy people is sufficient authority for them to abolish or even modify the Lords' Veto? Either the people are sovereign or they are not, and government exists by the will of the governed or it does not. If the people are sovereign, then they should constitute the final court of appeal, not in the present haphazard fashion, not as between two bodies of men with identical interests and as like as two peas—that is no choice at all; but on a clear and distinct issue, a question of a definite principle or policy. And that can only be done by means of the Referendum.

FORTY-EIGHT HOURS FOR PRINTERS.

By H. W. HOBART.

The present agitation amongst the workers in the printing trade for a Forty-eight Hours Week is the most important step they have taken since the Nine Hours Movement in 1872. During the 39 years that have elapsed a complete revolution in the production of printed matter has taken place. In the composing department eight or ten different kinds of machines, some type-setting, some type-casting, have been tried, but the monotype and linotype appear to be pre-eminent. In the machine-room the cumbersome and heavy old platen, the web, and the tumbler have been superseded by wharfedales and rotaries—the latter being specially adapted for newspaper work. For this purpose the stereotypers have had to learn circular casting, and the rapidity of the process would astonish the members of the first stereotypers' society. In the warehouse the guillotine has ousted the lever knife, and wire-stitching, numbering, sorting, and quiring machines are supplanting much hand labour. Gas engines and electric motors have necessitated scrapping the old beam engine, and the wetting and drying rooms have disappeared altogether. Hundreds of other devices and appliances have been introduced, not only in the afore-mentioned departments but throughout the whole of the various sections. In addition to these, process blocks and half-tone blocks, neat borders ready for use, mitred rules, and appropriate ornaments have added considerably to the appearance of the work of the jobbing-room, and yet made the execution much more rapid. It would take up too much space to enumerate

all the changes in every section, so these few must suffice. It has been estimated that since 1872 the output of printing offices has quadrupled. Whether that be so or not, it is quite certain that it has considerably increased. The effect of the introduction of these new machines and new methods has been a considerable displacement of labour and a proportionate enhancement of the masters' profits. And yet, notwithstanding the improvement in the masters' position, the workers have benefited but little—in fact, quite on the contrary, as, owing to these changes in production, the various trade unions have had to support their unemployed members out of their wages, with the result that the London Society of Compositors alone has paid away in unemployed relief since 1872 the enormous sum of £380,000. Taking the total membership of the Federation, and allowing for a smaller rate of benefit, it may safely be computed that over a million pounds have been paid by these unions in support of their unemployed, and incidentally in relief of the rates.

Early in 1909 the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation received a mandate from its members to approach the employers for a reduction of hours to 48 per week. In May of that year a memorial was presented, and in July the masters met the men's representatives in conference. Another conference followed later on, and there the matter rested, the masters saying they could not concede the terms of the memorial, and refused to arrange another meeting. In October, 1910, the men were balloted on the following proposition:—

“Failing to obtain a maximum 50 hours week by January 1, 1911, and the promise of a maximum 48 hours week by January 1, 1912, are you prepared to hand in notice with a view to enforcing this demand?”

The result of the ballot was overwhelmingly in favour of handing in notices, and a supplementary ballot by which the members levied themselves was

also carried. Before the notices were handed in, however, the Administrative Council of the Federation approached the masters, who agreed to meet the men's representatives on January 10 of this year. In the meantime, all arrangements are completed for a possible refusal by the masters, and notices to leave will be tendered to terminate on February 4. Mass meetings were arranged for the principal printing centres, and the first of them was held at the Albert Hall, London, on Saturday, December 31. Some 25 other meetings were definitely fixed, and many smaller ones were also held.

THE HISTORICAL ASPECT.

The real significance of the movement will be better appreciated after a cursory glance at the history of some of the unions federated under the title of the National Printing and Kindred Trades Federation. There are, altogether, 22 organisations in the Federation, comprising every branch of the printing trade. The London Society of Compositors is the largest centralised organisation, and the second largest of any description, and was re-established in 1848. The membership then was 1,100; it is now over 12,000. The wages then were 33s. for "'stab" hands, and averaging about the same for piece-hands. The hours then were 63 per week, and are now 52½. The first important change in wages and hours took place in 1864, when the hours were reduced to 60 and the wages increased to 36s. The next change was in 1872 (the Nine Hours Movement), when the hours were reduced to 54; but no alteration in wages except a slight advance in piece prices. The hours remained at 54 until 1902, a period of 30 years, when Mr. Askwith's Arbitration Award gave 52½, although the men at that time were asking for 48.

The history of the Provincial Typographical Society is much the same as the London Society. They were re-formed in 1849, and their rises of wages and reductions of hours are nearly contem-

porary with their London fellow-craftsmen, but generally resulting in a little less money and a lesser reduction in hours, although the Typographical branches of Manchester and surrounding towns have been working 50 hours per week for several years, and the Scottish Typographical Association (founded 1853) has been working only 50 hours per week for the last ten years. Amongst the smaller societies, whose establishment dates back many years, may be mentioned, the Lithographic Printers (1833), the Machine Minders (1839), the Vellum Binders (1823), the Consolidated Bookbinders (1784), and the Day Working Bookbinders (1849). A working amalgamation amongst the Bookbinders succeeded in securing a 48-hour week in 1891, but they are also working vigorously in the present movement.

Most of the facts and figures I have given are of the London Society of Compositors, firstly, because I know them best, and secondly, because that Society, since 1848, has been what may be termed the advanced guard and the main body in most movements of a progressive character. Not because they are more militant, or any better fitted for fighting, but because compositors form the largest contingent in the printing trade. The other branches of the printing industry, with their separate unions, followed the lead of the compositors. If the compositors increased their wages or reduced their hours, the other bodies almost invariably followed. This continued till about 1889, when, apparently infected with the revival amongst the so-called unskilled labourers, the less-skilled branches of the printing industry formed or reformed their trade organisations. The Operative Printers' Assistants (then known as Machine Boys), the Platen Minders, the Litho Stone Dressers, the Machine Rulers, and the Warehousemen and Cutters (formed 1844, reorganised 1900), were the principal bodies active in this direction. Most of them were very successful in their organising work, and, although their numbers were small, their firm solidarity made them

very powerful, and their bold, militant spirit gained for them some almost incredible advantages. During the years that followed there was a manifest feeling amongst the "aristocrats" (as they are sometimes called) that they were being left behind by the more solid and vigorous smaller unions, and they concluded that the time had arrived when a properly-constituted and actively militant federation ought to be inaugurated. The old so-called Federation of Printing and Allied Trades had to yield place to the more modern and better organised Printing and Kindred Trades Federation. This was established in 1899, and the present movement in the direction of establishing a 48-hour week throughout the realm of print is their first serious undertaking. It is the first step towards a uniformity of hours, and may soon be followed by a uniformity of wages, or at least a uniform minimum wage.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT.

The motive which determined the whole of the federated societies to demand a reduction of hours was the continuous displacement of labour, in every department, by all manner of means—improved machinery, new appliances, and intense pressure. Not only were the number of unemployed men increasing, but the period of unemployment was lengthening into many months, and the members felt that something must be done to check, even if it could not prevent, the development of this evil. The various organisations had appointed special committees to devise means for dealing with unemployment, and these committees had suggested provident allowances and special relief funds; but it was found that they only relieved the distress of individuals for the time being, they did not affect the cause. Then overtime was limited, and the masters were called upon to engage men on night shifts instead of employing the regular men systematically on overtime. Still the evil continued. Gradually every palliative was tried, but proved only temporarily successful. The unions were

therefore compelled to again consider their position, and then it was that the economic knowledge which had been so glibly bandied amongst their members at their meetings began to assume tangible shape, and stood clearly before them as the best means yet suggested for dealing with the unemployed problem—they must reduce their working hours. In support of this view it should be mentioned that the members of present-day trade organisations have acquired more knowledge of economics than those of the last generation. They know that the workers produce, not only all commodities for the employing classes, but a surplus value as well, and they know that this surplus value enables the employers to purchase improved machinery, and thereby displace a greater number of men.

Education, too, has helped the workers to understand the position better, and they are not now so easily deceived by the bogus figures produced at masters' meetings. The talk of adding 18 to 20 per cent. to the expenses by reducing the hours from 52½ to 50 and 48 only makes them smile. They know different. Likewise the old-time objection of driving work away from one district to another is flouted as absurd by the men. In any case, the men are determined, at all hazards, to work fewer hours in the future, and they are prepared for a hard struggle and a great deal of sacrifice. The struggle will not be confined to London or any other single industrial centre, but will extend throughout the entire kingdom, and some 65,000 operatives will be involved. The employers are beginning to appreciate the seriousness of the situation, and will think twice before they insist upon extreme measures, which is evidenced by the fact that, after two refusals, they have now consented to meet the representatives of the Federation. Hitherto disputes have been sectional, both as regards unions and districts, and local employers involved with local societies have contrived to get their work done outside the district affected. This will be impossible now. Even those few houses (if any) who may succeed in

getting some non-union men to work for them will not be able to do much more than the regular work of their office; they will not be able to do any work for outside firms—there will be a too careful watch kept over them to allow that to become possible. The men are not only thoroughly organised, but they are being led by men fully conscious of the importance of the issue. The success or failure of the movement means considerably more to the men than to the masters. And the men's leaders realise this. The men have justice on their side, for while the masters have doubled the output by introducing new machinery, new methods, and speeding up, the men have been subjected to this intense strain without any reduction in their hours for ten years—except in a few cases. From a humane standpoint, also, the men have the best of the argument, and only those who are fully acquainted with the rapidity of the new machinery and the concentration demanded of the operative can fully realise the physical exhaustion entailed by these new methods. Further, while the employers are piling up huge fortunes, purchasing large estates, flying about in motor-cars, and retiring from business while still young men, the workers in all the branches of the trade are becoming prematurely aged and physically decrepit in their youth. This state of things cannot last. And the men are resolved that if sacrifice is called for they will sacrifice themselves in their own good cause rather than in piling up wealth, comfort, and luxury for their employers.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT.

It has been asked in certain quarters, who is to bear the burden of the extra cost of production? Shall the employer or the public? And the verdict went to the latter. But why? Why should the public be called upon to supply the difference between a huge profit and a smaller one? But it does not matter whether the employers decide to make the public share the burden or not, the inevitable law of competition, aggravated by the greed of the masters, will soon bring

it down to the original level. There is only one source from which the extra cost can ultimately be drawn, and that source is the fund of surplus-value which the masters claim and appropriate. For a time, and for a time only, it may mean to them a smaller share of this surplus-value. It will soon equate itself, however. More rapid machinery, time-saving appliances, and a still greater concentration of the energies of the operatives will quickly reimburse the masters for their extra outlay in wages. Their loss will be, therefore, not only small, but temporary; and this system of intense productivity by the workers on the one hand, and the appropriation of the surplus-value by the masters on the other, will continue till the workers take over the ownership and control of the wealth-producing instruments.

And what of the advantages of the movement to the men? They will be great. They will be lasting. And they will be based on a sound economic foundation. The extra number of men required to make up for the fewer hours will not be many, it is true; but the fewer hours worked means so much less time in which they will be exploited, and so much less physical strain on the men; besides the immeasurable advantage of so much more leisure. This advantage will not be apparent at first, but when the men begin to adjust themselves to their altered conditions then the advantage will be realised and appreciated. All kinds of amusement, pastimes, and studies will be engaged in, and a higher standard of intelligence will result. Educational opportunities which shorter hours will give are not to be lightly passed over. It is not only the men who profit by it, but society as a whole will be the better. Class domination is threatened, and every opportunity for the workers to become acquainted with the extent of the evils resulting therefrom is a blow dealt for its destruction. More leisure gives more of these opportunities, and just in proportion as the workers have their arduous hours of toil reduced and their hours of leisure increased so they will

become more conscious of the extent of this class domination, and more eager to break the fetters which bind them to wage-slavery. We expect much from this calm, dispassionate, and organised revolt because of the soundness of its economic and educational basis, and the breadth of its social influence. Not all those who will take part in the struggle will be conscious of its social and economic importance, but there will be many who will, and it is to these we shall look for an unfaltering lead and a substantial advancement.

THE MASTERS' ASPECT.

If the masters are wise they will concede the demand without provoking extreme measures. No good will result to them by prolonging the struggle. The men are bound to win in the long run, and anything like bitter opposition on the part of the masters will only create a feeling of revenge and resentment. If men are victimised by an obstinate employer, reprisals and vengeance at once suggest themselves, and a sulky and morose spirit will possess the employees. The employer must then look out for squalls, and a protracted guerilla warfare will be the inevitable outcome, which is bound to be disastrous to "business." On the other hand, if the employers concede the terms of the men, there will be a speedy re-adjustment. Employment will go on as before. The men will gradually slip back into their old groove. The employer will again assume his dominant position, and "harmony" and industry will continue to walk hand in hand. We readily admit this is as it *will* be; but also readily assert that this is not as it *should* be. The workers ought to make this a starting-point for the ultimate ownership of the means whereby wealth is produced—the parting of the ways between capitalism and Socialism—the inauguration of a system of social ownership and control, and the abolition of class domination. If the masters refuse the men's demands they will be hastening the dawn of Labour's triumph and speeding the day of doom of their own class.

THE FINANCIAL ASPECT.

Too much importance need not be attached to this aspect of the question, but just a few details may help us in our conclusions. The various unions are already levying themselves with the object of bringing up the funds of the Federation. But, even as matters stand now, the position is one that lends confidence to the movement. The London Society of Compositors has funds to the amount of £60,000, the Typographical Association £50,000, the Scottish Typographical Association £12,000, the smaller unions aggregate about £50,000, and the General Federation £54,000, totaling up to £226,000. This amount will, of course, be considerably augmented by levies from the members prior to the notices being handed in. It must also be recollected that, according to the terms of the resolution upon which action is being taken, the members working the required hours will not be called upon to leave their work, and that the newspaper section are included in their number; anything like a scarcity of funds will be readily and willingly made up by the subscriptions of those members fortunate enough to be at work. So far as the masters are concerned, there is a lack of loyalty in this connection as well as in their adhesion to principles. They are not organised in the strict sense of the word; they are only banded together for special occasions, and then, strange to say, they admit into this mushroom organisation the most unprincipled "rat" employers. This is not only a great source of weakness to their Association, but it is a most effective skid on the movements of the masters, acting as much to the men's advantage as to the masters' disadvantage. There is no doubt that they have plenty of money to devote to their defence, but they are very dubious and hesitating about throwing good money after bad. They don't mind spending money under certain circumstances, but to spend money and to lose money simultaneously gives them cause to reflect, and when they know, as some of them do, that even money spent on strikes

gives a moiety of advantage to the workers, they will be sorely tempted to yield rather than fight.

At the time of going to press the question had not been settled, the conference between the masters and the men's representatives having agreed to adjourn and report the position to their respective constituents. The new position, the outcome of the conference, was an offer on the part of the employers to agree to a uniform 52 hours week. The men's representatives refused this, but agreed to the 50 hours week.

This offer on the part of the masters is a healthy sign, and corroborates our view that the men's firmness will win; but it also suggests that as the masters refuse the compromise offered by the men, and are forcing them into a conflict, the men will be justified in withdrawing their offer and insisting upon the 48 hours right off. The bombastic speeches and circulars of Mr. Joseph Causton do not seem to have had much effect on his colleagues, for we hear that quite a number of firms, both in London and the provinces, have already conceded the men's demands. It has also come to our knowledge that a certain firm, in submitting a tender for the renewal of a contract, added 10 per cent. to the estimate in view of the demands of the men, and a number of other firms, who were also asked to tender, added the same amount for precisely the same reason. This shows at least an intelligent anticipation, and will put even more courage and determination into the hearts of the men and their leaders.

SOCIALISM IN THE NAVY.

By FRANK E. M. ROE, Lieutenant, R.N., retired.

Under the above heading the Anti-Socialist Union has issued a tract by Commander E. Hamilton Currey, R.N.

After admitting that Socialism is a force, and likening it to dynamite, the writer remarks: "The landfolk mind their own business, and as a rule mind it badly, but they cannot place under lock and key, most unfortunately, all the dangerous explosive material which is to-day lying about loose; if they could we should hear the end of Socialism. . . ."

Then the talented sea-dog quotes from the preamble to the Articles of War: "That under the Good Providence of God it is upon the Navy that the safety of this realm doth chiefly depend," and tells us that such is incontrovertible, as the Navy's most important function (of which fact the public are supremely ignorant) is "that of keeping the said public alive" by preventing any interruption of the food supply.

Next we are told that ". . . the most important thing in the world for the State . . . is the upkeep of such a Navy as to absolutely preclude the idea of the foreigner wresting from us the Trident which it has ever been the pride of the English to wield."

From the above we may infer that the author of this "warning" against Socialism in the Navy believes that so long as we keep an overwhelmingly powerful fleet at sea, a "Two-Power standard with a ten per cent. margin," and remain under the Good Providence of God—whatever this may be—England is safe,

provided Socialism does not gain a footing in the British Navy.

We are further told that the programme of the Social-Democratic Party, with regard to the disciplined forces of the Crown, is to create a species of communism in which the officers are to be elected by the men, and that they, the S.D.P., "would, if they had the power, reduce the Navy and Army to undisciplined and useless mobs."

M. Camille Pelletan, "as conceited as apparently only a Socialist can be," incurs our author's displeasure for, whilst Minister of Marine, having shown he had the courage of his convictions in expending more of the shipbuilding votes on submarines—believing them to be the weapons of the future—than on battleships, so that the French Navy has sunk from second to fifth place amongst the nations (reckoning in battleships).

Apparently, also, "as a citizen of France . . . if Jack was punished for laziness or indiscipline he wrote to M. Pelletan!"

One wonders if Jack may not sometimes have had a just grievance about which he appealed to the Minister of Marine.

Again, "It may be coincidence or it may not, but all the world knows that a series of disasters have happened recently in the French Navy, culminating in the terrible disaster which destroyed that fine ship, the *Iéna*, and so many hundreds of her crew." This, with its context, is but an inuendo against French Socialists, but another anti-Socialist tract entitled "Tampering with the Army and Navy" (anonymous) states: "It is known that the disaster to the battleship *Iéna*, which sent scores of lives to destruction, was caused by Socialist sailors who deliberately set the great battleship on fire. . . ." This is a deliberate misstatement of facts, judged by the following gleaned from Brassey's "Naval Annual," 1908: "Two committees investigated the *Iéna* disaster and sent in reports to Parliament;

that appointed by the Chamber of Deputies reported that there was not sufficient evidence to ascribe the disaster to any definite cause, though M. Michel, the reporter, was himself convinced that the decomposition of the 'B' powder was the cause. The other committee, appointed by the Senate, reported that the decomposition of the 'B' powder was the only cause to which the explosion was attributable."

M. Thomson, then Minister of Marine, and no Socialist, declared there was no evidence whatever for the suggestion that the malevolence of some person on board was the cause.

Whilst a committee of experts had a sample of the said "B" powder under their observation it took fire spontaneously!

Commander Currey also tells us that "Socialism, in its military sense, leads to a canker which can only be extirpated by blood and fire—anti-Socialistic manifestation of the present day on the Continent of Europe.

". . . . That Socialists in England would wish to undermine the loyalty of the disciplined forces of the Crown cannot be disputed, as the propaganda of the S.D.P. plainly shows.

"It is the duty of all who love their country to combat so terrible a misfortune.

"What do they know, these enemies of England, of the burning pride in ship or regiment, of the generous emulation existing, to prove that the officers and men of such and such a unit, be it of the sea or of the land, are smarter, better disciplined, more worthy of their country, than others with whom they compete?

"This spirit exists to-day; how long is it going to survive?

"Just as long as the virus of Socialism is not inoculated into our sailors and soldiers. Few recognise how young they are; look at the crew of a battleship, go on board a destroyer. . . .

“Middle age is not there, but youth, impressionable youth ; and among these youths there may be some to whom the specious nonsense of Socialism appeals.”

It is evident that our author has long passed beyond his impressionable youth from the pious manner in which he invokes God to forbid that he, or any other man, should say that Socialism has gained a footing in the British Navy ; is convinced that peace can only be maintained by preparing for war ; and damns Socialism without understanding it ; let him call it “specious nonsense” if he likes, and it is of course quite in the approved style of the reactionary type of individual to call Socialists enemies of their country ; it is rather interesting to note that this gallant officer retired from the active list during the era when the cult of “spit and polish” and meticulous regard for dress flourished at the expense of efficiency.

It can hardly be doubted that until the abolition of the military ruling castes and monopolist systems from the principal States of the world defensive armaments will be required, but these should be more efficient under a Socialist régime than at present.

Theoretically, at least, promotion in the Navy is according to merit amongst the lower deck ratings and in the executive branch ; in the latter the selection being by examination up to the rank of lieutenant and after that selection by the Admiralty from amongst those recommended by commanding officers and commanders-in-chief of fleets ; but in practice, under the present pseudo-individualist system, family influence, “social” qualities of the eligible, and personal bias, armed with that insidious instrument the Confidential Report, naturally play a large part.

If the nation wishes to have the best officers in the Navy promoted it should insist on the selection being by ballot amongst the rank from which the promotions are to be made, those of a certain number of years’ service, and otherwise eligible, being nominated ; it

may be taken for granted that those having the most intimate knowledge of a man are the best judges of his capabilities, and it is unthinkable that a man considered unreliable in any way would be chosen by his peers to command them.

As the spirit of democracy spreads and class-feeling disappears with equal educational opportunities for all, then could the lower deck ratings also ballot for their officers' promotion; at present, however, the British bluejacket is often, like some of his officers, something of a snob, and dearly likes his officers to be of "gentle" birth.

Throughout the centuries when England's Navy fought for sea-power, and in the interests of discovery and commerce adventured in all the waters of the globe, many of the best officers "climbed in at the hawse-hole"; but that mode of entry has long since been closed to those who would rise to high commands, for the system in the Navy to-day is aristocratic and not democratic, as Sir George Armstrong recently said at a combined meeting of the Navy League and Middle Classes' Defence Organisation. It is not to be hoped that under the present régime the Navy will be converted to Socialism; naval men, as a rule, have little concern with social reforms, and the "King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions" and the "Customs of the Service" provide ample machinery for dealing with any advanced or original thinkers and "sea-lawyers."

The "Great Silent Navy" is generally fairly content to run on in the same old grooves, with undoubtedly high traditions of devotion to duty and somewhat quixotic notions of loyalty.

This loyalty, when extended, as it sometimes is, to antiquated ideals is somewhat bathetic.

However, the Navy undoubtedly believes in itself and in the absolute necessity of its supremacy for the safety of the Empire, and, constantly studying the art of war and hoping for opportunities of testing its theories

and for the means of "honourable advancement," it can hardly be expected to have much enthusiasm for or believe in the possibility of permanent "Peace on Earth and Goodwill Towards Men," even though the worship of the Almighty God of the Christians is duly observed on board ship each day, as laid down in the "Admiralty Instructions."

As the majority of naval men are "caught" very young, and grow up in an atmosphere of conservatism and class distinctions, most of them are "back in the closet laid" without ever dreaming of the joys of democracy; but there are some signs of change.



IF we examine our present social order, we realise with horror how barbarous it still is. Not only do murder and war destroy cultural values without substituting others in their place, not only do the countless conflicts which take place between the different nations and political organisations act anticulturally, but so do also the conflicts between the various social classes of one nation, for they destroy quantities of free energy which are thus withdrawn from the total of real cultural values. At present mankind is in a state of development in which progress depends much less upon the leadership of a few distinguished individuals than upon the collective labour of all workers. Proof of this is that it is coming to be more and more the fact that the great scientific discoveries are made simultaneously by a number of independent investigators—an indication that society creates in several places the individual conditions requisite for such discoveries. Thus we are living at a time when men are gradually approximating one another very closely in their natures, and when the social organisation therefore demands and strives for as thorough an equalisation as possible in the conditions of existence of all men.—OSTWALD'S "NATURAL PHILOSOPHY."

THE MONTH.

The year 1910 will long be remembered as that in which, without any change of Government, and without any attempt being made to carry out their "mandate," there were two General Elections—two separate appeals to the country upon what was practically the same issue.

The January election deprived the Government of the immense majority which they had enjoyed for four years, and which made them independent of both Nationalists and Labourists. The election of December effected no change beyond increasing the Liberal-Labourist-Nationalist majority by two.

Having failed even to attempt to carry out his mandate, or to obtain the "guarantees" without which he had declared he would not again hold office, Asquith still retained the support of his devoted followers. The "great" Budget was pushed through, and then the death of King Edward solved the constitutional difficulty for a time. A conference between four of the leaders of the Opposition and four members of the Government was arranged to sit upon the question of the Lords' Veto. They duly sat upon it—without result, as was anticipated and intended—and thus enabled the Government to get through the necessary business of the Session.

Apart from this necessary business, the Session was a barren one. Then, suddenly, and for no reason that anybody has yet been able to discover, the General Election was sprung upon us, at the fag-end of the year, just before Christmas, and on a stale register! It was a striking manifestation of the Liberals' love of democracy and their "trust" in the people.

The Osborne judgment had deprived the unions of the power to use their funds for political purposes. That, however, did not

prevent the Labour Party from putting up 56 candidates—as against 78 in the January election—and returning 42 of them—a net gain of two seats. As Labour candidates nowadays emulate those of the bourgeois parties in the matter of expenditure, and as in many cases the unions responsible for the election expenses of these candidatures were unable to spend any money on them, some little curiosity has been excited as to where the money came from. The Labour Party certainly had not enough in hand to meet all these expenses, and even if it had had the money, it had no right to spend more than a fourth of the Returning Officer's expenses on any candidature.

In one or two cases, as we know, the Liberals came to the assistance of the Labourites. It used to be said that Labour candidates were "Tory dodges," and every independent candidate was accused, or, at least, suspected, of being subsidised by "Tory gold." But the Liberals altered all that. They bought and paid for such Labour candidates as came along, until the S.D.F. succeeded in inculcating the lesson among many of the organised workers that working-class politics must be paid for by the working class themselves. That enabled us to run a few candidates with money voluntarily subscribed by our members and sympathisers. Then came the Labour Party, with an obligatory levy upon the membership of all bodies affiliated. That made the Party independent financially, whatever it may have been in other respects. That, naturally, did not suit the book of the Liberals. But now the Osborne judgment, failing the voluntary contributions of the members, has destroyed the financial independence of the Party. Voluntary contributions have failed, as they were bound to do, because those who have learnt our lesson are enrolled in one or other of the Socialist organisations. The result is, therefore, that the wheel has turned full circle, and, so far as Labour representation is concerned, we are where we were thirty years ago, and the bulk of the Labour Party members are as completely dependent upon the Liberal Party as have been any of their Lib.-Lab. predecessors.

The festive season of Peace and Goodwill was attended with the usual horrors. A frightful mine disaster near Bolton, in which some 350 men and boys lost their lives, was succeeded by a smash on the Midland Railway, near Carlisle, on Christmas Eve, in which nine or ten persons were killed, by burning and otherwise.

In both cases it appears to be quite clear that the "accidents" may be placed among the "preventable." The mine explosion was unquestionably due to insufficient ventilation and of other precautionary measures; and the railway collision was caused by the momentary forgetfulness of a signalman, through overwork, in the last hour of a ten-hours' night-shift. In both cases, therefore, the verdict should be "murdered by capitalism in pursuit of profit."

In both cases strenuous efforts have been made to show that the disasters were due to unpreventable causes. It is interesting, therefore, to note that we are promised legislation to ensure greater safety in mines. If mines are already as safe as they can be made—and that is declared to have been the case in the Ather-ton disaster, as in all others—there can surely be no need for any legislation on the subject. If, on the other hand, such legislation is necessary, colliery owners are clearly guilty of criminal neglect, and in such circumstances as this should be prosecuted and punished for their crimes against humanity.

In the case of the railway accident, on the other hand, it is fortunate that the victims of such a disaster are not all—or generally—of the working class. The well-to-do do not usually go down coal-pits, but they do travel by train. The result is that railway travelling has been made almost as safe as it is possible to make it, except in so far as regards the decent treatment of the human machine. Now that the Hawes' collision has once more called attention to the extent to which the safety of the well-to-do travelling public depends upon the physical fitness and mental alertness of the slaves of the iron road, even the callous capitalist class may be expected to see the necessity of putting a stop to systematic overwork on the railways.

There is one redeeming feature about a terrible catastrophe like that at the Atherton Colliery, and that is the ready response which is made to appeals on behalf of the bereaved. A woman who has lost her husband or son in that "accident" will have reason to be thankful that it was a big affair that caused her bereavement, and not one of those petty accidents of daily occurrence, of which the world never hears, but which are just as terrible in their consequences to those immediately concerned, as is such a horror as that of the Pretoria Pit.

The New Year's "Honours" list seems to indicate that our rulers have some difficulty in finding anyone entitled to such distinction. A greater assembly of mediocre "job-lots" has never been got together in that connection. And no Peers! That is quite unprecedented. It is understood, however, that the many aspirants to peerages in the Liberal ranks have only had their hopes deferred. Quite a host of new Peers will be created, if rumour does not err, in order to ensure the passing of the Parliament Bill.

The protracted struggle of the boilermakers has been brought to an end by the resumption of work on considerably better terms than the men were at first urged to accept. The result was a signal victory for the men, a thorough justification of their sturdy resistance to the tyrannical conditions sought to be imposed upon them, and should serve as a warning to those "candid friends" who showered abuse upon them for not tamely submitting to intolerable conditions.

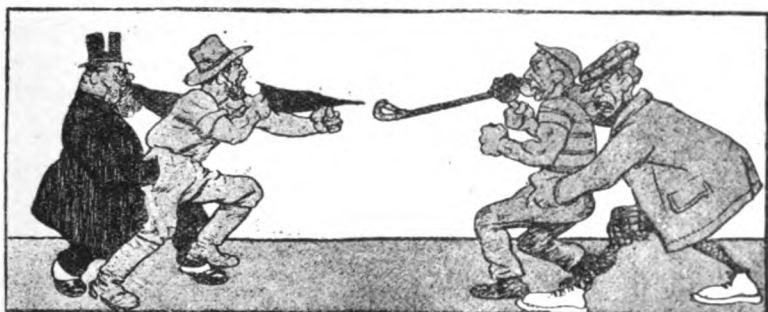
The "boom" in trade still continues, but the unemployed do not cease out of the land. On the contrary, the latest returns show an increase in the numbers out of work. And these returns, as we have frequently pointed out, refer to less than a tithe of the working class, and afford absolutely no criterion of the actual numbers unemployed. We are constantly told by our Free Traders that we live by our foreign trade. The unemployed might retort that they are perishing by our foreign trade. It is this strange hallucination, which sees in booming foreign trade irrefragable evidence of national prosperity, that gives a handle to the "Tariff Reform" Protectionists. With all the evidences of the fallacy of their view before their eyes, it is really astonishing that people cannot see that prosperous trade in itself does not necessarily mean national prosperity, but only that of the persons engaged in that trade.

The abolition of the pauper disqualification for old age pensions has not proved such a "boon and blessing" as some people seemed to imagine it would. Obviously, those outworn veterans of toil who are now in our workhouses could not live on 5s. a week if they came out. They are much better off where they are. On the other hand, it is quite right and proper that the mere receipt of Poor Law relief should not disqualify a man or woman from receiving a pension, where the pension would enable either to rub

along without any further recourse to such relief. The facts, however, serve to show up once more the inadequacy of the pension, and the need for making much more generous public provision for the maintenance of those who are unable to maintain themselves.

The condemnation of the two English "spies" by a German Court to four years' imprisonment in a fortress bears unfavourable comparison with the treatment accorded Lieutenant Helm in this country. Certainly the two officers were caught where they had no business to be, and were doing what they had no right to do. But a reprimand would have met the merits of the case just as it did in that of Lieutenant Helm; and it was absurd for the German authorities to magnify the affair into one of a serious character. All this "spy" business is mere childish nonsense, on one side as on the other. A British invasion of Germany is as unthinkable as the blockading of the Straits of Dover by the Swiss Fleet. And that being so, all that the British military authorities would want to know about German land defences can easily be ascertained through the ordinary channels without spying. On the other hand, it is an open secret that the German Naval authorities are at least as well acquainted with the coast and coastal defences of these islands as is the British Admiralty.

No one with the slightest comprehension of foreign affairs will be misled by the assurances of interested Ministerial organs that the "Triple Entente" has no existence as a counterpoise to the "Triple Alliance." To accept that view would be to assume, among other things, that King Edward's visit to Reval at an inclement season of the year, and at great personal inconvenience and discomfort, was a mere pleasure trip, and that the subsequent tour of Nicholas was a mere act of courtesy with no political or diplomatic bearing whatever. The truth is, of course, that the British Government was genuinely alarmed at the development of German ascendancy, and sought for allies. That England will be left in the lurch over the deal is more than likely. But France, at any rate, is not to be fobbed off by the excuse that "business was not meant." That she intends to hold England to her bargain has been made quite clear by the bringing to book of Mr. Lloyd George, who has explained that, notwithstanding the pacifist demonstrations of his Labourist supporters, he has provided for an additional expenditure of ten millions on the Navy.



"Go for him! The pirate wants to plunder you."

"Give it him! the German robber. He will settle you if you don't look out."

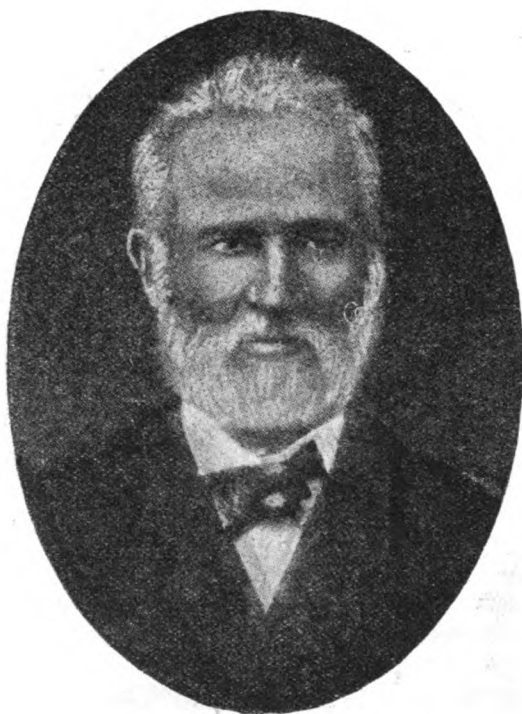


"Hullo, you rascal! I've caught you, have I?"

"So, old chap! It was you who were picking my pockets."



Both Together: "That's the way to settle them both and shake hands over it. **We** have no quarrel."



AUGUSTE BLANQUI.

AUGUSTE BLANQUI.

MAX BRAEMER (in "Le Socialisme").

Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.

Auguste Blanqui died in Paris on January 1, 1881, at nine o'clock at night, without having recovered consciousness, after having had an apoplectic seizure on December 28, 1880, after he had been to a meeting in the Salle Ragache.

The grand old revolutionist has been dead for thirty years. He was really a superman in the fullest meaning of the term, for his life was a long martyrdom for the cause which he had defended with great abnegation, firm tenacity and unparalleled steadfastness.

Auguste Blanqui was born on February 7, 1805, at Puget-Théniers, his father having been a member of the Convention. In the very beginning of his political life, in 1827, when 22 years of age, he was wounded on a barricade in the attempted insurrection in the Rue St. Denis.

After having fought to overthrow the Bourbons, in 1830, he naturally continued to oppose the middle-class King Louis Philippe, in the Society of the Friends of the People, and in 1835 he appeared as counsel for those who were tried before the House of Peers. In 1836 he was arrested; but was released in 1837.

In 1839, for the insurrection of May 12, he was condemned to death. His sentence was commuted to one of imprisonment for life, which, as well as his companions, he spent in the Mont St. Michel. He was so badly treated that he and Huber had to be taken to the hospital of Tours, where he stayed till the Revolution of 1848 set him free. During this imprisonment his wife died.

At this time his influence was very great on the students in Paris. The young, intellectual class had still generous ideas, and they did not join popular movements in order to climb to power. It was then that Blanqui organised the meeting of March 17, 1848, at which 200,000 citizens were present.

But if the middle-class did not yet entrust power to men like Azeff, it yet made use of scandalous methods, for Blanqui was accused by Tachereau of being in the pay of the Government in order to bring about mischief.

On May 15 Blanqui forced his way into the Chamber at the head of a crowd, and for this he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, which he served at Belle Isle and at Corte.

Set free in 1859, he was again sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1861, after which he went and lived abroad.

In 1870 he was at Brussels; he came back on August 12 to take part in the attack on a police-station at La Villette on August 14, and he was again sentenced to death. He was set free on September 4,* and he at once started his newspaper, "*La Patrie en Danger*." He exercised a great deal of critical influence during the siege, and naturally he took part in the attack on the Town Hall, on October 31. With a few followers, he, being worn out, left Paris, during the armistice, to recruit at the house of his friend, Dr. Lacambre, where he was arrested by order of Thiers, on March 15, 1871.

After the 18th of March, Montmartre elected him a member of the Commune. At once his friends asked B. Flotte to endeavour to obtain his release in exchange for the hostages of the Commune. But Versailles would not give him up, and he remained in prison without trial till May, 1872, when he was again sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was pardoned in 1877. He became a Socialist candidate at Bordeaux in 1878, and was elected; but the Chamber would not allow him to take his seat. Then began, under his leadership, a vigorous and powerful campaign in favour of an amnesty for the Communists. He was again a candidate at Lyons. When the amnesty was obtained, the Central Committee, presided over by Blanqui, had a very great influence, as all the Communists had returned. Unfortunately, he was old and worn out by his 37 years passed in prison, and by the insurrections in which he had taken part. He died in harness, coming out of a public meeting.

The influence of Blanqui was very great in France during the nineteenth century. He was a thorough-going revolutionist in the fullest meaning of the word. He has himself summed up his action in his letter to the clubs of Beziers: "*In a word, the social question cannot be seriously and practically discussed till after the most energetic and most irrevocable solution of the political question.*"

Therefore, he thought it of the highest importance to agitate for the *conquest of political power*, and he would have ridiculed the deceptive theories which state that trade unions alone can solve the social question. Besides, from his earliest youth he had studied the theories of Babeuf, and had been on very friendly relations with Louis Teste till his death.

In 1869 he drew up a programme of working-class action, and he ends by saying: "*The day after a revolution, when the nation sees a horizon opening before it, two parallel roads must be*

* When the Empire was overthrown.

followed: one leading to education, the other to the co-operation of productive forces, or to communism."

Blanqui played an important part in Socialism in France in the last forty years. During his long life, the "Old One," as he was familiarly called, had several generations of disciples and followers.

Of the first, that of the time of Louis Philippe and of 1848, we may recall the names of B. Flotte, of Martin Bernard, of F. Cuvnet. The second generation, that which carried out the Commune, had among its members Flourens, Tridon, Goy, Jacard, Regnard, Eudes, Granger, etc. (Vaillant only joined after October 31.) To these we should add, at the time of the amnesty, a large number of young men like Ernest Roche, Adrien Farjat, Montaron, Nevo, etc., and the Central Revolutionary Committee had a preponderating influence with them till the death of Blanqui, and even till 1887, when there was a split.

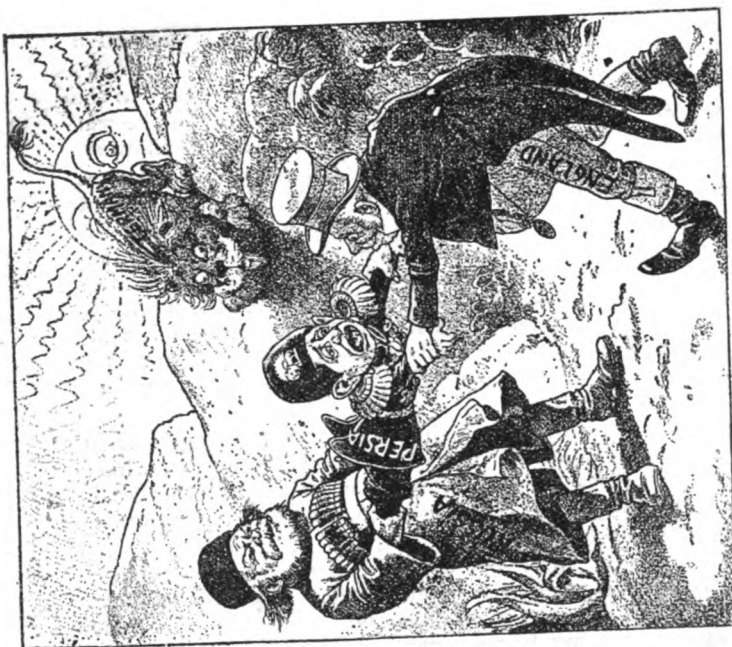
This was nearly fatal. Some, like Eudes and Granger, tried during the Boulanger agitation to capture the Government, whilst Vaillant and the others did not hope to succeed. But the death of Eudes and the retirement of Granger put an end to the action of the followers of Blanqui.

Eudes was mostly identified with the policy of his master, and carried out his ideas as far as he could. Like Blanqui, he exercised great influence on all those who came near him. He died at the age of 44, when he was speaking at a public meeting.

The young students who joined the Central Committee afterwards were not at all like the followers of Blanqui whom I had known when I was young; they did not resemble them either in intelligence or in devotion, and therefore they did not draw on themselves the ferocious hatred of the bourgeoisie which had been directed against Blanqui during all his life.

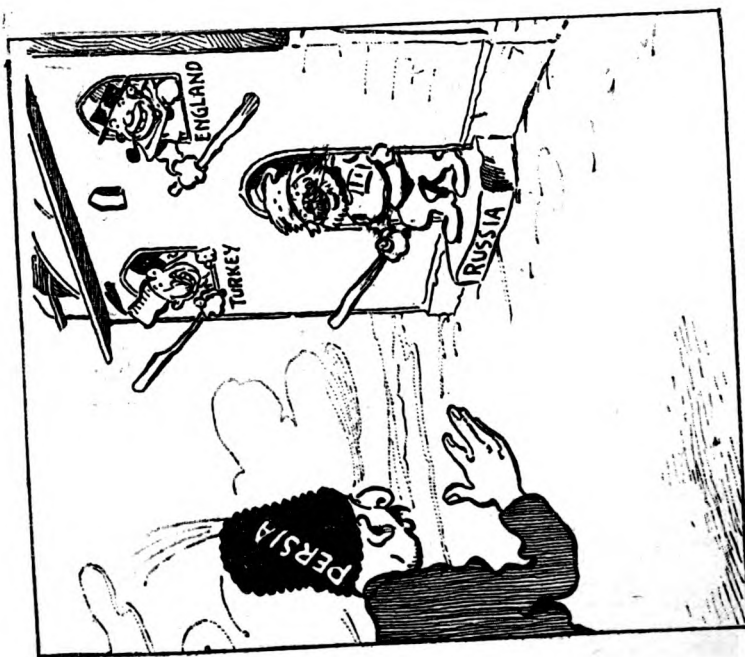
On April 30, 1879, in the "Revolution Française," Paul Lafargue wrote: "The bourgeoisie has struck Blanqui without mercy; it has shattered his life. Each time that the unconquered athlete rose from the depth of his dungeon, to live and fight, it thrust him brutally back into his cell. Would that the time might come when Blanqui, at once a champion and a martyr, leaving his prison and protected by the people, could go to Parliament and frighten the ruling classes by voicing the claims of the oppressed."

Blanqui and his true disciples knew how to apply by their action the theory of the acting minority, whilst at the present time we too often see the intriguing minority.



A JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON.

Which shall have the child?
—"Kikeriki" (Vienna).



INVITATION TO PERSIA.

"Come on in and join our club and we'll have a fine dinner!"
—"Kladderadatsch" (Berlin).

A DOUBLE GRAB AT PERSIA.

Russia has recently landed fresh troops in Northern Persia, and England has a "sphere of influence" in the South. The German papers talk of a formal partition and a biprotectorate. Persia is to be governed from abroad like Egypt, and there are rumours of an appeal to Germany.

"LET US REFORM THE LABOUR PARTY."

The "Neue Zeit" for October published an article by our comrade Köttgen, dealing with the famous manifesto, issued by four dissident members of the N.A.C. of the I.L.P., under the above title, criticising the policy of the Labour Party. Köttgen's article, which was translated into the December number of the "Socialist Review," consisted chiefly of quotations from the pamphlet, and concludes with the following criticism:—

The procedure of the four Radical members of the N.A.C. has been widely condemned, on the ground of their having neglected to consult their colleagues on the Council before publishing their pamphlet. But anyone who is familiar with the internal affairs of the English Party will hardly be surprised at the course adopted by the authors of the pamphlet. The Independent Labour Party has only one weekly newspaper, the "Labour Leader," which is at the same time the official organ of the Labour Party. Thus, any member of the N.A.C. who wishes to criticise must either explain his views at a meeting of the N.A.C., where they will fall to the ground unheeded, or else he must come to an understanding with the Editor of the "Labour Leader," whose ideas of permissible criticism will be understood from the fact that very occasionally, when the Labour Party in Parliament has made a serious blunder, he allows himself to express the mildest possible censure.

This persistently indulgent criticism of the British Labour Party, an indulgence characteristic also of some of the correspondents of the German Party Press, has done more harm than good. With a false conception of its interests, the child has been spoiled by over-indulgence. The Socialist statesmen, who in their wisdom have led the Party into its present unfortunate position, believe to-day that everyone who regards their masterpiece with a critical eye is either ignorant or malicious. We may also observe that the continued necessity of adapting themselves to the policy of the Liberals has affected the theoretical views of the Socialist Parliamentarians. No one can pursue a course of conduct without endeavouring at least to harmonise his convictions with his conduct. To give an example, we may refer to the unearned increment tax (Wertzuwachssteuer) of the much-discussed Budget of Lloyd George. Few will make it a subject of reproach against the Labour Party that they voted for this tax, which was, however,

a slashing blow on the part of the Liberal bourgeoisie (capitalist party) against reactionary English landlordism (*Junkertum*). But, in the eyes of the Socialists of the Labour Party, the unearned increment tax is a fragment of Socialism, or at any rate a step on the road to Socialism. To this, however, even bourgeois writers have replied that with equal justice the income-tax could be called Socialistic. Such a slipshod application of the term Socialism, by which the word is made to embrace all possible elements, without reference to class interests, is precisely what has led to that confusion in the ranks of the English Socialists which all true friends of the movement must deplore. In course of time such theories cannot fail to thrust the English workers back upon Liberalism, for the simple English workman will say to himself: "But if the Liberal Party is willing to offer us a fragment of Socialism, why, then, is it necessary for me to vote for a Labour candidate, whose candidature, owing to the nature of our electoral system, may result in the return of a Conservative, and thus lead to the overthrow of the Party that is giving us Socialism in easily digestible portions?"

Fortunately, the present decline in the vigour of the Labour Party has occurred at a time when the working classes of Great Britain are being fiercely attacked, alike in the economic and in the political sphere, and therefore at a time which is especially well-adapted for the awakening of the class-consciousness of the English workers. To what extent the mistakes of the Labour Party will defeat the otherwise happy concatenation of circumstances is the question of the hour. The Conservatives, for example, at the next General Election, will hardly neglect the opportunity of reminding the working-class electors that it was the Conservatives alone who voted for the Labour Party's amendment against sweating in Government workshops—an amendment which was abandoned by all the members of the Labour Party with two exceptions. In the case of a politically enlightened proletariat, such a sophism as this would indeed have but little effect; but in England such matters are surprisingly influential. In any case, the present situation is a very promising one for the uprising of a strong Socialist working-class party. In the economic field of battle, the powerful employers' federations have suddenly convinced the workers that with their old-fashioned isolated trade unions they are a generation behind the times; and in the political arena, the Osborne judgment has proved to the working classes that the justice of the class State is also a class justice. They are, now engaged in trying to find an answer to the question why it is that the great capitalist corporations may send their directors and salaried officials into Parliament, whilst the same course of action is forbidden to the organised workers.

That the Osborne judgment will lead to a change in the relations between the Labour Party and the Liberal Government is fairly certain. The Government cannot do away with the judg-

ment without giving rise to a profound disorganisation of the Liberal Party ; it will probably offer the Labour Party the Payment of Members and of official election expenses by the State. These reforms would provide for the Labour Party entirely new conditions of life. It would be necessary to form electoral clubs or similar organisations, whose function it would be to provide the money for propagandist purposes, which at present is supplied by the trade unions. The Parliamentarians would no longer, in that case, be enabled to act independently of all criticism, but would be subject to a continuous control on the part of the members of the Party, and indeed on the part of the workers generally, who would manifest their interest in the policy of the Party by the payment of contributions.

In these circumstances, the Radical movement within the ranks of the I.L.P. (which is the really vital portion of the Labour Party), as manifested by the issue of the pamphlet "Let Us Reform the Labour Party," is doubly welcome. It furnishes us with a definite assurance that the forces of the English Labour movement will not in the future be dissipated in opportunist experiments, but will be guided in the right channels. The democracy of the workers is not an army of mercenaries which can turn its arms, now in one direction, now in another. It requires a definitely fixed, generally understood line of march, one which will not throw the troops into confusion ; and it needs leaders who have a clear vision of their ultimate goal.

J. KÖTTGEN.

To this article is added, in the "Socialist Review," the following criticism by the Editor :—

The above article is published so that the readers of the "Review" may understand the attempt that is being made to misrepresent our movement to the German Social-Democrats. Mr. Köttgen is the London correspondent of "Vorwärts," and is, in addition, a sort of official English contributor to the "Neue Zeit," in which this article appeared. Similar articles are appearing from other hands in other Continental and American papers, and I understand that one of the most recent attacks which was published in the "Hamburger Echo," a Socialist daily, has been made the subject of a strong protest by Mr. Keir Hardie. Fortunately, the greater part of the German and American movement is alive to the bias of these articles, but the British movement itself ought to be more aware of them than it is. They throw much light on the motives and the methods of some of our critics, who do not always introduce themselves to us here in the hostile spirit in which they reveal themselves to our foreign comrades.

As will be seen by the article printed above, Mr. Köttgen condescends to inform the German movement that we attack it. We

criticise it undoubtedly, but the implication in this and similar articles is that we do so in a hostile spirit, and from some other camp. That is untrue. We have pointed out again and again and in respect to question after question that the German—especially the Prussian—movement has not the same Parliamentary conditions to study and manipulate as we have. In consequence of this we have argued that their method is not always the same as ours, and that their outlook on matters of policy must differ somewhat from ours. We have pointed out further that British Parliamentary conditions are to be those which our German friends will have to face so soon as personal factors diminish in influence in the German Government. We have associated ourselves rather with the revisionist German Socialists without in any way making ourselves responsible for the whole of their creeds and acts, and we have done so because they seem to us to have anticipated in some vital directions the inevitable trend of German Socialist evolution. When we have had to examine the practical proposals made by the German Social-Democrats of the dogmatic school on such questions as unemployment, we have had to point out that they were sterile. Now, this attitude is constantly represented, as it is in the above article, as “an attack,” and, of course, the “capitalist” press is dragged in to add shade to the accusation. The fact is that, leaving criticism on details on one side, within the last twelve months, and since the Copenhagen Congress in particular, the defence of the International Socialist movement has been handed over to those of us who are now being misrepresented to the Germans by such writers as him who fills so unworthily the office of London correspondent of “Vorwärts.” For instance, the London correspondent of the New York “Call” wrote a few weeks ago a vitriolic attack upon the Copenhagen Congress and its work, on the ground, apparently, that I praised it “in the capitalist Press.” This particular critic, though a member of the staff of the “Daily News,” is, naturally, particularly censorious with everyone who writes a line for the enlightenment of the public who read morning papers.

The mere publication in English of Mr. Köttgen's article is sufficient to unmask the game that is being played. Quite evidently it was meant for German and not British consumption. The statement so deliberately made, and with such appearance of proof on account of the reference to the discussion in the “Labour Leader,” that “the great majority of the members of the I.L.P. are profoundly disheartened on account of the Revisionist tactics of their Parliamentary Representatives,” is simply untrue, as the pages of the “Labour Leader” show. Not half a dozen branches of any importance, not half a dozen branches that have been spending their time in hard effective work, have taken the trouble to say anything about the Manifesto, and practically everyone that has passed approving resolutions has done so at

small meetings of no representative consequence. This definite misrepresentation of an easily ascertained fact indicates the spirit in which the pamphlet and its argument is paraphrased.

When the point was reached for Mr. Köttgen to indicate the line of reply, he evidently found himself in a difficulty. It was his plain duty to inform the readers of the "Neue Zeit" how the Manifesto had been met. But that would not have suited his intention in writing his article. He would have had to tell how the Barnes-Budget policy had been shown to be weak rather than strong, dependant and echoing rather than independent and characteristic; he would have had to tell how the Party vindicated its action regarding the War Office amendment, and how the Labour Members who voted with the Opposition had stated that they did so under a misapprehension, there having been no Labour Whips on the Division Lobby door; he would have had to admit that the cock-and-bull story about the withdrawing of the unemployment amendments to the Address originated in a mistake regarding what had actually taken place. That would have been awkward. It would have been putting the ace of trumps upon the Manifesto's king, and Mr. Köttgen had not the honesty to do that. The ace had been played, but Mr. Köttgen reported to his German friends that it had not, and he gave the trick to the Manifestants. The "leaders" had been taken by surprise; they gained time by criticising grammar (the first I have heard of that); they had nothing to say except that the issue was disloyal.

Well, yes! There was one reply. "Ultimately" (note the implication of hesitation in the word) "the Editor of the 'Socialist Review' attempted a rejoinder" which "really attempts to give a reasoned refutation of the accusation." Mr. Köttgen is very careful not to summarise that "attempt." His reference to one single and very minor point in the reply is a ludicrous substitute for the thing itself, as our readers will very well remember. He has the faculty of discretion. The judge adjourns the Court when the defence opens, and declares that the trial has ended.

The final paragraphs, containing the erroneous statement amongst others that the "Labour Leader" is the official organ of the Labour Party, are also meant to be read in German, for they add to the mistakes of the writer. No one objected to the issue of the pamphlet, but nearly everybody condemned men who were members of a Council, whose chief business it was to watch over the developments of policy, never whispering a word of what they intended to do to their colleagues, and never raising the questions involved in a definite form before the Council with which they were elected to act. That is the charge.

"Vorwärts" has been unhappy in its London correspondents. One after another has come here, has studied our work, has become acquainted with British conditions, has formed his opinions, and has invariably admitted that we were right in our policy *from the Socialist point of view*. This, apparently, has not

suited. Mr. Köttgen came to London to take Mr. Beer's place, because Mr. Beer was not acceptable to our own Social-Democrats. Mr. Beer wrote the truth about the British movement and the British situation. The article upon which this is a comment shows how Mr. Köttgen is fulfilling his duty. It is published in the "Socialist Review" because it is a revelation of tactics which are commonly pursued to-day, and which are unworthy of the most debased organs of the "capitalist Press." Mr. Köttgen's qualities would make him a valuable member of the staff of the "Daily Express." On the other hand, this rejoinder is attached so that our German comrades may have a chance of understanding how this controversy stands, and, at the same time, so that they may have a measure of their correspondent's reliability.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

In the "Neue Zeit" for December 23, the above attack by Mr. MacDonald upon our comrade Köttgen is reprinted, with the following rejoinder:—

It is a difficult task to have to deal with a person who answers every criticism with abuse, who accuses every critic, without exception, of dishonesty and moral inferiority. Let the reader only look at the last paragraph of MacDonald's remarks. If the words have any meaning at all, they mean in short: "Vorwärts," which has hitherto been unlucky in the choice of its correspondents because they unfortunately told the truth, has procured a correspondent who must report untruths. What can one reply to such a moral derailment? It is characteristic of the man who began his criticism of the pamphlet, "Let Us Reform the Labour Party," with calling its four signatories Jesuits, and giving them a sermon a page and a half long upon their moral putrefaction, finishing up with: "No movement to-day can be better served by an unbending puritanism than Socialism." But stop, comrade MacDonald! It ought to be "sincerity." We have already too much puritanism, too much of that repulsive arrogance which sees a lost and damned soul in every person with a different opinion from itself.

Before I go into MacDonald's misleading statements, I would put one point right. MacDonald has been tormented for about a year by the frightful suspicion that there is a plot among the London correspondents of Social-Democratic newspapers, having for its object the spreading of untruths about the Labour Party. I do not know why he looks upon me as a member of this group of conspirators. Anyhow, I can assure him that I do not know either of the London correspondents mentioned by him, neither him of the New York "Call," nor him of the "Hamburger Echo." Nor have I ever seen an article from their pens. He may, therefore, believe me when I say that my work has in no way been influenced by any personal connections, but is based

only on my own views, which I have acquired by the experience of a great many years spent in Great Britain. But why attack the foreign critics? Are there not enough critics of the Labour Party's policy within his own Party? Did not Mr. Barnes, the chairman of the Labour Party, declare, a few weeks ago, that the critics inside their own house were as numerous as the grains of sand on the seashore?

MacDonald wants to give the Continent to understand that the very natural reaction against the weak policy of the Labour Party, which reaction has made itself felt in so distinct a manner in the I.L.P. movement, is solely engineered by a handful of unimportant grumblers. He writes that I intentionally misrepresented the extent of the movement, and points out to me the source from which I could easily have found out the truth. Well, I have searched the columns of the "Labour Leader" for the last few months, and studied the contents of the resolutions in which the branches have expressed themselves regarding the manifesto of the "four just men," in order to see if my impressions are also justified by figures. I found in the "Labour Leader" 111 resolutions, 40 of which express themselves unconditionally in agreement with the opinions of the rebels, 21 only condemn the manner in which the four members of the N.A.C. published their manifesto without the knowledge of the majority of the Council, but leave the question of its contents quite untouched; 8 further resolutions agree with the opinion of the latter, but express themselves for the policy of the authors of the manifesto while only 28 condemn unconditionally the manifesto and its authors. The remaining 14 resolutions are difficult to classify, on account of their vagueness; but 6 appear to be against and 8 for the opinions of the rebels. I will leave it to the reader to judge MacDonald's love of truth. With his highly-developed self-conceit, it is only natural that he claims for his side all those branches which have not expressed their opinion at all. Moreover, if MacDonald is so sure of his case, why does he fulminate so strongly against the new demand of the four rebels that the branches be consulted as to whether this would not be an occasion for a referendum on questions of tactics? A poll could only be welcome to him, for it would prove the unfounded nature of that "dishonest" criticism which has excited him so much. MacDonald does not like the idea of referendum—not even a general inquiry—about the question, the answer to which is being chirrupped from the roofs by all the sparrows in Great Britain.

In his commentary MacDonald complains that I did not do justice to his arguments. He calls it ludicrous that I accentuated a "very minor point." This point (the question of Revisionism) is so very minor that Mr. MacDonald devotes a page and a half to it in his rather more than eight pages of criticism of the manifesto. He dictates to me that I ought to have set forth how it has been shown that the Budget-policy of the chairman Barnes was "weak

rather than strong, dependent and echoing rather than independent and characteristic." I have for a long time suspected MacDonald of being guided in his policy by æsthetic considerations. The extremely successful policy of the Irish, which was demanded by Barnes and others, cannot be entitled "weak and dependent" simply because it was not invented by the Labour Party. Mr. MacDonald repeats to himself the sentence that a strong policy is a weak policy so often that he ends by believing it, and refuses to learn by experience. The more Liberal our policy is, he says to himself, the stronger, the more independent and the more characteristic it is. He goes round the questions so definitely formulated in the manifesto like a cat on hot bricks.

MacDonald's reply is written for German readers, who are not acquainted with the facts of the case. He brings forward things which in England can be proved incorrect without any great difficulty. For instance, he states that the two members of the Labour Party who voted with the Opposition on the Labour Party's amendment concerning the sweating system in Government workshops—really a quite secondary point, by mentioning which, MacDonald, in his characteristic way, only tries to divert the readers' attention from the main point—did so by mistake. He, as well as everyone in England, knows—or anyhow ought to know—that at least one of the two (Will Thorne) voted intentionally for his Party's amendment, a fact which Thorne does not disguise. MacDonald also characterises Keir Hardie's remarks about the withdrawal of the amendment concerning unemployment as a cock-and-bull story, based upon a mistake. This is the first time MacDonald has brought forward this excuse. Even now he does not clear up the alleged misunderstanding. How can he, under these circumstances, demand of a critic that he should doubt the statements made so explicitly and clearly by the respected Socialist leader, Keir Hardie?

MacDonald is fearfully angry with me because I did not award him the crown of victory. There's the rub. Unfortunately, it was not given to me to see his arguments through his own enchanted spectacles. The ace of trumps with which he unblushingly covered the king laid down by the authors of the manifesto was in reality but a worthless nine. Again, the judge did not, indeed, suppress the defence, but he did suppress the abuse and aspersions by means of which the defence tried to help itself out of the difficulty. Then as concerns my statement about the "Labour Leader" being the official organ of the Labour Party, MacDonald's reply only shows what a petty mind he has. All the prominent members of the Party write for the paper, which thereby obtains its official air, even if it does not belong to the Labour Party, nor officially pronounced to be the Party organ. How MacDonald can play with facts is shown by the last paragraph of his philippic. He there writes that one correspondent after another of "Vorwärts" has come to London, and has given his

blessing to the work done by the Labour Party. That is nothing but a bit of MacDonald's usual bluff, where he trusts to the inattention of the reader. Since the formation of the Labour Party only one such correspondent—or two at the utmost—can be spoken of. It is under these circumstances easy for MacDonald to speak of unanimity.

He writes, further: "As may be seen from the article printed above, Mr. Köttgen condescends to inform the German movement that we attack it. We criticise it undoubtedly; but the implication in this and similar articles is that we do so in a hostile spirit, and from some other camp. That is untrue." The audacity—not to use a stronger expression—of this assertion leaves nothing to be desired. Does MacDonald actually mean to say that he does not attack German Social-Democracy in a hostile spirit, nor from another, a hostile camp? I refer him to his article on the Copenhagen Congress, in the "Daily Chronicle," of September 7, 1910, in which he wrote:—

"Copenhagen also marked a great advance in Parliamentary methods, and showed in the clearest possible light how impotent the older revolutionary school has become in the face of Parliamentary institutions. That old school dearly loves to utter 'capitalist,' 'proletariat,' 'bourgeois,' 'class-consciousness,' and similar words and phrases, but when it comes to actual work it is useless. Thus Great Britain, which has used meaningless words less than any other country, had to protest again and again against being committed by the German revolutionary sections* to the meanest of mean programmes. In factory inspection, child labour, hours of work, and, curiously enough, in political grasp of the meaning and development of systems of State insurance, State inspection, and trade union action the British Labour Party is half a generation ahead of the Continental Socialist movement."

This ridiculous nonsense is written by MacDonald in the "Daily Chronicle," a Liberal paper after Eugen Richter's† own heart, which at every critical period attacks the workers from the rear. What friendly criticism! What a famous defence of the international movement which lies so near to MacDonald's heart! And, moreover, what faculty of perception, and what love of truth! The Labour Party, about half of whose members in the whole country kick against raising the age-limit for child labour, ahead of us by half a generation!

But MacDonald can do the other trick, too. Two souls dwell within his breast. One shows itself in the "Socialist Review," and the other he holds in readiness for the Liberal "Daily

* I suppose Germany and Austria are meant.—J. K.

† A former leader of the more "advanced" wing of German Liberalism.—ED.

Chronicle." In the latter he writes that the Labour Party is half a generation ahead of us in respect of trade union action, in the "Socialist Review" (December, 1910), he recommends the appointment of a British Trade Union Committee, who are to travel through Germany to study the German model trade unions; for, according to his own statements, the British trade unions are no longer quite up-to-date. In his philippics against me he philanders with the Revisionist comrades, and in the "Socialist Review," of November, 1910, he writes that, at the Magdeburg Congress, Bebel "delivered one of those great pronouncements on Socialist policy which have made him the greatest of all Germany's political leaders." One can see MacDonald is not devoid of logic. I think the mildest judgment one can pass on MacDonald is that he is a muddle-headed person of uncommonly great promise.

MacDonald would do well to go more cautiously to work in future when dealing with easily ascertainable facts. The clumsy attempts at bluff with which he tries to meet his critics will otherwise miss their effect. He makes it all too easy for the accused to turn the tables upon him, and place the accuser himself in the pillory.

J. KÖTTGEN.

THE REVIEWS.

THE MARRIED WORKING WOMAN.

Anna Martin contributes a second article under the above heading to the current "Nineteenth Century and After." She says:—

There is no doubt that the insistent demand of to-day that something shall be done to improve the life conditions of the masses arose from the sudden realisation of the physical defectiveness of the rising generation. The report for the year 1909, just published, of Dr. Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education, will not tend to reassure the public. Taking the whole number of the children attending the elementary schools as 6,000,000, he estimates that 10 per cent. suffer from defective sight, 3 to 5 per cent. from defective hearing, 8 per cent. have adenoids or enlarged tonsils and require surgical treatment, and that from 20 to 40 per cent. show defective teeth. In the 'forties and 'fifties, Lord Shaftesbury was looked upon as a sentimental fool for troubling himself or anybody else about the child-workers in the mills and mines. Their fate was not seen to affect the national fortunes. The poet Southey tells in a letter of a manufacturer who, with great pride, took a friend over his large and well-appointed mill, and who, on pointing to the children collecting cotton-waste on the floor, remarked with calm regret that few would live to grow up, as their lungs would become choked with fluff. It never occurred to an employer of that date that, for his private profit, he was robbing the community of the wealth-producers of the future, and just as surely was creating a class of "unemployables" for it to support.

Since these days social consciousness has developed, and people are dimly perceiving that we are all members of one another, and that if one member suffers the whole body suffers with it; but there is still in many quarters a persistent refusal to recognise facts. Men of high repute lament publicly the spread of humanitarianism, which, they declare, is only perpetuating the unfit by feeding the child of the loafer and of the drunkard at the expense of the steady and industrious. They do not, however, face the logical conclusion of their own arguments. If the scores of thousands of children fed in the schools last winter are really a danger to the State, it would surely be more statesmanlike and less cruel to provide officially for

their painless extinction than either to leave them to a miserable death behind the scenes from slow starvation, or to expose them to such conditions that, though they may not actually die, they must inevitably become even worse human material than their parents.

But, in truth, the offspring of the drunkard and of the loafer form but a small part of the problem confronting the school doctor.

The applicants to the Distress Committees under Mr. Long's Act, taken as a whole, are doubtless considerably below the mental and moral level of workmen who manage to exist on their own resources, and yet experience shows that between 70 and 80 per cent. of those who apply are industrious and steady men.

The anxiety about the children's physique arises, no doubt, from different reasons in the case of different persons. The capitalist fears a decrease in his labour supply; the military authorities think of their recruits; the Socialists see an opportunity of organising a millennium on their own pattern, with themselves as directors. Other folk merely obey the natural instinct to ward off immediate suffering from the innocent and helpless, without looking further ahead. But the remedial schemes put forward all agree in this—that they absolutely ignore the opinions and experience of the one class in the nation which has first-hand knowledge of the matter in question. It may, therefore, be useful to show how some of the proposals appear in the eyes of such typical working women as those the writer has learnt to know at No. 39.*

First, as to the provision of free meals in the schools. Each year a larger number of the mothers take advantage of the dinners. The pressure of the home behind them is practically irresistible, but the system excites neither enthusiasm nor gratitude. It is not the solution of the problem of the poverty-stricken child that appeals either to their moral or to their common-sense. The English lower classes have so little power of expression, and so often use what language they possess to conceal their thoughts, that it is not easy to find out what they really think and why they think it; but the lukewarm attitude of the women towards the free meals system seems to be due to the following considerations. First, they are sincerely apprehensive of the demoralisation of the men if the responsibility of the children's food is lifted from the shoulders of the fathers. This was voiced by one woman, who said, "Feeding the children won't do us any good. Our husbands will only say, 'You don't want 20s. a week now; you can send the children to the dinners and do with 17s. 6d.,'" and the whole meeting agreed that this was to be expected. When the work is of a casual nature, neither wife, nor Children's Care Committee, nor the London County Council organiser, has any means of ascertaining the man's actual income; if he declares he is only working two or three days a week, no one can gainsay him. The women realise how hard their husbands' lives are, and how many small

*Vide the writer's first article on this subject in last month's "Nineteenth Century and After."

ease-ments could be secured with an extra half-a-crown as weekly pocket-money; and they know it is absurd to expect average husbands and fathers to resist the temptation of lessening the household's demands on their thinly-lined pockets. No class in the nation could stand such a test, as the whole history of endowments shows. But the women, with good cause, dread anything which weakens the link between the breadwinner and his home.

Secondly, the members of No. 39 are convinced that the provision of school meals does lead to an increase of drinking habits among a certain class of mothers, and they support their opinions by citing instances from their own streets. They point out that there are many women who are not, on the whole, bad parents, and who would not spend money in the public-house that was needed for the children's dinner, but who cannot resist the temptation of securing an extra two or three glasses of beer if their little ones do not thereby directly suffer.

They also quote cases where the feeding of the younger members has enabled that scourge of the working-class home—the loafing grown-up son—to live on his family.

Thirdly, the women have a vague dread of being superseded and dethroned. Each of them knows perfectly well that the strength of her position in the home lies in the physical dependence of husband and children upon her, and she is suspicious of anything that would tend to undermine this. The feeling that she is the indispensable centre of her small world is, indeed, the joy and consolation of her life.

Again, the women resent the moral strain of having thrust on them a perpetual struggle between their consciences and their pockets, and the continual irritation of knowing that less scrupulous neighbours are securing help which would be very welcome to themselves. "Of course, we could all *do* with the meals," say our friends at No. 39; "if you spend a bit less on food, there's a bit more for coals and boots; and if your big girl falls out of work you can feed her on what you save on the little ones."



TOLSTOY AND ROUSSEAU.

Francis Gribble writes a very interesting study of Tolstoy in this month's "Fortnightly Review." The following is an extract:—

Rousseau was the first teacher whose influence Tolstoy underwent, and a teacher whom he never felt it incumbent on him to repudiate. He tried, though with imperfect success, to reorganise the village school in his own commune on the lines prescribed in "Emile," and only a few years before his death he enrolled himself as a member of the Genevan "Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau." "Rousseau," he then wrote to the president of that society, "has been my master ever since I was a boy of 15. Rousseau and the

Gospel have been the two great beneficent influences on my life. Rousseau never grows old. Quite recently I happened to re-read some of his books, and I admired them, and felt my soul uplifted by them, just as when I read them for the first time in my early youth."

The grounds on which the later teacher based his enthusiasm for the earlier one are not given. Perhaps Tolstoy thought they would be obvious; perhaps he regarded them as immaterial; but that is no reason why the inquisitive should not inquire. It can hardly have been the outcome of whole-hearted admiration for the life related in the "Confessions," for the man has yet to be born who can feel whole-hearted enthusiasm about that. Equally little can it be taken to indicate whole-hearted agreement with Rousseau's philosophic doctrines. The apostle of non-resistance must have made grave reservations in his approval of the Fifth Gospel, which furnished the philosophic justification for the fiercest furies of the Reign of Terror. Nor is it seriously to be supposed that Tolstoy admired Rousseau without understanding what he meant. He may have done so in his youth, but hardly in his maturer times. Then, we may take it, the sympathy was general rather than particular, and rested upon the feeling that his case and Rousseau's had much in common, and that the points of resemblance between them were more significant than the points of difference.

Certainly the parallel is very close. The two lives are equally the lives of men of the world who turned their backs on the world and were followed by the world to their retreats. The two lives, also, might equally well be described as moral evolutions—evolutions which did not proceed with gradual uniformity, but by jerks, and fits, and starts. Both men give one the impression of having sat for a long time on the fence, preoccupied with moral problems, in the midst of their worldly cares, before coming definitely down on the moral side of it. It cannot even be said that either of them came down all at once, in a single movement. Jean-Jacques is perpetually telling us in his "Confessions" that, at such a date, he became an altered character; but we generally find, after reading a few more pages, that the alteration did not amount to much.

Similarly with Tolstoy. The first moral crisis in his career occurred when he was a student at the University of Kazan. He had been to a party, in the dead of winter, at the house of a neighbouring nobleman, and when he left the house, wrapped in his furs, he found his coachman nearly frozen to death on his box. This set him thinking. "Why should I," he asked himself, "pass the night in this great house, elegantly furnished and comfortably warmed, and consume in wine and delicacies the value of many days' labour, while this poor peasant, the representative of the class that builds and heats the houses, and provides the food and drink, is shut out in the cold?"

Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



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STATE INSURANCE OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN GERMANY AND AT HOME.

By WILL THORNE, M.P.

In the history of social reform there is no piece of work more remarkable than the system of almost universal insurance for the working classes in Germany, which was inaugurated by Bismarck about thirty years ago. Provision is made by it for sickness and accident, and for permanent disability arising from either of these causes or from old age; and its importance to Germany itself is shown by the fact that in 1906, out of a total population of 58,000,000, over 11,500,000 of workpeople were insured against sickness, over 20,500,000 against accident, and 17,000,000 against disability arising from ill-health or old age.

The motives which influenced the originators of the policy in the early eighties were twofold. There was a desire to kill the Socialist movement by social reform—as well as a real anxiety to do something to improve the conditions of life for the working classes.

That idea found clear expression in the explanatory memorandum which accompanied the first legislative proposal made upon the subject by the Imperial Government in 1881:—

“That the State should interest itself to a greater degree than hitherto in those of its members who need assistance is not only a duty of humanity and Christianity, by which State institutions should be permeated, but it is also a duty of State-preserving policy, whose object should be to cultivate the idea—especially among the non-propertied classes, which are at once the most numerous and the least educated part of the population—that the State is not merely a necessary, but also a beneficent institution. These classes must, by the evident and direct advantages which are secured to them by legislative enactments, be led to regard the State not as an institution contrived for the protection of the upper classes of society, but as one serving their own needs and interests. The apprehension that a Socialistic element might be introduced into legislation in pursuance of this policy should not act as a check upon us. So far as that may be the case, it will be no innovation, but simply the further development of the modern idea that the State should discharge, besides the negative duty of protecting existing rights, the positive duty of promoting the welfare of all its members, and especially those who are weak and in need of help, by means of wise institutions and the employment of all the available resources of the community. . . . With a single measure, such as is now proposed, it is, of course, impossible to remove entirely, or even to any considerable extent, the difficulties which are contained in the social problem. This is, in fact, only the first step in a direction in which a difficult work, which will continue for years, will have to be carried through gradually and cautiously, and the completion of one task will produce new ones to be commenced.”

The reference in this passage to “State-preserving policy,” and the fear of Socialism, indicates the primary motive for the reform legislation of which the insurance schemes formed so important a part. In the late seventies the Socialist propaganda had made great progress, and the Anti-Socialist laws had been of little effect. The Government became convinced that repressive enactments were almost useless; it must adopt preventive measures, and do something to remove the causes of that discontent which was rapidly driving the workmen into the Socialist camp. In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Imperial

Parliament in February, 1881, the Emperor William I. said :—

* At the opening of the Reichstag in February, 1879, the Emperor, in reference to the law against Socialism of October 21, 1878, expressed the hope that the House would not refuse its co-operation in the remedying of social ills by means of legislation. A remedy cannot be sought merely in the repression of Socialistic excesses ; there must be simultaneously the positive advancement of the welfare of the working classes. And here the care of those workpeople who are incapable of earning their own living is of the first importance. In the interest of these the Emperor has caused a Bill for the insurance of workpeople against accident (to be introduced). His Majesty hopes that the measure will in principle receive the assent of the Federal Governments, and that it will be welcomed by the Imperial Parliament as a complement of the legislature giving protection against the Social-Democratic movements. Past institutions intended to insure the working classes against the danger of falling into a condition of helplessness owing to the incapacity arising from accident or age have proved inadequate, and their insufficiency has, to no small extent, contributed to cause the working classes to seek help by joining the Social-Democratic movement."

These, then, were the motives which produced ultimately the Sickness Insurance Law of 1883, the Accident Insurance Law of 1884, and the Old Age and Infirmary Insurance Law of 1889. All these have been greatly extended and amended from time to time, and it is the purpose of this article to describe briefly (without entering into all the elaborate details of administration) the system actually in force at the present time. But it is first of all desirable to draw attention to certain general principles which underlie the whole scheme.

The first of these is that participation in the insurance schemes is compulsory for all members of the classes to which it is applied ; in the occupations and classes of workpeople specified in the laws every person must be insured—there cannot be any "contracting out." Whilst the compulsion applies primarily only to what may be called the "wage-earning classes," it can be extended to others by direction of the Federal Council ; and persons not obliged to insure may do so

voluntarily in the institutions established by the various laws. Secondly, if the insurance was to be compulsory, Bismarck thought it inevitable that it must be through the State.

I.—INSURANCE AGAINST SICKNESS.

Insurance is compulsory for all workmen in building occupations, mines, quarries, factories, foundries and smelting works, railways, shipyards, and other trades and commercial pursuits, and for all such persons as foremen and clerks in these occupations whose salaries do not exceed 2,000 marks (£100) a year. Compulsory insurance can also be extended to workmen in irregular employment, or engaged in occupations not yet included in the range of the law, by order of the Federal Council. Persons not under any obligation to insure may do so voluntarily in one of the special institutions if their income does not exceed 2,000 marks a year. The following table gives the number of persons participating in their benefits in the year 1901 :—

	Population.	Working-class population.	No. of Societies.	No. of Insured.
Males	28,491,000	11,400,000	22,770	8,600,514
Females	29,588,000	6,200,000	—	2,798,076
Totals	58,079,000	17,600,000	22,770	11,398,590

Thus, approximately two-thirds of the wage-earning population in Germany are insured against sickness.

In all cases of compulsory insurance one-third of the contributions is paid by the employer, and two-thirds by the workmen. Where the insurance is voluntary the person insuring, of course, pays the whole of the contributions. These are fixed in amount by each society for itself, usually as a percentage of the average daily wage of its members; but in no case may the total contributions for each person insured

exceed 4 per cent. of the average wage. In return for this the minimum benefits are:—

(1) Free medical treatment in the insured person's own home (including everything necessary for a cure); and

(2) Sick money amounting to one-half of the average earnings in his trade in his particular district from the completion of the third day of illness for the whole period of disablement up to twenty-six weeks.

Or alternatively:—

(1) Free treatment and maintenance in a hospital or similar institution; and

(2) Half the amount of the sick money indicated above to be paid to the sick person or those dependent upon him.

Additional benefits obligatory upon the society are:—

(3) Sick money to women during confinement (for six weeks).

(4) In case of death, funeral money amounting to twenty times the average daily wage of the deceased member.

These are the minimum benefits, but any society may increase the benefits given (within certain limits) according to the contributions levied by it. The administration is carried on by committees of members; the employers are entitled to representation in proportion to their contributions towards the funds (i.e., to a maximum of one-third); but in the main the responsibility rests with the insured themselves, subject to the supervision of the local administrative authority, which in Germany is largely official and representative of the Central Government.

It will be convenient to give here a few figures which will show the extent of the financial operations of the sickness insurance societies, and the nature of their activities, in 1906:—

In 1906 there were 11,689,697 people insured against sickness in the German Empire. 263,593,888 marks were paid for medical treatment, medicine and medical appliances, sick support, death money (funeral expenses, etc.), support of women in childbed, and for sanatoria during the same year. The total receipts during the same period were 293,320,709 marks; and 15,328,856 marks were paid for administration purposes.

The German sick insurance system is undoubtedly in need of reform. It is divided up into different organisations, which hinder a uniform development. Three systems of organisation are ranged against each other—namely, the professional relief funds and corporation funds, the local organisations (local funds and parish insurance societies), and the provident funds for workmen. And within each of the managements war is waged between the insured and the employers. A reorganisation that would bring about a uniform sick relief system would be welcomed. Such a reorganisation, however, could not limit itself to sick insurance, but would have to extend to all other workmen's insurance systems.

II.—INSURANCE AGAINST INFIRMITY AND OLD AGE.

The legislation which established compulsory insurance against incapacity arising from infirmity or old age was not passed by the German Imperial Parliament until 1889, and took its present form ten years later in 1899. The obligation to insure is imposed upon all workmen and apprentices, domestic servants, and ships' crews, whatever their salary; and upon all others employed in industrial occupations (such as doormen), and all commercial clerks, teachers and tutors whose salaries do not exceed 2,000 marks (£100) a year. It may be extended to any classes whose inclusion is thought desirable by the Federal Council. The obligation to insure commences at 16 years of age. Voluntary insurance in the same institution is allowed to all industrial employees, clerks, teachers, &c., with salaries of less than 3,000 marks (£150) a year, and to small tradesmen, farmers, and others, on condition that they have not exceeded the age of 40 years at the time of entry. The total number so insured in 1906 was 17,096,763.

The institutions for insurance of this kind are either "general" or "special." The former (31 in number) are coincident with the great administrative areas, and include all persons within those areas who are liable or

are bound to insure, with the exception of any who belong to the other group of organisations (19 in number) which have been formed for large industrial undertakings, such as the railways and the mines. Both classes of institutions work under the strict supervision and control of the Central Government.

The contributions in the case of invalidity and old age pensions are payable half by the employer and half by the workman, as in the scale below. The State assistance consists in a fixed addition of £2 10s. to every pension payable, irrespective of its amount :—

Class.	Earnings.	Contribution.	The workman therefore pays
	£ s. d.		
I. up to	17 10 0	1½d.	¾d.
II. " "	27 10 0	2½d.	1¼d.
III. " "	42 10 0	3d.	1½d.
IV. " "	57 10 0	3½d.	1¾d.
V. over	57 10 0	4½d.	2⅛d.

The insured may, if they choose, pay contributions on a higher scale than the one fixed for them by law.

In return for these contributions the following are the benefits :—

(a) In the case of permanent incapacity arising from ill-health ("incapacity" being defined as inability to earn one-third of the average local wages in the insured person's trade) no claim to a pension is valid unless contributions have been paid for at least 200 weeks (or five years, since not more than forty weekly contributions are necessary in any year). If the payments have been made, then the insured is entitled to a pension varying according to his wage class. Each annual pension consists of :—

- (i.) A Government subsidy of 50 marks (£2 10s.).
- (ii.) A fixed minimum sum for each class :—

Wage Class.	Fixed Minimum.
I.	60 marks (£3)
II.	70 " (£3 10s.)
III.	80 " (£4)
IV.	90 " (£4 10s.)
V.	100 " (£5)

(iii.) An additional sum of so many pfennigs for each contributory week, thus :—

Wage Class.	No. of Pfennigs.
I.	3 ($\frac{3}{10}$ d.)
II.	6 ($\frac{3}{5}$ d.)
III.	8 ($\frac{4}{5}$ d.)
IV.	10 (1d.)
V.	12 ($1\frac{1}{5}$ d.)

So that, if we take the simplest case, a man who in Class I. had contributed for 200 weeks, and then became permanently disabled by illness, would be entitled to receive an annual pension amounting to 50 marks (£2 10s.) + 60 marks (£3) + 200 + 3 pfennigs (600 pfennigs, or 6s.)—i.e., £5 16s. in all. The maximum amount of such a pension appears to be £20 15s.

The usual arrangement is for the pension for incapacity arising from ill-health to commence at the end of the twenty-six weeks of sick pay, but the insurance institutions have the same right as the accident societies to require that all proper and reasonable means of securing a complete recovery shall be taken by the patient. They may themselves provide the requisite medical assistance, either in the patient's own home or in a suitable institution.

(b) The pensions for incapacity arising from old age can be claimed first at the age of seventy, and the minimum number of weeks in which contributions must have been paid is 1,200—i.e., 30 years. The annual pension then granted consists of two parts :—

(i.) A Government subsidy of 50 marks (£2 10s.).

(ii.) A fixed additional sum varying with the wage class to which the recipient has belonged, thus :—

Wage Class.	Amount.
I.	60 marks (£3)
II.	90 „ (£4 10s.)
III.	120 „ (£6)
IV.	150 „ (£7 10s.)
V.	180 „ (£9)

If the worker has paid various rates of contributions (owing to changes in earnings), an average contribution is calculated and the corresponding pension given. It will be seen that the minimum pension is £5 10s. a year (or a trifle over 2s. a week), and the maximum £11 10s. (about 4s. 6d. a week). These amounts are not large, and the criticisms most frequently directed against the scheme are that the pensions commence very late (there have been many proposals for reducing the age to 65), and that the amounts obtained then are too small. Admittedly the scheme is not all that could be desired, but it must be remembered, first, the pension can be obtained at an earlier age if incapacity is due to ill-health (as a matter of fact, it is very commonly claimed on that ground before the age of 70 is reached); and, secondly, that the amount, though small, may be of considerable use.

It will be noticed that the invalidity pension may be higher than the old age pension, and that the accident pension may be higher than either. The invalidity pension must, of course, be claimed before 70. It may be added that an insured female person who has paid contributions for at least 200 weeks may, on marriage, claim the return of half the contributions paid, and so may the widow and children under fifteen years of age in the event of the death of the insured person who has paid contributions for a similar period.

Weeks of sickness and of military service are counted as contributory weeks.

It is not necessary here to set out all the elaborate details of the administration of this great system. It is necessary to notice only the following points:—

(a) In the management of the insurance institutions the employers and employed share equally. The institutions may not undertake other insurance business, and the regulations drawn up by them for the conduct of their business must be approved by the Imperial Insurance Department. On each directorate there are official members appointed by the Government or the principal local authorities as its agents; one of the official members is chairman of the board.

(b) The courts of arbitration are composed of a Government official and of representatives, in equal numbers, of the employers and employed. They may not be members of the directorate of the insurance institution. The procedure is as simple and rapid as possible, and there are no costs attached to an arbitration. Appeal lies to the Imperial Insurance Office.

(c) Contributions are payable by the workmen by the purchase of stamps, which are fastened on to the contribution card; but, generally, the employer pays the whole amount due from his undertaking, and then deducts the workmen's shares from their wages, putting the corresponding stamps on their cards.

(d) Pensions may not be pledged, or made subject to any charges, by the pensioner. There are other attempts to guard against abuses; and, if he is a confirmed drunkard, the pension may be paid in kind, and not in money.

(e) Applications for pensions must be made (usually) to the local administrative authority, which makes inquiries into the circumstances and reports to the pension office. The pensions are paid through the post.

PROPOSED STATE INSURANCE FOR SICKNESS AND INVALIDITY IN ENGLAND.

During the last election campaign, both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary made some clear and definite statements with regard to State Insurance for Sickness, Invalidity, and want of employment, and at the opening of the present Parliament a slight reference was made to the matter in the King's Speech. In view, however, of the text of the schemes not being made known, it is difficult to criticise them, except on their general principles.

I have read a number of books and pamphlets dealing with these and similar schemes of State Insurance, and I was a member of the deputation sent by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress to Germany in 1908 to inquire into the working of the schemes in operation there. So far as I am aware, no national system of insurance against unemployment is in existence anywhere. Schemes are certainly in operation in Germany and in Switzerland and elsewhere, but they are administered through the municipalities. The two best schemes of insurance against unemployment are, in my judgment,

in operation at Ghent, in Belgium, and St. Gall, in Switzerland. It would, however, take up a vast amount of space to give the particulars of the schemes mentioned, and I cannot therefore deal with them here. It is now generally known that the scheme of insurance for sickness and invalidity proposed by the Government will be compulsory upon all wage-earners over the age of 16 and under 70, except those who are already members of a bona fide Friendly Society. There are, however, certain trade unions who undertake to pay sick benefits, and it is understood that workpeople who are entitled to sickness benefit through a trade union will not be exempt from the Government scheme unless the sickness fund is an entirely separate fund from the other financial undertakings of the trade union. If this proposal is carried into effect, some hardship will certainly accrue to trade unionists already insured against sickness through their trade union.

The scheme is to be a contributory one, but as to the amount of contribution the Government propose to ask for, whilst no definite statement has yet been made, I think I am right in saying that it will not be less than 6d. per week—that is, for the sickness and invalidity scheme. The scheme for unemployment, which will be brought forward at a later date, will, of course, require a further contribution. So far as I am concerned personally, I am against all contributory schemes. With the enormous wealth of the country and the vast resources at the disposal of the Government, it would not be difficult for schemes to be devised to relieve all workpeople during periods of sickness, invalidity and social distress without calling for any contribution from them. The reward of labour in the shape of wages is meagre enough, and the burdens of the people already sufficiently heavy. The contributions of the workpeople will be paid by the employer, who will in turn deduct them from wages (which system at present is a violation of the Truck Act), and it may be taken for granted that, whatever

the contribution may be, one half will have to be paid by workpeople and the other half by the employer and the State. All money collected will be remitted to the National Exchequer and then handed over to the various Friendly Societies. Each person insured in the Government scheme will have the option of joining any Friendly Society, always providing that it is a bona fide society recognised as such by the Government. The question of the management of the scheme is a vital one, and I understand that it will be entirely in the control of representatives of Friendly Societies and employers. Trade unions are thus entirely shut out of the management. With regard to the benefit to be paid, this also is at the time of writing unknown. There is, however, some foundation for a rumour in circulation that 10s. will be paid for 26 weeks and 5s. for a further 26 weeks during sickness, and if, at the end of 52 weeks, a person is certified to be permanently invalided, he or she will be transferred into the invalidity section, when a certain sum will be paid until 70 years of age is reached, when the person will become entitled to an old age pension.

It is rather surprising to find the wage-earners of the country, particularly those who are organised, taking so little interest in the Government's proposals. From the standpoint of the general labourers' unions, the schemes are certain to injure them to some extent. The general labourer is the lowest-paid worker in the industrial world, and undoubtedly is the greatest sufferer from casual employment, and to call upon this class for a compulsory payment of 6d. per week from wages to insurance schemes in addition to the amount already contributed to a trade union will be too great a burden, and will tend to promote disorganisation from sheer financial disability. Another drawback is that general labourers' unions do not usually maintain sick benefit schemes. On the other hand, the skilled trade unionists will be in a different position. All they will have to do will be to adjust their contributions and benefits to fit in with the Government scheme. The skilled

unions will also be better placed with regard to the unemployment insurance scheme than the general labourers' organisations, who usually have no unemployment benefit. Unions that have an out-of-work benefit will, under the Government scheme, receive grants from the National Exchequer in proportion to the amount disbursed under this head. The trade unions that have no benefit of this kind will either have to initiate one, or the members will have to receive the benefit at the post office, similar to the manner in which the old age pensions are now paid.

Probably the information given with reference to the various insurance schemes carried on in Germany will be of general interest. The German accident scheme, being of least importance, I have not dealt with it. The sick insurance scheme there is separately organised, and the invalidity and old age pensions schemes are practically managed together, as a separate contribution is called for insurance against the two last-mentioned disabilities. As will be seen, the workman pays two-thirds of the contribution and the employer pays the other third, whilst the management of the scheme is on the same basis as the proportion of contribution: viz., two-thirds of the governing body is appointed by the workpeople and the other third by the employers' section. This places the management entirely in the hands of the workpeople. The statistics have been brought down to the year 1908; and it may be noted that, whilst the figures I have quoted are as nearly correct as possible, there may be some slight inaccuracy.

A point worthy of special mention is that in connection with the old-age and invalidity scheme, even in the higher scale of contributions, workpeople are only called upon to pay 2½d. In the case of sickness the contribution starts on the low scale and rises to not more than 4 per cent. of the wages earned. The total amount of funds in hand of the old age and invalidity authority in 1906 was 1,323,622,066 marks, or over £66,000,000. During my visit to Germany I found

that workpeople made general complaints about the administration of the old age and invalidity scheme, and it was urged that it lacked uniformity ; the schemes were too costly, and it was claimed that the schemes carried on by workpeople among themselves could be taken as a model as far as administration was concerned, as they were far less costly when in operation.

There can be no doubt that these schemes of insurance were introduced into Germany by Bismarck with a view to allaying the rising spirit of discontent among the workers of that country, and to check the spread of Socialistic thought. I hope that when the Government schemes are introduced they will have the careful attention of the working classes in all parts of the country.

STATE MAINTENANCE.

By ZELDA KAHAN.

Nearly thirty years have passed since the Social-Democratic Federation first started the cry of Free Meals for Children, afterwards broadened into a demand for State Maintenance, and at length the people seem to have awakened, not indeed to its necessity, but at all events to the fact that there is such a question to be considered, and that it is fast becoming of urgent public importance.

The facts disclosed from time to time by independent investigators, as well as those revealed by Blue Books and statistics, are indeed exceedingly disquieting, and are enough to make the earnest citizen ponder gravely on the future of the mighty British Empire when its sons and daughters are reared under such morally and physically revolting conditions. Perhaps one can hardly illustrate the evil better than by quoting some of the remarks made by Sir Lauder Brunton, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.S., on the eve of the "Tribune" Conference on March 4, 1907:—

"Every day more children die in this country than were slain at Bethlehem by Herod. They die from ignorance, carelessness, or injurious sanitary surroundings, and this slaughter of the innocents is not enacted once, but is repeated day by day, week by week, month by month, and year by year. Surely it is time that we were up and doing and preventing this destruction of infant life. Nor is this all, perhaps this is not even the worst of it. Herod slew the children right off, but here, while even a greater number are slain daily, many survive, crippled in body or mind by disease, feeble in

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physique, feeble in intellect, and they grow up incapable of taking their proper part in life, which is to some of them only a long-continued martyrdom. They throng our out-patient rooms, they fill the wards of our hospitals, they are accommodated in our poor-houses, infirmaries and asylums. Others are so feeble that when they attempt to enter the army they are rejected, because they do not come up to the necessary standard. They go to swell the ranks of the unemployed who either cannot work or will not work; they increase the rates, which are already so heavy, and the industrious must pay for the idle. There are yet others who grow up apparently strong in body, but for want of good training their morals become deteriorated, and they join the criminal class and prey upon their fellows."

Many are the curious reasons and remedies given for this state of affairs, yet not one of these would hold water. It is obvious, for instance, that the exclusion of the child from the public-house can do but little, for the child suffers neglect no less, possibly even more, by being left to wait in the gutter or to shift for itself in the squalid home whilst the mother is regaling herself in the public-house. Instead of obtaining thereby better food, better attention, better training, it in all probability only increases the previous heavy burden of the elder children. Thus, although to forbid the entrance of children into beer-houses may in itself be a step in the right direction, it is neither a solution, nor even the commencement of a solution, of the problem confronting us—namely, the wholesale starvation and neglect of our children.

Nor, again, would more provident marriages solve the problem any better. No one will affirm that so far as neglect and hunger is concerned our children are considerably, if at all, in a better position than they were in 1870 or 1880; yet during the last 35 years the marriage rate has declined nearly 9 per cent., whilst if the marriage rate is calculated on the basis of the number of persons of marriageable age, instead of on the total population, then the decline is found to be 12

per cent. The mean age at which marriage takes place has meanwhile risen from 26.59 in 1896 to 27.07 in 1905, the number of minors per 1,000 marriages has decreased from 77.8 in 1870-80 to 40 in 1908 for husbands, and from 217.0 to 140 for wives during the same period. In the same way the number of divorces has increased very largely, whilst the proportion of married women to those of marriageable age has greatly decreased. This same picture is also presented by the birth-rate; thus, to quote the words of the Registrar-General: "In the years 1880-1882, there were no fewer than six States in which the fertility of wives was less than that recorded in England and Wales; whereas, 20 years later (1900-2), the rate of fertility among married women in England and Wales was, with the exception of France, lower than that recorded in any other European country." The decline and increase here mentioned are steady from year to year, are still continuing, and are not merely the result of choosing particular years for comparison. It is, further, interesting to note that a similar steady decline in the marriage and birth rates and increase in the number of divorces is not peculiar to England, but is a feature of most European countries. It is evident from these figures that there is something in modern conditions which makes family life more and more difficult and uncomfortable, which lowers the physique and vitality of our women; and it is at least highly probable that, so far from improvident marriage being the cause, it is this very something which is also responsible for the unhappy position of our child population. We shall not discuss this "something" here. But one thing is clear, that whatever the cause, the 13,000,000 on the poverty line cannot maintain their children in moral and physical well-being even if they know how, and wished to do so. It is also clear that in all cases of neglected children the neglect is due either to the inability or ignorance of the parent, or to the absence of that moral responsibility of which we hear so much at present. If the former, even charit-

able agencies, and to a less extent Parliament and the more humane borough or county councils, have recognised the urgent necessity of relieving at least slightly the heavy burden cast on helpless children by the poverty of their parents. If the latter, we may shudder and feel indignant, but this will not help either the guilty parent or the innocent child very much. The question is, are we not fostering this irresponsibility by allowing so much scope for its exercise? Nothing makes one so callous as the continual and continuous sight of suffering, nothing makes one so coarse as the continual association with coarseness.

If the parents are to blame for the neglect, punish the parent by all means, or cure him if you can; but for heaven's sake do not allow the child to grow up into just such another parent by allowing him to breathe the same polluted atmosphere. If, however, poverty and not the parents are to blame, then society again has a double responsibility: that towards the child is plain, that towards the parent is not to allow him to develop into a savage and irresponsible being by the continual sight of the misery of his and his neighbours' children, and by never being allowed the opportunity of exercising any tenderness or love towards them.

That harm is done to both parent and child by allowing the continual starvation, ill-treatment, or general misery of the children to be what it is at present is fairly obvious. That both the feeling of responsibility of the parent as well as the dignity of the child is greatly undermined by making the feeding of the children depend on voluntary or charitable effort can also hardly be disputed. Let us, then, see whether the same objections hold for the only other method open to us—namely, the State feeding of the children—and here it will be instructive to indicate, in the first place, what has been done in other countries. Between the years 1904 to 1907 a series of articles appeared in the "Lancet" on the Free Feeding of School Children in Paris, Brussels, Milan, Vercelli, San Remo, Mentone,

Nice, Cannes, Toulon and Marseilles. In almost every one of these cases the same general features are presented; the first attempt at feeding the children of the poor had invariably been by means of private charity; gradually this was seen to be wholly inadequate, the Council or Government stepped in to supply the deficiency, and finally ended in most cases by providing the greater proportion of the necessary expense. The most notable feature in those cases in which the Council pays for the feeding of the children is the care taken to make no distinction between the children whose parents pay and those who do not. All eat at the same table, all are more or less decently dressed, gifts of clothing being made to the poorer children; and in some of the towns the teachers have their meals together with the children, thus ensuring the good quality of the meals and enabling the children to be taught good manners and decent behaviour out of school hours. Indeed, it was for the sake of the latter, for the sake of education as distinguished from mere instruction, for the sake of education in the art of "savoir vivre," that the feeding of the children in school was undertaken at all in Vercelli, where attendance at the school mid-day meal is compulsory both on rich and poor unless specially exempted by a medical certificate. What a far more effective lesson is here given of the essential equality of all than the mere words our children hear of the equality of all before God, of which they can see and feel no sign. And are the parents in any way degraded by it? Not so far as can be seen: care is taken to remove all idea of charity from the whole process; the feeding is paid for by taxation or rates, and since all contribute their share it is natural that it is looked upon as a right, not a gratuity. The number of parents who pay the 1½d. for their child's meal is, indeed, constantly decreasing, and this is scarcely to be regretted. The inquiries to be made in all non-paying cases often involve an interference in private affairs which no self-respecting though poor working-man, can, or should be,

forced to submit to. Some of it may filter through and become public to the detriment of both adult and children; further, the expense and trouble involved in the collection of the small sums at stake hardly pays; and, lastly, there is no logical reason why any line should be drawn between the physical and intellectual education of the nation's children. It must be remarked that, with the exception of some maternal homes and crèches, the feeding considered is in most cases only the mid-day meal, and that only on school-days, although in Paris 35,180 children attended school during the holidays in 1905, and were there fed though not taught. State Maintenance involves, of course, much more than this. It means that the child should be regarded as of no less importance to the nation than its roads, its sanitary conditions, its army, its navy, etc., and consequently must be kept in at least as great an efficiency as any of these institutions or possessions. This means that the State must feed and clothe as well as educate all children, whatever the conditions of their parents—that is, all children must be compelled to partake of the food and clothing provided by the State unless the parents can furnish satisfactory evidence that the children are efficiently fed and clothed at home, just as now all must attend the State schools, unless they are shown to receive at least as much education at home or at any other school. This, of course, is the only logical outcome of any attempt at free or State feeding, and we need not deceive or comfort ourselves that any half-measures, however immediately useful, will really stop short without reaching full State Maintenance. The sooner we recognise this the better, for we can then plan our action accordingly. Now, what are the objections? The arguments usually given, the undermining of the responsibility of the parents, have already been dealt with, and need not detain us any further here.

There is, however, a more important objection with which we have not dealt—namely, the possible destruction of family life, upon which it is alleged the

whole modern State rests. In the first place, be it noted that there would be no necessary, immediate, still less any violent, destruction of home life; the children, excepting those whose surroundings were hopelessly bad or immoral (in which case they would have to be removed to some boarding school, as we do now, often, in the case of truants, orphans, cripples, and so on), might still live at home, only receiving adequate meals, recreation, etc., in the common dining rooms and playgrounds of the school. Nevertheless, it would be a mere delusion to imagine that this would not affect the present mode of family life, its seclusion, its self-sufficiency, and so on. The communal manner of partaking their meals, the greater time spent at school with their companions, would naturally incline them to demand more social life than we have at present, and might also breed in them an impatience with the restrictions and the smug, retiring respectability of the modern family. This may or may not be an evil, but it is impossible to regard the question from this point of view at all. Already we have seen that, however desirable family life might be, there is something in our modern conditions which prevents its healthy growth. We know that, whatever the cause, a large proportion of our people cannot maintain their family in health and efficiency, and the question before us is not simply for or against family life, but, shall we maintain the status quo, and thus let family life be ruined and the nation degenerate, or shall we so alter or adjust our conditions as possibly to ruin family life as we have known it, but so as, at least, to maintain the nation in a healthy, thriving condition? There is no middle course. Changing conditions require corresponding changes in institutions, and it is of no use crying over spilt milk; we must do something to make good the loss, and the sooner this is done the better.

The handicraftsman, working in his private little workshop, may have produced more durable and more artistic wares than are produced by modern machinery; but, for all that, it would be impracticable and impos-

sible for us to return to this form of production. Machines undoubtedly displaced human labour and caused great misery amongst the working-classes when first introduced, but the workers soon saw how futile it was for them to fight against the innovation. Competition was at one time healthy and necessary; it is fast becoming wasteful and unnecessary, and so with many, in fact all, departments of life. The evils introduced by new conditions must be met, and are met, by corresponding changes in our institutions. We may think it exceedingly desirable to maintain the skill and interest of the working man in his work, but we cannot do it by a mere return to small private ownership in the means of production, nor can we now by the latter means do away with unemployment, however great the evil; the only possibility of completely removing the evil is by an industrial reorganisation on collective lines. So it is with family life as we have known it, and as we still fondly think of it. It is doomed. For the majority of our working men and women, as well as, of course, for many of the upper classes, it is, or is fast becoming, as much a thing of the past as our old village life or our old private post office system. What shall take its place? Charity is wholly inadequate and undesirable. State Maintenance can be the only reply, and if that does not save what is best and noblest in family life then it is not our fault, for nothing will.

Lastly, we may note the fact that, after all, State Maintenance is but an outcome of our general conditions. It was natural when each worked largely for his own and his family's private needs, when children were not separated from their parents either by distance or their different callings, when the society as such interfered but little with private life, that the main responsibility for the welfare of the children should fall upon the parents. When, however, the people have ceased to work for themselves, when they are employed in a collective manner, as they are now in large factories, when all are dependent on the work of

others for their existence, when children are separated from their parents, often early in life, by the exigencies of finding work, it is but natural that this individual responsibility has become considerably slackened. Moreover, society now looks after, or attempts to look after, the health of the people, and invades even the private home for this purpose; society has found it necessary to insist on the education of its citizens; in its collective capacity it attempts, however badly, to look after the weak, incapacitated, and indigent members. In short, it is the State, or society as a whole, which has become the most important factor in modern life. It is now the State far more than their parents to whom men and women owe and pay allegiance, and to whom they must turn in their hour of need; it is, consequently, but natural and proper that the State should step in and maintain the child where the parent cannot or will not do so. If only we could understand this once for all, we would not spend our time quarrelling, whilst the children are starving, as to the advisability of giving one meal a day, but we should at once set to and create the machinery whereby our children could be adequately maintained on the wealth which their fathers collectively produce. In thus building up a race morally, intellectually and physically superior, we should do infinitely more in maintaining our supremacy than by any expenditure, however vast, on army and navy.

THE MONTH.

The international working-class movement has suffered two notable losses in the past month by the death of Paul Singer and Sir Charles Dilke. We offer no apology for coupling their names together ; widely as they differed in almost every other essential, there was a common sentiment between them in their desire for the uplifting of the toiling masses. Paul Singer, however, left his class, gave up his business career, and devoted his whole life to the service of the revolutionary working-class movement. Sir Charles Dilke, even after he had been treated as an outcast by our immaculate English society, lacked the courage or the confidence to do this. He was not devoid of courage, that is quite clear, or he would never have held on as he did with such tenacity until he had practically rehabilitated himself. But if he had cared to break entirely with his class he might, without a doubt, have been the leader of a strong working-class party. Perhaps it was less a want of confidence in himself than in the working class which deterred him from assuming that leadership.

The Labour Party Conference at Leicester was a very tame affair. The change in the wording of the party pledge proposed by the Executive was adopted by an overwhelming majority, as was expected. The party has become static. Whatever it might have been, it is certainly not now an instrument for achieving any political economic or social change in the interest of the workers. It is distinctly a conservative element, maintaining the idea of Labour representation solely on the ground that the working class form a part of the community, and are, therefore, entitled to representation in the Legislature with the other classes. The revolutionary idea—that the working class is a subject class, and that the only object worthy of a working-class political party is the abolition of that subjection—is one which not only does not inspire our Labourists, but has been specifically repudiated by them. Mr. MacDonald boasted that the Labour

Party had killed revolutionary Socialism in England. So far as any revolutionary sentiment in the party itself is concerned, the boast is certainly justified. There is no revolutionary sentiment in it, and our I.L.P. friends take any repudiation of Socialism, or even of political independence, with smiling self-abasement.

Despite the protests from all over the civilised world, the unfortunate Dr. Kotoku and his associates were put to death by the Japanese Government after the mockery of a secret trial. We cannot hold the British Government guiltless in this matter. It must not be forgotten that Japan is an ally of this country ; that the treaty between the two Governments has been renewed ; and it surely would have been within the province of the British Foreign Office to have represented to our ally that secret trials and summary executions are not in accord with that Western civilisation Japan seems so eager to ape.

In Japan, as in Russia, however, we are made the accomplices, the aiders and abettors in the most outrageous judicial atrocities and crimes. As a people we are committed to alliances, of the nature of which we know practically nothing, with the most ruthless, sanguinary and reactionary despotisms, and this as part of a settled policy into which our Government has been forced, or has drifted, in consequence of developments in Eastern and Western Europe. But our people prefer to shut their eyes to these matters, and to denounce as jingoes any who may call attention to them.

At Leicester the Labour Party passed a quite innocent resolution in favour of disarmament and international arbitration. Not a word appears to have been said, however, about the root causes of war and armaments in modern society. On the contrary, war was declared to be "subversive of civilisation," instead of being the harbinger of civilisation, as it undoubtedly is in existing circumstances.

Meanwhile, our pacifist Liberal Government has arranged for a greater expenditure than ever on the Navy, and even that on the Army, we understand, is to be increased. And this, although the Liberal Press has been at pains to show that the alleged German naval programme is far from being carried out, and Sir Arthur Wilson declares that an invasion of these islands is impossible.

This last is good hearing ; although it is a very different story from that to which we have been accustomed in the past. Then we used to be told, on the authority of von Moltke, that to get an army into England would be comparatively easy, it was the getting out again that would be the difficulty. Since it has been pointed out that any army landing here would be an army of occupation, to dictate terms, and would, therefore, not be concerned about getting out, the tune has changed, and we are now told that an invasion even by a force of 70,000 men is impossible.

That, as we have said, is very good hearing. We see no reason to question it, anyhow. We are so far in agreement with the Blue Water school as to believe that an invasion would have to be preceded by defeat at sea. Now, however, it appears that not only is invasion impossible, but a naval defeat is equally out of the question. That being so, we should like to know what necessity there is for this abnormal expenditure on the Navy. We are living in a time of profound peace ; on terms of friendship with all our neighbours ; not a cloud darkens the political horizon—that, at least, is the language held by the Ministerial press. Why, then, this enormous increase in expenditure on armaments?

The King's Speech was remarkable rather for what it omitted than for what it said. The Parliament Bill, it is understood, is to be the chief item of the Ministerial programme for the Session. But the preamble of the Parliament Bill, the premises upon which it is based, appears to have been completely lost sight of. We have over and over again been told by Liberal politicians that the object of the Government is simply to limit the Lords' Veto ; that the reform of the House of Lords is a Tory dodge, and forms no part of the Liberal programme. But the preamble of the Parliament Bill distinctly states that the reform of the House of Lords is the reason for the Bill, which is only to be a preliminary to that reform. We take very little account of this "great constitutional issue," as it is the fashion to call it ; but the point in question should be borne in mind by those who still believe in the reality of the Liberal attack on the Lords.

The evidence given at the inquest on the victims of the Pretoria Pit disaster goes to show that, as we anticipated, this was only one of the many preventable colliery accidents. The mine was evidently nothing but a fiery death-trap owing to the presence of

gas and dust, which proper precautions would have removed. We wonder how many more mines are in the same condition ; or, perhaps, it would be more reasonable to ask how many are properly ventilated. In any case, care should be taken in the present instance to fix the responsibility on the right shoulders. That may have the salutary effect of "encouraging" others.

We are glad to see that Mr. George Lansbury is vigorously opposing the proposed new Order of the Local Government Board to restrict the power of Poor Law Guardians to grant out-door relief. The Order, of course, is entirely in consonance with the proposals of the Minority of the Poor Law Commission. That fact makes Lansbury's opposition to it all the more creditable to him.

We want to see the power of the Poor Law Guardians in this respect enlarged, not curtailed. Whatever may be their faults, they are, at any rate, directly responsible to their constituents. They are not a soulless bureaucracy, as inaccessible as Heaven or the Czar, and as callous and indifferent as stone.

The London Printers entered on their struggle for a reduction of working hours with a vigour and determination which should ensure success. Already some hundreds of employers have conceded the 50 hours, with an undertaking to go further if that is the arrangement at the close of the fight. Several thousands of men have struck, and they are receiving the hearty co-operation of the women and girls employed in the warehouse department. The attempt of several of the employers to intimidate the men by a lock-out was a signal failure, and the threat of a national lock-out by the provincial employers was withdrawn almost as soon as issued. They would have courted defeat had they carried it out.



PAUL SINGER.

PAUL SINGER.

The whole International Social-Democracy, but especially our German comrades, have suffered a heavy loss by the death of the veteran leader Paul Singer, which took place at mid-day on January 31.

The blow fell with comparative suddenness, for, although Singer had been suffering for some days from the pneumonia which carried him off, it was not expected that this would be fatal, and all friends were hoping to have him soon in the thick of the fight again.

Paul Singer was born in Berlin, on January 16, 1844, and was, therefore, 67 years of age at the time of his death. Educated in the Commercial High School, he commenced his business career in 1858, and was so far successful that in 1869, when he was 25 years old, he, with his brother, founded the well-known mantle-making establishment of "Singer Brothers."

At an early age he took an active part in political life. Not at first, however, as a Social-Democrat. He was merely a bourgeois democrat. Experience taught him, however, that it was impossible to realise a truly democratic State through the bourgeoisie, and he threw in his lot with the Social-Democracy. His work in the Social-Democratic movement dates from the early seventies of the last century, after the founding of the new German Empire. When he had been some years on terms of comradeship with many of the leaders of the Party, he identified himself officially with it after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist law, and from that time his energy, ability, self-sacrifice and devotion, combined with his knowledge of general conditions in Berlin, have been of the greatest service to the Social-Democratic movement.

In 1883 the workers of Berlin elected him, together with Franz Tutzauer, to the Town Council, a body with which Singer has ever since been connected.

In the following year Singer was elected to the Reichstag for the Fourth electoral district of Berlin. This constituency, which had been represented by a Social-Democrat from 1875 to 1881, was lost to us in the latter year in the first general election held under the Anti-Socialist law. Singer won it back for us with 25,386 votes to 24,476.

At this time, also, was founded the "Berliner Volksblatt," the forerunner of "Vorwärts," the first number appearing on March 30, 1884. "Vorwärts" is thus almost exactly the same age as "Justice." Singer contributed largely to the success of the venture, as well financially as in other ways.

Singer soon made his mark in the Reichstag as a powerful champion of our cause, and a keen and formidable debater. His influence as an orator had already been shown in the first speech he delivered at a meeting of Berlin workpeople on September 11, 1883, when he roused his audience to a tremendous demonstration of enthusiasm.

How inconvenient the reactionary Bismarck-Puttkamer Administration found Singer's sharp criticism was shown by his speedy expulsion from Berlin. For the attack he made on February 18, 1886, on the agent-provocateur methods of the Government, Singer was compelled to leave Berlin on July 3 of that year. The enthusiastic ovation which the Berlin workers gave him on his departure showed how completely he had won their hearts.

Singer then took up his residence in Dresden, but, on the pretext of the Prussian Government, was also expelled from there. If, however, the Puttkamer Government thought by this persecution to strike a blow at the Social-Democratic Party they were mistaken. Singer was, indeed, obliged to give up his business or his opinions. This provided the Party with a tireless agitator, whose voice was soon heard in all parts of the country. Singer withdrew altogether from business, formally severed his connection with the firm of "Singer Brothers" in January, 1888, and from thenceforward devoted himself entirely to the work of the Party, which he has since served in the highest representative positions. Already, in 1887, he had been elected to the Party Executive, and three years later, in 1890, at the Halle Conference, he was elected chairman of the Party.

That post he has occupied ever since; and the services he has rendered to the Party, nationally and internationally, are incalculable. How much our German comrades owe to his unswerving devotion, his clear judgment, his indefatigable energy and unfailing good comradeship they alone know, but we also can judge who have met Paul Singer in our International Congresses. For the last twenty years he has been a familiar figure at every important Social-Democratic gathering, national and international, which he was not prevented by illness from attending. He was one of the German members of the International Bureau; he presided at the International Congress at Stuttgart; and all who knew him noted with regret his absence from Copenhagen last year.

"And now," in the words of "Vorwärts," "death has taken him from us and put an end to his valuable work for our cause. No longer can he share with us the struggle for a better future. But his deeds live after him. His name belongs for ever to the history of the German working-class movement, and if in that

happier future the names of those who in this day and generation have striven for its advent should be recalled, one of the foremost among them will be that of Paul Singer."

He was buried in the Berlin cemetery on February 5, at least 100,000 people forming the procession which followed his coffin, through streets crowded with mourners, to the grave.

The following is a summary of the speech which led to Singer's expulsion from Prussia. It was delivered in the Reichstag on February 18, 1886, and published in the "Berliner Volksblatt" (the predecessor of "Vorwärts") :—

"In the reports submitted to us, it is stated that the Social-Democratic agitators always find so much opportunity at election time to sow the seed of their propaganda among the masses of the workers that it continues to bear fruit afterwards in the form of associations and meetings. Thereupon the Government bases its numerous prohibitions and dissolutions of meetings alleged to be dangerous to the public. But on the agendas of these meetings there were subjects like corn taxes, colonies, the creation of new sanitary stations, the question of Sunday closing, the Landtag elections, the general situation, etc. Is it really a public danger to discuss these things? What is dangerous in the whole Puttkamer system is that it uses two different measures, that the Social-Democratic meetings are treated differently from others.

"The dissolutions and prohibitions of meetings are carried out in an extraordinarily arbitrary fashion, under the cloak of the Anti-Socialist law, without its being necessary first to prove whether, in each individual case, the application of the law was really according to the intention of the legislators. The report points to the loyal carrying-out of the law in the case of expulsions. I would remind you of the well-known case of the expulsion of the chemist, Vogel, who was forbidden, first by the Police President and then by the Minister von Puttkamer, to remain one day in Berlin. And this in spite of the fact that Vogel had already lived five years out of Berlin, and that his request for one day's sojourn was in order to try and get in some old debts, which for Vogel, who was financially in a bad state in consequence of his expulsion, was a vital question. A workman named Müller was suspected by the police, on the ground of anonymous denunciations, of being a Social-Democrat. Every day a policeman appeared in the place where he worked, till at last Müller's employer (who did not want to be worried any more by the police) discharged him—to join the unemployed. A very similar case occurred at Kiel. The report further points out that among the Social-Democratic population the tendency to commit excesses is on the increase. In reality the excesses are provoked from quite another quarter. Think of the well-known incident of the thousands of Berlin comrades who, with their wives and children, were harmlessly making an excursion into the country

when 20 policemen suddenly appeared upon the scene, evidently with the intention of provoking a disturbance. Only the coolness and determination of my comrades not to allow the festival to be spoiled prevented some lamentable occurrence taking place. It is just we leaders of the Social-Democratic movement who take the greatest trouble to avoid the occurrence of any excesses in our meetings; for anything of the sort would lead to consequences which would be fatal to the peaceful development of events."

The speaker went on to say: "It has been proved by the writings of a Swiss Public Prosecutor that German police-agents as 'agents-provocateurs' are encouraging the propaganda of the Anarchists in Switzerland. But in Berlin also such things occur. A man joined a local branch of the party here who called himself Mahlow, and acted at once as a very energetic comrade, but soon went further, and became more and more extreme in his incitements to acts of violence." (The speaker went on to give details of the utterances of this individual, which excited the indignation of the House and caused the President to interrupt him on the ground that such things hurt the feelings of the deputies.) "This so-called Mahlow said, among other things, to a member of the branch that one ought not to lag behind the Russian Nihilists, as the world's history, which had hitherto always been made from above, could also be made from below, and that Russia was already dominated by the Nihilists. He said further that social reform was no use, force was the only means. He also occupied himself with organising a club, where he gave lectures on improvements in the use of dynamite; and brought some samples of dynamite with him, showed them to everyone and tried to persuade some members of the branch to take some of the bombs he was going to bring with him next time, and make use of them. This became too much for thoughtful workmen; they tried to find out more about Mahlow, and at last the man came out with his true object by inviting one of the members of the branch to enter the service of the political department of the Police Presidency; one could not get on, he said, by honest work, and one spy more or less would make no difference; therefore, one might well stifle the so-called voice of conscience. The workman in question pretended to agree to the proposal, whereupon Mahlow said to him: 'Help me to organise the people into one club, so that we can then do away with the whole nest at one stroke, for we need material in order to have an argument for prolonging the Anti-Socialist law.' He also wrote to the workman as follows: 'Dear friend, I see from your letter that your nose-bleeding has begun again, so buy 10 pfennigs worth of chloride of iron, and rub it on the upper part, that will cure the ailment.' When the man hereupon painted the upper part of the letter with chloride of iron, the following words became visible: 'I shall expect you at such and such a time and place.' The unmasking of Mahlow now soon followed, and he turned out really to be an agent of the poli-

tical police named Ihring, and living at 36, Gollnowstrasse. In the meeting of the branch, at which I was present myself, the man was removed from the premises in no very gentle fashion; he made himself known to the policeman in charge, under whose protection he placed himself, by means of a ticket as an official of the political police. (Deputy Richter: 'This is too much!—Here are your faithful officials, Herr Puttkamer!') I, on my side, accuse the Government of the country of having tolerated such conditions, which have been brought about by a body under their control—namely, the Berlin Police Presidency. What misery would have come upon Berlin if that infamous man had really succeeded in persuading a workman to an attempt on anybody's life? The Government cannot shift the guilt of these things off itself, and, above all, it cannot, after such things have happened, plead to the House the necessity of prolonging the Anti-Socialist Law. We, as to that, face any such prolongation with perfect calm; we shall not let ourselves be moved an inch from our standpoint by any such measures; and I bear witness to-day before this country and before the whole world that even during the worst times of oppression the German Social-Democracy has done nothing which could, with any right or justice, give rise to any kind of exceptional regulations." (Applause from the Social-Democrats.)



LEO—"Look here, sir. You have our money and you won't give us a safe road. We're not going to make a grievance of that, and we won't eat you up on that account. But if you don't do our bidding we'll—"

PERSIA—"Very good. Just make that friend of yours get out of my house, and all will be well!"—"Hindi Punch" (Bombay).

THE LION OR THE BEAR.



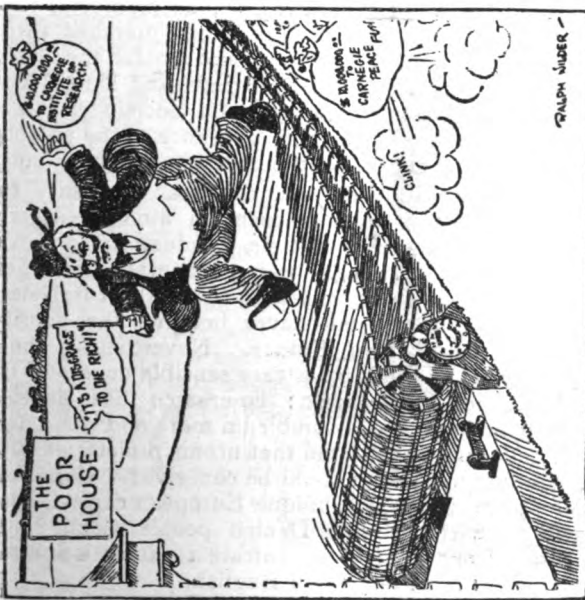
COVETOUS EYES

Has the moment for partition come?

—"Kalem" (Constantinople).

CARTOONS.

83



MR. CARNEGIE MAY ACHIEVE HIS AMBITION YET.
—Wilder in the Chicago "Record-Herald."



UNCLE SAM'S AMUSEMENT.
His money keeps the fire going in the far East.
"Fischietto" (Turin).

THE DANISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The Trade Union organisation of Denmark is proportionately one of the strongest in the world; the proportion of workers grouped and federated exceeding those of Germany, England, Belgium, and France respectively. The chief characteristics are not only those general tendencies which will appear later by means of facts; not only a discipline rarely broken through and a sentiment of unity extraordinarily profound; but in the relative power of certain methods of proceeding, few countries, outside Jutland and the Archipelago—of which Sealand and Fyen are the principal islands—can offer a spectacle of so social a kind. This strong Scandinavian organisation was little known even amongst the Socialists and trade unionists of Central Europe before the International Congress of Copenhagen of 1910 brought it into contact with the French, German, and Austrian delegates. The fundamental agreement of the Danish trade unions with the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labour is still a striking feature of the movement there, the growth, formation, and functioning of which we shall show.

When, on Sunday, August 28, 1910, 60,000 members, ranged in perfect order behind their banners and bands, marched through the streets of the capital, under the gaze and amidst the cheers of 200,000 people, the French, Germans, Belgians, and Dutch, assembled to discuss the interests of International Socialism, exhibited both emotion and surprise. It was this ignorance of the potency of the Danish unions which suggested the necessity for these notes.

A glance at the conditions of Denmark, as necessary to an understanding, reveal it as having been an almost exclusively agricultural country for a very long time. Industry was rudimentary and towns rare. Houses were scattered, few groups being large enough even to be called villages; the rural element prevailed. Even now one would never imagine the density of population as equal to that of France. Nevertheless, the last thirty or forty years have produced a very sensible degree of transformation. Industries have arisen; commerce has developed, transport by land and sea has assembled a more and more numerous personnel, and thus constituted that urban proletariat without which no trade union movement could be conceived. Copenhagen, with its 600,000 people, appears a unique European capital, because it concentrates a quarter of the Danish people within its area, whereas Paris and London only concentrate a sixteenth and seventeenth respectively of the French and English.

These statistics, moreover, allow us to measure the economic evolution of Denmark precisely. Of the 1,784,000 inhabitants of 1871, 1,387,000 resided in the country, the three chief towns being then Copenhagen with 181,000 people, Odense with 17,000, and Aarhus with 15,000. There were only 1,400 manufactories with 30,000 workers, 54 only of these manufactories occupying more than 100 persons, and 67 from 50 to 100. The textile industry was carried on entirely at home.

Thirty years later the population had increased to 2,450,000, and, while that of the country had only increased 11 per cent., that of the towns had increased 100 per cent.

Copenhagen had more than doubled its number. Machinery had caused a great migration to urban centres.

Within this period all the phenomena of concentration were realised there. Although absence of coal forbids industry on the highest scale, almost all forms of production had developed then to some extent. Professional organisation, which had followed this concentration step by step, found its appropriate surroundings. Only an exceptional effort was required, and for this Copenhagen provided the scene. Not only was it the capital which had absorbed the population, but it was also the principal, almost the only place of commerce, the seat of the factories, the sole port in the kingdom; within its walls the Corporation movement arose which was then to spread throughout the provinces.

The history of trade unionism in these countries is closely related to that of Socialism. There are countries—like England—where the expansion of trade unionism has far outstripped that of Socialism; others, such as Germany, where the latter has been far in advance. In France, the two have proceeded simultaneously, although relations between the political and professional groups have been rare. But in Denmark, by their juxtaposition, a cordial agreement has always existed between them, which makes an examination of either alone impossible. I will add at once, as a reply to an objection which naturally presents itself, that the Danish Corporative federations do not deny the utility of political action, and that there are neither numerous Christian Corporations nor living Liberal Corporations in that country; Socialism is, therefore, the only doctrine admitted by the unions, which much simplifies our task. It was in 1871 that a section of the International was created in Denmark, composed of groups of the trades and mixed groups, the direction being confided to a central committee, composed of a grand master, a secretary, a treasurer, and seven directors of clubs.

But although composed partly of professional elements, this section attributed an extreme importance to its political rôle. In 1872 it comprised 2,000 members, and the Government, taking alarm, dissolved it in 1873. From its remains arose the Workers'

Democratic Association. Like the International, this association relied above all upon the trade groups. In 1876 the first congress of the party was held at Copenhagen, when 75 delegates represented 6,042 associates, and which proclaimed the foundation of a Social-Democratic Working-Class Party. In this the unions held the principal authority, but it soon dissolved by reason of internal strife. The Social-Democratic Federation, created in 1878, re-established unity in the Socialist Party, which for the future moved parallel to the Corporative associations, but left complete autonomy to these. Without going into details of the struggle between Reformists and Socialists, I will limit myself to noting that in 1878 it obtained 767 votes, and in 1906 77,000, and 99,000 in 1910. At the elections of this year it elected 24 out of 114 candidatures. In Copenhagen it has conquered 20 communal seats out of 42, out of 95,000 votes gaining 45,000; in the provinces one thousand municipal representatives—that is, ten times more than in 1905. Finally, it possesses 33 papers, of which the principal, the "Social-Democrat," appears daily in the capital, and has 58,000 subscribers. To understand the significance of these figures we must recollect that Denmark contains only $2\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants, and that the elector's age is fixed at 30 years.

The Corporative movement only appeared in reality in 1871, after the formation of the section of the International. Note that the Danish Constitution guaranteed the right of meeting and association. On the disappearance of the obligatory corporations, insurance societies arose; and thus some older associations—for example, that of the Typographers—still retain the custom of homage to the King and to patrons.

The professional groups of Denmark began the struggle against unemployment in good time. But the increase in funds began only in 1898, when the trade union propaganda was intensified.

In 1901 the sum of 485,000 francs was contributed, 577,000 francs in 1902, 512,000 francs in 1903, and in 1904 576,000 francs.

The law of April 9, 1907, regulated the State subventions towards unemployment insurance. But legal intervention in no way interfered with trade union extension. These unions were at the period of its application already strong enough to have nothing to fear.

Without translating all the details which follow, we pass to the summary of the results of the Danish professional groups. Notable increases in salary and diminution of the hours of labour have been obtained. In 1872, at Copenhagen, a worker earned 1,138 francs a year, 3.90 francs per day; in the provinces 753 francs a year and 2.58 francs a day. The women in Copenhagen earned 462 francs, and in the provinces 360 francs. Then from 1872 to 1882 the average day wage in Copenhagen was raised to 4.24 francs, in 1892 to 4.62 francs, in 1898 to 5.34 francs, in 1904 to 5.75 francs, in the two

last years to more than 6.00 francs. In the provinces the progress has not been less. All this in spite of the resistance of the Employers' Confederation. Also many corporations have conquered the minimum wage. The reduction of the hours of labour has accompanied this rise.

According to trade union statistics, in 1872, of the immense majority of the industrial workers 71 per cent. worked 11 to 12 hours; 10 per cent. over 12 hours; 17 per cent. 10 to 10½, this gradually being reduced until in 1906 in Copenhagen 53 per cent. worked less than 10 hours, 43 per cent. 10 hours, and 4 per cent. more than 10 hours. The week of 56½ hours is the rule. In the provinces, where the day of 10 hours predominates, the week attains 68 hours.

In order to appreciate fully the influence of syndicalism in Denmark, all the laws recently passed regarding workers ought to be enumerated. But, as we have already remarked, these laws, as well as all the conquests we have noted, are regarded by the trade unions only as steps towards the suppression of wage-slavery. These unions are penetrated throughout by the spirit of Socialism, and look to the socialisation of the means of production as the supreme aim.

Translated from the "Musée Sociale" by
F. D. ASKEW,

THE SOCIALIST GAINS IN FRANCE ACCORDING TO THE ELECTIONS IN 1910.

By CHARLES DUFFAIT (in "La Revue Socialiste.")

In the elections of May, 1906, 33 members of the Socialist Party were elected at the first ballot, and more than 900,000 Socialist votes were polled; that was about 10 per cent. of the total number of votes given. At the second ballot 21 members were elected, and there were thus 54 Socialist deputies.

During the period from 1906-1910, the Socialists obtained eight more seats; but, owing to deaths and resignations due to various causes, there were only 54 Socialist deputies at the end of the period.

It is necessary for the Party to exclude members from its ranks if it wishes to progress, and if they will not follow the decisions of the Party. The elected members may differ as to the details of Socialist doctrine, but the principles of the end to be obtained must not be at the whim of controversy and of personal opinions. For it is inadmissible that the Socialist Party should help those who, pretending to be Socialists, are at the same time opposed to the socialisation of the means of production and exchange, which forms the essential point and the basis of Socialist doctrine.

Public opinion frequently confounds Socialists with ardent reformers and sociologists pained by the sufferings of the workers and social injustice, who are known as Radical-Socialists or Independent Socialists. There are some among them who are quite in favour of the pacific solution of international struggles and for a reduction of armaments, thus resembling Socialists; others are ardent partisans of fiscal reforms which would lighten the burdens of the working classes, and even of certain State monopolies. Yet an impassable gulf separates them from Socialists. Most Radical-Socialists and Independent Socialists have for the basis of their programmes entrancing reforms for the proletariat, which are certainly good, but are sometimes contradictory in practice. But they are determined and devoted partisans of private property, which, according to Collectivists, can only result in the weak being oppressed by the strong, of the vanquished being under the heel of the victors in the exploitation of Labour by Capital. Collectivists maintain that the present system causes the whole burden of taxation to fall on the worker, and anyone in favour of the existing state of things cannot be a Socialist.

The Socialist Party not being able, unless it commits suicide, to help to maintain the present capitalist system by helping it by means of law, must not enter into alliances, and must insist on discipline ; it must cast out from its midst those who have departed from these rules by accepting office, and it cannot accept all humanitarians who call themselves Socialists. It has enough to do with politicians who are seeking for office, and it has to maintain strict discipline. Less and less should the Socialist Party be used as a platform from which politicians aiming at power may speak, for electors are becoming more enlightened. The Party's unity of ideas, as well as its moral worth and the clearness of the aim which it pursues being based on science, makes it not a political party but an economic party, which only enrolls safe recruits who have no false illusions. Its propaganda not only extends to the urban proletariat, but has now reached the rural proletariat, and even the small peasant proprietors in certain districts.

Its federations, which are real centres of sociological studies, have a certain independence, but they meet in a National Congress. They discuss modifications of tactics and questions of discipline ; they decide contentious points ; they draw up a programme to be observed in great Parliamentary debates, and they agree to the decisions taken by the National Council acting under the permanent Administrative Commission of the Socialist Party ; they send to it the names of their candidates.

Thus organised, the Socialist Party can easily gauge its strength at the first ballot. No doubt there will be electors who will not vote, or will vote in a different way ; but it is better able to class them than other Parties.

The increase in Socialist votes at each of the elections of 1902 and 1906, the results of a few bye-elections, even where the Socialist candidates were defeated, as well as the increase in the Socialist vote in Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Scandinavia, could leave no doubt as to what would be the result of the first ballot in 1910. Not being a Party which only occasionally goes in for fighting, but being always engaged in the class struggle, Socialism was bound logically in 1910 to obtain more supporters.

At the elections of 1910 the Federations of the French Socialist Party ran candidates in all the constituencies of the Seine and in 315 other constituencies, situated in 80 French departments, in Algeria, and in a colony.

They took part in the struggle wherever there was a Socialist organisation. In the departments of the Cotes du Nord, of the Manche, of the Meuse, of the Mayenne, of the Doubs, and of the Vendee they did not go to the poll. In the departments where there are few Socialists, the Socialist Federations have sometimes found that there were "Independent Socialists" who caused trouble in the ranks. As these federations could not hope to win seats, this perhaps did them good ; it separated them from people

who were actuated by personal ambition, for whom Socialism was only a label of discontent and not the desire to obtain a general improvement. This enabled the Collectivists to ascertain better the number of their followers in districts which were opposed to their propaganda. As to the federations where old deputies were standing, or where there was a chance of winning the seat, they really suffered owing to the division in their ranks caused by independent candidates. But neither the loss of a few seats, nor the disappearance from public life of several eminent Socialists who honoured Parliament by their presence, can make the Party regret having got rid of elements of discord and lack of discipline which only did mischief, because the Party is not yet prepared for the social emancipation which it is working for.

The candidates of the Socialist Party polled 1,125,877 votes at the first ballot on April 24, 1910—that is to say more than 13 per cent. of the voters. They exceeded this proportion in 26 departments, and in the Var they were supported by 42 per cent. of the voters; but in seven departments the votes were less than 1 per cent., in six departments there were neither Socialist voters nor candidates.

After the second ballot, on May 8, 1910, the Party had secured 76 seats in the new Parliament; with proportional representation they would have obtained at least 80.

Among the independent candidates, some took, if not three-quarters, at least half the votes which the Party would otherwise have obtained, and which are really Socialist votes that for personal reasons have been given to other candidates. The electors of M. Coutant, of Ivry, are really mostly Socialists; but this time they could not be included in the total of votes given for the Socialists. As to the votes obtained by Briand, Millerand, Viviani, Angagneur, they must evidently be also deducted from the total Socialist vote. These elections at least make the total in 1910 125,000 less than it would otherwise have been.

If the results are noted on a map, it will be seen that there are eight compact groups or regions which are Socialist strongholds. These are those in the Nord (departments of Nord, Pas de Calais, Somme, Aisne, and Ardennes), the Seine, Brittany, the Centre (Touraine-Limousen), the East, the South-East, the South (Garonne and Mediterranean). In the Northern group there were 250,000 Socialist votes, and in the Seine 225,000. The social characteristics of these two groups are quite different from the group of the Centre, which is strong both in numbers and in brains. A daily paper, published at Limoges ("Le Populaire du Centre,") spreads the light in those regions. The articles are moderate, but energetic, and show a good grasp of economics. The Socialist North does not read so much; there are only weekly Socialist papers, not as good as the "Populaire du Centre" of Limoges, the "Droit du Peuple" of Grenoble, the "Socialiste du Midi" of Toulouse, or the "Vérité" of Marseilles. As to the Socialists of

the Seine, it is to be regretted that they read too often the sensational prints, and that hardly one out of three reads "l'Humanité."

The district near the Mediterranean has, in proportion to its population, more Socialists than the Nord and the Seine ; but there are fewer Socialists if numbers are considered. In the Var there are 42.16 per cent. of Socialists, while in the North there are only 31.25 per cent., and in the Seine the proportion drops to 26.96 per cent.

It should be noted that in the South Agrarian Socialism is increasing.

It has been said that the discontented join the Socialist Party, but that is not so ; its recruits come from the class-conscious student class, the young workers, emancipated by the secular schools and the trade unions. Then if a district becomes more industrial there are more trade unionists, and therefore more Socialists. The emigration from the villages to towns produces more misery, and brings down wages, and at the same time is the cause of the rapid increase of Socialists ; the passing through barracks of young peasants going back to the country is, without doubt, one of the reasons for the growth of Socialism. Those who are grouping the producers of resin in the Landes are ex-sergeants from Bordeaux. This is why there has been such an increase of Socialists in those parts ; the 33,392 Socialist votes in the Gironde, and the 27,902 votes in seven adjoining departments, would have appeared to be an incredible phenomenon if predicted twenty years ago. For twenty years ago there were no Socialists at Bordeaux ; but the increase in population there has brought many recruits to Socialism, and the movement has spread to other towns near, as at Libourne, where there were 5,821 Socialist votes, and 3,866 at Bazas.

It has been said that reactionaries have voted for Socialists ; but this seems a myth, for it would be strange if people belonging to the middle class should act in such a way as to injure the interests of that class.

One Socialist, M. Compère Morel, was elected in a rural district at Uzes, and another, at Moulins, was returned by peasants. The question of propaganda among peasants was studied at the Congress of St. Etienne, recommended at the Congress of Nîmes ; but tactics have not yet been adopted. Under the leadership of men like M. Compère Morel, Socialism will find favour with small proprietors, who are being ruined by large proprietors, by metayers and farm labourers, who are now seeing that Socialism, far from bringing about their ruin, will, by the use of machinery, etc., make the land more productive, and their life more enjoyable. Relying on practical evolutionary methods, the Socialists are preparing to conquer the agricultural proletariat, and every omen points to the fact that they will succeed better than with the urban proletariat.

THE REVIEWS.

THE REFERENDUM AND THE PLEBISCITE.

M. Yves Guyot writes the following under the above heading in this month's "Contemporary Review" :—

SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss Referendum is a compromise between popular direct government in the public square and representative government. It only reached its present form after the so-called period of Regeneration which followed the revolution of 1830. It is an adaptation to modern needs of the *Landsgemeinde*, which, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, governed in the small Republics of Uri, Schwyz, Oberwalden, Unterwalden, Gersau, Zug, Glarus, Appenzell exterior, and Appenzell interior. Even under the ancient sovereignty of the Emperor of Germany its powers were only limited in a very vague fashion, and, we may even say, fictitiously. The *Landsgemeinde*, an assembly of all the citizens, dealt with all important matters, and only left matters of detail to the Council. It concentrated all powers in itself, made laws and judged. . . . In large communities, such as Berne, we find something in the nature of the facultative Referendum in the fifteenth century. The votes were cast in open-air meetings in the public square of each district, either by raising of hands or by grouping; but the voting of each district only counted as one, however great the number of its members. In the Grisons the electoral weight of each commune was calculated according to its contingent to the land-tax. Zurich owned a similar organisation.

The affairs of the Confederation of the 13 cantons, founded in 1513, were conducted by a Diet composed of two deputies from each canton. Deputies were bound either by the decisions of their *Landsgemeinden*, or the bourgeoisie, or the sovereign councils of the cantons they represented. Having no uniform constitution, they remained separate from each other. While the cantons administered by the *Landsgemeinden* represented popular government in its most complete acceptance, the Grand Council of Zurich had taken to itself all power, and the Grand Council of Berne finally only contained 77 families, 14 of whom composed nearly half of its 299 members. The seats in the Council of Lucerne were hereditary. At Fribourg a secret chamber, composed of 24

persons nominated for life, elected the Grand Council, Small Council and functionaries, also recruiting its own members.

Hence arose the conviction in Swiss minds that the holders of Government offices, once installed in the councils, had a tendency to transform public affairs into private affairs for their own benefit. The history of the Swiss cantons is not an idyll.

In its modern form the Referendum was established in 1831 at St. Gall, in 1832 at Basle, in 1839 in the Valais, and in 1849 at Lucerne.

In France in 1789 the Veto, whose object was to limit the powers of the National Assembly, had been vested in the King. The Swiss cantons placed the Veto in the whole mass of citizens, and it was in the shape of the Veto that they adopted the Referendum. In the discussions which took place at St. Gall between Diog, who defended the Referendum, and Henne, who fought it, the question of the people's sovereignty was raised. "I only know one principle," said Diog, "it is the sovereignty of the people. He who delegates is no longer sovereign. Where a great council sanctions law, sovereignty is only a lie." Preoccupied by the thought of the despotism which the Council might seize upon and comprising it with the State, he also confounded liberty with the direct government of the citizens, as if they were incapable of taking undue advantage of it, and he said: "In all cases of conflict between the welfare of the State and the liberty of the citizens, the latter takes first rank." The article prescribing the Referendum contained this declaration:—

"The people of the canton are a sovereign people. Sovereignty includes public power, and the supreme authority dwells in the mass of the citizens. Consequently the people have legislative power, and all laws are subject to their agreement."

On May 29, 1874, a new project of a constitution was ratified by 340,199 votes against 198,013, and by 14 cantons and a-half against seven cantons and a-half. Various proposals to bring in direct legislation were reduced to Article 89, which subjected to the adoption or rejection of the people all federal laws and federal decrees of general interest if demanded by 30,000 active citizens and by eight cantons. Moreover, a new framing of Article 121 added to the right of veto and of ratification the right of initiative for the revision of the constitution if demanded by 50,000 electors. The demand of initiative may take the shape of a proposition conceived in general terms or that of a plan entirely re-written. If the General Assembly is not agreed it can draw up a distinct plan or recommend to the people the rejection of a project, and submit to the electors a counter-project or a proposal for its rejection at the same time as the said project of popular initiative.

The constitution thus maintains the obligatory Referendum and Initiative as regards constitutional matters, and establishes a facultative Referendum for federal laws and decrees.

The Referendum is also obligatory for the constitutions of the cantons, for the federal constitution decides that the confederation does not guarantee them unless they have been accepted by the people. In most of the Swiss cantons a specified number of citizens can take the initiative for a Referendum.

Down to October 25, 1908, the constitution of 1874 had sustained 19 partial revisions, but they had for their object to increase the powers of the federal Government and to diminish the freedom of the individual. From 1874 to July, 1904, the facultative Referendum was only put in operation regarding 28 out of 237 federal laws, decrees on bills, nine being approved and 19 rejected. During these 30 years the Swiss people exercised their right only 36 times, including their vote on the constitution of 1874.

SUMMARY.

The present form of Swiss Referendum only took shape at the epoch called the Regeneration, which followed 1830, in the cantons of St. Gall, Basle, the Valais and Lucerne. It entered into the federal constitution of 1848 and spread to the constitution of 1874.

We may distinguish three kinds of Referendum :—

Laws, decrees or statutes may be adopted or rejected by popular vote.

The Referendum is obligatory for certain matters in certain cantons, such as Zurich, Berne, etc.

The Referendum is obligatory on all constitutional questions, whether cantonal or federal.

For federal laws, decrees and statutes the Referendum Veto is put in force at the request of 30,000 citizens or eight cantons.

This Referendum is called the Initiative Referendum.

This Swiss Referendum is a compromise between direct government and representative government.

It is the expression of the principle of the sovereignty of the nation, and the Referendum constantly extends the powers of the Federal Government.



ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA IN ENGLAND.

A very curious mixture is dished up in this month's "Fortnightly Review," by a contributor who calls himself "G.," under the above heading. After talking about the battle of Sidney Street and the number of meetings held by the Anarchists throughout the country, he goes on to say :—

These memoranda leave no doubt as to the fact that Anarchism is being freely and attractively taught in England. The penny

Literature now in circulation is no less conclusive as to the nature of the teaching. To take a typical example, the Anarchist—above all things “international” and of no country—places patriotism high in his list of human crimes. “Patriotism,” wrote the great Anarchist leader Bakunin, “is an evil, a narrow and a fatal custom.” “When we have undermined the patriotic lie,” writes the famous American Anarchist, Emma Goldman, “we shall have cleared the path for the great structure wherein all nationalities shall be united into a universal brotherhood.” The doctrine is expounded through fifteen pages of a penny pamphlet, entitled, “Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty,” the cover of which exhibits a brutal bag carrying the banner of “Patriotism” and trampling under foot the prostrate form of a young and beautiful “Liberty.” It is interesting to compare the Anarchist doctrines concerning patriotism with those of the Independent Labour Party and of the organisers of Socialist Sunday-schools. In a recent “Report” of the Independent Labour Party it is stated that “patriotism is one of the weapons used by the enemies of the people to blind them to facts.” At a bazaar held at Caxton Hall, on behalf of the Socialist Sunday-schools, last December, the Christmas number of the “Young Worker,” the organ of Socialist propaganda among young people, was on sale. On the cover appears this statement: “When working men and women become ‘patriotic’ they merely help . . . to bring about their own destruction.” The translation of these doctrines into direct action has been accomplished in an elementary school at Leith. On Empire Day a Socialist member of the Leith School Authority visited the school and addressed the children. “It is unnecessary to record any more,” writes the “Young Socialist,” “except that, as a result, the children were never asked to salute the flag, which was done in all the other schools.” In London and in every county in England, Socialist Sunday-schools are at work, with attendances varying from 300 to 150, 50, or 30, as the case may be.

Every grade of authority is equally repugnant to the Anarchist ideal. “Repudiate all tyrants of to-day, high and low,” is the last word of the pamphlet entitled, “The Pyramid of Authority”; an exhortation which gains in point when we place beside it Malatesta’s explanation of the uses of powder and melinite, printed in a dialogue between two working men under the title of “A Talk About Anarchist Communism.” . . . In this matter of the use of explosives it is again interesting to notice how the sentiments of the Anarchist penny pamphlet receive a still wider circulation in the Socialist penny weekly. The recent assassinations by bombs in India will be fresh in the minds of our readers. Also the fact that a revolutionist named Savarkar has been convicted by the High Court of Bombay of distributing copies of a work dealing with the preparation of bombs and dangerous explosives suitable for Anarchist outrages. The Executive of the Social-Democratic

Party issued a manifesto, in the columns of "Justice," commenting on the case of this "high-minded young student"; this manifesto observes that English rule in India "has absolutely forced the most peaceful and submissive race in the world into Anarchist propaganda of deed"; and inquires what course is left to the enslaved of any country except "secret conspiracy and open assassination." It was decided to print this article in the vernacular, and to distribute it throughout India. Which is the more dangerous, the Anarchist who manufactures the bomb or the inflammatory writer who manufactures the Anarchist? This solidarity of feeling, this mutual aid as regards propaganda, between Anarchists and Socialists of all parties, should a leading Anarchist be arrested, has received striking proof during the recent arrest and trial of Dr. Denjiro Kotoku and 23 other Japanese Anarchists and Socialists. The charge was that of plotting against the life of the Emperor, and the accused were threatened with execution. "Freedom," the English Anarchist newspaper, organised a vigorous campaign of protest to which "Socialists of all parties" responded. "We must not," cried the Anarchist journalist, "wait until Japan has martyred her Ferrer." Dr. Kotoku had founded a journal named "Iron and Fire," for popularising the idea of Anarchist Communism, together with other magazines, and had been active in translating into Japanese the writings of Anarchist leaders. . . . The speakers at the protest meeting announced in the columns of "Freedom" included the Anarchist J. Turner and J. Tochatti, and Mr. Herbert Burrows, the well-known Socialist. Further, the meeting, organised by English Anarchists, was advertised in the famous Socialist paper, the "Clarion," under a first line "Tyranny in Japan," and with a concluding exhortation, "come and show your solidarity with our Japanese comrades." The editor of the Socialist "Justice" followed on with an appeal headed "Shall our comrades die?" and concluding, "Don't let capitalism have blood if you can help it."

The Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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SOCIALIST UNITY AND SOCIALIST DIFFERENCES.

By H. QUELCH.

There can be no question that for all earnest Socialists the most urgent need of the time is the unification and consolidation of Socialist forces in this country. There are few Socialists, I imagine, but would admit that Socialist propaganda has been so far successful as to have won the tacit acquiescence of at least a majority of the organised workers, and there is doubtless good ground for the claim that there is at least as much floating, unorganised Socialism here as in any other country in Europe. The immediate task before us is to crystallise this floating Socialist sentiment, to organise, consolidate, and weld into an effective instrument this unorganised latent force.

Apart from that, and the loss to the cause which the unorganised character of so much of the Socialist force in this country represents, there are the divisions among those Socialists who are already enrolled in the

several Socialist organisations. These divisions are often wide and deep and serious, and, in any case, they are formidable obstacles to the organisation of the unorganised. Important, therefore, as is the work of organisation, it is not less but more important to bring about unity between those who are already organised. There should be no insuperable obstacle to this if there is no difference on fundamental principles; and there can be no difference on fundamental principles where all are Socialists. If, agreeing upon fundamental principles, we cannot unite for common action, and consolidate the forces already organised, we cannot but fail to impress the "unattached" with the advantages of organisation, and our appeal to "workers of all countries" to unite naturally invites the retort, "Physician, heal thyself."

But in order to achieve unity it is necessary to ascertain the causes of disunity; to get rid of dissensions and differences we must first of all examine into those dissensions and differences and discover what they really are. We must understand, appreciate and face the difficulty, and endeavour to do so without passion or prejudice. This may be difficult, but it is essential to arriving at the truth. If we do that we shall find that the causes of disunity are very real and tangible, and that the differences, as I have said, are wide and deep. It is impossible to leave personalities out of account altogether, because the personality stands for something, and is, after all, the incarnation of the principle, or idea, involved; but it is nothing more than that; the idea, or principle, is the thing, the personality is only secondary. Yet some of our friends talk as if the differences between Socialists and Socialist organisations were purely personal. Years ago Mr. George Bernard Shaw amused people by saying that there would be some hope for Socialism were it not for the Socialists. That was just the kind of thing one expects Shaw to say, and from him it is quite harmless. If he said anything more serious it would still be taken as a joke. It is no use Shaw trying to

be serious, as I think he does try sometimes; he only makes people laugh. If anything he says or does is not at all intended as a joke people will persist in regarding it as one, and they laugh uproariously at that from Shaw which from another man would move them to anger or indignation.

Recently, however, an old and respected member of our own Party, thinking, doubtless, to paraphrase Shaw, said that if he had his way he would burn both "Justice" and the "Labour Leader," lock up both editors and some of their contributors, and then he would have Socialist unity inside six months. That may have been intended as an imitation of Shaw's joke. If it was intended seriously it displayed a lamentable ignorance of the real nature of the obstacles which lie in the way of that unity which the speaker was advocating. Those differences are not a mere question of this or that individual, any more than they are differences as to the ultimate object in view. They are differences as to the means to be adopted; the methods to be employed and the immediate objects to be pursued, here and now. Certain individuals, forced into the position of protagonists on one side and the other in these differences, may sometimes lend to them a personal character, and this may provoke the supposition that the differences themselves are purely personal, and that if these individuals could only be got rid of the differences themselves would disappear. That is as reasonable as "Chantecler's" notion that if he did not crow the sun would not rise. The differences themselves are the important matter; if they were got rid of the individuals would have to compose their quarrels or quit; either "get on—together—or get out."

Agreement on fundamental principles, in the ultimate object, is essential. In other words, every man or woman who believes in the social ownership and control of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the common enjoyment of the product, in a democratic society, as the object to be

striven for, is a Socialist. Everyone who does not so believe is not a Socialist. Now, obviously it would be quite easy for any number of people holding an innumerable variety of views on all sorts of subjects in every-day life—including that of the best way to realise Socialism—to preach this abstract sort of Socialism—Socialism for the dim and distant future—without any disagreement whatsoever. It would be comparatively easy for the same people—given a Socialist State—to co-operate in carrying out the work of such a State. It would be equally easy for them to co-operate in any ordinary enterprise—social, political, commercial, or whatnot—in existing conditions. But we Social-Democrats are neither Utopians nor Conservatives. We are not—either in reality or in imagination—living under Socialism. We are idealists, it is true; but our idealism is of the kind which makes men practical, and so here we are just ordinary, commonplace individuals, not concerned with arranging the details of life for posterity in that coming time “when all shall be better than well,” but endeavouring to devise the best means and methods for hastening the advent of that time.

And it is just here that our troubles begin and differences arise between us. Attempts are sometimes made to separate the sheep from the goats; to define the differences in a single phrase, even in a single word, as “Revisionists” and “Radicals,” “Evolutionists” and “Revolutionists,” and so on. But these definitions do not define. There is no Revolutionist but is essentially an Evolutionist, and the most Anti-Revisionist Radical would not deny the need for revision of programme or theory in the light of altered circumstances. No, the differences between us are no more those of mere words or phrases—of “outworn shibboleths,” as some of our friends are pleased to maintain—than of personalities; they are actualities.

The most important of these arise in relation to our attitude towards political action. This must necessarily be the case, because it is only along the line of political

action that anything practical towards the realisation of Socialism can be done to-day. That is not to say that none but political action can, under any circumstances, ever be possible; it is simply to maintain that in the circumstances of to-day any other line of action is out of the question. To those who think otherwise we can only say that the field is wide, and they are quite at liberty to try any other means which, in their opinion, will bring the end nearer.

We, as Social-Democrats, have no prejudices in this connection; we are not particularly enamoured of politics, but we regard the organisation of a political party of the working class—independent, class-conscious, militant, aggressive, inspired by the Socialist ideal and guided by Socialist principles—as an instrument for the emancipation of the proletariat—as the first practical thing to achieve; the first piece of “Constructive Socialism,” if one may be allowed to say so. Everything else is, in my opinion, secondary to that, and every “social reform” or “palliative,” so-called, is only useful in so far as it serves that end.

It is just here that we part company with some of our friends. There are those who agree with us so far as the essentiality of the formation of a working-class party is concerned, but they differ from us as to the importance of such a party having ideals or principles. As to class-consciousness, they say, the mere formation of such a party is evidence of that; and as for ideals and principles, they will come afterwards. The brief and melancholy history of our Labour Party is a sufficient answer to that argument. The creation of awakened class-consciousness in the ranks of the organised workers, that party, had it been inspired by Socialist ideals and principles, might to-day have been an important factor in the life of this country. Through lack of that inspiration, it has, in a sense, become a sort of Frankenstein, and destroyed the class-consciousness which gave it life. It is not so long since that Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald boasted that the Labour Party has killed revolutionary Socialism in this country,

and certainly, so far as revolutionary Socialism manifested itself in the creation of the Labour Party by, and as the expression of, class-conscious revolt, the boast is amply justified. But, in destroying the spirit of class-conscious revolt, the Labour Party has destroyed its own reason of existence and its own eyesight. Now, like a ship without chart, compass, or rudder, it has been charitably taken in tow by the capitalist Liberal Party, and although, like every vessel in like case, it makes an occasional dangerous plunge or lurch to port or starboard, it comes duly to heel and follows in the wake of its convoy in obedient response to the pull of the tow-rope.

When the Labour Party was first formed many people supposed that here was the beginning of that militant working-class political party which we Social-Democrats regard as the essential instrument to be formed. We Social-Democrats welcomed it and joined it. But the fate that was in store for it was very soon apparent. As soon as it definitely repudiated Socialist ideals and principles and refused to adopt any programme, it was clear that it was bound to drift into the backwater of Liberalism. That it has done now so effectually that it appears to be entirely bereft of all initiative, and can only bleat a tame approbation of anything and everything done by the Liberal Government.

Now that that fate has overtaken the Labour Party it is somewhat amusing to find some among those who at one time agreed with us as to the importance of an independent working-class party now discovering that really, after all, it doesn't very much matter. That brings them into line with those others who have all along attached no importance to the formation of such a party; who pride themselves upon being "evolutionary" Socialists, "constructive" Socialists, and so on; who hold that the great thing is to get "something practical" done, and that it doesn't matter the least little bit what is done or who does it. As the Liberals are usually the most promising party, always

going to *do* things and in the meantime "doing" the people, it naturally follows that this type of Socialist usually finds himself in the Liberal camp at the outset. Mr. Phillip Snowden affords an instance of the former type who has been brought into agreement with the latter. Speaking at Blackburn, on January 22 last, Mr. Snowden said that questions were now supported by all parties which were advocated alone by Socialists fifteen or twenty years ago. "They had in the last five years succeeded in getting passed into law measures which were looked upon as utopian when he came into that movement, such, for instance, as the question of the feeding of school children. *Yet the more they influenced other political parties to do their work the more difficult it would be for them to build up a numerically strong independent political party.* They would grow more in numbers if they were bitterly opposed by all other political parties. The Socialist movement always grew more rapidly when persecuted; it was so with every movement. It might be doubted whether they could build up in this country an overwhelming independent Socialist Party, definitely Socialistic and doctrinaire in its ideas, in their own day and generation. He thought the development would be rather on the lines of an active Labour Party, Socialist to a very great extent, influencing other political parties who had the means by their numbers to give effect in legislation to democratic demands; and, after all, he did not know that it mattered very much who did it so long as *the work was done. That was the main thing.*"

In this statement of Mr. Snowden we get the underlying fallacy which influences those Socialists who differ from us on the question under discussion, the question which involves the widest and deepest difference between us—that of policy and tactics. That fallacy is the assumption that other people can or will "do our work." I quite agree with Mr. Snowden that it does not matter in the least who does what we want done. The main thing, the all-important thing, is to

get it done. The difference between us is due to his assumption that other parties either will or can do what we want. If I believed that either the Liberal or the Tory Party could and would do what we Socialists want done—that is, carry such measures as would abolish landlordism and capitalism—I should consider it to be my duty to throw myself heart and soul into working for that party. It would appear to me not only an ungracious, an ungrateful and a churlish thing to do, but it would also seem mischievous, stupid and anti-Socialist, to work against such a party by assisting in the creation and maintenance of another party.

But it is not a question of such belief; I *know* that neither Liberal nor Tory Party can do the work which we Socialists require to be done. They, naturally, have not the will, but even if they had the will it is beyond their power. Were it otherwise, one or the other, either Liberal or Tory, would cease to be Liberal or Tory, as the case might be, and would become Socialist. But men *do not* gather grapes from thorns nor figs from thistles; and we “Let dogs delight to bark and bite,” because “It is their nature to.” We do not *blame* a capitalist-landlord party for conserving the interests of its class; but I cannot but regard as blameworthy those Socialists who fail to insist upon the inevitability of capitalist-landlord parties doing thus. Mr. Snowden was perfectly right in pointing out the growth of Socialist sentiment during the last 20 years or so, and that all parties now advocated measures which we first formulated nearly 30 years ago. But, in my opinion, it was his duty to have shown that these measures in their entirety were not Socialism, or even a part of Socialism, and that yet, moderate as they were, the bourgeois parties, forced as they were to adopt them, had muddled and botched and boggled them, and made them as useless and ineffective as possible. Our work, indeed! In so far as it is our work, they have done it so badly as to afford a powerful argument for those Socialists who like to use it that if Socialist work is required there can be no

guarantee that it will turn out well unless Socialists are appointed to do it.

That was the lesson which Mr. Snowden had the opportunity to enforce. Why did he fail to do so? Simply because he has an entire misconception of the object of the Socialist in entering into politics. This misconception he shares with many, and it is that from which springs the fallacy of assuming that other parties can do our work—the fallacy which constitutes the chief difference between us. That misconception springs from the idea that Socialism is a long, long way off; in the dim—very dim—and distant future; that it is going to be legislated in, in the course of a few thousands of years, by a series of peddling measures of petty social reform; and that, therefore, a Socialist political party can really be, in existing circumstances, nothing but a Social Reform Party. Thus Mr. Snowden says: He would much rather bring every influence to bear at the present time upon some other political party, who had the power to deal with the unemployed question, rather than not try but wait for some such hypothetical and possibly far-away time when they would be sufficiently strong to take the reins of Government and do the things themselves. He expected the Constitutional question to be settled in the coming Session, and that in the next three years the Government would pass through the House of Commons measures of the greatest importance and value. He confidently believed they were going to break the back of the poverty problem.

I can scarcely sufficiently admire the child-like, simple, innocent faith in the good intentions of our capitalist rulers conveyed in those few words. No wonder the people of Blackburn call Mr. Snowden "St. Phillip"! When I look upon the idols he has set up, however, I fear he will find them indeed of the earth, earthy; and I should tremble for the speedy shattering of that simple faith did I not know that faith in Liberal idols survives years of the most heart-breaking disappointments and disillusionment.

I agree with bringing all possible pressure to bear upon other political parties to force them to deal with the unemployed. Who has done so much in that direction as we Social-Democrats? We know, however, that whatever may be the result of our pressure, only small benefit will result to the unemployed, because for any bourgeois party to carry out our proposals—to do “our work”—would be for it to commit suicide by knocking the bottom out of the whole capitalist system. But it passes my comprehension how any Socialist can “confidently” believe that the present Government, or any other capitalist Government, is “going to break the back of the poverty problem.”

That is the fallacy engendered by the idea that Socialism is a long way off, and is to be brought in by easy instalments, say, of a penny in the pound in each decade—à la Lloyd George's land-tax—by which means it might be realised, say, in some two, three, or four thousand years. Well, I am not agitating for a Socialism which can only be realised in some thousands of years. The Social-Democracy in which I believe could be realised to-morrow if only the people desired it. All the economic forms are ripe, and even the mental attitude of the people is favourable. There is only one thing necessary for the realisation of Social-Democracy, and that is the conscious organised effort of the people themselves—the people who to-day acquiesce in the general principles of Socialism, but are constantly being told by good Socialists that Socialism is a long, long way off, and that the hope of to-day lies in what we can get other people to do for us. I maintain that those who so teach are wrong; that our only hope lies in ourselves; that, while we should not hesitate to exert all possible pressure upon other parties, nor disdain any little thing we can squeeze from them, the advantage of any reform we can get from them is not in itself, but in how far it serves to strengthen our own party. We are not impossibilists, we Social-Democrats. We are for reforms. But we are for reforms simply as the commissariat of the revolutionary army,

not as petty instalments of the promised land. That is the great difference between us and our Socialist brethren who support the Liberal Party. They do so because they think there is more to be got out of the Liberals than out of the Tories—they will go farther our way, and so on. We, on the other hand, do not think it is worth while discussing the respective merits of the two sets of thieves. Both to us are equally bad. Their own differences are purely family squabbles, and they only matter to us in so far as we can make use of them against each other to the advantage and strengthening of our own party.

That, it seems to me, is the great difference and division between Socialists in this country. How it is to be eliminated I do not pretend to say; that it must be eliminated before Socialist Unity can be achieved is, it seems to me, undeniable; while it is equally certain that this and other differences more or less akin to it will not be got rid of by simply ignoring them, or pretending that they are merely personal squabbles. In the meantime, I think we have to avoid misrepresentation—as we have ever been careful to do—on our own side, while fighting it down strenuously on the other; and to seek every opportunity for co-operation among all Socialists on any public question of moment which may from time to time arise.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND SINGLE CHAMBER GOVERNMENT.

By H. W. INKPIN.

The Tory Party knows perfectly well, better, indeed, than some over-enthusiastic Radicals, that the desires and intentions of the Government regarding the limitation of the powers of the House of Lords fall very far short of establishing Single Chamber government. Yet, pursuing its customary method of scaremongering, the capitalist Press, on the Tory side, is busy warning the public of the horrors that will most certainly follow the Single Chamber system alleged to be lurking behind Mr. Asquith's proposals. Naturally the Liberal press makes no attempt to answer the calumnies directed against a political reform which it is only too anxious to repudiate; and it is left to Socialists, as staunch advocates of a single, directly elected assembly of delegates, to meet the attacks of its traducers.

The French Revolution has ever been a storehouse of arguments for the sophisticating opponents of reform; and it is not surprising that the peace-loving Englishman should be now asked to choose between a benevolent Second Chamber, anxious to carry out his "mature" desires on the one hand, and a Single Chamber, September massacres and the guillotine on the other.

In a campaign appealing to ignorance and prejudice the "Sunday Observer" is naturally found well to the front. In its issue of January 29 it quoted with approval some lengthy extracts from an article in the forthcoming number of "Blackwood's Magazine" which draws "a parallel of special importance between

our own political situation and that of France after Single Chamberism had been established in 1791." The article itself not being available at the time of writing, quotations from the extracts given by the "Observer" must suffice. The writer, by the way, is stated to be the "well-known author of 'Musings Without Method.'" Whatever quality, or lack of it, characterises the author's musings as a general rule, in the article in question there is certainly no lack of method, if consistent misrepresentation of history and historical authorities, directed towards the creation of political prejudice, can be called method.

Briefly, the author's object is to show that the French Revolution itself, and especially in its more sanguinary phases, was due to nothing but the unbridled license of the lower orders of the people, and the pedantic, sentimental and ultimately blood-thirsty character of the revolutionary legislature, unchecked by the wisdom and stability of a Second Chamber. "The history of the French Revolution, indeed, contains many apt lessons for the present day. Like all revolutions, it began in pedantry and passed through seas of wantonly shed blood." "During the early stages of the Revolution, before it settled down to the congenial work of slaughter, one man of force, and one man only, emerged from the general mass of pedantry, Mirabeau. To him the problem which confronted his country was plainly intelligible: he saw that salvation lay in federalism (!) and the checks that it imposed. Unhappily, he died with his work unaccomplished, and left France a miserable prey to slaughter and death." "France, glutted with proverbs and freed from the common checks of human life, settled down comfortably to the guillotine." "And if the French Revolution be not exceptional, then must we tremble for our future. . . . how will it be possible for England to escape from its present crisis save by the way of Tyburn or Tower Hill?"

This gruesome picture is supposed to show, somehow or other, the absolute necessity for a Second

Chamber ; though, even if the picture were true instead of perverted history, it would be difficult to see—and our author does not attempt to show us—how a Second Chamber would have altered the course of events. Yet such is his unfounded conclusion : “ If democracy be unchecked by a Second Chamber, there can be no resort, save to arms.”

In support of his view of the revolution, the author cites the weighty authority of the late Lord Acton : “ The errors that ruined their enterprise,” said Lord Acton, of the States-General, “ may be reduced to one. Having put the nation in the place of the Crown . . . they acted as though authority requires no check, and as if no barriers are needed against the nation ; ” and again : “ The parting of the ways in the Revolution was on the day when, rejecting the example of England and America, the French resolved to institute a single, undivided Legislature.”

The deliberate suggestion here is that Lord Acton shares the author's hysterical and antiquated interpretation of the French Revolution. Granted that in the words quoted Lord Acton expressed a decided opinion in favour of a Second Chamber, to credit him with holding the view that the Revolution was due to pedantry and sentimental philosophy, or that the terror would have been avoided by the existence of a Second Chamber, is absolutely false. Let Lord Acton speak for himself in words which our author knew better than to quote. Speaking of Fenelon in the opening chapter on the “ Heralds of Revolution ” in his recently published “ Lectures on the French Revolution,” Lord Acton says : “ He was the first man who saw through the majestic hypocrisy of the Court, and knew that France was on the road to ruin.” Not much sentimental philosophy in that ! In the same lectures, speaking of the States-General, he says that the fact that its programme was not realised was only in a very small degree the fault of the representatives. In contrast to Taine's description of the revolutionaries as incompetent doctrinaires, poisoned by Rous-

seau's doctrines, Lord Acton says they were largely average men, with many above the standard in ability and character. The responsibility for the break-up of the constitutional movement, and the beginnings of violence, he finds not in the lust for blood or Single Chamber madness, but in the incessant intrigues of the Court and reactionaries with foreign Powers, which inevitably drove the Revolution into violent courses. And what small comfort our author, who sneers at "that absurd chimera called The Rights of Man," must find in Lord Acton's enthusiastic description: "It is the triumphant proclamation of the doctrine that human obligations are not all assignable to contract or to interest or to force." "The earth belongs to those who are upon it, not to those who are underneath."

Our methodless muser's ravings derive still less support from the "Cambridge Modern History," planned by Lord Acton, and reflecting his historical views. Volume 8 of that work devotes a whole series of chapters, by eminent authorities, to the condition of France prior to the Revolution. The prime cause of the upheaval is frankly recognised as economic. The condition of the peasants; the burden of taxation; the commercial and political grievances of the middle classes; the antiquated survival of many forms of feudalism; the impotence of the Government with its empty exchequer; all these and similar causes constituted the *raison-d'être* of the Revolution. The influence of the philosopher and the man of letters, undoubtedly a secondary cause, is put in its proper place. The vehement desire for civil and political liberty "was far more due to an envious appreciation of English freedom and American independence than to the influence and teaching of the philosophers. They were not the cause of ruined finances, of fiscal oppression, of the vacillation, the weakness and the incompetence of the Government."

The failure of the National Assembly to stay the Revolution, and the breakdown of the Constitution of

1791, are easily explainable from the conditions of the time. The anarchic state of the whole country, itself the natural result of misgovernment, rendered a speedy settlement of the problems that faced the Assembly impossible. To contend that its failure was due to its adoption of the Single Chamber system is almost too absurd to need refutation. It would be far more justifiable to hold that the "checks" and "delays," those special functions of a Second Chamber, would have added to the causes of strife. The failure of the Legislative Assembly must be considered in the light of the fact that the French people had been deprived of all representative government for nearly 200 years, and had no experience of Parliamentary institutions. The States-General had not been called since 1614; and even the deputies to that assembly had been mere petitioners to the King, not legislators empowered to consider the interest of the whole commonwealth. To argue from the legislative failures of a body so conditioned to the like failure of a Single Chamber in England to-day is to deny all political evolution; though, perhaps, even that comes easy to a writer who sees in the French Revolution nothing more than "pedantic philosophy" and "seas of wantonly shed blood."

"TOWARD FREEDOM."

By ROSE TRASK.

To-day there is a war that woman is waging which is directed against herself. It is the battle of forces within her, and it is the greatest difficulty she has to encounter in her struggle towards emancipation. It is the old psychic nature of woman in opposition to her new experience and growing realisation of the part she must play in the future regeneration of the world. She is developing her moral conscience, decidedly to the advantage of mankind. She has awakened from her long sleep, and knows it to be her duty to come out of the stultifying conditions under which she has lived for so long and lighten the burden her inaction has thrust upon the shoulders of men.

She has to break through the restrictions with which mothers in the past have hedged round their daughters, limiting their intelligence, cramping their outlook, causing them to form false ideals of life by the petty selected literature especially manufactured for their tender minds, carefully sheltering them from any knowledge of sexual and moral dangers, flinging them quite unprepared into the unknown waters of matrimony, and into the disillusion and painful experience the day of their marriage usually opened to them.

Woman was always somebody's property; her parents' before marriage, her husband's after. From the earliest days of marriage by capture, parents' command, or arrangement, possibly in a few cases her own preference, the man possessing the greater physical power in the earlier savage days, and personal possessions in later days, stood the best chance in the marital

competition. Consequently the psychic nature of woman, the instinct for protection evolved by these conditions for centuries, unconsciously impels her towards the man who has the sense of sex-dominance strongly developed in him. The emotions fostered by her narrowed sphere have been over-developed, and have largely dominated her reasoning power.

The woman whose intelligence and interests in outside affairs, after her early years and teens, have been passed under the old methods of education is painfully aware of her limitations. The psychic nature of old-time woman is strong in her, and is at war with the new ideas she is absorbing.

Woman's advent into the industrial world is a great factor in helping to destroy the old clinging, dependent nature ; she has to form habits of self-reliance, self-confidence, and self-defence to keep her footing in the struggle for a livelihood ; she is crossing swords with man in the competitive strife, and realises that by experience and education she can meet him as an equal. A growing sense of respect is rising between the two sexes, and we are beginning to have glimpses of a fine co-operation that will be of the greatest advantage to humanity in the future.

The girl who is growing up under the present more enlightened conditions educationally has far greater advantage as regards temperament than the past generations of her kind ; sex-emotion has not the chance of over-development that obtained in the sheltered, fainting heroine of our grandmothers' days.

She has another foe to fight : it is the other members of her sex who have not advanced so far along the lines of progress.

The old-fashioned woman still hugs her chains. To her they are often chains of roses. The thrill of capture is still hers. She is nearer tribal woman, primordial instinct is still strong in her ; she obeys her master and bears his burdens, asking no better than the wolf-dog of the wild who draws the loaded sledge for the master who has trained him, and has a kind word o

indifferent caress meted out to him according to his master's humour, when he has been especially diligent and obedient. She is provided with food, clothing, and shelter; is freed from all legal and moral responsibility; lives, if belonging to the comfortable classes, the life of a pampered poodle; in the poorer, a willing drudge, in return for which protection certain conditions are exacted: submission to her owner's desires, administering his household, bearing and rearing his children, the care of whom, together with the household management, the "well-to-do" woman generally leaves to paid dependents. By fulfilling these conditions she is freed from the service of humanity, freed from taking a responsible part in the world's government.

Having the advantage over the animal by being a conscious being, having human desires for comfort and a share in the good things, but not possessing power over them by owning them herself, she has had to devise means of cajoling her lord and master into giving her the things she coveted, being careful at the same time not to alarm his sense of authority by imbuing him with the idea that he first thought of it, and was giving of his own free will. She has made a special capital out of her sex-charm, it being her only asset.

Her efforts to maintain some individuality of her own, in spite of the fetters that have impeded her, has resulted in strange contradictory traits that may be observed in the average woman; we see the faithfulness of the dog, the cunning of the fox, the timidity of the hare, the courage of the lion, the gentleness of the dove, the ferocity of the tiger, the wisdom of a sage, the intellect of a parrot, the inscrutability of the sphinx, the chattering of a crow, and the patience of Job. These are not all contained in any one woman, heaven help us! but are developed in different women according to their environment.

Now, men! Men, do not, please, add to her difficulties; do not put any obstacles in the way of her great fight, for it is a great one; if you do not feel any

desire to help her, well, stand aside and see fair play. The thinking women in the fray have to work overtime; they have to fight not only for themselves but must drag along the line of march those who are unable to fight, and others who are too lazy, who will not forget to come along and take a share when there are any benefits won for them. How much longer will you be content at seeing your children reared by inefficient, untrained women, as so many of them are by reason of their narrow upbringing? How many women realise the serious responsibilities of life? They are shielded and petted before marriage, fêted with theatres, parties, pleasure jaunts, or, in the industrial classes, they spend from 12 to 14 hours in stuffy shops and workrooms, and have scarcely the most elementary knowledge of domestic economy.

She has the children at the most important and impressionable part of their lives, their first years; she has the moulding of the young idea. Mother is their authority; it is she to whom they run with their little questions; she is the wonderful being in their eyes who kisses the little cuts and grazes and makes them well; what a power is in her hands, and what an ill-use she has made of it; what opportunities has she thrown away. With her own hands she has tied the shackles on her daughters and given her sons the key of the world; knowing the slavery of marriage, she has deliberately sold her daughter to it.

Women of the West End and Suburbia, who shriek that "woman's place is the home," do *you* never leave it to destroy a reputation at afternoon tea-scrambles? Do you never play tennis or stay up late at nights playing bridge? Do you not spend hours at bargain-sales or flattening your noses against the shop windows of Westbourne Grove and Oxford Street? You can find time to go to theatres; could you not spare a few of these extra hours in helping to straighten out the horrible tangle the world is involved in? Don't be too hard on the men, don't leave them everything to do—to work for you, think for you, legislate for you.

Read the daily paper instead of trashy literature ; acquire some knowledge of public affairs.

The Anti-Suffragist, with the most unconscious irony, pronounces the greatest indictment on the woman of the past ; they have the greatest contempt for her ; she is not fitted mentally or physically for deciding any question affecting herself or her children. Very well, women, if that is all that can be said of you after all your years of patient self-effacement, if the reward of being pattern mother and wife is the jeer of incompetence, then it is time you widened your sphere and let your brain power develop. Let us cease to deserve those sneers.

One more word to those people who will insist that all women must be home-makers, that all have the maternal instinct. All women have not. Why not insist that all men wish to be fathers ? Do you insist that all men work at the same trade, that all possess the genius for music, painting or writing ? The same changes that are rung on a man's temperament are rung on woman's, and to insist that all women must have the maternal instinct is to talk bosh. All women are not domesticated, all women do not marry ; and the outside world has great need of these women.

"Co-operation between the sexes" is the password of the future. Forward, women !

THE MONTH.

The strike in the London printing trade still drags on. The majority of firms have conceded the 50 hours week, but a number of the larger houses are still holding out. There is little doubt, however, that, so far as London is concerned, the recognised union hours will be 50 per week for the future—until a further reduction is secured. One or two of the firms which refuse to concede the demands of the unions will probably, for a time, become non-union houses; but they will find that they will have to adopt the 50 hours system or lose a good deal of their work. They are now bragging that "work is going on as usual," but the pitiable shifts to which they have to resort and the persistent newspaper advertisements for "hands" give the lie to that boast.

The weak point on the men's side has been with the provincial leaders. Had they stood firm by the original decision and made a national movement of it, the battle would have been won ere this, both for London and the provinces. A national printers' strike would not have lasted a week, and a national lock-out is unthinkable. But by their shilly-shallying the provincial leaders have enabled the masters to rub along without much difficulty. Now they have still further damaged the cause of the London men by provisionally accepting an agreement—subject to the approval of the rank and file—which will defer the realisation even of a 50 hours week for several years in some cases.

There was the less excuse for this weakness on their part in that the provincials have a great deal of leeway to make up in the matter of wages before they will be abreast of the London men. The plea of foreign competition put forward by the employers as an excuse for refusing the men's demands was simply absurd as regards letterpress printing. It is another story, however, when we come to provincial competition. With lower rents, and wages in some cases from twenty to thirty per cent. below those of London, and with boy or girl labour employed to an extent that would not be tolerated in the metropolis, it is not surprising London master printers find a good cry in provincial competition.

We cannot reasonably blame capitalist customers going to the cheapest market, and the remedy lies with the provincial workmen. It is rather a sorry joke, however, when we find London "Labour" organisations, who are enthusiastic in lip-service and in passing resolutions of encouragement to the London men, taking their printing to provincial concerns where wages are twenty per cent. below the London rate because they can save a few shillings on the deal. After all, actions speak louder than words.

The printers' strike has afforded an opportunity to London magistrates for a display of that partiality and class bias which so markedly characterises the administration of the law in such circumstances. Thus we find a young man, who happens to be on the side of the strikers, sent to prison for a month's hard labour on a trivial charge of assault. Another man, with a double charge of assault against him, was discharged on his own recognisances. He, of course, was on the other side. Stipendiary magistrates are perfectly class conscious if working printers are not, and, while we protest against this class injustice, we hope that its lesson will not be lost.

The most important Parliamentary event of the month was the indictment by Mr. Ginnell of the present method of selecting participants in the debates. By that method all expression of independent opinion is practically ruled out and the party machine reigns supreme. The "private member" has seen his rights gradually filched from him, but now he is practically extinguished. We have always insisted upon the unreal character of Parliamentary polemics; but this reduces them to mere farce. The whole thing is arranged by the Party chiefs and is a hollow mockery. Talk about "representative government," of which some of our "Labour leaders" have recently constituted themselves the champions in opposition to more democratic methods, such as Proportional Representation and the Referendum! The Parliamentary representative to-day is reduced to a mere automaton. The idea that a member "represents" the people in a given constituency and speaks especially on their behalf is an absurd error. He represents nobody and speaks for nobody but his party chiefs, and only when they permit. It would be much simpler, and would save a lot of time and trouble and money—to say nothing of libels, lying, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness—if people everywhere voted only for Messrs. Asquith, Balfour,

Redmond and MacDonald, and allowed these men to choose a certain number of automatic followers, in proportion to the votes each received.

By comparison with the Ginnell incident, the Labour Party's Right to Work amendment to the Address cut no ice at all. Their involuntary action in this respect had been already discounted by the lavish praise they had bestowed on the mock social reforms promised by the Government. That fact, in spite of the earnestness which some of the Labour men put into their speeches, robbed the amendment of all seriousness, and made it as unreal as the rest of the Parliamentary show.

The decision of the Hague Tribunal in the Savarkar case was precisely what we anticipated. When the French Government failed to firmly insist upon the surrender of the prisoner who had been illegally recaptured on French soil, there was little hope of his being surrendered at all. The British Government assumed that, and took care to do everything to ensure this result by prejudicing the case against Savarkar by sentencing him to two terms of transportation for life before the Hague Tribunal met. After that the result was a foregone conclusion, unless the other Powers represented at the Hague simply wished to put an affront upon the British Government. The French Government, it now appears, had practically abandoned all claim long before the tribunal met at the Hague, so that the whole proceedings there were reduced to a farce, played solely in order to "save the faces" of the "high-contracting parties."

Too much importance must not be attached to the fall of Briand. It is a mistake to suppose that he was compelled to resign because the measures he had adopted against the railwaymen were too stringent. Those measures won him the approbation of all classes and all parties outside the Socialists. They, of course, rightly opposed and denounced him as the renegade that he is. But we do not forget that, forsworn traitor to his principles as he was, he was a much more "advanced" reformer and did better "progressive" work, when all is said and done, than the men in office who win the loud laudation of our Labourists here in England. But Briand had done his work for his patrons, the bourgeoisie, and there is no gratitude in politics. Other hungry politicians wanted his job, and they have got it. That is all there is to it.

If domestic politics have become more farcical and less interesting than ever, foreign affairs have assumed a more rather than less serious hue. The Potsdam agreement has demonstrated, what we have insisted upon all through, that it was folly to put any trust in the Russian Alliance. When the pinch comes it will always be found that the great militarist autocracies of Russia and Prussia hang together. The visit to Reval, the ignominy of the reception to the blood-stained Czar in this country, have been all in vain; Edward the Peacemaker, now at peace in his grave, and his taskmaster Sir Edward Grey, have been nicely bested in the diplomatic game. They might, with advantage, have learnt the proverb about the devil and a long spoon which Mr. Chamberlain applied with less aptness in another direction some eleven years ago.

In the meantime our pacifist Liberal Government is pushing on with war preparations and the building of Dreadnoughts. The Navy Estimates for the ensuing financial year are higher than ever before—£44,392,000, and show an increase of over eleven millions on the last year of the Tory Administration. With the platonic opposition to armaments of their Labour allies the Government will be able hypocritically to pretend that all this expenditure goes sorely against the grain, but that they have to give way to superior pressure. Why not drop all this contemptible humbug and say frankly that they have been forced to recognise the existence of a danger which at first they affected to ignore? Why not admit that we as a nation are committed to obligations that make continued naval expansion necessary unless there is a complete reversal of policy? By a little less lying and less hypocrisy much of the danger which lies before us might be averted.

As might have been expected, Mr. Winston Churchill refused anything in the nature of an impartial inquiry into the conduct of the police in South Wales. To the mind of a man like Mr. Churchill, the police, like the King, can do no wrong. It is to be regretted, however, that this question should have been in any way mixed up with that of the conduct of the police towards the Suffragette demonstrators. The two things are quite distinct and separate. We hold no brief for the police, and have little doubt that some of the Suffragettes were roughly mishandled; but those who play at bowls must expect rubbers. We do not claim for the miners or for anyone else the right to act illegally with impunity. If they were creating disturbance or making an attack upon persons or property and then got hammered by the police they would have

got no more than they might expect, and, however much we might have sympathised with them, we should have made no outcry about their treatment. The point in their case, however, is that the police made savage, brutal and unprovoked attacks upon people who were quite innocent even of the appearance of evil. With the Suffragettes it was quite different. They presumed upon their sex to indulge in "militant" tactics which would not have been tolerated for a moment on the part of men. That they were very roughly treated we have no doubt, but men in the same case would have been treated infinitely worse; and it is idle for women to enter upon a physical struggle with men and then howl because they are not "treated as ladies." If they want to be treated as ladies they must "behave as sich."

An organisation calling itself the National Industrial Education League held a conference recently, at which certain demands were formulated which would provide for the better industrial training of able-bodied boys. The worthy folk who gathered there seemed to think that it would considerably lessen unemployment if, instead of being allowed to drift into newspaper selling or errand boy work, boys were trained to become skilled workers in any of the various trades and crafts. These boys, they said, should not be allowed to fall into a state of casual employment. Our educational system should be so constituted that it fitted boys to live useful and profitable lives to the community.

Much more talk of a similar nature was indulged in, and, if necessary, State grants were to be asked for to further the spread of technical education.

Vain and foolish imaginings! When will people who desire to see the question of unemployment seriously dealt with rid themselves of the idea that the mere training of boys will provide them with jobs? Just as if there were no skilled men unemployed. Take any trade or industry, and there will be found a large percentage of unemployed. Men who have served their apprenticeship, who know their trade perfectly, who are thoroughly efficient in every respect, are now walking the streets looking for masters. Is it because they have not been sufficiently trained? Are bricklayers skilled workers? And are there no unemployed bricklayers? Are engineers, carpenters, tailors, compositors skilled workers? And are there no unemployed in these trades? Everyone knows perfectly well there are. Why, even the teachers themselves have

unemployed demonstrations because jobs are not available for all their number. And they, surely, are skilled workers.

It is extraordinary to what an extent this idea of "industrial education" has spread. Not only do prominent members of the present Government believe in it, and men like Dr. Macnamara and D. J. Shackleton actively propagate it as a cure for unemployment, but many Fabians sedulously spread it also. This is, indeed, the central idea behind the Minority Report—but it is most surprising that our friend George Lansbury should be caught in such a trap.

The tendency of our industrial system is in the contrary direction to that suggested. Highly skilled men are *not* wanted. There is no longer any great demand for the man who knows his trade thoroughly. Industry is becoming more and more specialised, and long apprenticeships are being discouraged. A knowledge of a particular branch of a trade is all that is required nowadays—a knowledge that is acquired in a few months at the most.

And thus it is that the one-time aristocracy of Labour is gradually sinking to the level of the unskilled worker. Industry—in this age of rush and shoddy—is being so simplified that boys—and even girls—are now employed on work formerly done by men. Not only is that so, but the many innovations continually being introduced compel the workers to abandon, in many cases, all their previous training for something entirely new. For example: Here is a man who has served his time at the case, learnt thoroughly the art of letterpress printing, and worked as journeyman compositor. Along comes the linotype. He practically throws overboard all his previous training and learns the machine. He is now a linotype operator. But now he never knows when any one of the many other kinds of type-setting machines will be installed in the place of the "lino," and require fresh "training" on his part.

No, the spread of technical education will not cause a decrease in unemployment. The flooding of the market with skilled men will only have the effect of still further pulling down the wages of the better-paid working class, and it is absurd to induce boys to spend many hours in anxiously studying a trade in which there are but scant chances of a livelihood.



EDOUARD VAILLANT.

EDOUARD VAILLANT.

(From "Die Neue Zeit," Berlin, January 14, 1911.)

On January 26, the international proletariat again celebrated the festival of one of the oldest, most enthusiastic, and most justly esteemed of its pioneers, the seventieth birthday of Edouard Vaillant, of whom, as of our Bebel, it may be said that to write the history of his life is to write at the same time a good bit of the history of the working-class movement in his native country.

To many German comrades he is well known, not only by name and reputation, but personally from the International Congresses, especially the Congress of Stuttgart, where they were able to admire him in the full vigour of his powers. And how much more would they have admired this vigour if they had known that 43 years before the then scarcely fledged youth had gone from this same Stuttgart to sit at the feet of a German thinker—whom his own nation had forgotten, in spite of the great act of deliverance it owed him—as his most enthusiastic pupil.

On May 6, 1864, Edouard Vaillant wrote from Stuttgart to Ludwig Feuerbach: "Fourteen days ago, on the day after my arrival at Munich, I travelled to Bruckberg, where you were said to live; on my arrival I asked every living soul, but no one in the little village, inhabited only by peasants, knows you. At last I was advised to wait till after church (it was a Sunday), and then to go to the most important person of the village—the clergyman. As I assumed that you lived in the neighbourhood, and thought he could perhaps give me some idea where, I decided to ask him—not without some hesitation, for I have some experience of country clergymen. But I had reckoned too much on his stupidity and not enough on his ignorance; he did not even know your name." A peculiar characteristic of Germany calculated to astonish the young Frenchman, for in his fatherland honour is done to national celebrity even in an opponent. Feuerbach had, as is well known, really lived 24 years in Bruckberg, but hardly had he turned his back upon it before the pious Government arranged, in the same building in which he dwelt, an institution for young good-for-nothing criminals under the supervision of a sanctimonious clergyman, and now no one there "knew Joseph."

After some time Vaillant managed to find out that Feuerbach lived at Nuremberg, and sent him thither the greetings of a

"devoted disciple": "It would be painful to me to leave Germany without being able to assure him whose ideas have had so great an influence on my own of my admiration and gratitude." It would not be easy to find a more honourable proof of the thirst for knowledge in that young mind, which had not even been led to philosophical studies by a classical education. Born at Vierzon, in the Department of Cher, Edouard Vaillant had received his primary instruction at the College of St. Berbe, and then entered the Central School of Art and Industry, which he left in 1864 with an engineer's diploma. But he was not satisfied with this cut-and-dried preparation for the teaching profession; he attended lectures on medicine at the Sorbonne, in Paris, and then went to Germany to study philosophy, where he soon found his way to the forgotten Feuerbach, at a time when learned Germany was already being hypnotised by the insipid reactionary "Philosophy of the Unconscious."

Through his friend Le Roy, Vaillant was the means of getting a translation published of Feuerbach's "*Wesen des Christentums*" (Nature of Christianity), which he brought himself to Proudhon. On February 17, 1865, he wrote from Paris to Feuerbach, sending greetings and thanks from Proudhon, who, only a short time before his death, read the book with delight, and realised, for the first time, who Feuerbach was, which helps to solve the question why Marx and Proudhon, in their nocturnal debates twenty years before, had failed to come to an understanding. For Marx then started out from the philosophy of Feuerbach, whom Proudhon only got to know much later through the efforts of Vaillant.

The disciple was more fortunate than the master, and found the way from the philosophic on to the political and social plane; the young Vaillant translated into action what for the ageing Feuerbach remained in the category of mere desires. In the autumn of 1867 Vaillant returned to Germany in order to continue his studies in Tübingen; he was, as he wrote to Feuerbach, nearly staying in Paris, as it looked as if the predictions of the latter of the chastisements, which were bound to come, materially and politically, were about to be fulfilled. But two years later, while he was still in Tübingen, he already realised that it was a question of greater things than the fall of Napoleon the Little. At Christmas, 1869, he confessed to Feuerbach: "The working class finds itself in the same position to-day towards the bourgeoisie as the latter was in 1789 towards the nobility and clergy. The active proletariat will found the Republic for ever. They have set it an example; they have overthrown the good God of the Christians and of the Theists, and it will follow and smash the last incarnation of evil, the god capital. I hope that this revolution, which will be equally radical on both the political and social planes, will not meet with enmity on the part of the surrounding nations, but with a revolutionary emulation, the absence of which has hitherto isolated the French movement and caused it to break up." One short year

passed, and the writer of these lines was plunged into the waves of the political and social revolution.

On the day preceding Sedan Vaillant had returned to Paris, and was now busily engaged in the revolutionary movement which was developing within the besieged city against the half-and-half measures, the weaknesses, and even betrayals, on the part of Favre and his associates, who by a trick had possessed themselves of power. The most decided and courageous head in this movement was old Blanqui, and it was with him that Vaillant associated himself, in spite of the more or less close relation in which he had formerly stood to Proudhon. What decided him in this choice was the revolutionary energy which was the first duty at the moment, and which was present to a far higher degree among the Blanquists than among the Proudhonists. It is certain that the revolutionary temperament of the Blanquists was based upon no economic theory, but that of the Proudhonists was so confused that it could not create or nourish any revolutionary passion. Blanquism has often been conceived and represented in too superficial a manner, even sometimes by Marx and Engels, who have since been punished by the fact that when, ten years ago, Revisionism began to develop itself in Germany it accused them themselves of Blanquist inclinations, and extolled Proudhon, who was alleged to have been wantonly ill-treated by them.

Vaillant was never a Blanquist in the superficial sense of the word, according to which a turn of the hand undertaken by a small body of people at a happy moment is supposed to suffice to decide the fate of the nations. But he was a Blanquist in the sense that in a revolutionary period one must act in a revolutionary manner. The thing can be very well illustrated by an example. Bourgeois writings dealing with the Paris Commune have the habit of parading a few sentences from an article by Vaillant, wherein he is supposed to have extolled the murder of princes on principle directly after the rising of March 18, 1871, and from this it is concluded that the Commune began with incendiarism and murder. As a matter of fact, Vaillant did not incite to murder princes, but on receiving the news that the Duc d'Aumale had appeared at Versailles in order to lead the headless society of ignorant country squires he published an article in the "Journal Officiel," of March 25, 1871, in which he advises, if the news should be true, that this head be knocked off. "Foolish sentimentalists," he said, "are in the habit of declaring that these poor devils of princes are not responsible for the crimes of their fathers and their families any more than is the son of the murderer Trogmann. They forget that the son of the galley-convict is not condemned by public opinion if he is not himself a galley-convict, but mistrust is justified in attaching itself to one who in his youth has been given such a bad example, whose first education has been under such management. In the same way a prince, the son of a prince, who continues to call himself a prince, and who, like the d'Aumale in question, dares,

in Republican France, to raise the monarchical question and the claims of his family, arouses our anger and excites our feeling for justice. And if these princes, who dream of oppressing us again, were illuminated by the genius of the revolution they ought at once to understand that they must not become causes of division and of civil war, and they would endeavour to hide the shame and misfortune of their birth in some remote corner. For it does not suffice that they on their part should renounce all ambition; one need only think in this connection of Bonaparte's protests and oaths, if they themselves, their name and their presence, would be exploited by those who are bound up with their fate, through ambition, interest, and intrigue; and whatever the prince himself might wish, his influence would be equally disastrous." These highly comprehensible remarks show very little of any sanguinary and incendiary desires of the Paris rising, but rather its excessive timidity and weakness were witnessed to by the fact of Vaillant's article being, a few days after, half-heartedly repudiated by the "Journal Officiel."

By means of his enthusiastic and effectual propaganda Vaillant had, during the winter of the siege, already created a great sensation among the masses of the Parisian population; on May 26 he was elected by the Champs Elysées district to the Council of the Commune, and by the latter at once on the Executive Committee, consisting of five persons, on which he remained till the end of April. There he was one of the majority who voted for the immediate creation of a Committee of Public Safety.

Certain, however, as this fact is, it has been misused to throw quite a false light on Vaillant's activity at that time. It is certain that the motion for the establishment of a Committee of Public Safety proceeded from the Jacobin members of the Commune, who could only see the trifling superficial details of the great French Revolution, and thus became unacceptable, especially to the members of the International who sat in the Commune; but Vaillant, as the reports of the Council show, was the first who contradicted the notion, and, without any hesitation, opposed any aping of 1789. What he urged—which does him, as a member of the Executive Committee, all honour—was no revolutionary imitation, but a new Executive Committee with sufficient power to withstand the daily increasing danger of the numerous Councils of the Commune degenerating into a chattering little Parliament, which, according to the mood and also according to the number of members present, arbitrarily destroyed to-day what it had created yesterday. As the majority would not be persuaded to give up the theatrical revolutionary name, Vaillant took it as it was and made the best of it, in order to save the cause at least as far as possible; and to day it is safe to say that, as the position of things was then, he acted more wisely and correctly than the minority in which the Proudhonist spirit dominated. For the sake of the name they threw away the thing itself, and by refusing to

take part in the election of the Committee of Public Safety they deprived the new body from the outset of all authority, and exposed to the whole world, at the most critical moment, the incurable rift in the Commune itself.

Vaillant never sat on the Committee of Public Safety ; during the last weeks of the Commune he was especially active as representative of the administration of education. It is evident that nothing great could be accomplished on this plane in the midst of the feverish atmosphere of a besieged city, where every day brought ill-tidings ; the candid and rather spiteful judgment passed by Lissagaray in his history of the Commune on the smallness of the results accomplished by Vaillant in the sphere of education breaks down on that account. Vaillant had, as a matter of fact, something better to do in fighting for the Commune, to which he did his duty till it drew its last breath. It was not until the last possibility of resistance was over that he sought and found a refuge from the savage pursuit of the Versailles bandits till he was able, a month later, to get over the Spanish frontier.

He took up his abode in London, where he earned a diploma as an English doctor, and remained for ten years. The object of his political activity remained, as before, the unification of all the Socialist factions, in order to ensure the united action of the revolutionary Labour movement. He sat with Marx and Engels on the General Council of the International Workmen's Association, and supported them strongly against all efforts that were made to destroy the great union ; at the Hague Congress he proposed the motion which determined the victory over Bakunin, and which concluded with the words : " In the struggle of the working class the economic movement and the political action are inseparably united." In 1874 he was able to unite the most notable Blanquists on one programme, which approached somewhat closely to the " Communist Manifesto."

After the amnesty of 1880 Vaillant returned to his own country. Already in 1884 he was elected to the Paris municipality, where he was able to show by his activity in the interests of the working-classes that only the unfavourable circumstances had hindered him in the never-to-be-forgotten spring days of 1871 from accomplishing on the field of communal administration what he was brilliantly capable of achieving. But it is impossible to describe in these narrow limits all his work and achievements during thirty years in the national and international working-class movement. It only remains to us to express our sincerest good wishes and greetings on this full, fortunate and splendid life which began at the feet of Feuerbach and Blanqui, which stood in the front ranks of the fighters of the Commune, that was adorned by the friendship of Marx and Engels, and which has ever mounted higher and higher towards the great height to which the proletarian struggle for emancipation has attained to-day.

We have received the following from our esteemed comrade:—

CHAMBRE
DES DÉPUTÉS

Paris, le Lend. 23 Janvier 1911.

Cher citoyen Quelch

J'ai pu trouver que tard cette nuit votre lettre, en rentrant
à la maison j'avais été absent toute la jour et la veille et, ne
pus vous répondre que ce matin, en arrivant à la Chambre.

Vous me remerciez ! Mon 70^e anniversaire est passé
depuis un an, et à ma prière mes amis du parti ont bien
voulus ^{alors} en France ne pas s'en occuper.

En tout cas je vous suis très reconnaissant et aux amis du S D P
des bons sentiments à mon égard dont votre lettre est l'expression.

En hâte, vous remerçant et m'excusant faute de temps de la
brièveté de cette réponse, veuillez cher citoyen Quelch et les amis
du S D P mes sincères amitiés et cordiales salutations.

E. J. Vailliant

(TRANSLATION.)

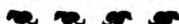
DEAR CITIZEN QUELCH,—I did not get your letter till late last
night on my return home. I had been absent all day and during
the evening, and could not reply to you till my arrival at the
Chamber this morning.

You rejuvenate me! My 70th anniversary was a year ago, but at my earnest request my friends of the party in France have not made any fuss about it.

However, I appreciate very much your kind regards and those of my friends of the S.D.P., of which your letter is the expression.

In haste, thanking you, and excusing myself, through shortness of time, for the brevity of this reply, accept, dear Citizen Quelch, and friends of the S.D.P., the assurance of my sincere friendship and cordial salutations.

ED. VAILLANT.



STIRRING DAYS.

There are big things doing these days. The signs of the times portend great happenings before the present year closes. The capitalists themselves realise that they are getting near the end of their tether. They are not totally blind.

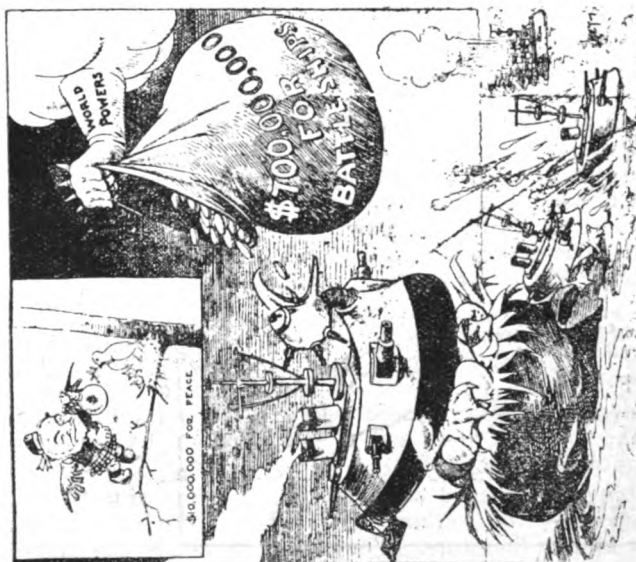
Government is simply a plaything in their hands, and this is so palpably true that even the common people see it. The result is that there is widespread unrest. Not only this, but the people are compelled at last by the logic of events to turn in the right direction. To reform capitalism they know to be nothing less than a ghastly joke. They have tried that so often that they are compelled to realise that there is nothing in it. They see the trusts gobbling up everything and a few powerful persons in practical control of everything, and they know it cannot last.

They have intelligence enough to understand that monopolies have grown out of competition, and that it is useless to talk about going back to competition. They are therefore compelled to think in terms of Socialism. And that is why Socialism is the one theme in every walk of life. The plutocrats see its shadow athwart their pathway, and seek by all the most powerful means at their command to discredit it. The middle class see it, and are no longer so hostile against it because of the fear that it is going to divide up what they haven't got.

But, best of all, the working class see it. And more and more of them are eagerly welcoming its propaganda and joining the party it represents. From now on Socialism will figure in every ward meeting and every campaign speech. It is a factor increasing in importance, and will have more and more to do with shaping campaigns and controlling elections.

The one thing now needed above all others is the education of the people, especially the working class. They must be reached with the right kind of literature. They must be taught the necessity of supporting the Socialist Press, the only press they can rely upon to tell the truth and fight their battles.

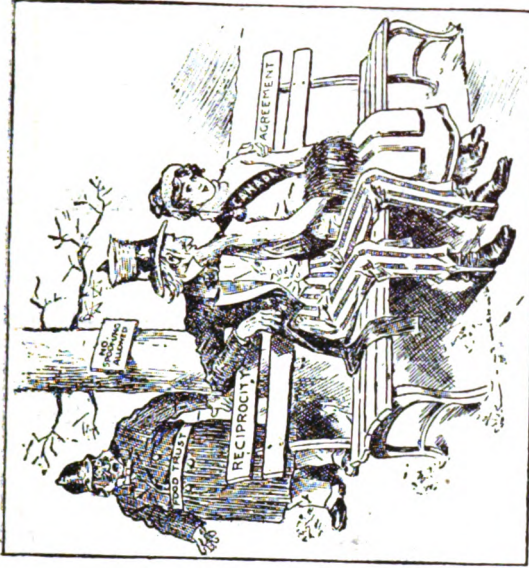
EUGENE V. DEBS (in the "Appeal to Reason").



While the world is crying, "PEACE, PEACE," and Carnegie has donated \$10,000,000 for world peace, figures show that from February 1 to December 31 this year a new DREADNOUGHT will be floated EVERY NINE DAYS. \$10,000,000 for peace! \$700,000,000 for battleships! One peace palace: 36 TERRIFIC FIGHTING SHIPS!



CURIOUS FOREIGN AMUSEMENTS.
—Bradley in the Chicago "News."



THE PUBLIC GUARDIAN.—"Hey, there!"
—De Mar in the Philadelphia "Record."



FEAR MAKES STRANGE FRIENDS.
The Czar and Mikado, once deadly foes, are one in their
common dread of the Anarchist.
—"Humanité" (Paris).

THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY.

AT HOME.

- 1.—For libelling the King, Edward Mylius sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

Labour Party Conference opened at Leicester.

- 2.—Labour Party Conference revised its Constitution pledge.

- 3.—Strike on the North-Eastern Railway.

- 4.—North-Eastern strike concluded.

3,000 compositors and other workers in London printing trades struck for 50 hours week. Many firms surrendered.

- 6.—King opened Parliament: debates on Address in reply to the Speech.

Mr. J. R. MacDonald elected Chairman of the House of Commons Labour Group.

- 7.—House of Commons discussed the McCann case and police outrages in South Wales.

- 8.—House of Commons: Tariff Reform amendment to Address.

- 9.—Tariff Reform amendment defeated in the Commons by 324 to 222.

Premier received Trade Union deputation on Electoral Reform.

- 10.—Mr. O'Grady's "Right to Work" amendment to the Address defeated by 225 to 39.

Speech by Mr. McKinnon Wood, M.P., on the Declaration of London.

- 11.—Mr. W. Jones (Liberal) re-elected unopposed for North Carnarvonshire on appointment as Whip.

- 13.—Commons discussed questions of imperial burdens on local rates.

Jury on Pretoria Pit disaster declared the cause to be ignition of gas and coal-dust, and recommended more regular reports and investigations.

- 14.—Commons discussed Land Valuation and Assessment.

London County Council increased salaries of officials.

- 15.—Home Rule discussed in Commons, and Address debate finished.
London Omnibus amalgamation announced.
- 16.—Government took time of Commons till Easter.
Sir Joseph Larmor elected M.P. for Cambridge University.
Home Secretary promised trade union deputation to legislate on mines and shops.
Horncastle bye-election: Weigall (Unionist), 4,955; Linfield (Liberal), 4,848; reduced Unionist majority.
- 17.—Question of privilege in the Commons.
Inquest on Samuel Oakley, baker, who had died after working 19 hours at a stretch.
- 18.—New British "Labour Party" formed at Birmingham.
- 20.—Mr. Ginnell, M.P., suspended from the Commons for libelling the Speaker; Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., apologised.
Budget Resolutions discussed.
- 21.—Parliament Bill (unaltered) re-introduced.
- 22.—Parliament Bill first reading carried by 351 to 227.
Outbreak of small-pox in East London.
West Wilts bye-election: Howard (Liberal), 5,073; Palmer (Unionist), 4,492; no change.
- 23.—Commons: Budget resolutions and Heswall Reformatory School.
Mr. Hazleton, Nationalist M.P., unseated for North Louth.
- 24.—Commons: Supplementary Estimates. Army Estimates issued, slight reduction.
Forest of Dean bye-election: Webb (Liberal), 6,174; Kyd (Unionist), 3,106; increased majority.
- 25.—Death of Lord Wolverhampton (Hartley Fowler), Liberal politician.
Labour Party's Bill on Osborne Judgment issued.
Mr. Osborne's appeal against the A.S.R.S. allowed.
- 27.—House of Commons: Parliament Bill, second reading moved.
- 28.—Parliament Bill debate continued.
Conference at Guildhall on Industrial Training.

ABROAD.

- 1.—Belgian Government assumed control of King Leopold's estates.
- 4.—Death of General Cronje, Boer leader who scotched the Jameson raid in 1896, and who surrendered to Earl Roberts at Paardeberg in 1900.

- 5.—Funeral of Paul Singer (chairman Social-Democratic Party of Germany) at Berlin.
- 8.—Social-Democrats in Reichstag defined their position on national defence.
- 9.—German Government defeated in Reichstag committee on Alsace-Lorraine Constitution.
Twelve hours fighting in Mexico.
- 10.—The Durand case discussed in the French Chamber.
- 11.—Death of Baron Albert von Rothschild (Vienna).
- 12.—Prince Henry of Prussia, after dinner, attacked the Social-Democrats.
- 13.—American Congress discussed Reciprocity with Canada.
Reichstag discussed German Navy Estimates. Ledebour replied to Prince Henry.
- 14.—Canadian House of Commons discussed Reciprocity.
Political Crisis in Persia.
Terrible railway collision at Courville (France).
- 21.—Police-constable assassinated in Calcutta.
- 23.—German Army Bill introduced : increased peace strength.
Death of General Brun, French War Minister.
- 24.—Hague Tribunal decided against Savarkar, Indian patriot, being handed back to France.
Political murder in Persia.
- 27.—Resignation of M. Briand, French Premier.
- 28.—M. Monis consented to form new French Cabinet.
Mr. Fisher, Australian Premier, opened Constitutional Reforms campaign at Melbourne.

THE REVIEWS.

YOUNG TURKEY AFTER TWO YEARS.

Noel Buxton, M.P., writes the following in the current "Nineteenth Century and After":—

The Young Turks have now had time to indicate the stuff they are made of, and there are some observers both in England and France who are inclined to the conclusion that after all the leopard has not changed his spots. It is time to reconsider the policy of two years ago. Criticism has been withheld in the desire to give the reformers every chance, and not to shake their prestige. The English people would only be too glad to leave the inhabitants of other countries to manage their own affairs. But voices are again heard denouncing Turkish rule. The Balkan Committee has, by a careful collection of information, and by the personal visits of several of its members, endeavoured to arrive at a conclusion. If the Young Turks are no better than the old, and if Turkey cannot be revived as a self-respecting State and a permanent factor in the comity of nations, the sooner its prestige is destroyed, and an intolerable situation relieved, the better. That is the conclusion which the Christian subject of the Ottoman Empire may be excused for arriving at.

But the onlooker who considers as a whole what the Young Turks have effected, what are the possibilities of political change, and how great are the interests of international peace, will certainly conclude that the time has not yet come for a change of front on the part of the Western Powers. It is rather a new method of action that is required. If the new policy of supporting the Turkish reformers is to continue, the practical task has changed from one of public agitation to that of diplomatic influence; in place of definite condemnation of a Government, we have the more difficult obligation of allotting praise and blame.

What, then, can be put to the credit side of the account?

The Christian elements in European Turkey are unwilling to admit that improvements have taken place, but allowances must be made for their mentality, which is very different from ours. The Powers, and England in particular, have concerned themselves, not for the political rights of Turkish subjects, but for their personal security; and rightly so from our point of view. Yet that

which bulks largest in the outlook of almost every Christian in the East is the general interest of his religious community, with which is identified, in the case of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians, the nationality to which that community belongs.

We must make allowance, therefore, for the disinclination of Ottoman subjects to judge impartially of that aspect of things with which we are most concerned. The Young Turks have never pretended to be "home rulers." They were avowed Unionists from the first. The policy of decentralisation advocated at the revolution by the Turkish prince, Sabaeddin, was so intolerable to Young Turkish feeling that within three months of the first revolution the prince had virtually abandoned it. What the Young Turks did profess was civilisation on European lines—regard for personal security and for the economic progress which follows it. By their successes in this sphere the Young Turks will stand or fall. This is the condition, and the only condition, on which English friends have given them their support. . . .

Judged by this standard there is much to say for what the new régime has done. Freedom of travel is immensely enlarged. Whereas formerly no one might leave his district without permission, he is now at liberty to travel where he likes, and the railways are crowded with passengers. This is not only a relief from personal restraint but an immense advantage to commerce. Every European who does business with native traders has occasion to observe the effects of this freedom; for instance, the merchant who has borrowed money to enlarge his trade was formerly unable to collect his debts, or renew orders, from his clients from the mere inability to go and see them; all this is now changed, and the result is a benefit not to be depreciated. The great increase of railway receipts proves that it is not Europeans alone who experience the improved conditions.

As in the case of freedom of travel, the cessation of vexatious interference has produced a marked improvement in another matter—viz., freedom of speech. Formerly, the traveller who had any regard for the welfare of the people refrained from holding any communication with them as he travelled through the villages or towns, because he rendered them liable to suspicion and persecution; he will now find that little fear on this score is felt by the peasants, and none in the towns. Before the revolution every conversation between two or more Ottoman subjects might bring disaster upon them, and a general atmosphere of anxiety destroyed social life. It is a magnificent contrast for the Turk as well as the Christian to-day that he is free to meet his friends, and even to enjoy public meetings and club life.

The peasant in European Turkey, however, has gained most of all from another feature of the new régime, which is not the direct

work of the Government, but incidental to it. I allude to the internecine feud which led in the latter years of the Hamidian epoch to a death roll of 200 per month, according to the statistics collected by the British Consular agents alone. It is greatly to the credit of the Young Turks that they have not attempted to continue the noxious method of setting one section of the people against another, employed by Abdul Hamid.

Again, all travellers are struck with the great amount of rebuilding proceeding, not only in Salonika and other towns, but in countless villages also—an index of confidence not adequately reflected in the views of British residents and commercial men.

There is, moreover, a very considerable increase of trade. The enormous rise in the Customs receipts is not entirely due to the cessation of bribery, or to the improved methods instituted by Mr. Crawford, the admirable official lent by the British Government, whose work the Turks themselves are never tired of praising. English firms are behind those of Germany and Austria, for reasons which are partly natural, but in spite of the advantages which these countries possess, and their more adaptable methods, English imports are increasing. . . .

Among other incidental benefits, the poorer classes are not now so wholly, as of old, beyond the reach of medical aid. I have formerly seen even sufferers from ghastly and mortal wounds lying untended in rough cottages, because to enter the Turkish hospital would probably have meant a worse fate, and their own community was not allowed to build a hospital of its own. At Salonika the Bulgarians were occasionally rash enough to enter the hospital, but their experience was not encouraging to others; one man is known to have feigned madness in order to get himself ejected from the hospital because of the ill-treatment received there. To-day, at the same hospital, of which the well-known Dr. Nazin Bey is the active president, Bulgarians may be seen in large numbers, enjoying the comforts contributed by a society of Turkish ladies.



MINING ACCIDENTS.

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

The recent increase of mining accidents merits strict attention. And it calls for action prompt and drastic. When we get the complete figures for 1910 it will be found that about 1,700 of our coal-mine workers have been killed in the twelve months—an average of six per working day—and that nearly 200,000 have been injured, not a few of whom will die as a result of their injuries.

During the last sixty years of the nineteenth century the mining accident death-rate declined by more than 60 per cent. There was a steady and persistent reduction of accidents. But in the last ten years or so the movement has been in the opposite direction. In 1899 we got the deaths down to one miner in 840 employed. In 1909 they equalled one in every 698. Non-fatal accidents, of course, increase concurrently. In the ten years the percentage of the members of our miners' relief societies claiming accident benefits rose from 184 to 249 per 1,000. And we are going from bad to worse.

The accident rate for 1909 was higher than the average for the previous five, or ten, or 15 years, and the rate for 1910 will be still higher; the deaths will equal one in about every 610, against an annual average of one in 769 for the ten years 1900-9. Why this increase when, with the continued spread of scientific and technical knowledge, the greater sobriety of the workers, and still more stringent State control, there ought to be a decline of accidents?

The mischief is due to a combination of factors which ought to be fairly and squarely faced. Colliery owners, miners, and legislators are all alike responsible for some of the trouble.

It is somewhat remarkable that the recent rise in our accident rate has coincided with the wider application of electricity. It is also remarkable that in the country where the most electricity is used in coal-mining—the United States—there are also the most explosions. And it is a fact that the recent series of explosions in our own country have occurred where electricity was employed.

It has been demonstrated beyond question that coal dust, that most deadly agency, can be ignited, under a critical combination of circumstances, by a very tiny electric spark. Only a few weeks ago a fused wire in a Derbyshire pit caused a fire which destroyed all the houses. This happened at a time when no men were below ground, or the consequences might have been still more serious.

It is declared by experts that some of our colliery-owners, after putting costly electrical installations in their pits, do not maintain efficient or ample staffs of electricians to keep the apparatus at a reasonable pitch of safety. It is said that there are collieries with generating plants of several hundred kilowatts of power and many miles of cable where they employ no more than a couple of wiremen under charge of an engineer who is not an electrician, whereas in well-ordered manufacturing establishments, where not nearly so many repairs are needed, and where there is not nearly so much danger in neglect, similar installations would be staffed by from six to ten qualified men.

Another dangerous factor, there can be little doubt, is the increasing tendency to work on the "longwall" system. One or two of our mines inspectors have ventured to call attention to this point, saying that there is a temptation to make the length of face

too large. After the coal is got out by this system a good deal of the roof is permitted—is intended, in fact—to fall down, and, naturally, less care is exercised in bar-setting and propping than is the case with the older pillar-and-stall method, and not infrequently the roof comes down too soon, sometimes with fatal consequences. Besides, in the big and irregular spaces formed by the falls, gas accumulates, while there is a further danger of spontaneous combustion in the “goaf.”

HOW ESCAPE IS CUT OFF.

And this brings us to another dangerous method of working. The usual practice is to get the coal nearest the shaft first—in other words, to push the faces away from the shaft. Huge spaces full of gas are left between the workings and the shaft, and if anything goes wrong the men's escape is practically cut off—they are invariably on the wrong side of a big fall, a fire or explosion. This method of getting coal not only increases the danger of calamities, but it renders the work of rescue extremely difficult. It ought to be compulsory, in case of every new mine, to cut roads to the boundary and work the faces towards the shaft, not away from it; while in old mines, with the workings pushed far from the shafts, great care should be taken to have absolutely adequate ventilation. There is callous and brutal neglect of ventilation in some of our pits.

But when allowance is made for all the faults of the workers, managers and owners, the fact remains that most of the trouble, so far as the recent increase of accidents is concerned, is due to the blundering folly of our political windbags and legislative fanatics. For example, our Parliament, misled by shallow-brained Labour leaders, and pandering to a mob electorate, passes an Eight Hours Act which cannot help but result—is already resulting—in a large increase of accidents.

This measure means the elimination of the aged, experienced, and cautious pitmen; it means preference for young, inexperienced, and reckless men; it means the acceleration of haulage and windage; it means the goading on of the miners; it means an all-round speeding-up; it means the scamping of repair work; and it means a serious multiplication of dangers, accidents and disasters.

This new law brings into existence a whole combination of factors that add to the dangers of the miners' naturally dangerous occupation. . . .

In one mine we have thick seams, soft coal, faces near the shaft, few faults, and little water. In another mine we have reverse conditions in every respect. Again, in one district we have a winter demand for coal. In another we have a summer demand. As with the pits and the trade, so with the men. Some miners can make wages in seven hours a day. Others can hardly do so in nine hours. The young man is able and willing to rush. The

aged man is content to take his time. But the eight hours law treats all alike ; it sets nature, trade, economics, and humanity alike at defiance.

And not only has State interference in coal-mining gone too far in some respects, but it has by no means gone far enough in others. It is altogether lop-sided. While, on the one hand, we get such egregiously inexcusable interference as is represented by an inflexible Eight Hours Act, applied to all mines and miners, utterly regardless of natural and individual circumstances, on the other hand the State will not insist upon that discipline in the men and boys which is so essential to safe working ; it will not maintain anything approaching an ample staff of practical inspectors ; it is not sufficiently strict in the matter of roadways and airways being high enough, wide enough, and clear enough ; it will not see that electrical installations are under proper control ; and it is neither generous nor just, nor yet commonly decent, in its treatment of the band of coal-owners, managers, engineers and scientific men who are lavishing time, thought, and money upon experimental work in the cause of safety and humanity. The Government could recently grant thousands of pounds for the purchase of a notable picture, but when appealed to to help finance our costly coal-dust experiments it turned a deaf ear.

THE STORY OF PRAXEDIS GUERRERO.*

AN ECHO OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

By TOM QUELCH.

It was on January 2, in the little town of Janos, in the State of Chihuahua, that a small rebel force, numbering forty in all, fought in the darkness of the night against two hundred Federal troops.

The conflict was hot and fierce and bloody. Hand to hand, with machete and clubbed carbine, the men fought like demons. The only light by which one could distinguish friends from foes was the occasional glare of a house lamp or the rare flash of a rifle. The tumult echoed up and down the streets and continued until the dusky haze of morning spread over the scene, when the Federal troops fled, leaving the revolutionists in charge of the town.

But that victory was not achieved without considerable sacrifice. And among the dead was the revolutionary leader—Praxedis Guerrero.

Praxedis Guerrero—young, brave, daring, full of zeal and enthusiasm—had met the fate that he had assured his comrades would one day be his.

Guerrero was the son of a wealthy Mexican hacendado—a kind of feudal baron. He was born to a life of ease and comfort. With his brothers he inherited the estate. In his State of Guanajuato he could have played the part of grandee and overlord; he could have owned thousands of peons, and passed his days in idle luxury. But his desire for the betterment of the people caused him to forego his inheritance. He refused to live on the plunder extorted from the poor, starved peons. He preferred to toil himself rather than live by the exploitation of others.

He was almost a child when he started out to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow.

Bitter experience made him a revolutionist.

A dreamer, a visionary, a man who would not wilfully injure any creature, a brilliant writer, a man of refinement and taste—he realised that the only way to rid Mexico of its crushing tyranny

* Several articles unsigned, and from the pens of our comrades J. K. Turner and Ricardo Flores Magon, which have appeared in "Regeneracion," have provided me with the facts concerning the career and fate of Guerrero —T Q.

was by a successful revolutionary movement. He joined the famous junta to which Magon, Villareal and Sarabia belong. He edited "Regeneracion." He stirred up the people against Porfirio Diaz. When, after the pitiful expedition against Palomas in 1908, and when after the revolution which was to occur in July had been betrayed, and everything appeared to be lost, he set out with a party of but a dozen men in the vain attempt at once again spreading a revolutionary flame throughout Mexico. He thought that the soldiers would desert to the cause of the people—but was disappointed.

He then went back to live in the United States—writing, and helping the cause in every way. He had ideas of starting modern schools—somewhat similar to those of Ferrer—in Mexico. It is said of him that he refused to buy himself a new suit of clothes because the cause needed the money. He even stinted himself of food.

When the Maderist rising began Guerrero became as restive as a lion. He wanted to be in the fight, to encounter the risks and help on the struggle. Deliberately he chose the most dangerous work to do.

For months he was preparing, making his plans. Finally, in November of last year, he went to El Paso alone. He was a marked man—a man who if recognised would be sure to meet with certain death. In that town he remained for some time getting together a body of men with which to "start things" in Northern Chihuahua.

At length he crossed the Rio Grande with a small body of revolutionists and engaged in the fighting. Battling with the Federal troops, dynamiting bridges, holding up trains, harassing and irritating the enemy in every way, he with his intrepid brigade scoured the country.

And at last came the fight at Janos.

He died fighting. True, it is better to die fighting than to rot in a prison tomb like poor Juan Sarabia—and with his temperament one or the other was sure to be his fate. "He always spoke as if he expected to be killed," says John Kenneth Turner, who knew him well. But a movement like ours can ill-afford to lose such as he.

He had all the fervid idealism, the reckless courage and audacity of Ferdinand Lassalle. He risked all at every stroke. He took big chances. His was one of those rare and noble natures which combine willing martyrdom, great bravery and intense feeling with a practical purpose.

Recent events show that his sacrifice has not been in vain.

The
Social-Democrat
A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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THE REFERENDUM.

By J. HUNTER WATTS.

It is recorded that some strict moralist once severely rebuked a flippant individual for speaking disrespectfully of the Equator. It was the misfortune of the writer when lecturing recently at Chandos Hall on "The Referendum: its Present Perils and Future Possibilities," to shock several Socialists present, who argued as if every item on the political programme of the S.D.P. were sacrosanct, and who rebuked the lecturer for suggesting that Socialists might be acting very unwisely if under existing circumstances they supported Mr. Balfour's endeavour to impose the Referendum upon the British electorate. One youthful Socialist assumed all the gravity of a High Church curate admonishing one of his flock for neglecting to make genuflexion during recital of the "Credo," as he dwelt upon the lecturer's sad falling-away from faith in the value of the Referendum as a stepping-stone to Socialism, and exhorted him to quit the path of the backslider.

Temporary physical indisposition compelled the

lecturer to shorten his address, as well as the period generally allotted to discussion, or he would have considered it his duty to confess to his critics that neither admonition nor exhortation had weakened his determination not to bow the knee at mention of the Referendum. In avowing himself impenitent he sins in good company, for since he made his own appraisal of the value of this political reform he has learned that the late Dr. Anton Menger, in his book "Neue Staatslehre," recognises that in many instances it has proved itself an instrument of reaction. Louis Blanc and Proudhon opposed it, and Labriola condemns it. It is not inscribed on the programme of any section of the French Socialist Party, and though space is found for it in the programmes of the German, Belgian, and Austrian Social-Democratic Parties, as in our own, the trumpeters of its virtues are dead in all four countries. It is true that Mr. A. M. Thompson, of the "Clarion," hails it as "the shortest way to Democracy," but he supports this claim by no stronger argument than that it will force men to think about the laws that govern them, and saddle them willy-nilly with their share of responsibility. In other words, he believes that the Referendum will transform "no-account sort of people" into shapers of the destinies of the nations. After reading this Mr. G. R. Sims might well tremble in his shoes for fear lest the Referendum should prove an excellent substitute for "Tatcho" as a hair-restorer. Mr. Robert Hunter, an American authority, in his book "Socialists at Work," applauds their advocacy of the measure, but as we have heard from his lips even more eloquent encomiums on the career of John Burns, we cannot decide whether man or measure is more highly distinguished by earning his approbation. Mr. J. A. Hobson, the philosophic Radical, considers that "the final and weightiest claim for the Referendum is the training in the art of government it gives to the people." As well train a child in the art of carving by putting a knife into its hands, though it is bound to cut its own fingers!

From the purely theoretic point of view nothing whatever can be said against the Referendum, but very good reasons can be adduced why we should defer application of the theory until Social-Democracy is established, unless we are particularly anxious to weave a rope for our own necks. Where is the Socialist who would to-day willingly submit to the Referendum: Whether preaching the class-war be made a penal offence punishable by fine, or, in case of contumacy, by imprisonment? If we escaped falling under the condemnation of a law enacted by the "will of the people" we should indeed be lucky, for the proposal would be supported from nearly every pulpit in the land, and from not a few political platforms.

As the Referendum was planted nearly half a century ago in what is supposed to be the most democratic soil in Europe, and has become one of the political institutions of Switzerland, every progressive politician accepts upon trust that it has fostered the growth of democracy. As a matter of fact, it has retarded it, for both the Swiss legislative bodies, the National Council and the States Council, have passed useful measures of political and social reform which have been thrown out by the Referendum in true House of Lords style. The famous vote against Secular Education in 1882 is a striking example. After passing the Assemblies, the demand for the Referendum, which must be signed by at least 30,000 voters, gained 180,995 signatures, and on the cry from both Protestants and Catholics of "God in the Schools" the resolution was rejected by 318,139 votes to 172,010.

Among other measures rejected by the Referendum we may cite the following :—

February 28, 1897.—Proposal to establish a Swiss Federal Bank.

May 20, 1900.—Bill on Sickness and Accident Insurance, including the insurance of soldiers.

November 4, 1900.—Election of the Federal Council* by the people.

October 13, 1903.—Election of the National Council by proportional representation.

Switzerland, which enjoys Adult (male) Suffrage, does indeed provide us with a valuable object-lesson as regards the question of the Referendum. If they had only studied it a little more carefully the party of reaction would certainly have embodied it in the British Constitution when they were in office instead of delaying its advocacy until they find themselves in the cold shades of opposition. They ought to know that even in democratic Switzerland about half the voters abstain from polling. In one canton, it is true, they vote freely, for they have been driven to the poll since the authorities imposed a fine on non-voters. They should remember, too, that the party of reform is a divided party, whose sections do not trouble to vote to carry a reform which is not peculiarly their own. The Total Abstainer, for instance, will not vote for "Municipalisation of the Drink Traffic," nor will the Land Nationaliser vote for "Small Holdings." But whenever one vested interest is assailed the whole party that represents "vested interests," with all their parasites, will present a solid front, and the clerk to a City Company who has nothing to bequeath can be trusted to vote against an increase in the Death Duties as safely as the millionaire can be counted upon to oppose the appropriation to public purposes of the funds of the City Companies.

It is worth while noting that the Referendum was not conceded to the Swiss people in response to any popular agitation in its favour. It was accepted by them in 1874 by a vote of 340,000 to 198,130. We

* The Federal Council of seven members has executive power. It is elected for three years by the two Legislative Councils. The President of the Federal Council bears the title of President of the Swiss Confederation.

have been unable to discover the number of voters then on the register, but it was probably not much less than the 716,764 of 1897. As early as September 20, 1884, we find the "Spectator" dwelling on the fact that in the demi-canton of Basel, "the promised land of doctrinaire Jacobism," a much-needed law of primary education had been three times referred to the people without once obtaining the required number of votes to give it effect. Yet the Referendum, as pointed out by an eminent Swiss publicist, "is particularly well adapted to a federal State, where the civic education is necessarily developed to the utmost, first in the 'Commune' (or parish), then in the canton, and finally in the Confederation. The whole working of the system is already complete in the primitive cell—the 'Commune.'" To what extent civic education has been developed in the British parish may be judged from the tardy adoption of the "Public Libraries Act" in those places where the decision has been referred to the local electors. The experience of many of our comrades who have vainly canvassed their own district in favour of public libraries cannot have inspired them with overwhelming faith in the efficacy of the Referendum in our own country, however disappointing its results have been in Switzerland.

We are willing to concede that local bodies might, with advantage, train the electorate in the use of the Referendum by inviting its decision on questions of purely local importance; but until we enjoy a much larger measure of local self-government the Referendum would prove an instrument of injustice if it were given wider political scope. The very pertinent question has been asked whether the Referendum will give Highland crofters an opportunity to delay Welsh Disestablishment, and Welsh voters the opportunity to deny those crofters larger holdings? Before Socialists bestow their benison on Balfour for championing the Referendum they had better study the text of the measure he is doubtless even now drawing up in the leisure he derives from the irresponsibility of his present position.

He cannot plead for delay in producing his Bill until he is restored to office, for now is the time to hoist the Government with its own petard. The spectacle of Radicals voting against the Referendum would cover them with such ridicule that the downfall it is Mr. Balfour's business to bring about would be accelerated.

When democracy is established—in other words, when the people control their own destinies—the Referendum will prove indubitably the most convenient instrument for recording the will of the majority, but most of its present-day advocates argue on the false assumption that democracy already reigns. Because there are democrats *ergo* there is a democracy, appears to be their line of reasoning. It would be equally plausible to contend that because there are Republicans in this country *ergo* Great Britain is a Republic. Whitman says, "The history of democracy has yet to be written because it has yet to be enacted," but Mr. Carnegie, after pocketing the wealth created by that section of the "democracy" which inhabits Pittsburg, describes it as "triumphant." He does not explain how it is that his "democracy" has abnegated the right asserted in the maxim, "To the victor the spoils." The masses, it is true, have in many capitalist countries attained political rights, but the masses will never constitute a democracy until they have conquered economic rights, and the Socialist who supports the proposition to impose the Referendum on the people while they are still dominated by money-bugs and parsons may demonstrate thereby his consistency but he will also exhibit childish simplicity—the quality upon which politicians most successfully trade. The slightest study of home literature in support of the Referendum will be enough to satisfy anyone who does his own thinking, instead of having it done for him by the daily press, that the revision is almost invariably regarded as something to be imposed upon the people by its rulers, not as a check to be placed by the people upon its rulers. But when the people do testify a desire to enjoy the use of the Referendum because they

mistrust their rulers, those who to-day advocate the measure will do their best to withhold it.

Mrs. Jane T. Stoddart, in her book "Against the Referendum" (Hodder and Stoughton), gives a compendium of opinions both for and against it, and, though the author of "The New Socialism" expresses her own opinion in the title of the useful little manual, she quotes quite as liberally from its supporters as from its adversaries. One of the latter very truly remarks that with the adoption of the Referendum Parliament might as well be done away with and replaced by committees composed of experts. Socialists do not hold our Parliamentary institutions in very great respect, and they abominate the present system of Cabinet rule, but they are willing to defer realisation of William Morris's forecast that the Houses of Parliament will one day serve the useful purpose of a vegetable market until we introduce some better substitute for the Parliamentary system than *bureaucracy tempered by the Referendum*. The very fact that the Social-Democratic Party in every country spends so much money, time and energy in endeavouring to increase the number of its representatives in legislative assemblies proves that we are not disposed just yet to completely stultify the functions of these bodies as they are stultified in Switzerland. The Referendum would compel us to expend a greater amount of money, time and energy in efforts to educate the masses piecemeal on the legislative measures referred to them than we now expend on Parliamentary candidatures, and non-elected officials would balk us at every turn, for they would always have well-greased, well-oiled, machinery in operation to manufacture public opinion. X

THE NAVY FOR SOCIALISM.

By FRANCIS SPRING RICE, Commander, Royal Navy
(Retired).

This sounds paradoxical, but it is not so in reality. In the first place, the Navy, like every other branch of the public service, is, of course, Socialistic in the main. Officers and men are working for the public, not for private individuals or groups; also they are *directly* employed by the public, not indirectly through money-making contractors. That the detail of service as regards entry and promotion is anti-Socialistic does not alter the fact that the Navy is *firstly* inherently Socialistic.

The public service, civil as well as military, has always tended to Conservatism; at the same time, the general spirit of zeal and care for the public interest is high. There is no doubt whatever that in the Navy officers and men do give their best brain and muscle to the service; as much so, indeed, as if they received their pay from a profit-making employer. This solid fact smashes the Anti-Socialist cry that to best develop energy in workers employers must make profits. Consequently, the larger the profits the greater the energy, and vice versa! Eh, Mr. Anti-Socialist?

To return to the Conservative and anti-Socialist feeling that undoubtedly prevails in the service; it is quite possible, if not probable, that with the coming of equal education for all and promotion from the base throughout, such feeling would cease to be. Whether the end of navies altogether will not come before

equal education and the "open career" are introduced, who can say?

This feeling, or prejudice—call it what you will—is traditional and accepted by most without question, but when the spirit of inquiry takes hold tradition has often to go overboard.

It is a curious fact, this said feeling; usually such a condition is bound up with aristocracy; that is not so in the Navy; naval officers are not by any means all aristocrats, even in the most modern meaning of the word. Therefore, there is reason to hope that when the root question of throwing the "quarter-deck" open to the "lower-deck" comes to be decided, the feeling of *social* superiority will largely have gone. Even the most rigid aristocrat can hardly deny that it is a question of environment during youth and training; that, *given similar surroundings and education*, the plebeian is in no way different in habits from the patrician, and is neither more nor less likely than the latter to discard pocket-handkerchiefs; use a knife instead of a spoon; a fork instead of a toothpick; the carpet as a spittoon, etc. These are mainly the objections raised against the mixture, for no one can seriously contend that in *ability* the plebeian is any worse off if equally trained. Suppose that all cadets and boys entering the service in the same year started absolutely on equal footing in every way: would there be the same individuals exactly on top, after 20 years' service, as there would be under the present system? I trow not. The social difference must go, and this rests upon money. The man promoted must be under no disadvantage either socially or economically. As regards getting the best to the top—when social distinctions have disappeared with the officer caste—it is pretty certain that no ship's company would acquiesce in mediocre officers over them. Suppose, even nowadays, that the captain of a battleship was to be chosen by the votes of the officers and men—in the most popular form, one man one vote—if the existing captain was the most capable man he would be confirmed by the

popular vote and not deposed. Merits are keenly scrutinised and *appreciated* by subordinates, as everyone knows, and the judgment of those below is often sounder than that of those above. Everyone is more on his guard with his seniors in rank than with his subordinates, and less apt to show his true colours. If the popular vote did not always choose the *very best*, it would, at least, not make things worse than under the present system : that is, if we are to judge by the grumbling and imputations as to favouritism that go on now as to appointments and promotions.

It must be allowed, however, that discussing popular vote selection is looking too far ahead, and that it is doubtful if the need for a Navy will not cease first. Promotion from the lower deck, in the ordinary way of selection, will come first—and the principal bar to that now is that the age on promotion is too great to allow of the capable man reaching high rank while in his prime; this difficulty will disappear when the prime need of getting the most capable to the top *as quickly as possible* is admitted and acted upon. A second obstacle is that of money, but this is not so tenacious; many officers now have nothing but their pay, and marry on it. We see that the Army will quite possibly, in the near future, be compelled to promote largely from the ranks in order to complete establishment. There are not the same signs of shortage of officer candidates for entry in the Navy now; but with the growth of popular feeling and control, and spread of education, it cannot hope long to remain officered from a caste. Even supposing the social position to be a desirable measure of quality, it may be pointed out that the difference on that basis between the duke's son and the son of a small professional man is greater than that between the latter and the son of an artificer or small tradesman. Yet No. 2 will certainly consider himself "gentry" and equal to No. 1, while he considers No. 3 to belong to the "common people" or the "lower orders." It seems obvious that, with the advance of equal educa-

tion and political rights, such a state of things cannot last. The aim should be forthwith in the direction of throwing open promotion in every way to the most capable.

Napoleon started the idea of the "career open to talent," and it is certain that, as Macaulay has said, "No man ever had under him so many officers fit for the highest commands."

As regards the question of entry and promotion, then, it has to be considered, further, whether officers should be obtained by—

- (1) Promoting entirely from the base, *in the fleet*, or
- (2) Selecting by examination, on passing *out* of the training establishment, or
- (3) Selecting by examination, on passing *into* the training period, from the public elementary schools.

It hardly seems possible to work on (1) alone. (2), with (1) supplementary, would probably be best. (3) is too early to select for finality: many develop late.

There remain two practical difficulties to democratising service on board a man-of-war.

1. It is contended—and probably it remains true to a considerable extent still—that men are not inclined to obey officers promoted from the "lower-deck" so readily as those who are considered as "gentry."

To this it may be replied that, even under present social conditions, if it were a common practice instead of a rarity the objection would disappear.

2. A more material one—accommodation. Should captain and officers occupy so large a proportion as they do now?

It would not be possible to equalise things much in this respect; perhaps something might be done in the direction of putting all heads of departments into the captain's mess (the staff of commanders-in-chief has been lately extended considerably), and in the French Navy it has long been the custom. The

warrant officers might be moved into the ward room, and chief petty officers' mess enlarged. All the same, these changes would only be as a "drop in the bucket." The ship's company would and must remain closely stowed. Cabins can hardly be increased in number. The course for reformers to pursue is certainly to urge on the opening of the entire service to the talent of the whole nation, and not only to the talent of the well-to-do minority.



"ON the contrary, if we realise the enormous weight, complexity, delicacy and hazard of all the obligations, actual and contingent, that arise from our connection with the great Asiatic Continent, Indian questions need far more close, and especially more consecutive, attention from politicians, press, public, perhaps even from Cabinets, than has hitherto been the fashion. As matter of history, empire over distant dependencies has not been broken down by democracy at the metropolis. Our own unforgettable disruption was due to a patrician oligarchy in charge of the machinery at Westminster, misreading and mismanaging democracy in Virginia and Massachusetts. The British government of dependencies during the last 40 years—taking 1867 roughly as the opening of a democratic system—has nothing to fear from comparison with its predecessors, or with either imperial France or imperial Germany. It was under absolutism, not democracy, that the refulgent orb of Spain slowly sank away in South America, bureaucracy wore down the tremendous fabric of New Rome and the Eastern Empire. It was legionaries, tax-collectors, barbarians from the North, not assemblies in the Forum, that loosened and dispersed the majestic sway that held mankind from the Tweed to the Orontes and the Nile in Roman obedience. The Oligarchic party was at the root of the Athenian declension. I do not imply that these convulsions to and fro of world-wide realms have special morals for us in India to-day; but they are a useful corrective against passing off for universal truth about democracy what is in fact little more than an illusory catchword of the hour."—RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT MORLEY, in the February "Nineteenth Century and After."

A METAPHYSICAL OBJECTION TO THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By HUW MENAI.

Herbert Spencer, in his "Principles of Sociology," it is said, supplied proof for Sir James Mackintosh's dictum, that "Constitutions are not made, but grow." Society, like a natural organism, grows, because it must, in virtue of inexorable laws. Spontaneity is relegated to social units, it playing no part whatsoever in the aggregate social body. Society grows mechanically; its growth is forced. As it is well known, Spencer drew a parallel—an analogy—between the "body politic" and a highly developed physiological organism. Incipiently, its units' syntheses are in small aggregates, but gradually augment in mass, breeding heterogeneity, and slowly emphasising interdependence between units. This much being urged by Spencer, it will be seen that he also subscribed to a sort of materialistic conception of history, and of social development. Anent everything within the bounds of knowledge, he was a thorough-going materialist, but on everything transcending the possibility of knowledge, he conveniently remained Agnostic.

Unlike Spencer, Marx was not content with merely showing how the world "wags," how societies grow and change; rather did he proceed to translate his philosophy into action by forming a great working-class movement—a movement whose purpose is not so much to realise the Socialist Republic by means of political action (which is Utopian), but to behave itself so that its actions—or inactions—might not impede

the development of these forces, that inevitably make for Socialism.

Now, Socialism has been decided by a noble lord as "the end of all things"; while another noble knight once said that "We are all Socialists now." All this, however, resolves itself into desingenuous rant when one reflects on the teachings of history and the dynamics of the class struggle. On the other extreme hand, we have Mr. Bernard Shaw declaring out of the fullness and pity of his Fabian heart that the greatest opponents to Socialism are the Socialists themselves. This paradox I take to mean that Socialism would be realised sooner if Socialists were to abstain from fighting for it. Mr. Shaw here betrays his allegiance to the Marxian dogma about the inevitability of Socialism. But all students of Socialism I have met are always ready to subscribe to this dogma; they conceive a social revolution, having for its object the complete overthrow of the present economic, social, and juridical system known as capitalism, to be a sort of historical necessity. Furthermore, they seem to think that the revolution will be accomplished by an enlightened proletariat, completely conscious of the fact that they have always been a subjected class—if they can be called a class—and that by making the material means of life (the economic factors) common collective property their emancipation will then have been achieved. The Socialist movement is, therefore, an historic movement; and its remedy for the ills of society is not an importation—a sort of quack remedy prescribed by an individual or a set of individuals—but a home growth, an evolution, destined in virtue of the order of things to be realised. The Socialist philosophy, therefore, breathes fatalism. While unions are formed to fight its "menace," the protagonist of Socialism smiles superciliously as if insinuating that one might as well endeavour to stop the revolution of the planet as to stop the social revolution which must inevitably come to pass. Capitalism, we are told, is fast throttling itself, because

concentration of capital is an economic "must," and (to change the metaphor) the bigger the bubble the nearer it is to bursting. It is the capitalists themselves (though they cannot help it) who are unconsciously bringing about the revolution; while the Socialist agitator is only schooling the masses as to what shall be done when the inevitable crash (or crashes) comes. This I conceive to be the view of those who label themselves "scientific Socialists."

It is said to be the merit of Marx that he gave the world, in his "Materialistic Conception of History," a sound scientific basis for Socialism, as opposed to the Utopian notions of St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen and other visionaries. It is further suggested that those who are unable to subscribe to this view of history are Revisionists, or at least unscientific Socialists—a somewhat sad case of believe in Marx or be damned! But Marxism is not a synonym for Socialism. In fact, the indiscriminate use of the term in that respect has oftentimes led to confusion in Socialist polemics. The two terms, in my opinion, are not necessarily convertible. They may be closely related to each other; but relation need not imply identity. Socialism had its origin outside Marx: still, it was he who gave the doctrine scientific shape. To enable him to give this scientific shape, he had occasion to observe the teachings of science; his observation ultimately led him to materialism. He became a materialist all round; he joined the sensational school, and the materialistic conception of history was the result. That generalisation is epitomised in the following formula: "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." It would no doubt be considered heretical if someone were to suggest that this formula merely gives expression to a colossal commonplace. But suppose, for a moment, that we were to merit the

stigma; suppose we were to insist that the formula quoted is merely a complex representation of a certain philosopher's saying anent Homeric Odes being but the results of common meadow grass; and that the ancient wind, which rustled the ancient grass, is the true explanatory of the storm in the *Odyssey*—what then? To assert that the economic mode of production of an epoch is the basis upon which is built the intellectual history of that epoch is tantamount to asserting that the ideological activities of any society depend entirely upon the manner in which the people of that society get their living. The manner and degree in which protection from hunger and protection from the elements is obtained by the people of an epoch determines the manner and degree of the political and intellectual activities of that epoch. The manner and degree in which a tiger obtains its food, determines the manner and degree of that animal's ferocity. This will also apply even to a community—whether it be composed of beasts or men. Viewed from the Marxian standpoint, all philosophies, all religions, all written epics, can finally be resolved into needs of the flesh.

The ideological always has—if we credit Marx—adapted itself to the material. Conformity with environment is the first principle of life, and life itself is the tropism between microcosm and macrocosm. Hegel, however, identifies the two “cosmos,” which in course of time are absorbed in the absolute. Marx's material world loses its shape, and the “environment” becomes but a projection of consciousness. But Marx threw Hegel overboard, gave preference to the “*Novum Organum*,” and kept one eye on Democritus, and the other on D'Holbach and Hobbes.

According to the Marxian conception of history, the needs of the stomach and the needs of the skin (the way these needs are satisfied) determine the needs of the soul. Spinoza's “*Statics of Emotion*” had its origin in its author's stomach. We now see that Marx, in company with Locke, Condillac, James Mill,

Bentham, and others, was a utilitarian moralist. He would not admit, with Spencer, that an intuitive element enters into the moral category; such an admission would, of course, have been detrimental to his materialistic conception of history, which has a decided utilitarian flavour.

In "Sartor Resartus," Carlyle reproachfully exclaims: "On cookery let us build our stronghold!" Marx, on the contrary, tacitly affirms that *we are* doing so, because we cannot help it. All this, however, does not preclude a dualist from subscribing to it. He, like everybody else, will recognise that he must be a living being before he can even be a dualist in philosophy. He will also recognise that to maintain life he must have food, clothing, and shelter; but he recognises also the anatomy of body and spirit, of the natural and the supernatural. Nay, he will insist that his belief in the axiom 2 plus 2 equals 4 is not necessarily explained by "the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange." But Marx is dealing with generalities; he thinks in historical epochs. The objection, however, can perhaps be applied even then.

The dualistic philosophy of a certain historical epoch; the Panmaterialism and Pantheism of another historical epoch; the Solecism and Agnosticism of still another, are, according to Marx's dictum, built upon, and can be explained only by the economic circumstances then prevailing. These various philosophic perspectives were obtained, therefore, not by an appeal to the necessity of things—to the necessity of having an approximately true explanation of the universe and man compatible with the desires of reason—but were obtained because the then prevailing economic and social conditions would not allow of any other. But Marx, when he formulated his idea of history, by stating that the intellectual outlook of an epoch is determined by the social and economic conditions then obtaining, meant, no doubt, the *predominant* intellectual outlook, for it cannot be denied that in almost every historical epoch there have been

different schools of philosophy—of intellectuals—existing at the same time. Marx insists that our spiritual views are determined by our physical needs, nay, not by these needs exactly, but by the way the necessities—the material things—which go to satisfy these needs are obtained. It is, therefore, not so much the “material things,” but *the way* these things are obtained that decides the course our cosmic as well as our social philosophy shall take. If this be true Marx’s conception of history is, therefore, a sort of a dynamic conception of history.

The social and political organisations of an epoch may have been built, and may *be* built upon the economic organisations. But when it is said that our spiritual outlook, our inquiries into the possibilities of knowledge, our belief in miracles, in Christian Science, in the articles of the Roman Church, are also based upon and are also to be explained, by material economic factors, one of a metaphysical temperament is obliged to withhold his assent, until stronger reasons are adduced. That is the position in which I find myself. I utterly fail to see any connection whatever between capitalism and conventional idealism, conventional Atheism, conventional Christianity, and all the other spiritual conventionalities. The economic factors are concerned only with our material well-being; they have no concern at all with our leisure thoughts about God and immortality.

It is true that in the order of evolution the stomach was first, religion, science, and political economy came afterwards. Cartesian and Atheist, Mohammedan and Christian, will all admit that they must first of all be living beings before they can be Atheists or Christians, etc., and as living beings they will recognise that before anything else they must have food, clothing and shelter. This material need precedes every other need, but does not necessarily determine the latter. It is always considered unsafe to ascribe certain specific effects to certain specific causes. But in this connection Marx’s procedure is *a priori*; and as Hume said :

"For all we know a priori, the falling of a pebble may extinguish a sun."

In my opinion the economic does not determine the ideological; in fact, I am almost constrained for pragmatic reasons to reverse the order. I believe it would be better for mankind to delude themselves into the belief that they can control even crises and gluts if they were but to try. If we have no free will, let us try and make ourselves believe that we have—believe in a sort of necessitated free will. I can subscribe to this side of the Materialist Conception of History, to the side that we must have protection from cold and hunger before we can even be philosophers. If I were to indulge in a wider generalisation than even Marx does in his formula; if I were to say that upon the manner in which our sun maintains its heat, is built all the politics, all the economies and all the philosophies in the universe; I also would be urging a sort of Materialistic Conception of History—and what a commonplace! I, however, differ from Marx, in that I place mind before matter in the order of creation.

Marx, before he formulated his conception of history, had occasion, no doubt, to resort to the first principles of materialism. He had to adapt his sociological views to his cosmical views; or was it the other way about? As a philosopher, he must have striven after harmony in his system. A materialistic perspective of the universe was indispensable to him. His conception of history was the climax. Consequently, if philosophic materialism is not the true philosophy—if it can be demonstrated that materialism is self-contradictory, in a word, that the materialistic perspective is not the true perspective—one is obliged to recognise that Marx's "Materialistic Conception of History" is based upon principles which are doubtful—very doubtful, if not untrue.

But before proceeding to give reasons why I consider materialism to be a doubtful philosophy, I would like to make a few preliminary remarks, and also to urge, with Goethe, that man was born not to solve the

problems of the universe, but to find where the problem begins, and to restrain himself within the limits of the comprehensible. That, I take it, is also the content of philosophic Agnosticism. But who is to decide the limit? With Marx the problem began in matter and ended in matter. Some metaphysicians maintain that there is no limit to human speculation; faith knows no bounds. Limit is found only in the experience of sense. The necessity of belief in infinite duration and infinite extension, according to the Ontologists, gives a decisive proof of a "must" dictated by "something" beyond the possibility of experience. Kant insisted that only a very small part of our knowledge is derived from actual experience, the greater part being derived independent of experience and in virtue of the original constitution of the mind. The innate forms of time and space impel the mind to postulate eternity for one and infinity for the other, in spite of the fact that the mind has not received empirical proof anent the validity of the postulates. What the mind cannot help but believe in is true. When the negative of a proposition is unthinkable the proposition must stand. We cannot, for instance, conceive of an end to extension, consequently we are obliged by a mental law to believe that extension is infinite. The axiom $3 \text{ plus } 3 \text{ equals } 6$ is simply a synthetic a priori judgment—a self-evident truth, to which consciousness gives instantaneous intellectual assent. The mind cannot conceive of a negation, therefore, the axiom must stand. This knowledge of mathematical axioms, Kant maintains, is not the outcome of experience, but is rather due to a peculiarity of the mind. This theory of knowledge receives wide acceptance in the present world of philosophy. The Marxian theory of knowledge—the materialistic theory of knowledge—is in direct opposition to the Kantian. Marx, with J. S. Mill, would insist that so-called mathematical axioms are but the result of constantly repeated experiences. He would be inclined to favour the Nominalists. He

would say that there is no such thing as a perfectly straight line in existence; he would also insist that there is no such a thing as an objective—a real—circle, whose radii is equi-distant from a given point, in existence. He was a sensationalist. Now, the sensational school reduced experience and the fact of individual consciousness into a series of impressions and ideas (sensations and thoughts) without an anterior background necessary for their unification and association into facts of consciousness. According to this view, individual life is but the sum-total of what we feel at one moment, see, hear, taste, and smell at the next. In other words: man is not himself, but his experience. But the unity of consciousness, in my opinion, cannot be logically interpreted by an indefinite *series* of sensations and thoughts. Every generalisation is a product of reason, presupposing unity of consciousness; but the sensationalists implicitly deny this by their very argument, which is but the result of a series of impressions and ideas, and summed up into a semblance of unity by the series themselves. The senses are a series, and the impressions which they receive from the outer world cannot explain themselves other than through the instrumentality of a permanent principle in the mind. There is a register upon which the impressions are made, and that register is independent of the impressions themselves. Experience is co-ordinated, but surely not by itself, nor the result of itself—to wit, the ideas. A series can never unify themselves; the “unity” involves the introduction of a distinct principle for the purpose—a principle unified and distinct, and apart from the series, which are plural. Mill and Spencer demonstrated that an impression implies something impressed, and that something impressed upon was essentially different to, and independent of, the impressions themselves. The one-sided sensationalism of Hume and Condillac was henceforth completely demolished. It is patent that the impressions we have of self are as real, if not more conclusive, as Locke

insisted, than the impressions we receive of the outside world. In doubting the latter impressions, that very doubt makes us apprehend the reality of self. But the sensationalists reject the latter as unreal, while they accept the former as an approach to reality. Moreover, why does the sensationalist treat the impressions of stimuli as "his"? This affirmation is inconsistent with his procedure elsewhere. If, as Hume says, all our ideas are nothing but copies of our impressions, or to use his own words, "that it is impossible for us to *think* of anything which we have not antecedently *felt*," it necessarily follows that the cherished "simple ideas" and "moral sense" of Ontologists have no real existence, and are but metaphysical snares and delusions. But are not our notions of causation, equation, and identity initiative qualities transcending sense? Although conjoined events are not necessarily connected so as to enable us to infer with precision the one from the other, we, however, to all intents and purposes, do believe that a cause invariably precedes an effect. Similarly with geometrical and numerical axioms; it is a mental, not a sensuous, principle that determines the relations. Scenery denominated "beautiful" is not beautiful per se, the senses conveying nothing to the mind but ideas of extension, figure and colour; it is the simple principle of judgment that decrees the scenery "beautiful." The universal enters into every particular. Things do not explain their own position; their relative position is fixed by the mind. In his treatment of value, Marx unconsciously admits this principle. He has said that value can manifest itself only in the social relation of commodity to commodity; and that relation is determined by our conception of the quantitative labour-force embodied in the different commodities. I shall, however, deal with this aspect of the question some other time. Marx was "an out-and-out Materialist." He led the reaction against Hegelianism. His disciples are also Materialists. They conceive materialism in philosophy indispensable for "scientific Socialism."

(To be Continued.)

THE MONTH.

The Parliament Bill continues to pursue its sluggish course, so slowly, indeed, as to have deprived it of any little interest which originally attached to it. Our estimate of its value is now pretty generally accepted, and few people now regard it as a matter of any great political importance. Its consideration, however, will serve for the killing of a certain amount of Parliamentary time, and as the occasion for a number of sham fights between the Government and the Opposition. Then, when some other object for that kind of sport is discovered, an agreement will be arrived at by the two sides ; something in the nature of the Parliament Bill will be passed, and the merry game between the Ins and Outs will go on as before.

Just now, however, domestic politics are at a low ebb. There are the Mines Bill and Shop Hours Bill, neither of which excites a great deal of political feeling ; the insurance schemes of the Government still hang fire ; happiness, prosperity, and well-being are the common lot of the working class, so contentment reigns supreme ; the unemployed have ceased from troubling, and the weary permanent officials of the Local Government Board and their President are at rest.

With this lull in purely domestic politics—which even the preparations for the Coronation do not disturb—attention is specially directed to foreign affairs. The exceptional increase in the Naval Estimates afforded the Liberal and Labourist pacifists an opportunity for making a protest against the constant growth of armaments and in favour of international peace and arbitration.

That gave our Foreign Secretary his chance. Instead of meeting the attack with a defence and justification of the proposed naval expenditure, he adroitly outflanked it by a homily on the beauties and blessings of peace and a suggestion of an all-embracing arbitration treaty with the United States of America. And then there was a universal chorus of rejoicing. Plutocrats and prelates, mayors and missionaries all over the country were ready

to fall upon each other's necks and weep for very joy at the beatific vision of John Bull and Uncle Sam beating their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. They all forgot that the immediate question at issue was the strengthening of the Fleet for service in waters too near home to be within the range of even the biggest of Uncle Sam's big guns. They probably hoped that President Taft's message and Sir Edward Grey's speech would find an echo in other lands. And so they did.

And that echo reverberated significantly, ominously and characteristically from Berlin. The cry was "Disarm!" The echo, as is the rule with echoes, only sounded the last syllable "Arm!" The German Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, told the Reichstag, in opposing a motion by our comrades there that he should take steps to initiate a limitation of armaments, that he was prepared to do nothing of the kind. His reply to the overtures of Sir Edward Grey was practically identical with that given by Germany to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's definite proposal for an agreement to reduce armaments as between England and Germany. Incidentally he dispelled the pretty pictures our Liberal Press had drawn of international peace and arbitration with the brutal truth that war and armaments arise from national rivalries, and cannot be eliminated while these rivalries and their causes remain.

"England," he said, "is convinced and has repeatedly declared, in spite of all her desires for the limitation of expenditure on armaments and for the adjustment of any disputes that may arise by arbitral procedure, that her fleet must in all circumstances be superior, or at any rate equal, to any possible combination in the world. England has a perfect right to strive for such a state of things, and, precisely because of the position that I take up towards the disarmament question, I am the last to cast doubts upon it. It is quite another thing, however, to make such a claim the basis of a convention which must be recognised by all the other Powers in peaceful agreement. What if counter-claims are raised and the other Powers are not satisfied with the rôles assigned to them? One only requires to propound these questions in order to see things would not go well for European dignity at any world congress which had to decide upon such claims."

In other words, the other European Powers, and least of all Germany, are not prepared to recognise that naval supremacy of Great Britain which all parties in this country are agreed in regarding—in existing circumstances—as a national necessity. Whatever the Tory “big navy” advocates may say to the contrary, and notwithstanding the futile anti-armaments campaign of the Labour Party, not even the most pacifist of Radicals or Labourists is in favour of England deliberately abdicating her command of the seas around these islands, which is practically **her only practicable form of national defence.** In spite of all the shouting on both sides, and all the vituperation of jingoes by pacifists and of pacifists by jingoes, the only question between them in that direction is one of degree: the question whether the present provision for naval defence is excessive or inadequate.

Germany, according to her Imperial Chancellor, therefore, joins issue with Great Britain upon a question upon which practically all Englishmen are agreed. British naval supremacy—in other words, **England's national existence and independence—is challenged,** and will be challenged whenever she relaxes her efforts to make good her claim. So much is clear. And how much more? We are all for peace, and for an agreement with Germany. But there should be no longer any doubt about the price which we as a nation must be prepared to pay for peace and for an understanding with Germany. We must submit to the Prussian hegemony of **Europe; to the Prussianising of the smaller States of Western Europe;** and to holding our own national independence on the goodwill of Prussia. Unless we are prepared to purchase peace at that price we must be content to submit, for an indefinite period, to the rivalry of armaments.

We assuredly hold no brief for the British Government, and **readily admit the hypocrisy of peace proposals coming from British Imperialists.** But we cannot admit the contention of some of our friends that England is mainly, or even equally, responsible with Germany for the existing rivalry between the two countries. That rivalry in its present form, as our comrade Rothstein has pointed out elsewhere, dates from rather less than ten years ago. It may be asked, indeed Rothstein asks: “How did this sudden change in the official attitude [of England and Germany towards each other] come about?” The answer is quite simple; but it is not that given by Rothstein. He ascribes it to “the pressure of trading interests.” But trade rivalry had existed for many

years previously, and to the trading class—and their reflex in such matters, the working class—the German trader and the German workman had been objects of dislike and hostility for nearly half a century. Even Rothstein points to the antipathy to the German trader manifested in the "Fair Trade" agitation of the middle eighties. Why did this commercial hostility then manifest itself suddenly in official rivalry in 1902 and not some twenty years earlier? Simply because, unpopular as the German trader may have been to the British variety, the British Court, official, Governmental circles were pro-German up to the close of last century.

From the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war until the death of Queen Victoria British foreign policy, as regards Europe at any rate, had been adapted to that of Prince Bismarck. His chief object was to isolate France. In that he succeeded so well that France was practically thrown into the arms of Russia, and thus England, by her complicity in the Bismarckian policy, was largely responsible for the unholy alliance between France and Russia, **which has since cost humanity so dear.**

How far the British Government had gone in friendliness to Germany and hostility to France will be realised by those who recall the menacing language addressed towards France by some of our leading statesmen in 1899 and 1900. It is sometimes pretended by our critics that, because we are at one with British jingoes in recognising that it is Germany which menaces European peace to-day, therefore we are ourselves jingoes who have always sided with the British official class against any country which that class happened to be opposing. A reference to our position towards the gallophobists of twelve years ago should be sufficient answer to that nonsense.

That by the way. On the accession of King Edward the official attitude towards France underwent a change. Whatever may have been the cause or causes of that, it is quite certain that we welcomed the establishment of a good understanding between the two great democracies of Western Europe. It is equally certain that this good understanding was regarded with no friendly eye from Berlin. It should not have involved the substitution of an anti-German for a pro-German policy at the British Foreign Office; but, unquestionably, it involved a change of policy, and that change of policy was regarded as an unfriendly one by Germany. Into the interests or influences operating to bring about

that state of things we cannot now enter. Certain it is that the naval developments of Germany, which up till then had been regarded with a more or less indifferent or friendly eye, soon came to be looked upon as a growing menace to British naval supremacy and to the autonomy of the smaller Western nationalities ; and when King Edward, in 1908, went to Reval to meet the Czar, he did so only under the pressure of the exigencies of the situation, fully convinced of the reality of that German menace at which he had laughed as an illusion only a few months before.

But Sir Edward Grey knows all about that ; and he knows also upon what terms an arrangement with Germany is possible. It is probably out of no regard for the independence of the smaller nationalities that the British Government would hesitate to concede those terms ; except that the independence of those nationalities is of the highest importance to the British Power in her own interests. For the rest, the peace suggestions made by Sir Edward Grey were mere make-believe in relation to Germany. He knew they would find no acceptance there. They were only an encouragement to Uncle Sam in the steps he is now taking to safeguard British and Yankee interests in Mexico.

The action being taken by the United States in regard to Mexico is nothing less than a piece of criminal brigandage. The Insurrectos there are in revolt against one of the worst despotisms in the world, and the troops of the Great Democracy of the West are being massed along the frontier to help the monster Diaz in maintaining his unspeakable tyranny and crushing the revolt. And the British Government are to make us morally accomplices in the crime, and our men of God hail this co-partnership in crime as a glorious achievement for the cause of peace !

The Italian people have been celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of United Italy. We, as Nationalists and Internationalists, offer a tribute to the work of the builders of Italian nationhood, and to the warriors who freed her from a foreign yoke. But there is a still greater work before the Young Italy of to-day, and that is to free her people from the yoke of capitalism. May another fifty years find not only an Italy united, but an Italy that is really free !

The recrudescence of disturbances in the South Wales coal-fields has called special attention to the Blue Book recently issued

on the troubles there of last November. From this Blue Book it is quite clear that the disturbances were grossly exaggerated ; **that they were really provoked by the police, and that there was never any occasion at all for the exceptional display of force which was made.**

The latest disturbances were provoked in precisely the same way. There was a quite unnecessary and unwarranted attack by the police on a peaceable demonstration. The attack was resented—quite naturally—and then there was a row. That was the sum and substance of the whole trouble.

There is one somewhat amusing passage in the report of General Macready, who was in command of the troops in the district affected. He says, on November 9, "I visited Llwynypia and Aberaman and the places en route. The country about Llwynypia is unsuitable for the work of mounted men, the streets being narrow and cobbled, with tram-lines, and, consequently, very slippery."

That might have been a despatch from a strange country. Anybody who knows the hills and streets about the Rhondda would know that the country was unsuitable for the operations of mounted men. But our authorities, civil and military alike, never seem to know anything about the country in which they carry on operations. It was just the same in South Africa. There, at first, no mounted men were wanted. Afterwards it was discovered that it was precisely mounted men that were required. Then, again, the British had good maps of the Transvaal, but none of the British territory in which the greater part of the operations were carried on !

The condemnation of the man Stinie Morrison for the Clapham Common murder is one of the greatest scandals of our criminal procedure in modern times. It is difficult, indeed, to understand by what course of reasoning the jury arrived at their verdict. The evidence upon which he was convicted was of the flimsiest and most untrustworthy description, and from first to last it appears to have been a case of having caught some one and being determined to hang him, innocent or guilty.

The Anti-Socialists are now quarrelling among themselves, and the rock of offence and stone of stumbling is precisely the same for them as for us—that is, social reform. The more astute among them see that by conceding certain social reforms, which in themselves mean nothing at all, they can take all the wind out of the sails of temporising, "moderate" Socialists. Fortunately that sort of manœuvre does not touch us at all ; it can only mislead the unwary. No capitalist party, however it may label itself, will do anything to expropriate the expropriators.

THE EVENTS OF MARCH.

AT HOME.

- 1.—House of Commons: Parliament Bill, second reading—third day's debate.
- 2.—House of Commons: Second reading of Parliament Bill carried by 368 votes to 243.
- 3.—House of Commons: Supplementary Civil Service Estimates. Peerage conferred on Sir Edward Tennant.
Serious accident to Lord Crewe, the new Secretary for India.
- 6.—House of Commons: Supplementary Estimates; discussion on the Rhondda Valley disturbances.
Funeral of Dr. Spence Watson at Newcastle.
- 7.—House of Commons: Revenue Bill, second reading carried by 253 to 182.
Lord Morley temporarily re-appointed Indian Secretary.
- 8.—House of Lords debated the Declaration of London.
House of Commons: Vote on Account, with discussions on the Baghdad Railway and the Canada-United States Reciprocity Agreement.
Battersea Borough Council decided to destroy the "Brown Dog" memorial.
- 9.—House of Lords: Declaration of London.
House of Commons: Revenue Bill in Committee—all night sitting.
North-East Lanark bye-election: Millar (Liberal), 7,976; Goff (Tory), 6,776; Robertson (Labour), 2,879.
- 11.—Anti-Socialist Union issued an appeal for £100,000.
Measles epidemic still raging in London.
- 13.—House of Lords: Conclusion of Declaration of London debate.
House of Commons: Mr. Murray Macdonald's resolution on armaments expenditure debate; Mr. King's amendment carried by 276 votes to 56. Speech by Sir Edward Grey on President Taft's peace proposals.
- 14 and 15.—House of Commons: Army Estimates.
- 15.—House of Lords: Second reading of Bill to amend Children's Employment Act.
Mr. A. Roche (Nationalist) returned for North Louth.
Stinie Morrison condemned to death for murdering Leon Beron at Clapham Common.

- 16.—House of Commons: Navy Estimates; Labour Party amendment defeated by 216 votes to 54.
- 17.—Mr. Walter Long, at York, advocated social reforms as antidote to Socialism.
Committee appointed to inquire into reformatory schools.
King's Lynn election petition dismissed.
- 20.—House of Commons: Navy Estimates.
Reversal of £12,000 verdict against Sir John Benn for alleged libel.
- 21.—House of Commons: Vote on Account, with debate on Circular issued from Education Department advising that school inspectors should not be appointed from ranks of elementary school teachers.
South Wales Miners' Federation Executive advised strikers in the Rhondda to return to work.
King's Bench Division dismissed Salvation Army appeal on holding meetings on Hastings beach.
- 22.—House of Commons: Army Estimates.
Premier received deputation on Home Rule for Scotland.
Riot in the Clydach Valley (South Wales).
- 23.—House of Commons: Consolidated Fund Bill, second reading.
Mr. Haldane raised to the Peerage.
Mr. Joynson-Hicks (Tory) elected unopposed for Brentford.
Further disturbances in Clydach Vale.
- 24 and 27.—House of Commons: Revenue Bill.
- 27.—Bootle bye-election: Bonar Law (Tory), 9,976; Muspratt (Liberal), 7,782.
- 28 and 29.—House of Lords: Lord Balfour's Reference to the People Bill.
House of Commons: Revenue Bill.
- 29.—Clapham murder appeal dismissed.
- 30.—House of Lords: Lord Lansdowne's motion carried to ask the Crown to waive prerogative in the way of Peers' reform.
House of Commons: Revenue Bill finished with.
- 31.—House of Commons: Shops Bill, second reading.
Mr. Mathias, Liberal M.P. for Cheltenham, unseated.

ABROAD.

- 1.—The new French Cabinet practically completed.
- 3.—Czar issued a rescript on his intentions to make the serfs landowners.
- 4.—Noisy ending of United States 61st Congress: Reciprocity with Canada delayed.
- 5.—Nearly 100 persons killed in fire at cinematograph show in Russia.
- 6.—M. Monis, the new French Premier, presented his Ministerial declaration, and received a vote of confidence by 195 majority.

- 7.—Canadian House of Commons discussed Reciprocity Agreement.
 Belgian Government defeated on Socialist motion in connection with educational administration.
 More fighting reported in Mexico: United States troops sent to the frontier.
 Resignation of Mr. Ballinger, U.S. Secretary of the Interior.
- 9.—President Taft sent an assurance to President Diaz that U.S. troops meant peace.
 Canadian House of Commons: Borden amendment to refer Reciprocity to electorate defeated.
 Legislative Council of India rejected proposal to abolish Cotton Excise Duty by 32 to 20.
- 10.—Greenwich time adopted in France.
- 11.—Trial of over 30 members of the Neapolitan Camorra begun.
- 12.—Fighting at Agua Prieta (Mexico): 35 killed.
- 13.—Reichstag discussed German industrial conditions.
- 14.—Russia sent a minatory Note to China.
- 18.—China conceded to Russia right of free trade in Mongolia.
- 19.—Anti-Government demonstration by wine-growers in the Aube Department.
 Rebellion in Paraguay reported crushed.
 Brutal assault on Mr. Booker Washington at New York.
- 20.—Reported resignation of M. Stolypin, the Czar's Prime Minister.
 Legislative Council at Calcutta passed new Seditious Meetings Bill.
- 21.—Cabinet crisis in Italy.
- 23.—Signor Bissolati (Socialist leader) visited the King of Italy, in reference to Cabinet crisis.
 End of Russian Ministerial crisis.
- 24.—Visit of the German Kaiser to Vienna.
 Resignation of Mexican Cabinet.
- 25.—Russian Ultimatum to China.
 Terrible fire in New York: 141 lives lost.
- 27.—Celebrations of Italian Jubilee begun.
 Turkish repulse by Albanian rebels.
- 28.—Russo Chinese difficulty settled.
 Fierce debates in the Russian Duma on Stolypin's coup d'état.
- 29.—The State Capitol at Albany, N.Y., partly destroyed by fire.
 Signor Giolitti formed new Italian Cabinet, but without Signor Bissolati, who declined to join the Ministry.
- 30.—Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, in the German Reichstag, threw cold water on the proposal to limit armaments.
 Scene in the Spanish Chamber over the Ferrer trial.



FRITZ REUTER.

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(Abridged from Courady's article in "Die Neue Welt.")

The Province of Mecklenburg is connected with two important names in the history of German literature: those of Johann Heinrich Voss, the translator of Homer, and of the great "Plattdeutsch" humorist who was born 100 years ago on November 7, 1810, Fritz Reuter. Different as these two are from each other, they have one quality in common which stands out sharply in the writings of both, and that is the decided plebeian dislike of the land-owning aristocracy of Germany in general and those of their own province in particular. They both expressed their enmity to the nobility in verse, and Voss occasionally made attempts at the poetry in dialect, which was Reuter's speciality.

Fritz Reuter was born in Stavenhagen, a little provincial town in Mecklenburg, where his father was Burgomaster. The latter, though intelligent, was an exceedingly prosaic person, and it was not from him, as far as heredity and education are concerned, that Fritz got his taste for poetry, but from his mother, who first opened his mind to the treasures of German literature. Unhappily, she was soon taken from him by an early death. As a child in Stavenhagen he was dependent upon private instruction, after which he was sent to school at Friedland, and then at Parchim, where in 1831 he passed his "abiturienten" examination—not very well, for he was by no means a model scholar, and admits to having been very idle. His father was very much displeased, and took no notice of the fact that Fritz was already writing poetry which showed great talent. Father and son had little in common, and Reuter senior now insisted that Fritz should become a lawyer, a profession the boy particularly disliked. He tried, however, to fulfil his father's wishes, and went as a law student to the university at Rostock, and later to Jena. It was there that he became inspired with "revolutionary" ideals. A number of the students there were very keen on politics, and enthusiastic about the idea of a free and united Germany. These were divided into two sections, one more radical than the other, known as the Arminia and Germania. Reuter joined the latter, but he did not take a very active part; it was limited to wearing the black-red-and-gold badge in public, and joining in the song: "Out with the princes from the country." He did not even

mix in the students' tumults which occurred in Jena at that time, in spite of which fact, however, he got arrested, but was quickly released. He was, however, through the connivance of the police, expelled from the University. He then attempted to enter the Leipzig University, but was not accepted, and on his return journey was arrested in Berlin on a charge of attempted high treason—a victim of the persecution of "demagogues," for which the Government found an excuse in the storming of the constabulary guard-house in Frankfurt.

The foolhardy outbreak of April 3, 1833, which was from the first doomed to failure, and in which the more Radical students took part, gave the reaction an excuse for destroying with one stroke the element of opposition in the Universities. They exaggerated it into a great plot to overthrow the Federated Governments and all the thrones, to kill the kings, etc., and they made out that all the members of the Arminia and Germania were involved in it. A wild hunt for "demagogues" began, and the prisons and fortresses filled rapidly with students, who were supposed to have committed or attempted high treason, but who were in reality as harmless politically as children. Altogether 1,867 of them were prosecuted during the next five years. Prussia was, of course, at the head of the persecution, and it was there that most death sentences were passed by the infamous Judge Kleist. The Criminal Director Dambach, of Berlin, must also be mentioned, who pretended to sympathise with his young prisoners—only to denounce them when he had won their confidence. Fritz Reuter fell into the hands of this *bête humaine*. His trial lasted a long time, during which he constantly alternated between hope and fear. His hope was to be sent back to his native province (as he had in any case done no harm in Prussia), where the judges were likely to be less severe. He was treated like a condemned criminal, and kept for months in a dark cell without even a chair. After a year in this prison, Reuter was taken to the Silesian fortress of Silberberg. Thus began his imprisonment in a fortress, the latter part of which he describes so humorously in his book: "*Ut mine Festungstid.*" One must not imagine that the whole life in the fortress is described in that work; in it the humorous episodes by far outweigh the sad, while in reality the contrary was the case, and Reuter once said in conversation with a friend that his youth had been stolen from him. In consequence of the insufficient food and the intense cold at Silberberg, Reuter unhappily developed intemperate habits through no fault of his own, and though by the great energy of his character he mastered this failing more and more in later life, it certainly brought him much suffering during, at any rate, the first years of his freedom.

After three years of uncertainty Reuter was at last sentenced to death for his undesirable political opinions, which, in reality, amounted to nothing more than a mild Liberalism. The King afterwards commuted the sentence to 30 years' imprisonment in a

fortress, such was the justice and mercy of that Hohenzollern. But Reuter did not despair, but hoped on, and his optimism was increased by his removal to Glogau, where the conditions were somewhat more bearable. From there he was taken to Magdeburg, where an old friend who had been long languishing there, and was hardly recognisable, greeted him with the words, "Unhappy one, how did *you* get here?" This was one of the worst fortresses Reuter had yet experienced. His cell was damp and pestilential, and the water unfit to drink. The sanitary conditions were so impossible that after Count Hacke, who was at the head of the prison, died, the second official sent word to Berlin that something must be done at once, or all the prisoners would perish. Reuter remarks: "And yet people wondered how one became a democrat! We were not yet democrats when we went in, but we all were by the time we came out."

At the time of the fortieth anniversary of Friedrich Wilhelm III.'s accession it was hoped that an amnesty for the "demagogues" would be proclaimed, and both Reuter and his father sent petitions to the King for his release. But the Staatsrat refused to release the demagogues. They did, however, reduce Reuter's sentence to eight years, which left four more for the unhappy prisoner to complete. In 1838 he was transferred to Graudenz, where again the conditions were somewhat better, as he describes so wonderfully in "*Ut mine Festungstid*." On the way there, in Berlin, he fell again into the hands of Dambach, who was cruel enough to refuse him a visit from his father.

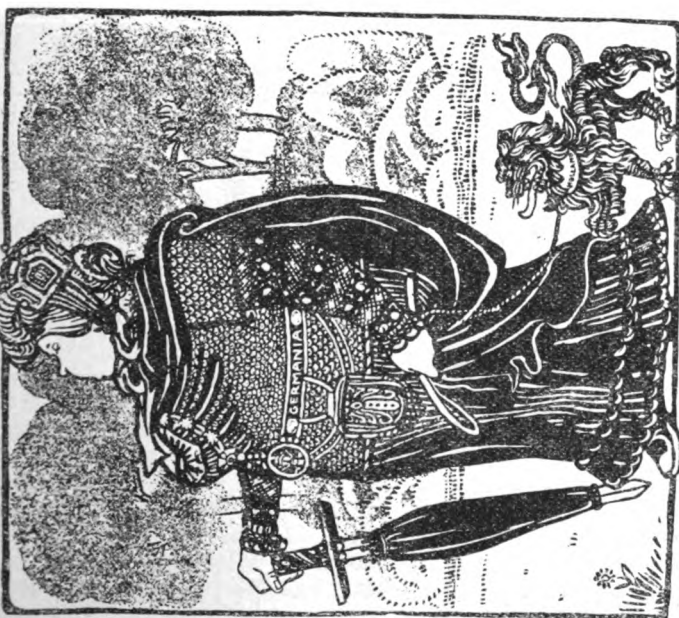
At last the Mecklenburg authorities began to interest themselves in their countryman, so long left to the tender mercies of Prussia, and with difficulty persuaded Prussia to extradite him, Friedrich Wilhelm, however, writing to say that a further reduction of Reuter's sentence was not to be granted without his permission. Reuter was thereupon removed to a Mecklenburg fortress, where he remained till an amnesty was granted when the King died in 1840, making in all seven years' incarceration.

After his release, Reuter's father wished him to return to the legal profession, which he did, but without much success. At last his father consented to his trying farming. He hired a farm and worked it for several years. On his father's death he found that the terms of the will made it impossible for him ever to make himself an independent farmer, as he had hoped, and he therefore abandoned this calling also, and took seriously to literature, which he had hitherto cultivated in his spare time. But the years spent in agriculture had not been wasted, for it was that life which gave him the intimate knowledge of and love for the country people which is one of the great features in his work. In "*Stromtid*" he gives a picture, none too flattering, of the Mecklenburg nobility, while in his principal poetical work, "*Kein Hüsung*," he sets forth, quite unsoftened, the sharp social contrasts between the farmer and the country labourers. In this

latter work there is little humour; it is a frightful tragedy taken from the lives of the country proletarians. It is his best creation, but did not, during his lifetime, meet with so much success as the humorous works. In it he tries to satisfy his craving "to tell the truth to our exploiters and oppressors, to lift the shame from the neck of the enslaved and despised people and throw it back into the faces of those who, taking them as a whole, deserve only to be mentioned with shame before the German people."

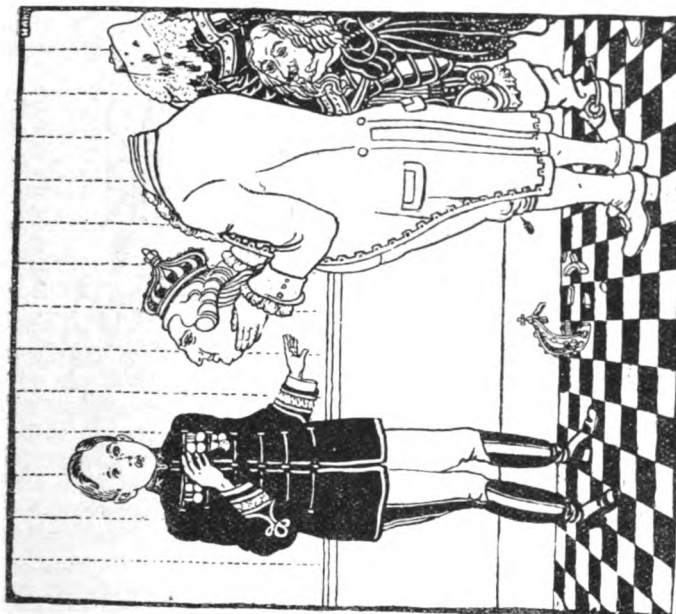
Reuter's later years were less eventful than his youth. His married life was spent happily, first in Treptow and then in Eisenach, where he died on July 12, 1874. The only important event of his later years, apart from the publication of his books, was a journey to the East, which gave rise to the work, "The Mecklenburg Montecchi and Capuletti, or the Journey to Constantinople." It was not, however, one of his best works. His collection of Plattdeutsch poems, "Läuschen und Rimels," must be specially mentioned, as it was the great success of this work that first made him realise that dialect was his speciality. Others are, "Hanne Nüte," "De Reis' nach Bellingen," and the prose works "Ut de Franzosentid" and "Dörchläuchting," a delicious satire on the princes of the day.

The admirers of Reuter's humorous and serious muse have continued to increase, especially among the proletariat, who have every reason to honour the Plattdeutsch poet also on account of the warm sympathy for the rural working-class that he felt and expressed openly, without consideration for the land-owners, whose bitter opponent he ever remained.



Holland was sold to Germany. So the Staten General voted forty million florins for North Sea fortifications which will come in handy when Germany and England get to scrapping.

(From "The Masses," New York.)



CHARLES I. AND LOUIS XVI. (to the King of Portugal):
"My dear Emmanuel, be satisfied. We lost our heads. You lost only your crown."
(From "The Masses," New York.)

THE REVIEWS.

MUFFLING THE WAR-DRUM.

"Gol durn ye, love one another!" Uncle Sam was represented by an inspired cartoonist as saying to Russia and Japan at the Portsmouth Peace Conference. This phrase almost epitomises the attitude of the more impatient and militant peace advocates in their first enthusiasm over proposals for arbitration and disarmament. Their enthusiasm ran ahead of what the actual political leaders think is practicable, and called out objections from those who fear "entangling alliances" and those who would refuse to submit principles like the Monroe Doctrine to outside arbitrators. However, Sir Edward Grey has practically removed the chief cause of acrimony in debate by his careful explanation that his speech in behalf of unlimited arbitration between Great Britain and the United States must not be taken to imply an advocacy of a defensive alliance between the two nations. Accordingly, American press comment has been mainly in the line of friendly and hopeful discussion of the advantages of the suggested treaty and the possibility of giving it all desirable scope and force, together with much praise for President Taft and the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

It is true that there remain some out-and-out objectors. The Chicago "Inter-Ocean," fresh from its triumphs over the vindication of Senator Lorimer, still cries, "No alliances with Europe!" Universal arbitration, which "is something of a hobby with Mr. Taft," was, it adds, pushed into the background by the natural resentment aroused by "the effort of the British Government to influence Congress not to fortify the Panama Canal," and "most persons hoped that no more would be heard of it. We are, however, destined to no such good fortune." For no sooner had Congress adjourned than the Executive again trotted out the project, and "now Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, has joined our worthy President in the game of universal bubble-blowing." Refusing to see anything in the plan other than an actual alliance, the "Inter-Ocean" exclaims: "What a splendidly jug-handled arrangement for us, to be obliged to quarrel with every European Power for England's sake! For that is what it would come to!"

Likewise the Detroit "Free Press" thinks that the treaty would be a very one-sided bargain by which we should gain nothing. Our contiguity to Canada, says this paper, "is our best assurance of the goodwill of England," and the immediate effect of Cleveland's Venezuelan message "demonstrated that no arbitration treaty was needed to prevent England from attacking us in any emergency." Moreover, on account of differing constitutions, in an emergency "we would be hopelessly bound by the conditions of the treaty so long as the Administration favoured it. Britain would be bound only so long as a majority of the Commons favoured it." The New Orleans "Times-Democrat," too, declares that certain issues must always be settled with the sword. "It would be a waste of time to draft an arbitration treaty which did not expressly exclude questions arising from national policies." America would never consent to arbitrate the Monroe Doctrine, England her right to remain in Egypt, Germany her right to establish oversea dominions.

Of the advocates, who far outnumber antagonists, some dwell upon direct national benefits, such as the practical nullification, so far as the United States is concerned, of the British alliance with Japan. More, however, with a broader vision, are inclined to look beyond national advantages toward the greater hope of world-wide peace. In his speech disclaiming any intention of introducing either stipulation or understanding of an alliance into the question of broader arbitration, Sir Edward Grey said:—

"I observe that some of the words that I used the other day are being construed as if a general arbitration treaty between two great nations would be tantamount to a defensive alliance between them. If a general arbitration treaty were made between two great nations and became firmly rooted in the feelings of the people of both countries, and if one of them was in the course of time made the object of an attack in a dispute with a third Power, in which arbitration had been offered to and refused by the third Power, certainly, I think, there would be a strong sympathy between the two Powers who had made the general arbitration treaty. But that is a matter which depends upon public opinion and in which public opinion will take care of itself. . . .

"If an arbitration treaty is made between two great countries on the lines sketched out as possible by the President of the United States, let it be done between the two Powers concerned without *arrière pensée*, but don't let them set narrow bounds to their hopes of the beneficent results which may develop from it in the course of time—results which I think must extend far beyond the two countries originally concerned. The effect on the world at large of the example would be bound to have beneficent consequences. To set a good example is to hope that others will follow it, and if others of the great Powers did follow, there would eventually be something like a league of peace."

The hope that other nations may soon join in the movement has been strengthened in the hearts of many by dispatches from Washington announcing that President Taft and Mr. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, have held unofficial conversations "respecting a comprehensive agreement for arbitration between the United States and France upon the general outline of the President's ideas regarding international peace treaties."

All possible care, we read, will be taken to frame the treaty in such a way as to overcome "the unwillingness heretofore displayed by the American Senate to ratify a treaty which provides for a general system of arbitration." The Senate is thought likely to reserve to itself the right to act upon each arbitration proposal as it comes up, which many think would leave matters just about where they are now. Yet the existence of the general arbitration treaty would itself exert a weighty influence for each separate arbitration agreement, and the Washington correspondent of the New York "Times" says:—

"President Taft is hopeful that in case the proposed treaty is ratified by both countries it will prove a step forward in the way of fostering world-peace. He believes that it will be easier for European nations to negotiate such treaties with the United States than with one another, but that if such an instrument can once be put in force between this country and Great Britain the way may be opened for similar conventions between some of the greater European Powers."

It is the vision of the United States and Great Britain at the head of a world-wide peace movement that appeals to the imaginations and aspirations of many editors. "This peace spirit, like the war spirit, carries its infection," exults the New York "Evening Post," adding:—

"Has the community of language and race between us and England been chiefly responsible for this remarkable advance? Well, the United States can claim community of blood to-day with every civilised white nation; and the impulses that have drawn her to England may easily be strong enough to lead her into like agreements with other Powers, making her the centre and nucleus of a system of arbitration arrangements that may yet come to embrace the world."

In a similar strain the Indianapolis "News" observes:—

"We should with such a treaty have a peace league binding together 485,000,000 people, or almost one-third of the total inhabitants of the globe. The influence of such a pact could not but be powerful. Other nations would be led or driven to follow the example thus set, and then indeed the world would be on the road to disarmament."

And the Portland "Oregonian" agrees with many others in believing that "if Mr. Taft puts his proposed arbitration treaty through he will be numbered among the great benefactors of mankind."—"Literary Digest," New York.

THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF STATE INSURANCE.

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

Since I was first privileged to suggest, through the pages of this magazine, a scheme of compulsory, State-conducted, working class insurance against trade depression, sickness and old age, opinion upon this matter has so far ripened that both Government and Opposition have adopted the insurance idea in preference to the principle of relief works, public charity, and similar pauperising measures. Indeed, a Government Bill providing for compulsory insurance against idleness due to sickness and invalidity is drafted, ready for submission to Parliament, and another Bill for similar insurance against ordinary industrial depression unemployment in certain specified trades is in an advanced stage. Both Bills may be introduced before Easter.

The Government, in formulating the scheme, has courteously consulted various insurance experts, Labour leaders, friendly society officials, and others primarily interested. Criticism has been welcomed, and suggestions invited. Big efforts have been made to conciliate conflicting interests. Almost step by step, as the scheme has been evolved, it has been submitted, more or less confidentially, for the approval of those whose knowledge, experience, position, and interests fitted them best, in the Government's opinion, to give advice. Thus before either of the Bills is read in the House of Commons we are in possession of the main principles and rough outlines of the Government scheme.

But the scheme, far advanced though it is, is still "provisional." It is open to profound modification. Advice is still being welcomed from any and every quarter. In these circumstances, and claiming as I do a big share of the credit for popularising the insurance idea, I am emboldened candidly to criticise the Government scheme as so far drafted, and to offer for consideration, with the Editor's indulgence, an alternative one.

Briefly, the Government scheme amounts to this: Compulsory insurance against sickness and infirmity for every wage-earner between 16 and 70 years of age, the minimum amount of such insurance to be 5s. per week; the premiums to be paid one-half by the insured and the other half, jointly, by employers and the State; the general administration of the scheme to be vested in approved friendly societies. Also similar insurance against ordinary trade depression idleness for about two and a-half millions of workers engaged in industries especially liable to unemployment, the minimum of such insurance to be 7s. or 8s. per week for fifteen or twenty weeks, half the premiums payable by deduction from the wages of the workmen and the other half by the employers, with a State subvention added.

The cardinal points to be observed here are that (1) every workman is to be insured against invalidity; (2) that only some are to be insured against unemployment; (3) that the sick business and the trade depression business are to be kept separate, necessitating dual contributions, dual book-keeping, and dual administration; (4) that the unemployment "insurance by trades" will necessitate the establishment of a number of separate funds; and (5) that graded premiums will mean the biggest tax on the most unfortunate trade or men.

Now, this scheme, or series of schemes, bristles with so many difficulties that it is impossible within reasonable limits to treat more than a small proportion of them. I am profoundly sorry that the Government at the beginning did not accept my suggestion and appoint a Royal Commission, or Departmental Committee, to go fully into the matter, hear all sides, debate the problem under the searchlight of public opinion, and then draw up an equitable scheme. As it is, the Government has sought the private advice of persons or parties more anxious to safeguard the interests of particular unions and societies and companies—not to say their own salaries—than to help in the establishment of a truly national scheme.

As a practical man, and as one who has no party, society, or union to serve, or salaried position to defend, I earnestly pray that this matter will be hung up a little longer, that the Government will find a dignified way of reconsidering the subject, and that no Bill be tabled in the House of Commons until an impartial Commission or Committee has gone over the whole ground upon which this colossal State enterprise is to be built.

My first point is that in a State scheme of insurance against unemployment (ordinary) and sickness there is no need to work the two risks separately. Each man is liable to be idle on account of illness, trade depression, or age, and if the State is going to cover these risks surely one fund would be better than two or more. It is unfortunate that our existing old-age pensions are on a non-contributory basis. This ought to be altered. It is more unfortunate that the Government intends to set up invalidity insurance before unemployment insurance, and that in the latter case it intends to experiment first with a few selected trades.

The only satisfactory way of working this business is to take every wage-earner in the country, regardless of age or trade, and regardless of whether the men are employed or unemployed at the moment, insure them against every form of real unemployment—sickness, accident, trade depression, and age—in one simple fund, with one simple scale of benefits and one simple scale of contributions; let there be no probationary period, let the sick and the unemployed and the aged draw their aliment from the day the scheme becomes operative, and keep the administration absolutely

independent of friendly societies, trade unions, and employers' associations.

Let the Old Age Pensions and Workmen's Compensation Acts be repealed, and cover all the risks of bona fide labour and life in one simple, universal, but moderate State scheme, apart from voluntary agencies, leaving these agencies (save one notable exception) free and independent to deal with those able and willing to insure for something above the moderate aliment of the State scheme.

What is needed is a scheme so simple that everyone can understand it, so universal that no man is left outside its scope, and so equitable that no association, society, trade, or class is singled out for special favour or disfavour. To achieve these ends we must have :—

(1) The nationalisation of all the industrial insurance companies and societies in the country, and the employment of their offices, officials, and agents in the administration of the State scheme.

(2) The abolition of old age pensions and workmen's compensation (the benefits at present enjoyed under these laws to be merged in the compulsory insurance scheme).

(3) Sickness, invalidity, age, accident, ordinary unemployment, and death to be covered by one fund, with one uniform scale of contributions from employers and workpeople, with a State subvention added, and one uniform moderate scale of benefits.

Just so far as the Government departs from these cardinal principles of simplicity and universality, as originally laid down in the pages of this magazine, so will the scheme prove unsatisfactory.

THE MAY-DAY FESTIVAL IN THE YEAR 1970.

By OPTMUS. (Translated from the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung.")

On April 29, 1970, the "Volkstribüne," official organ of the Socialist administration for the district of Lower Austria, published the customary order of the President that all work should cease on the First of May. Only such work as was necessary for the festal celebration of that day was to be allowed, but even with regard to the latter the President's message desired that the decoration of the streets and the preparations for the festival should, as far as possible, be carried out on the preceding day.

On the morning of the First of May the great garden city of Vienna, which now extends from Stockerau to Mödling, lay in deep repose. The many bright-coloured little houses, in Cotta style, each surrounded by a small green garden, had been already decked out the night before with red flags, and so it was half past six o'clock—the sun had long ago risen brilliantly—before the first of the green blinds in the workers' little one-family houses were drawn up.

Already the evening before the young people had planted flag-staffs between the blooming chestnut trees, and many hundreds of red flags were already waving merrily in the breeze. The regular roads were strewn with freshly mown grass, and in every district—from Stockerau to Mödling—a large platform was erected in the principal square, with a small platform and speakers' desk opposite to it, which was also to be used by the conductor of the district orchestra.

At 7.20 a.m. the motors from the milk co-operative and other food supply stores, which from old association still kept the name of "hammer-works," ran through the workers' cottages, and deposited in the breakfast receptacle which is built into the front of each house the necessary provisions for the festal day, milk, eggs, bacon, or fish, fruit, vegetables, coffee, cigars, etc., according to the orders given the preceding day at the food centre. At 8 o'clock smoke was already rising from the chimneys of all the pretty houses, and whoever entered any of the clean, white-washed halls was met by an aroma of fresh coffee and newly-baked bread. And

at this time many a housewife might be seen going up and down the garden with large scissors choosing the peonies and tulips which were destined for the festal board.

At 8.30 500 bands of music marched through every division of the garden city, except, of course, the inner quarters, on feast days resembling cities of the dead, which are exclusively given up to workshops, factories and offices. The underground railway, which takes one in 4 to 6 minutes from, for instance, the St. Veit garden city to the factory quarter of Brigittenau, rests to-day. But at certain headquarters of each district one can—after previously giving notice at the traffic centre—have one of the motors which stand there, which indeed one must drive oneself, in order to do which it is necessary to have passed the chauffeur's examination, a thing which is, in general, done by one member of each family. There is, however, no very great demand for them, most of the comrades preferring to pass the day with companions in the same district, to which they have been drawn in order to be near the friends of their choice.

The silver trumpets of the bands bring jubilation, noise, movement, confusion into the quiet garden city streets. In a twinkling the battalions of the "Youth" were drawn up, and, headed by the bands, marched rank after rank to the platforms on the public place. The orchestra played historical battle-songs from the old departed times of oppression, and the choirs of youths chimed in with clear voices. By 9 o'clock everybody was on their feet; 800 platforms in all the great squares were crowded, and from millions of throats now rose a real true hymn of the people into the air, a song of joy and of labour, a pæan of youth and strength, a song sung by awakened mankind in its own honour.

Then all became still.

An old man mounted the tribune (the procedure was the same at all the centres of festivity) and spoke: "Comrades, brothers, fellow citizens! Let no man to-day forget the times of struggle! You rosy-cheeked youths, from out whose eyes life sparkles, you know not how black and threatening it was, here on earth, even as late as 60 years ago. You never knew the horrors of exploitation, the misery of those who had deadened themselves with drugs, the hopelessness of those who were utterly weary. We elders, who were witnesses of that dread epoch, we are dying out. But yet to day I remember with a shudder the days of the horrible tenelements in the narrow alleys of the large towns, of the neglected children roaming naked about the streets, of the torture of unemployment and of dependence on an employer—that life led by millions of proletarians, which was no life, or would not have been if it had not been spiritualised by the burning desire to destroy that world of oppression! You, who are growing up in light and sunshine, in the strength and fulness of a free life, think of the hell of capitalist society whose portals we have successfully broken down."

The words, spoken with trembling lips by the old man, were listened to in breathless silence.

Then a young woman, slender as a girl, in a long flowing robe which showed the chaste beauty of her noble form, mounted the platform and spoke with impressive nobility of manner, without undue heat and yet full of life: "Comrades, sisters, brothers! The words of the fatherly veteran have sunk into our hearts. We know, indeed, that there was once a time of the madness of possession. We know that the soul was once fettered by the demons of selfishness. We know it, but we can no longer fully realise what it was. For how is it possible that human beings themselves should have maimed their own souls and bodies? How was it possible that thousands should slavishly serve one? How was it possible that, instead of becoming strong and free in light and air, well cared for and well educated, men should pine in pestilential air, in ugly homes, untaught and half-starved? At that time man only knew *himself*, and that made him small! We know that man and man, flower and animal, the blade of grass in our garden and the stones on which we tread, are all parts of the same world, and only he who feels himself at one with all creation, he alone is worthy to be our brother. Whoso finds himself anew in others, whoso has conceived the great law of fellowship, he who will not tread down a blade of grass unnecessarily, whose glance caresses every child, he who feels and knows what is taking place in the soul of his neighbour, he is rich. To the slave of the vanished state of society his possessions formed a world, to us the whole world has become a possession!"

No applause was heard. No evil look fell on that proud figure. But a thousand youthful, sparkling eyes looked at each other, filled with the noblest emulation to become prominent in the service of the whole.

Music again struck up. The youths sang. The crowds then went leisurely home. In the group in which the old man walked someone pointed over to the factory district. "Yes, indeed," the old fellow related, "the factories then were not worked by electro-dynamos as now; there was infernal black smoke in almost every workshop, and our hands were covered with soot; and where was there ever a chance that a gifted workman might study or ever leave the factory to be admitted to other social work? When his strength failed—well then. . . ."

But the old man had now reached his goal. They led him to the gate of the palace which bore the inscription "The Castle of Peace." Such places 60 years ago, miserably arranged, were known as "poorhouses" or "alms houses."

The middle of the day was passed by each one in his own family circle. On each table was a beautiful bouquet. After dinner the old people lay themselves down in hammocks, the young ones went into summer-houses, taking with them this or that book from the central library which supplies every citizen daily, as gifts or loans,

with the books he desires. The little ones ran to the great public playgrounds.

At 3 o'clock trumpet blasts called once more to the feast. Now the masses made a pilgrimage to the 50 great arena buildings, the people's theatre, in which to-day festive performances, free to all, were held. The great orchestras played, glorious voices sang hymns of freedom, and at last the rising of the curtain disclosed the stage. Goethe's "Faust," still as ever the symbol of struggling humanity, was performed. Breathless stillness in the whole arena, a hundred thousand human beings feeling the words: "Wer immer strebend sich bemüht, den können wir erretten."*

It is evening; the inner districts lie in darkness, but in the garden city quarters there are lights shining from many thousand houses. From the Kahlenberg thousands of rockets ascend flaming through the sky; on the Danube boats with bright red lamps are sailing. From the gardens before the houses sound violins and flutes; the children sing till they are tired. No drunkard reels through the peaceful streets. From the "Castle of Rest" may be heard the voice of a happy old man. He is weeping for joy.

*"Whoever struggles with difficulty himself to redeem, him can we save."

The

Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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THE ESSENTIAL SOCIALISM.

By F. J. GOULD.

The time appears to be fairly ripe for putting a short and plain question to all sorts and conditions of Socialists: What is Essential Socialism? I have read a good deal of the party literature, heard many Socialist speakers, watched agitations and Parliamentary happenings, played a small part myself as former Socialist member of a town council, and am happy to possess friends in both the Social-Democratic Party and the Independent Labour Party; and, with all this, I have maintained a certain detachment which may perhaps qualify me for presenting this issue in cool and dispassionate terms. I am no leader, and no organiser, and have waited in the hope that other comrades would take up the parable. Like the Psalmist—

“My heart was hot within me; while I was musing, the fire burned; then spake I with my tongue.”

It does seem to me that the Essential Socialism is apt to be buried under a mass of more or less irrelevant problems and programmes, and our young people especially are not helped towards clear vision of aims and ideals.

The Essential Socialism is a very simple policy. It is, however, so enormously important, and, in relation to the present industrial manners and customs, so revolutionary, that the mind naturally attempts to forecast all the political and moral consequences, with the result that most of us go astray from the central idea. Socialism is merely the public ownership of the vital industries. That is to say, it involves the public ownership of all such means and instruments as are needed to produce, for the whole body of citizens, food, clothing, dwellings, and the apparatus of lighting, locomotion, sanitation, etc. I use the term "vital," because I find all Socialists of any standing, from Karl Marx onwards, really think that term into their reasoning whether they use it or not. Not one of them really worries as to the destiny of the other industries, such as that of the jeweller or astronomer. The one great, plan-gent, inevitable demand is for a sound, permanent and complete economic maintenance for the average man, woman and child. And, since Nature will not supply this maintenance unless invited or compelled by the labour of humanity, Socialism imposes upon every able-bodied person the duty to work (usually but inadequately called the Right to Work) for the service and preservation of the commonwealth.

These are the essentials; all else is unessential. When I say "unessential" I do not imply unimportant. I venture to enumerate some of these unessential questions.

Socialism, strictly so called, is not bound up with any specific political constitution. It is not logically committed to universal suffrage. Personally, I support adult (men and women) suffrage, on a non-property basis, aiming at eventual extension to the coloured races; and I consider it natural enough that Socialist parties should include adult suffrage in their programmes. But all that is really wanted is at least a section of the public acting as a well-organised electorate, with an alert and educated community expressing its will in meetings, collective action, and in the press.

Woman suffrage is not essential, though I regard it as desirable on moral grounds. Democracy, in the exact sense of a perpetual Referendum, or the actual participation of every man and woman in every public decision, is not essential. As a matter of fact, careful observation will reveal differences of opinion among Socialists on all these issues. All Socialists do not support woman suffrage; all do not advocate the Referendum; all do not rely on the principle of democracy (as just defined).

So again with such political forms as the Monarchy or the House of Lords. I can quite well conceive of very advanced measures of Socialism being realised with an hereditary king on the throne, and hereditary peers still sitting in the Upper House. In my opinion, a republic is preferable to a monarchy, and an advisory Senate (elder citizens), composed of experienced public servants elected to their seats, preferable to a Chamber of hereditary peers. But it is melancholy to see how professed Socialists allow the present controversy concerning the House of Lords to occupy their attention and energy. The immediate need is rather for a House of Commons that shall truly represent the proletariat—that is to say, truly represent the main body of the people of these islands. Given that, the hereditary House would be found a compliant, and perhaps even a useful, institution; at any rate, its improvement would easily follow. I take it as certain that, in our time, the House of Lords will be reconstituted, but not abolished. Conservatives and Radicals will employ the reformed House as a defence against the spread of Socialism, and they will continue to employ the House of Commons for the same purpose, except in so far as, on both these fields, they are checked by the growth and determination of a definitely Socialist Party in, and outside of, Parliament.

At the risk of provoking vehement dissent, I am prepared to say that Socialism does not carry with it any special military programme. It is obvious that in regard to a Citizen Army, or the increase or decrease

of the Navy, no unanimous view is held by Socialists. For myself, I believe in the educational movement known as Pacifism; I believe much good effect could be realised by a persistent demand for an International Navy, as suggested by Comte many years ago; and I believe various forms of proletarian strike to be more and more feasible as the intelligence of the workers augments. In any case, it is my conviction that, under the present capitalist system, the responsibility of military policy rests with the propertied classes, and not with a party in such marked minority as the Socialists.

Socialism, as such, does not trespass on the province of personal tastes, habits and ideals. Personally, I detest alcoholic drinks, feel disgust at tobacco-smoking, and have the greatest contempt for gambling, from whist-drives up to bridge and betting. But I have no faith in the sense or efficacy of licensing legislation, prohibition of liquor traffic, or checks on the sale of cigarettes, or laws against betting and lotteries; and, even if I felt such faith, it would not justify me, as a Socialist, in pressing for repressive legislation. On the questions of marriage, divorce, and the relations of the sexes the Socialist doctrine, pure and simple, is absolutely mute. These questions are vital—often tragically vital—and they are intimately controlled by economic conditions; but Socialism, though proposing a thorough-going change in economic conditions, cannot legitimately dogmatise in the sphere of sexual morality.

Even with respect to education, and in spite of the fact that the whole civilised world is now committed to various methods of State-administered teaching, it cannot be logically asserted that Socialism necessarily establishes tax-supported schools, or schools publicly endowed. I have been for many years familiar with the State-school system, and I think that, in the circumstances of to-day, it is the most successful of possible schemes. But it is not a finality; and I can easily imagine a commonwealth in which the vital in-

dustries are conducted on a non-profit-making basis, and in which education is carried on in the family environment under the loving presidency of mothers, and in schools and colleges maintained by private and voluntary effort.

This last remark readily leads one on to the subject of religion. Socialism is an economic arrangement, and has nothing to do with belief in Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, Catholicism, or Positivism (and I speak as a Positivist—that is, a follower of the religion of humanity). Personally, I am intensely interested in religion. I hold that, in a fundamental sense, man becomes more and more religious. I am sure that the greatest things of life (while indispensably resting, as Marx rightly taught, on a material basis) are not material interests, but the experiences of attachment, reverence and love; of the true, the beautiful, and the good; of the fraternal life, and the inward life. I am, indeed, confident that Socialism will prepare mankind for a marvellous development of art, of poetry, and of spiritual insight. But Socialism, strictly considered, is neutral to such questions, and organises the workers, operates the machines, and produces goods for use and not for profit with a purpose and with means that are entirely economic. To say sooth, I think posterity will look upon Socialism, even when practically universal, as quite a minor factor in the vast polity of our planet; for humanity will then have constructed, on this necessary material foundation, splendid and far-reaching cultures of art and joy and nobleness.

If the general course of the foregoing argument is sound, certain conclusions as to party tactics follow.

The party should concentrate on a rigid pursuit of vital economic objects, and, while approving of and urging palliative measures, it should treat such measures as falling within the circle of Conservative and Radical responsibility and administration, and as being no part of Socialist statesmanship.

It should maintain an unmistakable policy of the public ownership of the vital industries, regardless of

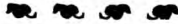
futile discussions as to whether such an aim implies revolution or evolution. There is no need to plan such an outbreak as is popularly called a revolution; for real revolutions are spontaneous, and ultimately all revolutions are found to act as integral elements of human evolution. Sensible politicians will therefore avoid barren disputes on phrases.

It will keep in the foreground the question of the Unemployed, no matter what political issues of the ordinary type are presented to the public attention, the reason being that no other question so strikingly illustrates the necessity for non-profit-making organisation of the vital industries.

It will rely to a large extent upon the continuous rise of the Socialist vote, whether in successful or unsuccessful election contests, as a means of inducing Conservatives and Radicals to undertake, of their own accord, remedial measures. In other words, Socialists can refrain from specialising on small "reforms," and reserve their political energies for the drastic claims and pressures.

It will not fail to value the factors outside Parliament which make for the economic emancipation of the workers. Since at present Parliament is mainly occupied, even at its best level, in the debating and passing of quite minor measures of social progress, the party in Parliament should organise itself chiefly for criticism and decisive interventions (after the model of the Irish Party), and the party in the country at large should express itself in federated trades unionism, in demonstrations, and in the press, on the assumption that the Parliamentary Party is a significant index, but not the governing factor, of the movement. If Socialism is the public ownership of the vital industries, and if Parliament is at present almost wholly allied with the capitalist system, it follows that Socialism cannot afford to entrust its destiny in any considerable degree to a Parliamentary group; that it must on no account ally itself with Conservative or Radical administrations; and that it should seek, as its central

aim, to arouse the mass of the working people to the economic issue as distinct from benevolent reforms, and from the problems of personal morality and religion. It is open, indeed, to the individual comrade to work for the end in a religious spirit, and frankly to tell his neighbours what moral ideals are his sanctions. The more of such frankness, the better. But let it be clearly understood that the Essential Socialism is nothing but an industrial organisation from which profit is eliminated.



HERE, then, are the two main features of our modern system of production for profit. First: The labourers on the average replace the value of their wages for the capitalist class in the first few hours of their day's work; the exchange-value of the goods produced in the remaining hours of the day's work constitutes so much embodied labour which is unpaid; and this unpaid labour so embodied in articles of utility the capitalist class, the factory owners, the farmers, the bankers, the brokers, the shopkeepers, and their hangers-on, the landlords, divide among themselves in the shape of profits, interests, discounts, commissions, rent, etc. Second: The other feature is the antagonism between the socialised method of production and the individualised system of exchange. This brings about unmitigated anarchy in the shape of a world-wide crisis every ten years, which throws labourers out of work when they are as anxious to toil for subsistence as ever they were; and piles up quantities of goods which these very labourers are eager to buy, but which owing to the crisis they cannot earn the means of purchasing, because the capitalist class will not employ them unless a profit is to be made, and this profit is rendered impossible by the very glut of the goods. Such crises have now occurred every ten years since 1825, and owing to these, men and women have been continually thrown out of work and flung into misery from no fault whatever of their own.—From "A Summary of the Principles of Socialism," by H. M. HYNDMAN and WILLIAM MORRIS.

EVILS OF THE PREMIUM BONUS SYSTEM.

By J. T. BROWNLIE.

The ferment created in the trade unions by the introduction of "Americanised methods," in the form of the Premium Bonus system, is far-reaching and more deep-seated than is generally recognised. As the outcome of the resolution passed at the Nottingham Trades Union Congress in condemnation of the system, a Joint Committee was appointed to investigate and report on the working, relative to the well-being of trade unionism, of such a system. After careful and searching inquiry, the committee recommended that the opinion of the members of those unions connected with the engineering and shipbuilding trades be ascertained, and they be requested to vote on the following resolution :—

"That the societies affected, or likely to be affected, by the Premium Bonus system be requested to state if they are prepared to take joint action to secure the abolition of this system—first, through negotiations with the employers; and, second, if peaceful methods prove abortive, by a cessation of work."

That vote has been taken; and the members of the various unions have unequivocally, by large majorities, voted in favour of the abolition of the system. The members of the most important and influential trade union associated with the engineering and shipbuilding industry—the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—have, by a majority of over five to one of those voting, declared against the system. The resolution suggests

two lines of action—peace negotiation and cessation of work. Historical and present experience of the attitude generally adopted by large employers of labour towards trade unionism does not inspire confidence as to the successful issue of the former policy. In view of the magnitude of the issue and the far-reaching consequences if employers force the organised bodies of Labour to adopt the “down tools” policy, a statement of the evil effects of the Premium Bonus system from a trade union standpoint is essential to a clear understanding of the relative merits of the case.

THE SYSTEM.

The system of paying “bonuses” as an incentive to increased effort has prevailed in the engineering and kindred trades to a greater or lesser degree in various parts of the country, but to no serious extent, for more than one generation. But the Premium Bonus system which is in operation in many of the large engineering, shipbuilding, motor car, and other kindred trades is of recent origin, and differs very much from the old system of “bonuses.” There are various systems of the Premium Bonus in operation throughout the country—in fact, many of the large firms have a system which differs in many particulars from that adopted by other firms. The main principle, however, is identical in all cases—viz., the employer appraises the value of a particular job in hours. If it is executed in less time, the difference is divided between the firm and the workmen in varying proportion, the standard rate—where such exists—being guaranteed in all cases. For instance, the time fixed for a job may be 20 hours and the operator may complete the same in 15 hours; the five hours saved is divided between the workman and the firm. In some cases the workman may receive one-half of the time saved, in other cases he only receives one-third. Under some of the systems in vogue it does happen that the operator cannot do the job in the time specified, and whatever time he may be over the specified time is regarded as a loss, and no

bonus is paid until his gains are in excess of his losses. Therefore, it may happen under these conditions for a man to be continually in debt to the firm notwithstanding any effort he may put forth.

The advocates of the system have been successful in presenting their case in attractive colours as a—"permanent institution for the benefit of employers and workmen, its special feature being that under it individual ability and energy are to be recognised." It is not astonishing that amongst its advocates are to be found trade union leaders, when a mind so well steeped in the lore of trade unionism as that of Mr. Sidney Webb should give it his blessing, and strongly urge its acceptance by trade unionists. So specious and alluring does the system, *prima facie* considered, appear, it is easy to understand cultured ignorance prating about its virtues and advantages within the monastic walls of our ancient Universities. Quite recently a University lecturer enthusiastically repeated the eulogy passed by a large employer of labour on a trade union leader, who was largely responsible for its adoption in the engineering trade, as having "done more to improve the conditions of the engineering trade, both from the standpoint of the employers and the employed, than any other mechanical invention that had been introduced for the past 100 years." Notwithstanding the weighty testimony of the authors of the "History of Trade Unionism," and the intellectual support of capital's cultured henchmen, in contending the Premium Bonus system "to be a good one for trade unionism," the careful inquirer into modern industrial conditions who takes Machiavelli's advice, and endeavours "to follow the real truth of things rather than the imaginary view of them," will be forced to the conclusion that the Premium Bonus system is by no means an unmixed blessing to trade unionism.

"TIME LIMITS."

The fixing of "time limits" is the kernel of the system. It is a physical impossibility for a man, how-

ever experienced he may be, to accurately fix the "time limit" in which a particular job could be done without actual experience of the work in question. The method of fixing "time limits" varies greatly in different works. But experience forces the conclusion home to the mind of the writer that "time-fixers," and "feed and speed-men," act upon the assumption that all workmen are malingerers. Therefore, by fixing a low "time limit" and resorting to hustling tactics, it is possible to get a maximum time. If the "time limit" is greatly exceeded a readjustment takes place. In many cases the "time-fixer" never sees the work on which he is called to fix a "time limit." A member of my own organisation, who has considerable experience of working under the Premium Bonus system, stated before the Joint Committee: "As far as his personal experience went" "time-fixers" never saw the work. The inspector walks round the shop, measures and sketches all new jobs, and sends it to the "fixers," the operator, meantime, finishing his work. The time arrives after the job is finished; if it is less than the time taken, the workman will be placed on the "excess sheet" and taken to task by the foreman. For example: A man did a job in 4 hours 15 minutes; the time allowed was 4 hours 13 minutes, thus placing the operator two minutes in excess, and as there were eight articles, he figured on the "excess sheet" 16 minutes over the basis time. It is a serious matter for a workman to be placed on the "excess sheet," even from causes for which he is not responsible, incompetent time-fixing, bad material, etc. To appear too frequently on the "excess sheet" is a passport for the "sack." Innumerable instances could be cited where "time-fixers" and "feed and speed-men" have been known to stand over the workman for hours—sometimes for days—with watch in hand, timing every detail operation. Of course, it has happened that mistakes occur in favour of the operator. I was informed of a case which happened in a well-known ordnance and shipbuilding firm, where a man had 100 articles to finish. The time

limit was two hours each, or a total of 200 hours. The man finished the job in less than 40 hours. Needless to say, there was a rumpus in the "time-fixing branch"—that mistake, so far as that particular job is concerned, is not likely to occur again. On the other hand, cases are on record where the time limit was three hours which took 50 hours to finish. In squad work jobs are frequently under-estimated. Cases are known where the time fixed was 2,000 hours less than the time actually taken.

The amount earned by the workman under the Premium Bonus system is in no way commensurate with the increased output. Where the piece-work system obtained prior to the introduction of the Premium Bonus system, the average earnings in the firm I have in my mind was £2 14s. for 54 hours for full-rated men. To-day these men only earn on an average, under the system, from 45s. to 46s. in the same time, while the output is infinitely greater. To enable the reader to fully appreciate what is happening in the various workshops, the following is the actual experience of the men engaged on the work.

"There is a G.M. training bracket for 4.7 in. gun mounting. The operator used to do three per night shift (twelve hours), and the time for doing the same bracket now is one and a-half hours estimate, which means eight per twelve hours. Another workman instanced a case of a sighting bar, which used to take 150 hours to complete; it was now done in 60 hours. He attributed 60 hours of that saving to improved methods of production and 30 hours to the speeding-up of the men."

A Boilermaker testified that "his earnings had fallen off considerably since the introduction of the Premium Bonus. When on piece-work he made time and a-half (1s. 3d. per hour), now he received 10d. per hour. . . . The times allowed were sometimes ridiculous. He had been given 25 minutes to roll a cone—it took 7 hours."

Large numbers of trade unionists are working under the system, and seldom receive any bonus in spite of increased effort.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING DESTROYED.

The late General Secretary, Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., in his report, October, 1902, to the members of the A.S.E., in reply to the numerous resolutions sent from branches in condemnation of the system, said, speaking for himself and his colleagues, they had succeeded in safeguarding the system "with provisions consistent with trade union principles." The cardinal and most vital principle in the trade union charter is the principle of "collective bargaining." The principle of collective bargaining implies that trade unionists act in all matters appertaining to wages, hours, and general conditions of labour as part of an organic body. He, as a member of a trade union, in his dealings with employers with regard to wages, etc., takes action through a chosen representative, who, invariably, is independent of the employers or representatives of employers with whom he is negotiating. Under the Premium Bonus system, the freedom enjoyed by the trade unionist under the day-work system, so far as resorting to united action, is a fiction, as the principle of collective bargaining does not operate. In consequence, the most formidable weapon in the trade union armoury is rendered impotent with regard to fixing "time limits." The only possible benefit that can accrue to the operator under the system is the fixing of a time basis that will enable him to obtain more than his ordinary day rate. The "time limit" usually fixed is that, presumably, by which the most capable and vigorous workman, a "pace-maker," can complete the job in the lowest specified time, and at the same time secure a small monetary advantage to stimulate a high pressure effort. But with regard to the general body of operators, it is almost a physical impossibility for them to gain extra money. The practice prevailing under the system is to fix the time basis without consultation with

the trade unions in their corporate capacity, or the representatives of trade unions. Whenever a consultation does take place with reference to fixing a "time limit," it is with the individual operator and not as a member of a trade union. The individual trade unionist is thus forced into an antagonistic attitude towards his fellow-unionists. This insidious method of pitting one trade unionist against another trade unionist destroys most ruthlessly the "sacred" principle of collective bargaining. Forsooth, the "safeguarding of trade union principles" is an illusion.

SOLIDARITY IMPAIRED.

Collective bargaining is not the only principle that is vitiated by the introduction of the Premium Bonus system. Was it for the purpose of weakening the forces making for solidarity that employers introduced this pernicious system into their works? If so, they are to be commended for assuming the attributes of the dove whilst displaying the wisdom of a serpent. There is not the slightest doubt that the system generates dissension, suspicion, and selfishness, destroys unionism, sympathy, and confidence, amongst operatives in the workshop. Employers have a lively appreciation of the old Roman maxim of divide and conquer. That the system is creating divisions and germinating, unfortunately, feelings of hostility amongst fellow trade unionists is too true. It is no exaggeration of the truth to say that in some workshops in the country where the system is in operation every man's hand is raised against his neighbour. So intense is the bitter feelings amongst workmen in the same shop who are members of the same union that branch meetings which are held, amongst other reasons, for the purpose of mutual support, good fellowship, and enlightened discussion on matters of vital import affecting workshop life are taken up with acrimonious debate. Charges of violating trade union principles, interspersed with unworthy innuendoes, are indiscriminately hurled at each other. At this moment

there is fierce controversy raging in the branches of a district where the system is worked whether it is consistent with trade unionism for a member to accept the position of a "feed and speed man" or a "time-fixer." It is urged by those who disapprove of the acceptance of such a post by a trade unionist that it is impossible for such a man to carry out his duties faithfully to his employer and observe trade union loyalty at the same time. Another version of the eternal conflict between God and Mammon. Quite recently a member of a trade union was offered, and accepted, the post of a "feed and speed man." The matter was raised at his branch meeting, when a violent discussion, without decision, took place. Those who were opposed, "on principle," to trade unionists occupying these posts argued, unconstitutionally, that the member be expelled. The instances quoted are by no means isolated; wherever the system is in operation similar cases occur. On the other hand, in shops where more than one trade union is represented the latent bitterness which exists between one union and another is accentuated to an unknown degree amongst the thoughtless. Gratifying as it may be to those whose interests are in conflict with the principles of the solidarity of Labour that these feelings should exist amongst the workers, it is a grave indictment against those who belong to the ranks of Labour that they should have countenanced the introduction and urged its acceptance by the trade unionists.

PHYSICAL INJURIES.

What is by no means the least disastrous evil is the injurious effects which it has upon the physical and industrial efficiency of the operator. The intensification of "speeding up and hustling" inherent in the system, the increased strain, physical and mental, which the worker is compelled to undergo, not only unfits him to participate in those pursuits which J. S. Mill considered imperative to his intellectual development; it hastens the time when he will be cast upon the scrap-heap of "worn-outs." To the young man in full possession of

all his faculties the additional effort demanded may be a small affair; to the middle-aged man the strain becomes irksome; to the workman who is on the shady side of the fifth decade it means physical and industrial bankruptcy. Too old at 40 is to-day no idle cry. What it will be after a generation of exhausting toil, under this intolerable system—should such an evil continue—time alone will tell. It does not require the penetrative powers of a seer, or the reflective powers of a philosopher, to foresee what effect this intense driving will have upon the physical and social well-being of the less robust and highly nervous worker. A friend of mine, who is a good average workman possessed of inventive genius, when working under the system had on one occasion a job given him and the time allowed for same. So convinced was he that the job could not be done in the time specified that, rather than undergo the physical and nervous strain, he asked the foreman to discharge him. The causes responsible for unemployment are also accentuated under the system. The evils of riverside and dock labour are being introduced into the engineering trade in consequence. Instances are on record, as testified by witnesses before the Joint Committee, of men being passed out at all times in the day if there was the least interval between one job and another. One witness gave evidence to the effect that he had seen men sent out at 20 minutes to five in the evening and ten minutes past six in the morning when a job was completed and there was not another ready.

DECIDED OPINIONS.

Herewith I append some definite opinions of men who have worked under the Premium Bonus system and have given serious thought to its evil effects:—

“It is the most pernicious method of industrial remuneration yet introduced.”

“That the final result of this system would be that men would be working piece-work for time wages.”

“It is as bad as the Jewish sweating system.”

"The whole effect of the system was to stop the making of craftsmen in favour of the development of human machines."

"The general tendency of the system was to make it impossible for elderly men to obtain or keep in work, and to encourage the employment of young and untrained men and girls."

"Almost without exception the Premium Bonus system is condemned by all who have had practical experience of its working."—JOINT COMMITTEE.

Space forbids me from dealing with the numerous other evils generated by the system—*e.g.*, the scamping of work, the prevention of proper training of apprentices, and the formation of a privileged caste of employees, to be used against the organised labour in their industrial and political struggles. The financial cost of maintaining the elaborate rate and time-fixing departments which obtain in the large engineering shipbuilding yards must be enormous. This excessive charge is paid for out of the increased surplus-values created by labour and the quickened physical deterioration of the worker.

The mandate of the rank and file to their leaders is definite and universal, and offers no alternative but to go forward as one united body, determined at all hazards to eradicate the evil. I know there are trade union leaders who fear the conflict and prefer peace at any price. Peace, as Russell Lowell reminded the American Tract Society in the anti-slavery agitation, is an excellent thing, but principle and pluck are better; and the man who sacrifices them to gain it finds at last that he has crouched under the Caudine yoke to purchase only a contemptuous toleration that leaves him at war with his self-respect and the invincible forces of his higher nature.

A METAPHYSICAL OBJECTION TO THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

By HUW MENAI.

Current theoretical materialism, which is espoused by "scientific" Socialists, seems to me to be nothing other than a deification of what is known as "The Law of Substance." This hypothetical all-pervading substance manifests itself in the shape of matter and force; it is the birthplace and the final repository of thoughts and thistles—of everything that enters into the category of existence; it is the beginning and end of all things. Even the Divorce Court is but one of the infinite variety of forms in which this ubiquitous and eternal substance manifests itself. On the materialistic view no one can flirt with time and space; while the apparent whims of a man, and the most fickle of love affairs, are rigidly determined by mechanical laws. The only consolation this hopeless philosophy can offer us, after we have finished with this life, is disappearance in the world-process—utter absorption in the "Unconscious Absolute."

According to the cosmological perspective of Professor Haeckel—a representative materialist—the universe is infinite, illimitable, and unbounded; there is no such thing as empty space, which amounts to saying that there is no space at all. He cannot find any room for the Christian God, because space is already occupied with ether and ponderable matter. At best, therefore, God is ether, and ether is God; God is matter, and matter is God—which must be so, if we observe Haeckel's theology, with its mathematical sign of equation: "Nature = Cosmos = God."

The French chemist Lavoisier long ago proved, with the aid of "the balance," that matter is persistent—i.e., indestructible. Mayer and Joule further demonstrated that energy was also indestructible. From these two facts Haeckel infers his "Law of Substance." These two axioms are no doubt regarded as of fundamental importance in physics and chemistry. Haeckel, however, in his search for the *monon*, had to overcome the arbitrary distinction supposed to exist between these two laws; so he affirms that, instead of excluding each other, they are in fact complementary and but the expression of a still higher law. He therefore proceeds to reduce them to the one comprehensive cosmological law, which he incidentally designates "the great problem of substance." Up to date this is the only "great problem" which has defied every attempt at solution. All the other enigmas have been tolerably explained, if not completely solved, by the theory of evolution and mechanical causality.

Instead of calling into question the method by which this materialist conclusion is arrived at, instead of questioning whether a life-long and successful study in zoology justifies the ends, we will however proceed to question this culminating point of Haeckel's—that is, the materialistic—philosophy.

Metaphysics are essentially abstruse: I will therefore ask readers to bear with me while I endeavour to work out my objection to the materialistic philosophy.

Now, matter and force being already infinite and eternal, one might not inappropriately ask the materialistic monist how can it then be asserted that they (matter and force) are but attributes of another infinite and eternal substance? A thing already infinite and eternal cannot possibly be the attribute of any other thing, as nothing but itself exists for it to be an attribute of. Haeckel's matter and force are but attributes of matter and force; otherwise they would cease to be infinite and eternal, and in the final analysis would also cease to be indestructible. Or, to take an alternative:

If Haeckel's "substance" is the sole reality that presents itself to our perception and reflection in the forms of matter and force, it becomes, therefore, the substratum of matter and force; for matter and force are but divisions of the "substance," and cannot manifest themselves only in something which they are not—in something not themselves—and by doing so become finite. If Haeckel's "substance" means anything, it means a hypothetical background, gratuitously introduced for the purpose of unifying matter and force in the interest of monism. To deny that Haeckel's "substance" is other than matter and force is to admit a contradiction; for otherwise, as stated before, matter and force cannot be any other than attributes of themselves. They cannot very well be the attributes of a "law," because that word is only a convenient formula sanctioned by usage and employed to express the *modus operandi* of the "substance." But suppose Haeckel's matter and force to be mathematically equal to his "substance," and the fact of their conservation equal to his "law"; matter and force, therefore, turn out to be the "substance" and the "substance" turns out to be matter and force. Consequently, matter and force cannot be what "substance" is not. If the word "substance" was used by Haeckel as a collective term for matter and force, we would be inclined to understand him better. But it is the good Professor himself who is responsible for the ambiguity. In case we might be accused of misrepresentation, it would be perhaps safer for us to treat the word "substance" as a collective term for matter and force. Substance, therefore, being infinite and eternal, matter and force—being its equivalent—is also infinite and eternal. Nature, we are told, abhors a vacuum. So does the scientist who happens to be a materialist in philosophy; for is it not to get rid of an extension, other than that of matter and force, the reason why the statement that matter and force are infinite is made? But the fact that Haeckel's "substance" is made up of matter and force

—a sort of substratum without a substratum—is, in my opinion, a good reason for not treating it as infinite and eternal. If we can successfully demonstrate that this is so, it must then be admitted that the grand climax of the materialist philosophy is inadmissible, or, at least, a contradiction.

The existence of two infinities will be admitted by everyone to be unthinkable. The existence of an infinite “substance,” quite distinct from infinite matter and force, is such an unthinkable proposition. We will, therefore, finally dismiss the notion that Professor Haeckel’s “substance” is something other than a collective term for matter and force. We, however, will maintain that *there is an infinite substance* other than matter and force; and, in doing so, we virtually do the other thing—viz., deny that matter and force (Haeckel’s “substance”) is infinite.

To begin with: Matter and force, in virtue of their constitution, imply divisibility and movement; and divisibility and movement are inexplicable other than on the supposition that the constituent atoms, or ultimate particles of matter and force, have superficies of their own, and that they move in something, and are divided by something, that is not themselves. This will also apply to ether; for ether is also made up of divisible particles, be they ever so small. Now, before Haeckel’s “substance” (matter and force) can be a full *plenum* of infinity of extension—a full equivalent of infinite space—it must first of all be immoveable and indivisible *per se*; otherwise it would cease to be of infinity of extension, and, consequently, unworthy of being the *monon*. But it is not so. For Haeckel’s “substance” is divisible and moveable; it is in a state of continual flux, perpetually manifesting itself in various shapes; it is interminably changing; and change can only take place in something that is itself unchangeable.

If it is true that we cannot form a proper conception of infinity of extension, it is equally true, a fortiori, that we cannot conceive of its infinity being non-existent;

therefore, infinity of extension, the existence of which we cannot conceive to be non-existent, is necessarily existing, and becomes an a priori truth. Whatever receives the assent of consciousness without making recourse to more relations than two is intuitive and axiomatic; and so the fact that we cannot conceive infinity of extension being not infinity of extension—i.e., conceive extension to be finite—the proposition that infinity of extension is necessarily existing must hold good.

Now, Haeckel's "substance" is not of infinity of extension, simply because it is but an extension of matter and force. In fact, there would be no force, no motion in the universe (for motion implies movement) if matter and force were infinite in extension. The particles of Haeckel's "substance" are divisible among themselves; and the "substance," therefore, by its very nature cannot be of infinity of extension. Duration is but a condition of extension, and as such has no independent and separate existence. Therefore, in considering space we are also considering time. What is not of infinity of extension must be finite in extension: matter and force, therefore, are finite in extension, and what is finite in extension is also finite in duration. Matter and force, therefore, had a beginning; or, in other words, the material universe had a beginning. But materialists have suggested that what is now always was, and always will be, but under different forms. Granted, but not in virtue of itself—and be it remembered that materialists all the while ascribe everything to matter and force—it is in virtue of infinity of extension, which is the substratum of everything.

The material universe is a part of infinity of extension only so far as it *occupies* a part of infinity of extension; otherwise infinity can have no parts, except in the sense of partial consideration only. To divide infinity of extension is impossible. For instance, where could we put the divided part after abstracting it

mentally or really from infinity of extension ; we could only leave it in the same place, otherwise we would only be taking it from itself, which is absurd. Infinity of extension cannot be infinity of extension after part of it is taken away. Therefore to take *from* infinity of extension would, in fact, be to take *to* infinity of extension. Infinity of extension is accordingly indivisible. But the "substance" of the materialist is necessarily divisible ; while to qualify it with the word "infinite" is to entail a contradiction. Between every particle which goes to make up what is known as matter and force there exists an interstice—a hollow gap—and this interstice, whatever it might be, cannot be either matter or force. But if this matter and force were a full plenum of infinity of extension, it should admit of no vacua whatsoever. The movement of force and the divisibility of matter imply, however, the existence of something in which movement is possible, and by which matter is divided. This "something" of infinity of extension, as we have endeavoured to show, is essentially immovable, and indivisible, and because of that it is also of the truest unity ; and being of the truest unity one is almost tempted to add that it is a being. However, this "something" of infinity of extension which divides, and penetrates, the constituent particles of matter and force is virtually an *immaterial* substance ; otherwise it would be divisible, and would cease to be of infinity of extension. Here the spiritual element comes in ; for that which penetrates all matter and force, and is independent of such matter and force, may justly be called a spiritual substance : in one word—a spirit.

It is true that we cannot conceive of love before there was love ; of intelligence before there was intelligence ; of anything before there was anything. In his "Musings on the Matterhorn," the scientific Tyndall saw this clearly. He wondered whether the nebulæ—that "formless fog"—contained potentially "the sadness" with which he regarded the Matterhorn. He might have gone farther than the nebulæ ; he might

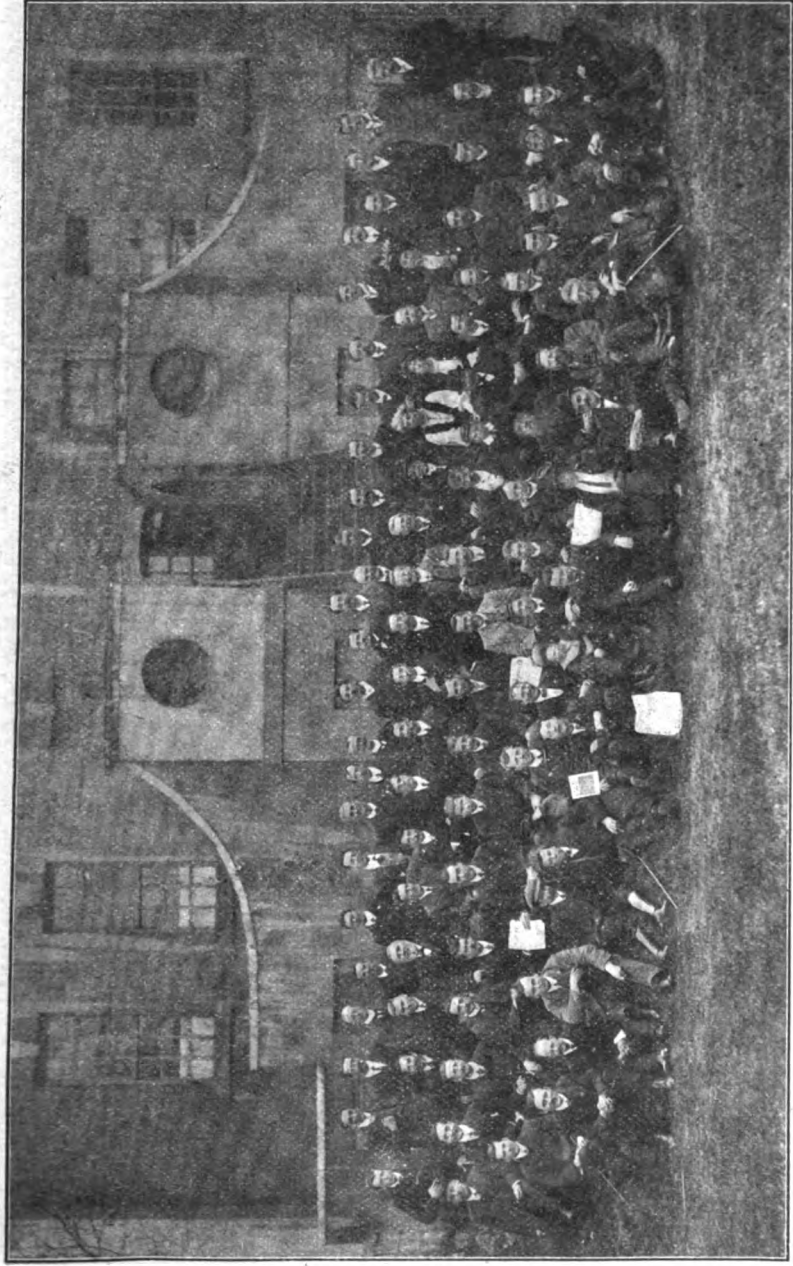
have gone to that "uncaused cause" which thinkers regard as a necessary postulate of philosophy. To the materialists, however, matter and force is the ultimate cause. But, in our opinion, this matter and force, instead of being this ultimate cause, is but the result—the effect—of that immaterial being of infinity of extension. Matter and force are but the *instruments* through which this being manifests itself to our perception and reflection. Matter and force are mathematical quantities which contained, *ab initio*, neither intelligence nor will. These latter phenomena appeared at a later stage; and according to the materialist were evolved out of matter in obedience to mechanical necessity. But, as we said before, it is hardly possible to conceive of intelligence before there was intelligence. Spencer recognised this dilemma. After reducing the totality of things into units of feeling and units of force, he found it impossible to reduce them further. Every nervous action incapacitates a like nervous action, and every nervous action is finally resolved into units of force by nothing other than the units of feeling. In explaining force we are therefore referred to "feeling"; and in explaining feeling we are once more referred to "force." This is opposed to the materialism which insists that everything is the outcome of matter. Anyhow, if the materialist will persist in maintaining that intelligence was evolved out of something that was originally unintelligent, all we can tell him is that his philosophy is unintelligible to us, because it is the outcome of unintelligent and unintelligible matter and force. Although finite consciousness implies to us the existence of an infinite consciousness, it, however, does not do so to the materialist. Consciousness to him is but the outcome of a mere handful of neurona, which in the last degree can be reduced to carbon compounds. But the constructive characteristic of mind which enables it to know at least a little about the system of relations, entitled the material universe seems to us to presuppose the existence of another mind, akin to the finite

mind no doubt, but necessarily of infinity of extension. In fact, trust in natural law seems to me to be the very germ-plasm of a belief in this infinite mind. Self-consciousness is the crowning glory of the scheme of things, and it is by its very nature a contradiction of materialism. It will now be seen that the point of difference between us and the materialists is that they find the monon—the unity and true explanation of the cosmos—in the ergonomy of matter and force; whilst we find it in the being of infinity of extension. So the contradiction, and inadmissability, of materialism, as we have endeavoured to show, is in the fact that its matter and force, instead of being the infinite and ultimate, presuppose by its moveable and divisible nature the existence of some other thing or being in which it moves, and by which it is divided. Science, we might add, is endeavouring to make of ether a full plenum of infinity of extension; but the plenum, in our opinion, can never be complete until the corpuscular, monadic, gyronic, or what-not nature of ether is no longer contended for. The Agnostics used to tell us that the unknown is but the continuation of the known; the invisible but the generalisation of the visible. Modern science, however, reverts the procedure by teaching us to believe that the known is but the continuation of the unknown, etc. What we now feel and see has been compounded, or evolved, out of the feltless and invisible. Oh! the paradox of education! Space is infinite, yet pragmatically divisible; time is eternal, yet we add to it every moment. But Bax will say that “now” is timeless, while the Agnostics say we can never apprehend “now,” in virtue of the relative conditions our thing is done under. Still, matter is “now” or never.

It is now apparent that we do not consider a materialistic cosmological perspective as a sound preliminary to Marx's economic and sociological inductions. By discrediting materialism one is virtually discrediting the basis upon which the materialistic conception of history is founded.

We, however, make no pretence of having done so ; we have only suggested (and we gave reasons for suggesting) that the materialistic philosophy when urged as the—approximately—true explanation of the universe is open to objection. We are conscious that our objection has only been unevenly sustained ; we have also a premonition that we will be accused of being a sort of backwoodsman in philosophy. Let that be as it may ; but we sincerely believe that the a priori objection to materialism, as urged by Anselm, Serreno, Newton, Samuel Clarke, Gillespie and others, has never been overcome.

(Conclusion.)



THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HELD AT COVENTRY,
EASTER, 1911.
(Photo by Sidney Abel, Coventry)

THE MONTH.

Easter was the occasion, once more, of the Annual Conferences of the Social-Democratic Party and the I.L.P. Our Party on this occasion celebrated its thirty-first anniversary at Coventry, where, it was universally admitted, the local Social-Democrats did everything possible to facilitate the business of the Conference, and to minister to the comfort and enjoyment of the delegates during their stay in the city of Lady Godiva and the Three Spires.

Our Coventry comrades have constituted themselves a power in the political life of the city, and are to be congratulated on the standing they have acquired. Their club premises and hall, too, are a credit to the organisation, and speak well for the energy, devotion, and ability of the Social-Democrats of Coventry.

As to the Conference itself, the chief outcome was the affirmation, more emphatically than heretofore, if possible, of the policy of absolute independence of all other political parties: of independent political action as the only available means of working-class progress towards emancipation. The repudiation of any line of action which might be construed into hostility towards trade unions or other working-class organisations was no less emphatically expressed; while it was agreed that further steps towards securing Socialist Unity in this country should be essayed.

It is much to be regretted that any misunderstanding should have arisen as to the attitude of the Party towards the question of war and armaments as expressed by the Conference. This subject, while not forming an essential part of Socialism, is one of the most important with which Socialists can concern themselves, and is so regarded by the Socialists of all countries, and by the Socialist International.

Social-Democrats are not utopians living apart in a world of their own devising. They are part of the world as it is; and although there are many social and political questions upon which Socialists may reasonably differ, while agreeing upon the essentials

of Socialism, it is of great importance that, as far as possible, there should be a common agreement on as many of these as possible, and some are of such transcendent importance that it is almost essential that the party, as a whole, should be agreed as to its attitude towards them.

One of these, unquestionably, is this question of war and armaments. Upon that, moreover, the International Socialist Congress has arrived at a decision which should be binding upon the Socialist Parties of all countries. That decision does not permit, as we understand it, anything in the nature of a demand for increased armaments in any country. Neither, on the other hand, does it imply that the party in any country is bound to allow itself to be dragged at the heels of any bourgeois peace movement.

And it was in that sense that the Coventry Conference decided, as we understand the decision. It recognises that war is inherent in capitalism, and that peace can only be assured when capitalism is destroyed; but it also declares for a steady reduction in armaments and for the abandonment of the aggressive imperialism which is the fruitful cause of international quarrels and war. The International Social-Democracy is the international party of peace; Social-Democrats are neither patriots nor anti-patriots; neither jingoes nor bourgeois "pacifists," who think to ensure peace in a hell of competition. And that was what the resolution of the Conference expressed and intended, however it may have been misunderstood.

The I.L.P. Conference was chiefly concerned with a criticism of the action of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. Naturally, nothing came of this. As part of the Labour Party, the I.L.P., however much it may disagree, must, perforce, fall into line with the policy from time to time adopted by that Party in the House of Commons.

Next month we shall publish an article on the Referendum, in reply to that of our comrade Hunter Watts in our April number. In the meantime, it is interesting to note the result of the application of the Referendum in Australia. There the vote on a Referendum has gone strongly against the Labour Government, and against their Socialistic (not Socialist) proposals. Doubtless this will be regarded by some of our friends, who are not in favour of the Referendum, as a strong argument against it. Well, they are

welcome to that argument, and to use it for all it may be worth. But we are Social-Democrats; that is, we are Democrats as well as Socialists. We do not believe that it is possible to force Socialism upon an unwilling people, or that it would be a good thing to do, even if it were possible. The fact that on a Referendum the people would vote against us and our proposals is no argument against the Referendum itself; it is an argument only for more propaganda.

The majority of the electors in this country belong to the working class, and the majority of them vote against us. A majority of them even vote against independent Labour representation of any colour, otherwise there would be a majority of Labour representatives in the House of Commons. All that, however, is no argument in favour of disfranchising a majority of the working-class electors, nor yet against an extension of the franchise. A people, it is said, has the Government it deserves; Democracy implies that it should have the Government it desires—good, bad, or indifferent. Without that, without the right to have the Government it desires and to make what laws it likes, a people may have a good Government and excellent laws, but it is not a democracy.

Naturally every body of political enthusiasts knows what would be better for the people than do the people themselves. That is as true of our enemies, the Liberals and Tories, as it is of ourselves. A Liberal will tell us that Liberalism means the greatest good of the greatest number; the fullest freedom for each compatible with the freedom of all, and so on. The Tory will tell us that Toryism means the conservation of all that is good and the eradication of all that is bad in the body politic. We, on the other hand, *know* that so long as there is class monopoly of the means of life the realisation of the professed aims of Liberalism and Toryism is impossible. But it is our task to convince the people of that. We, as democrats, deny the right of any party even to do good to a people against its will.

Of course, there is such a thing as passive acquiescence by the majority in a measure desired by nobody but a noisy and persistent minority. Such a measure is the latest edition of the Ladies' Suffrage Bill. This measure is quite undemocratic; it will give greater political power to an already politically privileged class, and is not desired even by a majority of the women of this country, to say nothing of a majority of the whole people. For all that, thanks to the militant tactics of the Suffragettes, it bids fair

ere long to become law, because a majority of the members of the House of Commons have been intimidated into supporting it, and there has been no active opposition outside.

We are glad to believe that this month will see the end of the infamous rule of Porfirio Díaz in Mexico. The Mexican "Insurrectos" have won, the threatened intervention on behalf of the despot, by the United States, has been prevented, and the resignation of Díaz appears, at the time of writing, to be only a question of days. Congratulations to the Mexican revolutionists. They have added another to the list of successful revolutions—Persia, Turkey, Portugal—which, for these days of peaceful evolution, when violent revolution is impossible, is rather a striking record.

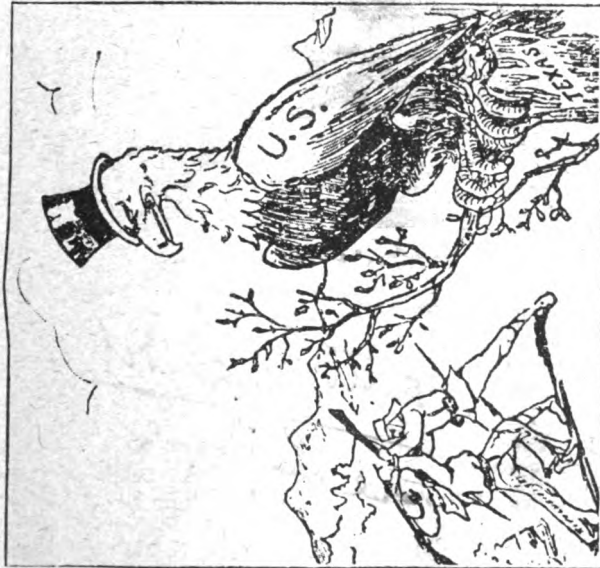
The Azeffism which appears to have been responsible for the murders at Houndsditch and the siege of Sidney Street is now having its intended effect in a new "Aliens Bill." The provisions of this measure appear to us to be almost entirely pernicious, and in no wise calculated to prevent similar crimes to those in question. This Bill will have to be carefully watched if the right of asylum on which we pride ourselves in this country is not to be seriously curtailed.

The alliance with Russia, to which may be traced a general international movement against political offenders, appears to have struck the British Foreign Office with impotence when it comes to protecting British subjects abroad. For some weeks now Miss Malecka, a native of London, has been a prisoner of the Russian Government in Warsaw, and Sir Edward Grey appears to be incapable or unwilling to insist upon her release, or trial. We have become accustomed to Russian methods in India; but Sir Edward Grey must not, therefore, suppose that the people of this country will patiently submit to the application of those methods, by the Russian Government, to British subjects who are also natives of this country.

Mr. Lloyd George's "Great" Insurance Scheme is the latest application of the story of the Chinaman who fed his dog on the bone of its own tail. Those workmen who are too poor to voluntarily subscribe to friendly societies or trade unions for relief in sickness or unemployment are to be taxed in order to relieve the rates of the burden of their maintenance when they are ill or out of work. It is, indeed, a great scheme—for the bourgeois ratepayer. There is nothing in it, however, for the workman to get enthusiastic over.

GREETINGS
FROM THE FRENCH CONGRESS OF ST. QUENTIN
FROM LONGUET, RENADEL AND PAUL LAFARGUE.





AWAITING ITS CHANCE TO GOBBLE THEM BOTH.
—“Fischietto” (Turin).



NEIGHBOURS.

TAFT: "What's this I hear about your taking Jap lodgers?"
MEXICO: "But this isn't your house!"
TAFT: "No matter, it's on my street."
MEXICO: "But the Japs came of their own accord."
TAFT: "Then kick them out or throw them into the crater of Popocatepetl."
—“Jugend” (Munich).

THE EVENTS OF APRIL.

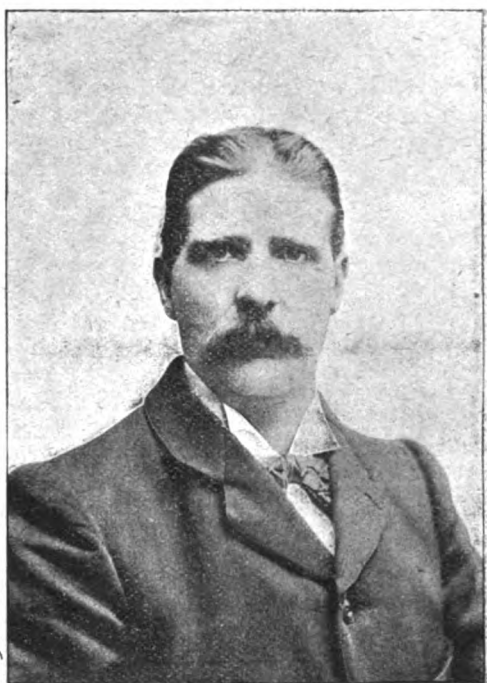
AT HOME.

- 2.—Taking of the Census.
- 3.—House of Commons: Committee stage of Parliament Bill begun.
- 4.—C. B. Stanton at Essex Hall on South Wales coal dispute.
House of Lords: Military defence resolution carried.
Conclusion of inquiry into police evidence given in Clapham murder case.
- 5.—House of Commons: Parliament Bill and Army Annual Bill in Committee.
- 6.—House of Commons: Navy Estimates—discussion of the Archer-Shee case.
- 7.—House of Commons: Copyright Bill, second reading.
- 11.—Mr. St. Maur (Liberal) unseated for Exeter, and Mr. Duke (Conservative) declared elected.
Imperial Tobacco Company distributed £50,000 to its employees as "bonus."
Board of Trade published report on rents, wages, etc., in United States.
- 12.—House of Commons: Motion for Easter adjournment; most subjects of importance blocked from discussion.
Stinie Morrison relieved.
M. Pierre Prier succeeded in flying from London to Paris, without a stop, in four hours.
- 14.—Annual Conference of Social-Democratic Party opened at Coventry: discussions on political policy, agriculture, and State insurance.
- 15.—S.D.P. Conference: Great debate on Armaments and Foreign Policy.
Death of comrade Thomas Whittaker (Rochdale).
- 16.—S.D.P. Conference ended.
- 17.—Annual Conference of Independent Labour Party held at Birmingham.
Annual Conference of National Union of Teachers opened at Aberystwyth.
- 18.—House of Commons re-assembled: Clause 1 of Parliament Bill still in Committee.
I.L.P. Conference: Debate on Labour Party policy.
- 19.—Haddingtonshire bye-election. Result declared next day: Hope (Liberal), 3,652; Hall Blyth (Tory), 3,184. Reduced majority.
- 20.—House of Commons started on Clause 2 of Parliament Bill.

- 20.—First "railophone" (wireless communication) with a moving train at Stratford-on-Avon.
- 22.—Death of J. Passmore Edwards.
- 26.—House of Commons: Debate on the Referendum. Mr. Crooks's motion in favour of general 30s. minimum wage talked out.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain asked for arbitration for South Wales coal dispute.
Lock-out of 5,000 operatives in Lancashire slipper trade.
- 27.—House of Commons: Debate on Poor Law Administration. Injunction granted against A.S.E. municipal elections fund.
- 28.—House of Commons: Mr. Goulding's Aliens Bill read a second time; Government's Bill blocked.
Prime Minister and Mr. Balfour both speak at Guildhall Peace meeting.
Cheltenham bye-election: Agg-Gardner (Tory), 4,043; Mathias (Liberal), 4,039. Tory gain.

ABROAD.

- 1.—Rising in Albania.
Mexican Congress met: Diaz promised reforms.
Three thousand Berbers made two attacks on Fez, but were repulsed.
- 3.—Senor Canalejas re-formed Spanish Cabinet.
- 4.—Big strike of French dock labourers.
- 5.—Turkish repulse by Albanian insurgents.
- 7.—Strike riot at Prince Rupert (Canada); 40 arrests.
- 11.—Jean Jaurès laid on table of French Chamber first instalment of scheme for Socialist organisation of France.
- 12.—Annual Conference of Swedish Social-Democracy.
Champagne riots in the Marne district.
- 13.—Mexican rebels captured Agua Prieta.
- 16.—Annual Conference of French, Belgian, Dutch, and Hungarian Socialist Parties.
- 17.—Fighting at Agua Prieta: bullets crossed the United States border, several wounded.
- 21.—United States House of Representatives after six days' debate passed Reciprocity Bill.
- 22.—Railway train in Cape Colony fell into a ravine 250 ft. deep, 29 killed.
Armistice agreed on in Mexico.
Macnamara, secretary of the U.S. Structural Ironworkers' Association, arrested at Indianapolis on charge of murder in connection with the explosion at the "Los Angeles Times" in October.
- 27.—French Note to the Powers signatory to the Act of Algeciras on the measures for the relief of Fez.
Persian Government defeated in the Mejliss on the British Loan Bill.



TOM WHITTAKER.

TOM WHITTAKER, OF ROCHDALE.

DIED APRIL 15, 1911, aged 52.

By JOHN MOORE.

The Socialist movement, both in England and abroad, is rich in names of men and memories of unsurpassed work done on behalf of the workers in this and other lands. But, although such names as Lassalle, Marx, Morris, Engels and other great thinkers readily occur to us in connection with our movement, yet their thoughts and written words would be unknown to thousands to-day who are familiar with their works were it not for the labours of more obscure men who in their day have striven so hard to teach their class.

In losing our comrade Tom Whittaker we have parted with one of the best specimens of the type of Lancashire workmen who were attracted to our movement a quarter of a century ago. Born 52 years ago in the village of Newchurch, in Rossendale, his earlier days of youth and manhood were spent working as a stripper and grinder in the staple trade of the county. A strike occurring in Blackburn, with which he was prominently associated, he was victimised, and in order to maintain an existence he opened a news-agent's shop in that town. When this failed he went back to his trade, securing a job in Ashton-under-Lyne. But Whittaker's outspoken manner did not allow that employment to last long, and for some time afterwards both he and his wife got a precarious living by hawking through the country. Coming to Rochdale, he heard William Morris speak, and this seems to have effected a radical change in his opinions, inasmuch as since that time his name has been associated with Socialist activity, not only in Rochdale but throughout the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Looking through the files in the library I notice that during the Oldham strike of 1892-3 he and Jacob Holmes (locally called "Jakey") were busy in unemployed agitation, and a large meeting was held at the Town Hall Square here, at which Whittaker and Quelch spoke. The outcome of that winter's agitation was that the local authorities set the unemployed to work in making two artificial lakes, which exist now, not exactly objects of beauty, but still a testimony to the work that Whittaker was trying to do for his class. Fourteen times he contested municipal and Guardians' elections, and although in only one was he

successful (and that by accident), it is safe to say that he inspired the Socialist movement by his defeats. Immediately after each contest he would meet the crowd outside smiling and say, "Now we're going to hold the first meeting in our new campaign." His three years on the Board of Guardians will be long remembered in Rochdale. He was certainly a terror to the bulk of his colleagues. He found that it was a common thing to have delivered at the workhouse diseased beef for the benefit of the inmates. He also discovered that various commodities were in the habit of mysteriously disappearing, especially goods produced on the workhouse farm, such as bacon, eggs, and milk, and on Sunday, December 16, 1906, he embodied his discoveries in a speech (subsequently printed as a pamphlet under the title of "A Story of Beef, Bacon, and 'Bacca'"), and challenged his fellow Guardians to prosecute him for libel. Needless to say they did not, probably knowing that Whittaker's statements could be proved up to the hilt. Every influence was brought to bear to defeat him at the poll the following March, and, unfortunately, he was unsuccessful in securing re-election. A striking tribute was given to him by the present of a pipe from the Workhouse, together with a letter, from which I quote the following: "This is a memento of our regard for you, the friend of the downtrodden and oppressed, the residuum of commercial-cum-Christianity. You will not need to be told that this little gift carries with it the best wishes of all classes of men and women in this institution, *except the administrative staff*, who have not been asked to contribute."

Such a record of well-doing was Whittaker's that three weeks before he died he said to me, "Eh, Jack, lad, I'm bucking up and am getting ready to contest next November." Good old Tom. I remember fifteen years ago, when I journeyed from Burnley to speak in Rochdale, he met me on the Town Hall Square with his face bleeding. Inquiring the cause, he told me that he had just been ejecting a drunken navvy from his lodging-house, and had got damaged as a result. "But never mind," he said, "I'm down here in time to take the chair."

Our Party has been exceptionally rich in such men, and every one of us who has had the privilege is proud to have known such men as Power, Culwick, Pearson, George Evans and many others. Such an one was Tom Whittaker, not great as the world thinks great, but great in that he embraced the mighty truth that "Fellowship is heaven, lack of fellowship is hell." Steadfast of aim, courageous in purpose, his life has been a record of fidelity to the class to which he belonged.

"May his memory be ever green."

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND AGRICULTURE.

A PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY AT COVENTRY, ON GOOD FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 1911

By RICHARD HIGGS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW SOCIALISTS,—I am probably the only tenant farmer at present in the Socialist fighting line, and I have been asked to come here to-day to open this debate. I have come to unofficially represent that great army of unorganised and unorganisable field workers which the Socialist movement has so far failed to reach, and whose votes it will never gain until it formulates a clear and definite policy that is suitable to their needs. I am here to ask you to send out from this conference a united message to this great class, and show the field workers of every grade that modern Socialism offers to them a better prospect than any other political creed.

Largely owing to the unselfish toil of the S.D.P. pioneers the public conscience is aroused to-day as never before on the problem of poverty, and the work of the agitator must now be backed up by that of the social re-builder. A sympathetic public is now rightly asking us to table our plans for curing the evils which we denounce, and wishes us to show how our ideals are to be carried out in the hard practical sphere of public work. Such a task is one that is worthy of the strong men of the S.D.P.

Everyone admits that agriculture is the foundation industry and that human life is dependent upon the cultivation of the soil. Therefore, at the root of the poverty problem is the land problem. What is the land problem? It is not a mere question of the ownership of land or of differing methods of cultivation, or even of how many people can be induced to engage in field work.

It is the problem of so organising the agriculture of the nation that every person in the country shall be assured of abundance of food, clothing and shelter, and of securing that agricultural labour shall be raised to the level of the best town workers.

Let me repeat.

That is roughly the problem before us. How is it to be handled? Socialists often talk vaguely about wanting legislation to secure a universal eight hours day, a legal minimum wage, the abolition of child labour and other such things. As a business

man, I ask how are you going to apply such legislation to agriculture if you could get it passed? How many inspectors do you want to carry out these proposals on the wayside farms all over the land, and how are they to be paid? Do you know that the Truck Acts do not apply to agriculture, so how can you secure for it a minimum wage? You naturally ask for pure food and proper supervision of your food. Again I ask, how is it to be done by inspectors? You cannot have revolution by inspection, or bring about Social-Democracy by the multiplication of officials.

The people are in poverty, and many reformers wish to cure poverty by taxing the rich. Leave taxation alone. You cannot solve the poverty problem by taxation. Taxation is only a poor substitute for production.

The only remedy for poverty is wealth, the wealth that lies ready to our hands locked up in the great hills and fertile valleys of the true Bank of England all around us. What is the key to that wealth? Some tell us that Small Holdings provide the key. Do they? Small Holdings everywhere and always mean slavery for the man, drudgery for the woman, and unceasing toil for helpless little children. Small Holdings produce impure food for the consumers and lower the wages of the town workers. That is the record of Small Holdings everywhere, and is surely enough to make Socialists hesitate before declaring in favour of such a proposal. Small Holdings are the purest form of individualism known, even when tempered by a network of co-operative societies. Do you, above all people, seriously propose to try and cure the evils of private enterprise by the extension of private enterprise?

Small Holdings is a recognised part of the Tory creed, and is openly advocated by aristocratic landowners who know what they are talking about as a barrier against advancing Socialism. Is the S.D.P., above all bodies, willing to walk into such a trap as that?

Many advocates of Small Holdings tell us of the glories of home-grown garden products. I have no quarrel whatever with the garden, but agriculture is not a backyard business and cannot be managed by backyard methods. It produces vast quantities of hides, hair, flax, hemp, wool, timber, bone, and numerous other such things as well as cabbages and potatoes.

Do our Small Holdings friends really advocate a kind of Robinson Crusoe life, in which every man manufactures all these things for himself? Agriculture is a great business and must be treated as such. We hear a great deal about co-operation in agriculture. We have not solved our great problems of Public Health, National Defence, Education and such things by co-operative societies. The problem of millions of starving poor is greater than these others, and can only be effectively handled by State and municipal effort.

Private enterprise on both large and small farms alike has failed to feed the people; collectivism is the only remedy. State and municipal farms alone can organise the people's food, clothing,

and shelter. Extend the civil service to agriculture and public control is at once established over the first necessities of human life. State and municipal farming will raise the wages of the field workers, reduce their hours, abolish child and women's labour, and by so doing will raise the whole mass of the town workers. You must never forget that agricultural labour sets the standard of wages for all other labour throughout the country. If agricultural labour is badly paid all other wages will be low; if it is well paid other wages will be high.

Grow the people's food on their own public farms, and it will not run the risk of being contaminated, as it does under private enterprise.

Agricultural Socialism alone will organise the field workers and bring them into line with the rest of the workers.

Great has been the study of unemployment in recent years, but that problem has never been adequately studied from an agricultural point of view, consequently a practical commercial solution of the problem has never yet been adopted by any party. Did time permit I could place such a solution before you to-day; as it is I can merely indicate in a couple of sentences the only way in which sooner or later this great evil will be cured.

Socialise agriculture and a solution of the unemployed problem is found; leave it under private enterprise and all your various efforts are in vain. I say deliberately that the only way to so organise the trade and commerce of the nation as to secure full employment for all able-bodied adult male workers, and adequate maintenance for the weak and helpless ones, is by beginning at the great foundation industry, and upon that erecting the complete collectivist State.

We have largely brought our trams, water, gas, parks and many other things, besides the post office and national defence, under the control of the public, and yet with all our advancing collectivism the people starve and the problem of poverty remains.

Little children cry aloud for food; how would it be to answer that cry with a demand that the provision of food from farm to family should be the first object of our national care? In other words, how would it answer if this conference raised with a united voice the human cry of national food for national starvation?

But, you may say, how is it to be done? Fill us not with vague phrases and empty words, but be practical. Very well, I will now prove my case as far as time permits.

It must never be forgotten that a discussion of principles is one thing, and a settlement of the practical working out in detail of those principles is quite another. In other words, when debating the question of publicly owning and managing an industry, we do not usually go into schemes of practically working it, and for this reason it is not necessary to be practical farmers to see the benefits of collectivism.

Agriculture is the easiest possible industry to socialise ; it needs no great Acts of Parliament for its inauguration, it will raise no fierce opposition because it is already here in operation, and only needs further development to have far-reaching results. The true aim of collectivist agriculture is not trading for money, but the satisfaction of all the agricultural needs of the public services from public farms and public workshops attached to those farms.

Let me show you what is already being done and how it can be developed.

The State and the municipalities already feed, clothe and house, in varying degree, vast masses of people ; amongst them are soldiers, sailors, postmen, policemen, firemen, paupers, hospital patients, criminals, lunatics, and many others.

On the other hand, large tracts of land are owned and managed in varying degree by many public and semi-public bodies ; amongst them are the War Office, the Crown and Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the Charity Commissioners, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the big hospitals, the various municipalities and many others.

This land is partly farmed directly, as in the case of the municipal sewage farms and others, and partly let to tenants. Now, my argument is just this, why not unite this great public demand to this publicly-owned means of satisfying that demand ? Is there any valid reason why land, for the produce of which there is a regular and known demand, should be let to tenants whose markets are irregular and unknown ? Would it not be far better to let the estate manager take the place of the public contractor ?

Is there any reason whatever why army horses should not be bred and trained on army farms ?

Or why the beef, mutton, pork, poultry, fruit, vegetables, corn, and all the numerous articles of agricultural produce that are needed by the Army and Navy should not be raised on the land now owned by the War Office and under the protection of their own guns ? Is there any reason why we should trust to imported food for the Army and Navy ? We do not trust to imported guns and ammunition, why then to imported food ? Is not the man as important as the gun ?

Is there any reason whatever why our municipalities should not feed, clothe, and house their public servants and dependants from the produce of their own farms, and is it more difficult for a municipality to run a farm than to run a tram service ?

Our municipalities have their parks committees, whose duty is the cultivation of crops for pleasure. Is there any reason why they should not grow crops for use ? Are cauliflowers more difficult to grow than roses, apple trees than oak trees, or nut bushes than ornamental shrubs ?

Many instances of successful municipal farms of various sizes could be given did time permit, and I commend to the S.D.P. the task of collecting and publishing further information on this all-

important subject. In our public parks grass is grown, and it is not very unreasonable to ask that the sheep which graze there should also be public servants. Our hospitals demand pure food for the use of their patients. Would it not be reasonable for that food to be produced on publicly-owned farms, where a sufficiency of capital is available to produce a greater degree of cleanliness and purity than competitive industry can afford?

A departmental committee under a Tory Government has advocated State farming so far as timber forests are concerned. If it is wisdom for the State to grow oak, ash, and beech trees, surely it is equal wisdom for it to grow apple, pear, and plum trees, whose yield to the taxpayer is so much greater and quicker?

Once more, if production for use on this scale were once adopted, there would inevitably go with it the erection of workshops to manufacture the produce grown, which again would regularise farm labour, solve the rural housing problem, and affect the whole labour market in ways I have before indicated.

Is there any reason why the timber grown on our public parks and farms should not be felled, sawn and manufactured for use by the public department concerned? Is there any reason why the flints, stone, brick-earth, and other substances found on public farms should not be developed for public use? Or why by a system of inter-municipal exchange such products as wool, hides, bones, etc., should not be transformed into articles for public use in the districts best suited to their manufacture and then distributed to the consuming authorities?

All this and much more could be commenced by the simple process of keeping publicly-owned land for the public use as existing tenancies fall in by reason of death, removal, or other causes, and as fresh land is needed it could be bought in the open market, without confiscation, without dislocating industry, and without stirring up unnecessary strife.

In this way the public service would be ever growing; fresh needs would be developed and fresh trades added to supply those needs. Every employee would be a civil servant and under the control of the elected representatives of the people. This is collectivism by growth, leaving the socialising of any industry until it is necessary for the public interest to do so, and then the process is by gradual, rather than by sudden, stages.

On its financial side this is not a semi-philanthropic scheme for placing questionable tenants on the land at the public expense. It does not treat farming as a muck-heap whereon the State throws the fools, cranks and wasters of the towns.

It is not a scheme of primitive or educational colonies, which are a separate department altogether. It regards farming in its true place as the greatest wealth-producing trade we have and the trade of first importance to a civilised people. This plan is the perfectly sound one of placing public capital under the control of the people for a remunerative purpose of the first order. It is free

trade without competition, protection without tariffs, and social reform on paying conditions. Surely this is a proposal that ought to satisfy everybody.

It is impossible in the short space of time at my disposal to do more than thus very briefly indicate the possibilities of Socialism as applied to agriculture, and suggest to you ways of further developing the subject. But I have said enough to show you that here at any rate is one clear-cut, comprehensible proposal for the gradual commercial organisation of industry on a collectivist basis having for its object the abolition of poverty.

You desire the emancipation of the workers and the means of material wealth and happiness for all. Here is one key to the economic riddle which puzzles and distresses the people of this country so greatly. I ask you to discuss it, accept it, or find a better, and may the result of our united efforts be the uplifting of those whose lives are passed in the dark shadows of poverty and distress.

THE REVIEWS.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The following extracts are from an article that appears in this month's "World's Work." This article was prefaced by one belauding the writer by Ray Stannard Baker, the well known American publicist and editor. The writer, Mr. Frederick W. Taylor, is evidently a "cute" Yankee. He says :—

President Roosevelt, in his address to the Governors of the various States at the White House, prophetically remarked that "the conservation of our national resources is only preliminary to the larger question of national efficiency."

The whole country at once recognised the importance of conserving our national resources, and a large movement has been started which will be effective in accomplishing their objects. As yet, however, we have but vaguely appreciated the importance of "the larger question of increasing our national efficiency."

We can see our forests vanishing, our water powers going to waste, our soil being carried by floods into the sea, and the end of our coal and our iron in sight.

We can see and feel the waste of material things ; but we cannot see and feel the larger wastes of human effort going on all around us. Awkward, inefficient and ill-directed movements of men leave nothing tangible behind them. Their appreciation calls for an act of memory, an effort of the imagination. And for this reason, even though our daily loss from this source is greater than from our waste of material things, the one has stirred us deeply while the other has moved us but little.

The search for better, for more competent men, from the presidents of our great companies down to our household servants, has never been more vigorous than it is now, and more than ever before is the demand for competent men in excess of the supply.

What we are all looking for is the ready-made, competent man ; the man whom someone else has trained. It is only when we fully realise that our duty, as well as our opportunity, lies in systematically co-operating to train this competent man that we shall be on the road to national efficiency.

In the past the man has been first ; in the future the system must be first. This in no sense, however, implies that great men

are not needed. On the contrary, the first object of any good system must be that of developing first-class men; and under scientific management the best man rises to the top more certainly and more rapidly than ever before.

This article has been written :—

First.—To point out the great loss which the whole country is suffering through inefficiency in almost all of our daily acts.

Second.—To try to convince the reader that the remedy for this inefficiency lies in systematic management, rather than searching for some unusual or extraordinary man.

Third.—To prove that the best management is a true science, resting upon clearly defined laws, rules, and principles, and that these fundamental principles of scientific management are applicable to all kinds of human activities, from the simplest individual acts to the work of our great corporations. And that, whenever these principles are correctly applied, results follow which are striking.

In order to develop the subject of scientific management in a logical and orderly manner, the writer will present the problems of industry in exactly the way in which he himself had to meet them. He encountered the difficulties blindly, and the conclusions at which he has arrived are the results of the hard teachings of practical experience.

The writer came into the machine shop of the Midvale Steel Company of Philadelphia in 1878, after having served an apprenticeship as a patternmaker and a machinist. This was close to the end of the long period of depression following the panic of 1873, and business was so poor that it was impossible for many mechanics to get work at their trades. For this reason he was obliged to start work as an unskilled day-labourer, instead of working as a mechanic. Fortunately for him, soon after he came into the shop the clerk was found to be stealing. There was no one else available, and so, having more education than the other labourers (since he had been prepared for the University), he was advanced to the position of clerk. Shortly after this he was given work as a machinist in running one of the lathes, and as he turned out rather more work than other machinists were doing on similar lathes, after several months he was made gang boss over the lathes.

THE WARFARE OF THE FACTORY.

Almost all the work of this shop had been done on piecework for several years. As was usual then, and in fact as is still usual in most shops of the country, the shop was really run by the workmen and not by the bosses. The workmen together had carefully planned just how fast each job should be done, and they had set a pace for each machine, which amounted to about one-third of a good day's work. Every new workman who came into the shop was told at once by the other workmen exactly how fast he was to work on every job, and unless he obeyed these instructions he was sure before long to find himself out of work.

In short, the writer here made, for the first time, an intimate acquaintance with the fundamental principle upon which industry seems now to be run. This principle is that the employer shall pay just as low wages as he can and that the workman shall retaliate by doing as little work as he can. Industry is thus a warfare, in which both sides, instead of giving out the best that is in them, seem determined to give out the worst that is in them.

It was not, however, until the writer had been made gang boss over the lathes that he began to see the full iniquity of the system under which he and all his fellow-workmen were making their living.

The writer told them (the workmen) plainly that he was now working on the side of the management, and that he proposed to do whatever he could to get a fair day's work out of the lathes. This immediately started a war; in most cases a friendly war, because the men who were under him were his personal friends, but none the less a war, which as time went on grew more and more bitter, the writer using every expedient to make the men do a fair day's work, such as discharging or lowering the wages of the more stubborn men, lowering the piecework price, hiring green men and personally teaching them how to do the work with the promise from them that when they had learned how they would then do a fair day's work, and later, after they had become skilled, having them forced by the public opinion of the shop to do what all the rest were doing.

No one who has not had the experience can have any idea of the bitterness which is gradually developed in such a struggle. In a war of this kind, the workmen have one expedient which is usually effective. They use their ingenuity to contrive various ways in which the machines are broken or damaged—apparently by accident, or in the regular course of work—and this they lay always at the door of the foreman, who, they assert, is forcing them to drive the machine so hard that it is being ruined.

After about three years of this kind of struggling, the output of the machines had been materially increased, in many cases doubled, and as a result the writer was promoted from one gang foreman to another until he became foreman of the shop. For any right-minded man, however, such a success was in no sense a recompense for the bitter relations which he was forced to maintain with all of those around him.

CO-OPERATIVE MANAGEMENT.

Soon after being made foreman, therefore, he decided to try to change in some way the system of management, so that the interests of the workmen and the management would be co-operative instead of antagonistic. . . .

He therefore obtained the permission of Mr. William Sellers, who was at that time president of the Midvale Steel Company, to

spend some money in a careful scientific study of the men and the processes of work in the shops, and particularly the amount of time required to do various kinds of work.

As a result of these studies the principles of co-operation—which we have called scientific management—were discovered.

The most experienced managers frankly place before their workmen the problem of doing the work in the best and most economical way. They recognise the task before them as that of inducing each workman to use his best endeavours, his hardest work, all his traditional knowledge, his skill, his ingenuity, and his goodwill—in a word, his “initiative”—so as to yield the largest possible return to his employer. The problem before the management, then, may be briefly said to be that of obtaining the best *initiative* of every workman.

Under scientific management the “initiative” of the workmen is obtained with absolute uniformity and to a greater extent than is possible under the old system. In addition to this improvement on the part of the men the managers assume, for instance, the burden of gathering together all the traditional knowledge which, in the past, has been possessed by the workman, and then of classifying, tabulating, and reducing this knowledge to rules and formulæ which are immensely helpful to the workmen in doing their daily work.

These new duties of the management are grouped under four heads:—

FOUR FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS.

1. They develop a science for each element of a man's work, which replaces the old rule-of-thumb method.
2. They scientifically select and train the workmen where in the past he chose his own work and trained himself as best he could.
3. They heartily co-operate with the men, so as to ensure all of the work being done in accordance with the principles of the science which has been developed.
4. There is an almost equal division of the work and the responsibility between the management and the workmen. The management take over all work for which they are better fitted than the workmen, while in the past almost all of the work and a greater part of the responsibility were thrown upon the men.

It is this combination of the initiative of the workmen coupled with the new types of work done by the management that makes scientific management so much more efficient than the old plan. . . .

The writer is fully aware that to, perhaps, most of the readers of this paper the four elements which differentiate the new management from the old will at first appear to be merely high-sounding phrases. His hope of carrying conviction rests upon demonstrating the tremendous force and effect of these four elements through a series of practical illustrations.

The Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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FOR THE REFERENDUM.

BY H. QUELCH.

In his article against the Referendum, our friend J. Hunter Watts professes to have, on a certain occasion, shocked several Socialists "who argued as if every item on the political programme of the S.D.P. were sacrosanct." Well, I admit that there is very little that is sacrosanct to the average Social-Democrat. There is nothing sacred to the sapper. But I naturally supposed there were certain fundamental principles—political as well as economic—which were regarded as cardinal and essential to Social-Democracy, which differentiated it from other theories of human society, and the acceptance of which was necessary to every Social-Democrat. Among those fundamental principles I had supposed democracy itself to be included. I thought we were democrats as well as Socialists, and that we set our democracy against the bureaucratic conception of Socialism which finds favour among the enemies of Socialism as well as with so many professed Socialists.

The Socialist movement, however, by virtue of the fact that it is a movement of revolt against the existing social order—or anarchy—attracts more than its proper share of cranks and faddists. Everyone who is opposed to some particular social convention seems to imagine that that is sufficient to constitute him or her a Socialist. The result is that, even if we are not “*all* Socialists now,” there are some very queer wild-fowl included under that designation. I have even heard of a gentleman, presiding at a Fabian meeting, who declared that he was a good Socialist, but he could not go so far as those wicked revolutionary Social-Democrats, who had so little regard for the rights of property that they actually wished to abolish private property in land and capital!

I am reminded of the lady who, on being told by the gentleman with whom she had flirted outrageously during a long sea voyage that he had discovered she was a married woman, replied: “Oh, yes, I am a married woman; but I am not a *bigoted* married woman”! Hunter Watts appears in this connection to be not a *bigoted* Social-Democrat.

I hope I am not a bigoted Social-Democrat nor a prejudiced, but I must confess to a prejudice in favour of what I have always regarded as the fundamental principles of Social-Democracy. These I have supposed to be the common ownership of the material means of existence, as the economic basis of social liberty and equality, to be achieved by the conquest and exercise of political power by the democracy.

If that be so, then the principle of the Referendum is “*sacrosanct*,” in the sense that it is not a mere item of our political programme which may be adopted or discarded on occasion, but is vital to the expression of that democracy which lies at the basis of our theories. In no other way, save by the Referendum, can the democracy express itself. Democracy implies government of and by and for the whole people; not by a select, privileged and superior caste. The latter is either aristocratic or bureaucratic oligarchy—or both.

Representative government is not democracy, but only a makeshift therefor, and a very poor makeshift at best. Our present system of "representative" government is not even representative. It is party-caucus rule—the rule of one or other of two factions who differ only superficially and are entirely at one on all essentials. From these two factions the people must choose their "representatives." They are supposed to be free to select what representatives they like. In actual practice, however, their representatives are selected for them from the adherents of these two factions, and the power of the caucus is such as to make any choice, other than between Yellow and Blue—Liberal and Tory—practically impossible.

The absurdity of pretending that such a system is really representative of the people should be obvious. But if it were otherwise, and if the system of representation were as perfect as possible, it would still only be a poor substitute for democracy.

Whatever there may be to be said for or against the sacrosanctity of the Referendum, it surely cannot be pretended that the system of "representation" is sacrosanct, or that the representative is infallible. To err is human, and no man—not even the most carefully-selected, the most prudent, wise and able representative, any more than the hereditary monarch—is fit to be entrusted with absolute power. The function of the democracy—the whole people—is not to choose autocratic *rulers*, but to delegate representatives to do certain clearly-defined work which cannot be done by the mass, while retaining the sovereign power of governance, of direction, supervision and revision in its own hands. Those who, in defence of "representative government," oppose the Referendum are really pleading for plenary powers for the representatives—claiming for them an infallibility they do not possess, and demanding the surrender by the democracy of its sovereign power in favour of a privileged class or caste.

This point is emphasised by Watts's statement that—"The very fact that the Social-Democratic Party in

every country spends so much money, time and energy in endeavouring to increase the number of its representatives in legislative assemblies proves that we are not disposed just yet to completely stultify the functions of these bodies as they are stultified in Switzerland." By that course of reasoning we might conclude that the Social-Democratic Party in every country is perfectly satisfied with present political institutions and with the method of constituting existing legislative assemblies. The fact adduced, however, proves nothing of the kind. It only proves that Social-Democrats are not utopians, but practical people prepared to do their best in existing circumstances and with the instruments and tools at present available. It by no means proves that they are satisfied with these instruments and tools, or unwilling to forge something more efficacious. On the other hand, there can be no question that the comparative futility of our efforts to "increase the number" of the representatives of Social-Democracy in legislative assemblies, and our consequent impotence there, is responsible for the growing revolt against Parliamentary action. The overwhelming majority in every such assembly in the world to-day is anti-Socialist, and the only function for those in such a hopeless minority as are the Social-Democrats there is that of a party of agitation, opposition and revolt. To plead for the sacrosanctity of legislative assemblies in which we are hopelessly outnumbered and voted down is indeed to stultify ourselves! Why should we, of all people in the world, be so concerned lest the caucus-capitalist British House of Commons, the dollar-serving Congress of America, the Junker-Clerical-Scharfmacher Reichstag of Germany, the bourgeois Chambre of France, should be "stultified" by the direct expression of the will of the people by means of the Referendum?

But, says Watts—"The Referendum would compel us to expend a greater amount of money, time and energy in efforts to educate the masses piecemeal on the legislative measures referred to them than we now expend on Parliamentary candidatures; and non-

elected officials would baulk us at every turn, for they would always have well-greased, well-oiled machinery in operation to manufacture public opinion."

The answer to that is that the money, time and energy so spent would be more effective than what we now spend on Parliamentary candidatures. The education is just as necessary now as it would be with the Referendum. The difference is that then it would be directly effectual; whereas now, by leaving everything to the so-called representatives, the effect of all our education and propaganda is largely wasted. We have educated the masses of the workers—at any rate, the organised among them—to a general acceptance of our principles. But whenever do they get an opportunity of voting for them? At the outside, we are able to put up a dozen Parliamentary candidates—a dozen *candidates* for 670 seats! And even then, in the most favourable constituencies, where the majority would unquestionably vote for Social-Democratic measures, they are prevented from voting for the Social-Democratic candidate by the terrible fear that by so doing they may bring upon themselves that worst of all calamities—the return of the Tory! Take the last election, for instance, and the "great constitutional issue" of the House of Lords' Veto. Can anyone say for certain what the decision of the electorate really was on that question, cumbered, as the election was, by so many other issues?

On the other hand, does any Social-Democrat doubt what the answer would have been, at least in all the great centres of population, had the issue been put before them in a clear, concrete form as follows: For the Tory position—the maintenance of the House of Lords, with all its privileges; for the Liberal position—the Limitation of the Veto to be followed by reform of the House of Lords; and the Social-Democratic proposition—the abolition of the House of Lords, lock, stock, and barrel? As to the "non-elected officials" who "would baulk us at every turn." With

the Referendum they would at least be at the pains to "manufacture public opinion." At present they work their own sweet will without any such pains, and generally in defiance of public opinion.

So far, therefore, as we or the measures we support or oppose are concerned, I believe that the effect of the Referendum would be good. At any rate, I would rather trust to the good sense and sound judgment of the masses of the people who are vitally concerned than to our oligarchic, plutocratic House of Commons.

But I do not think that is the question. Whether the people judged rightly or wrongly, it is surely their business; it is they who would have to pay; it is they who would benefit or suffer from a right or wrong decision; and I maintain that it is better for a people to manage their own affairs badly than to have them managed well *for them*. And who is to decide? Hunter Watts asks if Highland crofters are to have an "opportunity to delay Welsh Disestablishment," or Welsh voters "to deny those crofters larger holdings"? I should say neither. But in any case I would far rather have both questions decided by Highland crofters and Welsh, English, Scotch and Irish voters than by the landlords and plutocrats who compose our House of Commons.

How the people would use or misuse the Referendum, however, is not the question, and therefore the instances cited by Watts where it has been used badly, as we should regard it, are really no argument against the Referendum. They simply afford an argument against democratic government or administration in any form. If the people are incapable or unfit to decide upon any concrete question in which they are directly and vitally interested, they are certainly incapable or unfit to select the best persons to decide these questions for them. Therefore, this argument, which, in Watts's own words, is an argument against putting a knife into a child's hand lest it should cut its fingers, is simply an argument for depriving the common people of such political power as they already

possess, and reposing all power and authority in an aristocracy or oligarchy. It is an argument for bureaucracy and despotism. There is no despotism in the world, and no act of aggression, which could not be defended, or which, indeed, is not defended by that argument. Every one of our little wars has been undertaken in order to impose upon a benighted people the blessings of British rule. The British occupation in Egypt is defended, even by advanced Radicals, on the ground that the Egyptian people are not fit to govern themselves, and the discontinuance of the infamies of British rule in India and the development of Indian self-government are always met with the plea that to leave the Indian people to govern themselves would be, indeed, not putting a knife into a child's hands that it might cut its fingers, but the inception of an epidemic of mutual throat-cutting among the peoples of "our Empire in the East."

Watts says—"When democracy is established—in other words, when the people control their own destinies—the Referendum will prove indubitably the most convenient instrument for recording the will of the majority." In other words, when a boy has become an expert swimmer he is to be allowed to enter the water—not before! But how is he to learn to swim until he goes into the water? And how are the people to become a democracy without the Referendum or some similar means for expressing their will and exercising their sovereignty? "But," says Watts, "most of its [the Referendum] present-day advocates argue on the false assumption that democracy already reigns." On the contrary, they argue that it does not and cannot reign without the Referendum. That is why they—or, at any rate, we Social Democrats—advocate it. We have no such respect for the "superior persons," the "representatives," the "experts" and the "bureaucrats" as to believe that they are fit to be entrusted with plenary powers. We should employ an architect to draw the plans of our public buildings, but we should expect to have those plans submitted for approval; and

we should scarcely allow the most eminent architect to claim to be allowed to dig a dyke or lay out a garden on the site we had selected for a town hall simply because he had been entrusted with the task of designing the town hall. That, however, is the plea of the politician who asks for plenary powers for "representative government." I should have supposed our friend Watts to have been too good a democrat to be influenced by that plea, or by the writings of such a champion of bureaucracy as Mrs. Jane T. Stoddart. The bureaucratic politician appeals to the people to "trust him" and he will do wonderful things for them; but all the teaching and propaganda of Social-Democracy is directed to showing that no well-intentioned persons—not even Social-Democrats—can do these things for the people, but that if they want them done they must do them themselves.

SOCIALIST ORGANISATION AND METHODS OF PROPAGANDA.

BY F. VICTOR FISHER.

The Socialist movement in Great Britain is not in a satisfactory condition. We are not making recruits nearly as fast as we ought to make them. We are failing to keep a considerable portion of those we make. The movement is disunited. It is not only split up into sections, but the members of sections show little unity of purpose. Our stock-in-trade is being pilfered by other parties and disposed of at a heavy discount. This dismal schedule might be considerably prolonged.

Per contra, there are some reasons for encouragement. People are beginning to think *socialistically*. We are no longer pariahs. We have put on the garment of respectability. We are even hatching *statesmen*. Yet for all this I do not think Social-Democracy is *inevitable*. There are alternatives.

In the S.D.P. we have, perhaps, most reason to be disappointed and carefully to "take stock." I am a realist, and have no use for the man who lives in a fool's paradise. I may be wrong, I do not pretend to dogmatise, but the situation strikes me as serious. As the Yankee said: "We are up against a fierce proposition." Now, what are we going to do about it?

What I am about to write will probably make me very unpopular, not to say suspect, in certain quarters. Nevertheless, it has got to be said, clearly and definitely. And I do not itch for the easily-earned popularity of the street-corner. Let me make it

perfectly clear at the outset that what I say is coloured by the objects I have in view for the S.D.P. I would not have the Party shed its idealism, but I aim to help make it a party of *practical idealists*. This article is of little interest to those who wish, consciously or unconsciously, to wear only the white garment of pure propaganda or doctrinairism. As I understand the situation, the S.D.P. is committed, inter alia, to political activity, and if that political activity is to bear fruit *at our hands* we must be prepared to pay the price for entering into practical affairs. Now, the conduct of affairs entails compromise in non-essentials, and this is the price we must learn to be ready to pay.

It seems to me that the very first impediment to future progress that we have to remove is the rooted idea in the minds of many that our slow growth as a party is not our fault. It is the folly or stupidity or ignorance of the British worker that is responsible. That is the idea. Well, I am against that notion. I don't dogmatise. I am open to conviction. There are various reasons why a shop may not pay. Firstly, the public may have no use for the goods on sale. Or the goods may be of inferior quality, or dear at any price. Or the salesman may be a poor sort of a salesman. Or, again, he may be a good salesman for a small, pettifogging store, but a pretty bad business man as a Universal Provider.

Well, we know that our merchandise is a necessary of life for the worker, and therefore there can be no question as to the public use for the "goods" we are offering. And we know also that they are of **AI** quality. Why, then, is there little demand for them, and why is the business in a stagnant condition? How can we increase the turnover and change stagnation into prosperity?

To further this is my sole object in this article, and I need not add that I write in a spirit of perfect loyalty to the Party and its principles. Let no one, therefore, charge me with a desire to weaken the fibre

of our teaching. Let such an one remember that strength is rarely associated with violence, or fanaticism with a serene and sure faith. But I do wish to change, or modify, as well as to enlarge, many of our methods, and I must give my reasons for these proposals.

As I visualise the situation, the S.D.P. aims, and must aim, at being a *national* Party in its scope, as well as a section of the International. That is to say, it must be so constituted that it will attract and hold men of the most varied temperaments, classes and culture. It must shed every shred of sectarianism. We must be catholic in the real sense of the term.

What do I mean by this, how do we fall short of it to-day, and how are we to attain to it? In attempting to answer these questions I do not wish to slur over the practical difficulties to be overcome. But overcome they must be.

"At the back of the heads" of many ardent members is the idea which may be expressed as follows: "We are right. We have got the truth. We will proclaim it unfalteringly. We will ram it home. If the people don't like it, so much the worse for them. Socialism is bound to come, anyway."

This is the outlook of the sectary, and the bigoted sectary at that. I am not going to deny that in the scheme of Socialist salvation the sectarian has got his use. I think he has. But I want to use him; I don't wish him to use us.

It is not surprising that, in a country in which theological sectarianism has had so many ramifications, small political parties should have inherited a similar tendency, especially as both have—speaking generally—sprung from a common class. It is not astonishing that the man whose grandfather was a narrow and frigid Calvinist should be a narrow and frigid revolutionist. "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."

Again, it is to be expected that a Party so largely constituted of the manual wage-earning class should lack elasticity of method and—apart from its Central Executive—should fail to reach the average of administrative skill and imagination. The man whose financial experience is limited to the weekly wage; the propertyless man, having little or no need for the attributes of management; the man who has become a mere tool in the industrial machine, and rarely gets as much as a passing glimpse of the administrative mechanism and tactical skill involved in the conduct of *affairs*; the man who has never learnt to think or to express himself clearly and consecutively—such men cannot pit themselves *unaided* against the razor-like keenness, complex experience and subtle capacity of the master class, and, though they may run amok at times and call it “Revolution,” the frenzy finished they will come to heel again. The really dangerous men for the master class are not the Bill Higginsses but the Hyndmans.

Hence, a Socialist Party must make its intellectual and social appeal deliberately to the brain-trained as well as the hand-trained man. Its appeal must, therefore, be attuned—consciously—to the different types thus represented. Its organisation must provide for these varied needs. The course of social evolution is slow, and for several generations yet the type of mental supremacy, represented by middle-class culture, will remain an essential factor of social governance—hence Socialist propaganda must adapt its methods to that level of culture—where required—and *all this it can do, not only without any weakening of its principles, but, on the contrary, by setting up those principles in opposition to the claims inherent in the capitalist system.*

The sort of fiery invocations denationalised and borrowed from the inspiration of the Paris *Commune* are not calculated to attract a perfectly well-intentioned young Englishman or Scotsman, with strong Socialist tendencies, nurtured, say, on one of the various phases

of Christian ethics. "Autres temps, autres mœurs." Yet such men and women would be valuable recruits. Many of these men and women are to be captured for the Party if our principles and practical proposals are placed before them in terms with which they can sympathise. And not only this; as we are "out for Revolution" I want to see a revolution in our branch meeting-places. Some of them are merely sordid. A few are mere drinking-houses. Others offer all the absence of comfort characteristic of the working man's club. I know that I shall be told that it is a question of money. I do not believe it is mainly a question of money. It is largely a question of taste and ideas. The Clarion rendezvous and many of the I.L.P. branch meeting-places show a distinct effort towards refinement of social life, the absence of which is one of the weaknesses of the S.D.P.

Efforts, renewed and renewed again until they have succeeded, should be made by our Executive to establish groups of the Party among the undergraduates at all the Universities. Men should be picked from our ranks regularly to attend P.S.A., to ask questions, to arouse discussion and to secure, wherever possible, a platform for our lecturers. Every branch should have its Press Committee, to keep our cause alive in the daily and weekly papers. Open-air speaking should be more strictly regulated. The half-baked youth, with little but the effrontery of inexperience to recommend him, who, having learnt by rote such expressions as the "class war," "(adjectival) capitalists," "the nationalisation of the means," etc., stands on a platform and orates in the name of International Social-Democracy, is injuring the Cause. No one should be allowed to speak *in public* from the Social-Democratic platform until he or she had secured official authority. If such a measure decreased the number of our meetings for a time benefit rather than harm would nevertheless result. Every branch should actively and untiringly extend the system of associates, to which a start has already been given. These should regularly be visited

by suitable persons and should be kept supplied with literature, their movements recorded and their votes secured.

Local Administration Committees should be formed to study the objects of and utilise actual legislative enactments. There is a whole mass of useful legislation which remains a dead letter in innumerable localities throughout the country through ignorance or deliberate intent. These are imperfect implements of social regeneration, but they can be employed to a large purpose if the local organisations of our Party were competent to handle them.

With Payment of Members an accomplished fact and Payment of Election Expenses in sight, an organised plan on a national scale should be drawn up for contesting a considerable and increasing number of seats for Parliament at succeeding General Elections.

A Party Leader or Chairman should be annually elected, who would speak with authority when necessary in the name of the Party, on the authorisation of the National Executive, but who would personify in a way a committee never can to the general public the programme and policy of the Party, and whose personality would tend to give homogeneity to the Party.

The plan of propaganda should be drastically revised. Systematic distribution of literature should be regularly maintained. Lecturers should be offered to public bodies outside the movement—churches, chapels, ethical and literary societies, etc., on an organised plan. Wherever there is a local parliament or debating society the branch members should join, and wherever there is no branch a special committee of the E.C. should endeavour to supply the need, lists of such societies being collated and revised for this purpose.

The Party must speedily settle its internal differences. It is idle to blink the fact that it has attracted an olla podrida of irresponsible temperaments. This ferment is slowly settling down into the elements of an

organised and responsible party, but we still suffer from the symptoms of irresponsibility. On such subjects as National Defence, India, Industrial Unionism, etc., we still await a party judgment and settlement to which all will loyally subscribe.

The propaganda of the Party should be of two orders—esoteric and exoteric—according to circumstances. The esoteric propaganda, as I will call it, should deal, of course, with the economic and social principles of Social-Democracy. The exoteric should treat of the positive changes in national and local administration for which the Party strives in the interest of the expropriated class. Great prominence should be given to these palliatives at all popular propagandist meetings and, of course, at elections.

Neo-Liberalism, or the Radical-Socialist legislation of Mr. Lloyd George, is a peril in one sense to Socialist success, but I venture to think that it cannot be outplayed by denunciation, carping criticism or fretful opposition. To attack it merely because it comes from the Liberals or because it falls far short of our standards is, I am convinced, a futile strategy. We must constantly remember that public opinion is not ripe for changes beyond a certain point at any given period, and this is peculiarly true of the working-classes, despite signs of spasmodic industrial unrest. It is far better to accept the small good in such proposals, to criticise in studiously cautious language the weaknesses and the perils contained in them, recognising that this is an imperfect world and that flamboyant language is less likely to convert an intellectually timid people than careful criticism. If the working classes were mentally alert they would not, of course, tolerate these piecemeal legislative doles, but they are not mentally alert, and they are going to live for several generations yet on the middle-class crumbs thrown from the capitalist table. We shall quicker increase the volume of this largesse by putting

a firm hand on the legislative machine than by an attitude of academic contempt or aloofness.

Public controversy, involving bitterness, personalities and acrimony must be avoided. Constructive ideas must be emphasised, destructive tendencies minimised and explained ; to a sentimentally-minded people the lofty *moral* claims of Socialism insisted on. Above all, there must be a growth of the spirit of loyalty and confidence between comrades. The business-world would come to a sudden stop were *confidence* removed. Everything turns on *credit*. Let us translate that in a larger sense, and put an end to the petty distrust and bickerings which disunite and disorganise.

Many of our comrades have to learn the lesson of *veneration*. Because so much in the world to-day that is venerated is not venerable they imagine that veneration can be allowed to fall into disuetude. Often I have been the witness of some silly raucous-voiced youth, with all the insolence of ignorance, pit his valueless views against the measured judgment of a veteran versed in the arts of men and affairs. This is not, this never can be, Democracy. Manners make the man.

In the economic sphere we teach as a general truth that the small industry goes down before the combine. It is not *fit* to survive. So with us as a Party. If we do not adapt ourselves to our environment we shall prove ourselves *unfitted* for our task. Not to advance is to go back. If the mountain won't come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain. We are born of a national stock whose traditions and psychology differ considerably from those of Continental Europe, and not to appreciate the differences is to obey the letter and to be blind to the spirit of our Cause. The trade unionists of the country must be brought to Socialism in spite of all their present limitations, their narrowness, their puritanism and their snobbery. We shall not expedite this by denouncing them as "Labour fakirs," "capitalist tools," and God knows what! They are what they are—

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA.

neither heroes nor traitors, but common human material, with human weaknesses. If they were what we would have them be our victory would already be won. Let us not then be too impatient or too severe on our weaker brethren. Let us rather be severe with ourselves. It is a healthier and a holier occupation. Let us cast out the beam from our own eye before we seek to remove the mote from our brother's. So, and so only, shall we make ourselves worthy of the guerdon.

In one of his most exquisite and touching sermons, that great master of English prose, the late Cardinal Newman, terminated his discourse with these words: "I know that some will accuse me of repeating trite and trivial truisms, but, however trite and trivial they may seem, if they are understood by the wanderer, even though he be a fool, he shall not err." So, I suppose, the present writer will be upbraided for the repetition of trite and trivial truisms. Be that as it may be, I am convinced that they must be appreciated and realised in our Party life, or that life will cease. The Party is producing no young men of character and intellect adequate to the task of carrying on the work created by the fathers of the movement. Unnecessary, yet ominous, resignations that have recently occurred of valued fellow-workers accentuate one's pessimism. Yet is there no cause for pessimism if we will but adjust ourselves to altered conditions, learn victory from former failures, and prepare ourselves to be worthy of the triumph we thus shall win.

SOCIALISM AND THE COMING CRISIS.

By E. J. LAMEL.

The position of the Social-Democratic Party on the question of armaments, advocating the policy of an "armed nation," is, without doubt, the sanest viewpoint that can be adopted. It would be the surest safeguard against war, and, at the same time, would provide the people of this country with a sense of discipline and a training which would stand them in good stead in the final crisis destined, sooner or later, to overtake the capitalist system. So far as can be seen at present, there would seem to be no prospect of any such policy being adopted by the governing classes of this country. The voluntary system is acknowledged to be totally inadequate and ineffective, so far as the Army is concerned, for conflict with a first, or even a second, rate Power. The lesson of the South African War has been utterly disregarded except by those foreign authorities who may, at no very distant date, be impelled to direct military operations against this country. The capitalist classes of Great Britain, the merchants and traders, big and little, are too selfish, too mean and parsimonious, to find the money for the establishment of an efficient army, even of defence, and too cowardly to consent to compulsory service for themselves or their sons. They realise also, quite as clearly as do Social-Democrats, that an armed and disciplined nation might very easily prove a danger to themselves at any period of acute industrial crisis. Thus, as the "Daily News" confessed not long ago, they prefer to rely upon economic pressure to force out-of-work and

destitute wage-slaves to "voluntary" service with the rank and file of an army which exists at home for the purpose of repressing the other wage-slaves, and abroad to coerce "inferior" races into a proper state of subjection to capitalist exploitation.

Our dominant classes cannot be suspected of a desire for aggression against any nation capable of meeting them on equal terms and with equal force. It is morally certain that had they realised the nature of the opposition they would encounter from the South African Republics, that war would never have occurred; but the same results would have been attained by diplomatic methods—in other words, by fraud instead of by force. Full-fed and contented, all they desire to-day is the maintenance of the status quo, economic, political and social. Thus are they full of peace-talk and arbitration schemes, breathing brotherly love to all the world. Unfortunately, many of those who are Socialist in sympathy, but still in the sentimental, or utopian, stage, are deceived by this latest, but most characteristic, form of middle-class, capitalist-Liberal hypocrisy. This professed desire for universal peace is destined to be rudely disturbed in the near future. That the possibility is recognised partially is evidenced by the additions to the British Navy, grudgingly enough made, and not without protest from some who might be expected to know better. There is no necessity, here, to do more than refer to the German naval and military preparations now going on day and night, steadily, remorselessly, and *quietly*. Those British Socialists who were in a position to *know*, and who stated what they knew in plain terms, were sufficiently denounced by the sentimental and ignorant Socialists.

Precisely the same economic forces are at work in Germany as caused the expansion of Great Britain with world-wide Empire as its final expression. German capitalism also demands a world-field for its extended activities, exactly as did British capitalism. This must mean conflict for them, exactly as it did for us. The German *people* may not desire war, any more than

the British *people*; but they will be unable to avoid it, for the same reasons that we were unable to avoid it in the past. At every point Germany is barred by England, except in South America, where the United States stand in the way. Expansion in Europe, save as regards Holland, Belgium and Denmark, would be undesirable if not impracticable. Thus, a powerful navy for Germany becomes a necessity, England being the first, and the United States, possibly, the second obstacle. Germany will not strike until she is ready. When she is ready, she will strike, and England will go down. For Germany does not employ the slipshod, "laissez-faire" methods which always characterise British military, not to say naval, preparations. We know from experience the utter carelessness, the bungling, and the incompetence of our military authorities at the opening of their operations; but we have had no practical experience of the actual state for war of our Navy. An equal power in ships would not be necessary to give Germany command of the North Sea; but, in this respect, we have only paper estimates to go upon. It would be interesting to know to whom those big expensive South American "dreadnoughts" really belong, and who ultimately paid for them. A single naval reverse to us would mean the landing of an army corps in England, and this would mean the certain conquest of these islands. A naval defeat sustained by us would make the conquest complete. The result would be a revolution, or a panic as bad as a revolution, which would be suppressed *by force* by the conquerors. The consequences of such a catastrophe are unimaginable by a people who have never seen war and who do not know the meaning of foreign military repression. Then the British Empire would fall to pieces, and England would be reduced to the position of a second or third-rate Power. At best the Empire is held together by very slender threads; these would, very likely, snap at the outset of hostilities. Canada would fall to the United States; India and Ireland would flame into open revolt; South Africa, Australia, and

New Zealand would, in self-preservation, declare themselves independent Republics. But the immediate consequences to this country, utterly dependent as it is, thanks to landlord greed and "laissez-faire" economy, upon foreign sources for its food supply, would be frightful beyond the power of language to describe. This is the future laid up for us by our comfortable, well-to-do, pusillanimous classes, and by many of our Socialists no less. Social-Democrats have done what they could to guard against it by plain speaking and wise counsel, but have met only ridicule and abuse.

And the aftermath? There remains the Social-Democracy of Germany. Powerless as they are, in the present stage of their country's growth, to divert the immediate course of events, they may, very well, be depended upon to make the most of their opportunities during the reaction which always follows a great war. They might be able to get control of the government of their country, to bring even a tolerably influential Social-Democratic element to meet them, the further progress of German capitalism might be stopped, and with this a subversion of the capitalist system throughout the world. Our people might have ultimate reason to bless German Social-Democracy as their deliverer from the capitalist bondage which has held them in thrall for so long. But British Socialism has failed to bring the British people into the line of international solidarity. For this we have to thank those who, in the name of "Labour," have led the people in precisely the opposite direction, who prefer the doubtful friendship of a plausible and hypocritical Liberalism, who cultivate every variety of utopian Socialist ideal and ethical or religious superstition rather than face the hard, material, economic facts.

Thus, by all the signs of the times, the first movement towards the break-up of capitalism would seem to be, not, as some of us have thought, an economic change, or revolution, in this country, but a war which

will sweep this country aside, to be followed very likely by a further war by Germany, in which Japan may take a part, against the United States of America, with similar, though less disastrous, results upon that country. German Social-Democracy, in any event, promises to be the power that will carry forward the further changes for the subversion of capitalism and the establishment of collectivism.

All this, no doubt, will be read with an incredulous smile by our utopians and sentimentalists. We shall see whether the smile is still there, say, in five or six years' time. In the meantime, it will be interesting to observe the progress of the arbitration arrangements between England and the United States of America, and to learn, if possible, the meaning of the whispered coquetry rumoured to be going on between Germany and Japan. Uncle Sam is not likely to compromise himself in any way for the sake of John Bull. The arbitration he has in mind is not unconnected with the annexation of Canada, an idea which has been gaining ground for many years on both sides of the frontier.

There are other movements of the same kind in the wind, as, for example, the Association of influential West Indians "that is working quietly, yet very effectively, to have the Stars and Stripes supplant the Union Jack in the British West Indies." A resolution was recently passed by this association "empowering the President (Taft) to open negotiations with the British Government for the purpose of acquiring the British West Indies," for the reason given by the New York "Times": "That the islands are more naturally in economic and commercial relations with the United States than . . . with their more distant owners across the Atlantic." Uncle Sam sees what is coming clearly enough, so far as England is concerned, and he will grab all he can and "arbitrate" about it afterwards if necessary. There is no honour among capitalist thieves. Japan knows this very well, and she has no more real use for Great Britain than for the other

white nations except so far as she can advance her interests with their help or at their expense.

It is, however, clearly useless for Social-Democrats in England to waste words discussing further the question of armaments and the "citizen army." There is no possible chance of anything being done in time. We would be better advised were we to concentrate our efforts in endeavouring *to educate our Socialists as to the meaning of Social-Democracy*, a knowledge which many of them so sadly need.

[It is, perhaps, only fair to the writer to state that this article has been in hand since last March.—ED.]



WHEN factories were first built there was a strong repugnance on the part of parents who had been accustomed to the old family life under the domestic system to send their children into these places. It was, in fact, considered a disgrace so to do: the epithet of "factory girl" was the most insulting that could be applied to a young woman, and girls who had once been in a factory could never find employment elsewhere. It was not until the wages of the workman had been reduced to a starvation level that they consented to their children and wives being employed in the mills. But the manufacturers wanted labour by some means or other, and they got it. They got it from the workhouses. They sent for parish apprentices from all parts of England, and pretended to apprentice them to the new employments just introduced. The mill-owners systematically communicated with the overseers of the poor, who arranged a day for the inspection of pauper children. Those chosen by the manufacturer were then conveyed by waggons or canal boats to their destination, and from that moment were doomed to slavery.—From the "Industrial History of England," by H. de Gibbins.

THE MONTH.

Public interest during the past month has been pretty equally divided between the weather, the preparations for the Coronation and Mr. Lloyd George's great scheme of social regeneration formulated in the National Insurance Bill.

The weather has been all that could be desired. Never in living memory, we imagine, has there been a more summery May than that we have just lived through. It was a welcome change and grateful compensation for the Arctic frigidity of the fickle month preceding.

The preparations for the Coronation of our most gracious Sovereign George and his beautiful, amiable and equally most gracious Queen are in full swing. Loyal Londoners cannot but contemplate with enthusiasm the piles of timber by which our sacred and other public buildings on the route of the procession are surrounded, and from which his Majesty's lieges—those who can afford to pay for seats—will be able to gaze upon the august countenance of their Sovereign as, in all the pomp and circumstance of royalty, he parades the streets of his capital. It will be a great “do.”

And for the toiling, suffering millions, out of whose poverty is created the wealth of which royalty is the outward and visible sign, are they to have no part nor lot in this raree show? Certainly they are. Those of them who can crowd into the well-guarded, barricaded streets and patiently wait for hours will have the reward of a back view of the soldiers and policemen who guard the route, with an occasional glimpse of the nodding plumes, glittering sabres and gorgeous equipages. Nor is that all. “Labour” has come by its own and lords it with the best. True, the great body of the working-class is no better off than formerly, and has no larger a share of the wealth it produces. Has, indeed, actually and

relatively a far smaller share. But it is in power. Its representatives sit among the appointed rulers of the nation, share their State, their responsibilities and their glories. Two or three of the accredited representatives of Labour are actually bidden to the Coronation celebration, and will there be able to genuflect, in full Court dress, before their beloved monarch, with the haughtiest Peers and most highly-born Peeresses in the land.

This is entirely as it should be, from the point of view of our Labour Party. That Party, as its leaders are never tired of telling us, is not a Socialist Party, not a revolutionary Party. It aims, not at the emancipation of Labour from wage-slavery, but simply at claiming for Labour participation with other classes in the legislation and administration of the existing class State. For its representatives to lunch and dine with Kings and Kaisers and Ministers is, therefore, an evidence that Labour has attained its proper place, has realised its object, and has now that place in the comity of capitalism which was its sole and legitimate object.

Some people, even among his most devoted followers and ardent admirers, have been inclined to censure Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald for having lunched with the Kaiser. They seem to regard that as merely an incident, but a regrettable incident, in his career; as a sort of momentary lapse from grace, and from the high path of duty which he had set himself. That is an entirely mistaken view to take. We do Mr. MacDonald the credit of regarding him as neither a snob nor a flunkey. We do not suppose that he had the least hankering after the patronage of the Kaiser, Lord Haldane, Lord Curzon, or any of the other notabilities who attended the function. He went, it was stated, at the unanimous wish of the officers of the Labour Party; and, we should say, doubtless in discharge of what he regarded as his duty as leader of that Party. It was not a mere incident, apart from his general policy and conduct, but was entirely in keeping with his own expressed opinions and with the conception held by the Labour Party of its own function in politics. That conception differs from ours. Our view is that a Labour Party should be a Party of opposition, of revolt; always "agin the Government," and having no part nor lot in Governmental functions. That, however, is neither the view nor the policy of our present Labour Party. They believe that they should take part with the other parties in the Government. That being their view and policy, and that having

been endorsed by their constituents, it is somewhat unreasonable to blame their leader for giving the fullest possible expression to that policy whenever opportunity serves.

Unfortunately for us, however, the Labour Party is part of the Socialist International, and Mr. MacDonald is the Parliamentary representative of Great Britain on the International Bureau and Secretary of the British Committee of the International Congress. Through him, therefore, the Socialist movement has been honoured (?) by the patronage of one of the most inveterate enemies of Social-Democracy. We are bound to say that we do not relish the honour, and can only hope that our Continental comrades, who are sometimes so jealous of the integrity of the International, will begin to appreciate our objections to abrogating the Constitution of the International in order to admit a non-Socialist Party.

Of course, we shall be told that our Labour Party has the advantage over us, not only of representing the real working-class movement, backward and halting though it may be, but of "getting their men in," and also getting things done. By their "practical statesmanship," we are told, they have harnessed the other parties to their chariot, and are making them do "our work." As an illustration of that we have this great and beneficent National Insurance Bill of Mr. Lloyd George.

We do not admit the soft impeachment, any more than we admit the beneficent character of the measure in question. The Insurance Bill is not a tribute to the statesmanship of our Labour Party, nor is it a piece of "our work" which the Labourists have succeeded in compelling the Liberal Government to undertake. It is merely another piece of pretence, of humbug, devised for the purpose of side-tracking the workers and of deluding them with a promise of something which in the realisation will be found to be nothing at all.

The Bill is, indeed, a tribute to Socialist agitation, but it is not complimentary to the intelligence of those who have welcomed it as a piece of Socialistic legislation. There is nothing Socialist about it. No measure is Socialist in character which does not reduce the exploitation of the working class, reduce the amount of surplus value robbed from them, and increase their proportion of the wealth

which they create. This measure does none of these things. On the contrary, it proposes to levy a tax on their wages to bear the cost of that pauperism caused by sickness which has hitherto been met, however inadequately, by rates drawn from the surplus-value taken by their masters.

It does not touch the causes of the evils which it professes to be intended to alleviate, and is, at best, a mere "ambulance" measure. But even its "ambulance" proposals are of the most imperfect and futile order. It is not even an "Insurance Bill" for those who most need insurance. Those who for any reason are debarred from becoming members of a friendly society are to receive no insurance benefit at all. They are only to be allowed to draw out the amount "standing to their credit in the fund," which, after an enforced contribution of 4d. per week for twelve months, will amount to about twenty-six shillings.

The Bill is, on the whole, favourable to the friendly societies. Its effect is calculated to be to force everyone into a friendly society who can gain admittance. The "approved" societies will have the same right of rejection or exclusion as now; and the members of such societies will have the benefits they pay for plus the ten shillings a week under the scheme so long as the combined benefit does not exceed two thirds of the ordinary wages. And the society will be able to reduce contributions to the extent of the contributions from the employer. That from the State, we may assume, will be absorbed by the sanatoria, medical, and similar benefits and by official expenses. There is no reason, however, why, under the Bill, the contributor through an "approved" society should not be able to draw larger benefits for a less contribution than the member of a friendly society does now. On the other hand, the poor devil whom no approved society will adopt, and similar unfortunates, will, as already stated, not even ensure the ten shillings a week for more than three weeks in a year.

While it is thus favourable to friendly societies, however, the Bill is likely to have sinister effects on the trade unions. The friendly societies are really rate-saving societies for the master class; but, with all their defects, trade unions are organisations for bettering the position of the workers at the expense of the masters. The provision of sick or similar benefit for their members is only a secondary function; and their benefit funds frequently stand them

in good stead when engaged in a struggle. In order to render themselves "approved" societies under the Bill, however, they will have to keep their benefit funds separate and intact, however sore their need, and to that extent will have to forego their liberty of action.

That has been the decided tendency of all recent legislation in so far as it has affected trade unions—to clip their wings; to limit their liberty of action and to convert them as much as possible into mere thrift societies. That, too, is likely to be the effect of the Bill dealing with the Osborne judgment. Unions are to be free to raise money for specific purposes, under certain conditions; but their funds are to be separated and kept in water-tight compartments, so to speak, so that their power as a militant force for the protection of their class interests shall be reduced to the lowest possible minimum.

Mexico has at last been able to rid herself of Porfirio Diaz. Narrowly escaping the just vengeance of the Mexican people, he was compelled—although reported ill—to flee in haste from the country. Diaz is followed by the curses and execrations of the people he has plundered and tortured. Although he started as a poor man he is now many times a millionaire, his millions having been acquired in conjunction with English capitalists and Yankee plutocrats who have, in the most horrible manner conceivable, exploited the natives of Mexico. No single man can lay so many crimes to his name.

Diaz has gone. But Mexico is now in a very distressful condition. There are disagreements and dissensions amongst the victorious revolutionists. The class struggle is coming to the fore. Some there are who merely want to let matters rest, barring one or two minor political reforms; while the others, the really revolutionary element, desire to have economic changes as well. Then there is the danger of armed intervention on the part of either the United States or England. And on top of all this trouble there comes the appalling earthquake. Surely no other country has been subject to so many troubles at one and the same time!

Once more the master class of the United States is attempting to hang members of the working class in order to injure trade unionism in particular and the Labour movement in general. The

case against the Macnamara brothers is almost an exact replica of that brought against our comrades Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The unscrupulous detectives, the fake confessions, the kidnapping, the rail-roading from one State to another, the conspiracy of high politicians with big capitalists—all the elements that worked in the Idaho case are also actively at work in this. Even the spiteful and cowardly attack of Roosevelt is not lacking. Only this time the Terrible Teddy writes an article instead of delivering a speech.

Of the innocence of the two trade union leaders we are confident. No independent observer who has made anything like a study of American capitalist methods can have any doubt about it at all. Whether our comrades in the United States will be as successful this time in their work of rescue remains to be seen. Of this, however, we may rest assured—no effort is being spared to bring the whole working class in line for one great and imperative demand for the freedom of the kidnapped men. The masters, in their turn, are howling their loudest for blood—so this promises to be one of the bitterest struggles in American working-class history.



VICTOR L. BERGER.

THE FIRST SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN.

(From an Article by J. B. LARRIC, in "The Masses.")

Politically, Victor L. Berger will be a very lonely man in Congress. There will be only one of him in a total of three hundred and ninety-two. Yet, measured by the potentialities, who shall say the event is not charged with the deepest historical significance?

He is the first Socialist in this country to hold a national office. He is the entering wedge to split the old order. With his coming to the House, Socialism takes its place between the two old parties, a warning and a menace to both.

Berger has been sticking pins into bosses and corrupt politicians for the last thirty years. Yes, he's a first-rate jabber, is Berger. Or, if you wish it put differently, a first-class political surgeon. The head that guides the lancet is astute, keen, brimful of cold, hard sense. His firm, strong hand has put the flush of a new vitality into the long-stricken city of Milwaukee. She is now able to sit up and take nourishment. Time and time again she has called to her bedside the Republican quacks and Democrat charlatans, to find their remedies worse than the disease. For twenty-six years Berger pleaded for an opportunity to perform the operation. Now that Milwaukee has gone through with it, her appetite for more parks, better police, regulation of street cars and various municipal improvements has increased astoundingly. She has set the other American cities thinking—yes, sometimes that happens even over here. Who knows her example may have set them debating whether it would not be better to pitch their political mountebanks with their physic overboard for the Berger cure?

The building up of the Socialist Party in Milwaukee was a laborious process. It was won by sweat and martyrdom. It was made possible by self-denial well-nigh heartbreaking. For many years the task that Berger and his associates had set before them seemed useless, hopeless. It was like building a house of cards in a hurricane—like throwing a cable of sand across a path of swift runners. But in the face of this night, this blackness, Berger and his faithful followers stood by their guns. The men had implicit faith in and great devotion for their general. They knew if his personality dominated the Milwaukee Socialist movement, it was only because he had sunk his whole life into it.

When news came that Milwaukee had turned the trick, the capitalist editors asked one another, How was it done? Since then our own Socialist brethren have been wanting to know too.

Well, Berger played good American politics. That's all. Whenever he could slide through a Bill in the interest of labour, he slid it through. Wherever he saw a loophole to help the cause along by denouncing some civic outrage, he looped. Whenever he saw a chance for some social reform, he took it. He didn't anxiously measure it by the pocket yardstick of his ideals. Berger is no doctrinaire. He has been called a practical idealist and a hard-headed theorist. If the reform on hand fell short of the ideal an eighth of an inch (or, whisper, even a foot) he grabbed the half portion. The yardstick of the ideal was silently folded up and respectfully put back into his pocket, as one returns one's hat to one's head after listening to a funeral sermon. He really would like to come panting in with the millennium on his back, but can you blame him if even he cannot lift it all at once?

While we're on the subject, let's have it through with him. Berger believes in Socialism in as large doses as possible, the larger the better. But he has no great fondness for millennium visionaries, for impossibilists—for the chaps who preach that to take anything less than Elysium is to compromise with the Devil. He would probably deal with them as that ancient monarch dealt with the demented gladiator. "Are you as powerful as the rest of my athletes? Can you pull an oak up by the roots?" the king questioned. The gladiator glowered. He sniffed. He looked the king up and down with unspeakable contempt. "*One oak, your Majesty, one?*" I can pull up the whole forest with one pull!" That was enough. That settled it. His Majesty had the Samson be-headed at once, thinking him too dangerously strong to roam about loose. Berger believes in pulling 'em up one at a time. And the result shows the wisdom of his policy.

Berger is a wonderful organiser. Friend and foe marvel at his tireless energy, his tenacious force. He drives forward with a determination that knows no stop, no wavering, no fatigue. And the way to be traversed is gauged by him with the accuracy of inspiration. Milwaukee was won by Berger because he foresaw that to win he would have to colour his Socialism by American conditions. Radicalism must move along the line of American traditions, and along that line Berger moved. The ideas conceived by him to gain Socialist proselytes are now being adopted by many other American cities. He was the first to recognise that hall and cart-tail orators waste their sweetness on the desert air—or head. It was scattered shot. For one man that had his brain riddled with advanced views thirty escaped. The printed word, he perceived, was as sure as a Gatling gun. It keeps on pouring an incessant shower of facts from which there is no escape. So the Socialist cart-tail speaker in Milwaukee is slowly undergoing a pain-

ful post-mortem, and will soon be a hallowed memory. Victor spent his money on literature. Loyal party workers gave up their Sundays and evenings going from house to house, from store to store, distributing pamphlets and circulars.

The sacrifice Berger has made for Socialism is one that very few, except those nearest to him, really have grasped. "He worked," says a writer of him, "that he might save, and he saved that he might start a Socialist paper." Yes, and on that paper he slaved for 30 dollars a week up to the very day of his election to Congress.

Berger is fifty now—in the prime of life. He has the spirit, the enthusiasm, the health of youth. His body is big, robust, active—a perfect instrument to do the big work of the coming day. Personally, he's a hale fellow well met, genial, hearty, companionable. Congress and he may disagree on public policy, but it will not find him on the other side of the chamber, a scowling Catiline. He has that rare quality of being "my friend, the enemy."

There will be few, if any, in the House with whom he will not be able to cope mentally. A student and a scholar, he is a force to reckon with. He has a large head, filled with plenty of what a head was made for. The Socialists of this country can safely lean back and watch his Congressional record "without any doubt of the event."

Berger was born in Austro-Hungary. That cuts him out of the Presidency, of course. Still, he hasn't done so bad. And then there's yet many a high official crown for him to reach. In his youth Victor worked as a metal polisher. There are some very rusty knobs in Congress that need to be polished to reflect a gleam of human intelligence. Berger's early training will come in pat right here. Victor was educated in Budapest and Vienna, and came to this country when a boy. He taught school for a while and then went into journalism—that last infirmity of noble minds. He is a member of the National Executive Board of the Socialist Party, and was one of the eight elected delegates to the International Congress.

When news of Berger's election reached John Spargo, he immediately telegraphed the Socialist Congressman—sounds good, doesn't it?—that he regarded the event as being as important as the first election of Lincoln to the Presidency.

And that's to-morrow's truth. Spargo's prophecy will be fulfilled.

THE EVENTS OF MAY.

HOME.

- 1.—May-Day Celebrations.
- 2.—South Wales coalowners declined arbitration.
- 3.—House of Commons: Committee stage of Parliament Bill ended.
L. S. Amery (Tory) returned unopposed for South Birmingham.
- 4.—Lloyd George introduced his National Insurance Bill.
- 5.—Women's Enfranchisement Bill carried second reading by 255 to 88.
West Bromwich election petition result: Tory retained the seat.
- 8.—House of Lords: Lord Lansdowne introduced his House of Lords Reform Bill.
Result declared of Barnstaple bye-election: Baring (Liberal), 6,239; Parker (Tory), 5,751. No change.
- 9.—Fatal fire at Edinburgh Empire Palace Theatre.
- 10.—House of Commons: Report stage of Parliament Bill ended.
- 12.—House of Commons: Sweated Manufactured Goods Bill talked out.
- 13.—National Union of Teachers demonstrated against the Holmes circular.
Demonstration at Trafalgar Square in favour of South Wales miners.
- 15.—Third reading of Parliament Bill carried in House of Commons by 362 to 241.
House of Lords: Second reading debate of Reconstitution Bill.
Provisional agreement announced in connection with South Wales coal dispute.
- 16.—Queen Victoria Memorial unveiled by King George, assisted by Kaiser Wilhelm.
House of Commons: Budget night; no new taxes.
- 18.—House of Commons: Postmaster-General announced several postal reforms.
- 19.—House of Commons: Old Age Pensions Amendment Bill second reading.
Judges decided in favour of Tory M.P.'s "charity" at East Nottingham.
- 20.—Death of Dr. E. M. Grace, cricketer.

- 22.—House of Lords: Reconstitution Bill read second time without division.
South Wales Miners' Council divided on acceptance of agreement with coalowners.
- 23.—House of Lords: Viscount Morley moved second reading of Parliament Bill.
First meeting of Imperial Conference.
- 25.—House of Commons: National Insurance Bill, second reading debate begun.
- 26.—House of Commons: Poor Law (London) Bill talked out.
- 27.—South Wales miners in conference reject proposed settlement.
- 29.—House of Lords: Parliament Bill passed second reading without division.
House of Commons: Insurance Bill read second time without division.
Death of Sir W. S. Gilbert, dramatist.
South Wales miners at Cardiff demanded national stoppage.
- 30.—House of Commons: Trade Union (No. 2) Bill read a second time.
- 31.—Violent thunderstorms: London deluged.

ABROAD.

- 1.—May-Day Celebrations: 12,000 troops concentrated in Paris; 81 arrests.
- 8.—Diaz, the Dictator of Mexico, pronounced intention to resign. Printers' strike at Capetown.
- 10.—Mexican Rebels captured Juarez.
Spirited debate in the Russian Duma on the use of the Emergency Clause by the Government.
- 12.—Serious building strike riots at Zurich.
- 15.—United States Supreme Court quashed sentences of imprisonment on Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in connection with the Buck's Stove and Range Company.
United States Supreme Court decided that Standard Oil Combine must be dissolved.
- 16.—American House of Representatives resolved to investigate the Steel Trust.
More captures by Mexican rebels.
- 19.—Lumber Trust prosecuted in United States.
- 21.—French Minister of War killed and Premier badly injured at Paris by descending aeroplane.
- 22.—Terms of peace signed in Mexico.
- 26.—Alsace-Lorraine new Constitution carried in German Reichstag.
- 28.—Portuguese elections; no Monarchist candidates.
Celebration in Paris of suppression of the Commune.
- 29.—United States Supreme Court declared Tobacco Corporation a "combination in restraint of trade."



Above is a photograph of the tomb of the late Samuel Plimsoll, the "Sailor's Friend," who carried on a vigorous and fearless campaign against "coffin-ships," and succeeded in securing the adoption of the load-line for merchant vessels, which has ever since been known by his name. It is well to recall his work in this connection just now, when the man, Mr. Lloyd George, who by a stroke of the pen practically obliterated the results of that work, is the idol of the democracy.



SEEKING HONEY IN A WASP'S NEST.

MARIANNE—"Be quiet and let me alone and I will manage this business."
—"Amsterdammer."



THE LEISURE CLASS.

IF BIRDS OF A FEATHER *did* FLOCK TOGETHER.
—"Life."

THE HIGHER LIFE.

F. B. SILVESTER.

I.

O, night of stars and music,
O, night of love and song,
O, night of throbbing passion,
Exalting deep and strong ;
O, night when thou entranced me
With the beauty of thy kiss—
That night has gone for ever,
With its transcendent bliss !

O, eyes I loved so dearly,
O, heart that thrilled with joy,
O, voice that whispered shyly,
O, lips that ne'er could cloy—
That night of nights, beloved,
To music's soulful sound
I clasped thee and I kissed thee
With happiness profound.

I clasped thee and I kissed thee,
And gazed on thy dear face,
Or at the stars above us
In sombre depths of space ;
'Twas then I felt, beloved,
To me thou wert the life
That nerves a man to battle
His way through worldly strife.

The nobler life within me—
Which is the higher life—
I vainly thought depended
On thee, my promised wife ;
And hadst thou never left me
To pine in grief alone,
My life, once worth the living,
Had never worthless grown.

Ah, vanished then the vista
Whereunto Love had led ;
The visions Fancy pictured
Like rainbow hues were fled ;

The sunshine of thy loving
Had faded from my way,
O'er which there fell a darkness
That gave no hope of day.

II.

O, night of sad sea music,
O, night all clouded o'er,
O, night when madly moaning
I roamed the sombre shore ;
Above me flew a sea-gull,
How mournful was its cry !
The gloomy waves boomed dirges,
And I—I wished to die.

I wandered through a churchyard
All crowded with the dead ;
How ghostly looked the tombstones
That knelt at each grave's head !
Their backs were turned upon me,
They faced the sacred East :
The Dead scorned me for longing
To be from Life released.

I groaned, " Ah, my belovéd,
The Living and the Dead
Have turned their faces from me
As from a thing of dread ;
O, earth, thou dreary prison,
O, Love, thou cross accurst,
This night will I for ever
Life's hateful fetters burst ! "

So from that still God's-acre
Wherein I longed to lie,
Back to the shore I hastened,
Determined there to die ;
When o'er the darkened waters
I heard a spirit sing :
" The Higher Life is Goodness,
Which finds in Truth its spring.

" Forego thy sinful folly,
Live well the life thou hast ;
Let not a woman's falseness
Thy life's true purpose blast ;
Though she hath thee forsaken
Thou art not all unblest ;
Good deeds thou shouldst be doing,
Strive, then, to do thy best.

" The world is full of evil,
 Of tyranny and wrong ;
 The laws of Life are broken
 By Mammon's reckless throng ;
 Whose wealth by greed begotten
 Breeds death and crime and woe ;
 Back, then, to Earth's poor people,
 Aid them to fight their foe.

" That foe is rich and ruthless,
 They hold the poor in thrall ;
 Their hearts are false and venal,
 Their deeds the just appal ;
 For pelf they crush the toilers
 Who slave from morn till night ;
 Fight, then, these cruel tyrants
 With Justice, Truth, and Might.

" The Truth of Evolution
 Will worst these callous knaves ;
 The Might of Revolution
 Will free thy fellow-slaves ;
 And Justice' sword will sever
 The serpent head of strife,
 And liberate for ever
 Thy class from sordid life.

" Then Love will bring forth Beauty
 To charm with fairy wand ;
 Then work will be a pleasure
 Beloved throughout the land ;
 Then Truth o'er lies victorious—
 The lies of base wealth—Kings—
 Will make Life glad and glorious,
 Lead Man to higher things."

* * * * *

O, Dawn of sacred beauty,
 O, vital orb of light ;
 O, vision beatific
 Dispelling my soul's night ;
 O, noble future people,
 I hear thy valiant songs ;
 O, free and virile people
 To ye my life belongs !

THE LIE AND THE TRUTH ABOUT MILWAUKEE.

By CARL D. THOMPSON.

What is evidently a wide campaign of misrepresentation, distortion and misinterpretation is being carried on in the plutocratic press against the Milwaukee administration. While this is to be expected, nevertheless, the interests of truth and the welfare of the people demand that the facts be known.

It is charged that the Socialists have raised the taxes. The truth is: (a) The Socialists so far have had nothing to do with fixing the taxes; (b) Even as it is, the tax rate in Milwaukee is lower than that of any other city of its size in America; (c) In so far as the tax rates are high or burdensome, it is the fault of the rich tax dodgers. There are many millions of dollars of property that escape taxation, a practice that the present administration proposes to stop; (d) The policies of the present administration, if carried out, will establish revenue-producing enterprises which will relieve the burden of taxation rather than increase it.

It is charged that wild and fantastic schemes proposed by the Socialists will surely raise taxes next year. The truth is: (a) The programme of the Socialists is not wild and fantastic; (b) The tax limit and the bond limit are rigidly fixed by State law and charter convention, so that no excessive increase in expenditures would be possible even if the Socialists contemplated it. It was the "wild and fantastic" schemes of the big plutocratic interests, grafters and boodlers of the past administrations in city, State and nation that made it necessary to safeguard public expenditure, and not the programme of the honest and efficient administration Milwaukee now has.

It is charged that the Socialist administration has caused an industrial depression in Milwaukee, that capital is frightened, confidence destroyed, factories closed and commercial havoc wrought. The facts are: (a) The commercial and industrial conditions in Milwaukee show a normal improvement. The total receipts at the Milwaukee Post Office for 1910 showed an increase of \$149,539.93, which is rather larger than a normal increase. The Post Office receipts were \$75,265 greater, and the bank clearings \$28,911,400 greater during the six months following Seidel's election than

during the corresponding months of the preceding year; (b) The value of the year's production of the Milwaukee industries was \$6,171,884 greater this year than last; the amount of capital employed was \$6,683,649 more this year than last. From which it can be clearly seen that there was not very much capital frightened away. There was \$3,795,218 more paid in wages this year than last; there were 3,602 more working people employed this year than last; and there were 137 more industrial plants at work this year than last. These figures I have taken from the January 1, 1911, issue of the "Milwaukee Sentinel's" Annual Trade Review, pages 1 and 2.

It is charged that an epidemic of scarlet fever is raging in the city of Milwaukee, due to the incompetency and neglect of the Socialist Health Department. The facts are, there is no epidemic of scarlet fever in Milwaukee. There were 349 more cases under Dr. Bading's previous administration during the four months ending December 31, 1909, than there were under the corresponding four months of Dr. Kraft's administration. In 1909 there were 855 cases during the four months ending December 31, and in 1910, under Dr. Kraft's administration, there were only 506 cases during the corresponding period. In every single month there were from fifty to a hundred less cases under Dr. Kraft than under Dr. Bading. And 855 cases of scarlet fever in four months in a population of 375,000 does not constitute an epidemic. No one thought of charging Mr. Bading's administration with having an epidemic of scarlet fever. If so, much less, then, may the Socialists be charged with having an epidemic, since there were 349 cases less than under Dr. Bading.

It is charged that the Socialists have been extravagant in city expenditures. The truth is: (a) The Socialist administration saved \$30,000 in street construction work within the first month of their administration; (b) The purchasing department saved \$18,000 within the first three months, with a total of \$48,000 in sight as possible saving for the year; (c) The City Attorney's department has won so far \$465,000 worth of cases that were brought against the city; (d) The City Clerk's department has saved \$3,800; (e) The Comptroller's department \$1,200, on salaries alone; (f) The Mayor's department, \$1,000; (g) The Health department, \$1,200. The total savings due to the efficiency of the Socialist administration already in sight amount to over \$570,000 per year.

It is charged that the effort to draw a model franchise was the most ludicrous thing ever attempted in this country and a complete failure. The truth is that the franchise is drawn upon the basis of franchises in actual operation in other cities in America and Europe, and simply embodies the features of an up-to-date franchise. Wall Street did not like the franchise, and rejected it. The water, wind and graft are all knocked out.

It is charged that the Socialist administration is trying to force on to the people of Milwaukee schemes that are wild and visionary. The truth in the matter is that the measures said to be wild and visionary, and against which most objection is raised, are measures which former administrations had proposed and advocated, as follows: (a) The river park project, for example, so bitterly assailed by all the old politicians, was recommended by the Metropolitan Park Commission, the President of which is a prominent Republican politician, who, before the Socialists came into power, not only recommended the measure, but strongly advocated it. Practically every newspaper in the city enthusiastically endorsed the project until the old party politicians made it a political issue. Now, because the Socialists advance it, it has suddenly become "wild and visionary"; (b) The railway terminal station project, which involved the issuing of a million dollars' worth of mortgage certificates in order to make it possible, was also a project advocated by former administrations, and strongly supported by various commercial clubs and progressive citizens. It becomes wild and visionary when the Socialists take it up; (c) The electric lighting plant has been endorsed by both Republican and Democratic parties since 1898. The matter has been four times submitted to a referendum of the people of this city, and every time by overwhelming majorities approved. The Socialists are actually forcing the issue to completion. And this is what makes it "wild and visionary"; (d) Home Rule for the city of Milwaukee is another of the measures of which the Socialists have made a very strong and persistent fight, until at last every political party in the State is committed to the idea and has promised it in their platform. Also wild and visionary. So, as a matter of fact, the very measures that the capitalist press and politicians and boodlers are so furiously attacking now as being wild and visionary are measures which their own parties had heretofore advocated and pretended to favour. Now that the Socialists are actually putting these measures through, the whole bunch of capitalist politicians are compelled to show their hands.

It is charged that there are 20,000 to 30,000 men out of work in Milwaukee, a condition due directly to the Socialist administration. The facts are, there are no more men out of work in the city of Milwaukee than usual under similar conditions, nor more than usual in cities of this size in America. And it is certain that the Socialist administration is in no way responsible for the condition. As a matter of fact, they are relieving it.

It is charged that the Socialist administration has created a great fear in the minds of many people that labour troubles will arise, strikes and disturbances, which will interfere with the industrial life of the city. As a matter of fact, however, there have been fewer strikes and less labour troubles in the city of Milwaukee than in any similar industrial centre in the country. The working class are better organised, but depend upon more peaceful,

political action than upon trade union methods alone. The Garment Workers' Strike of last winter, for example, was settled without violence and also without disturbance. There have been no serious strikes or labour troubles in the city of Milwaukee for years.

It is charged that the Socialists have not kept their platform pledges. The fact of the matter is that, even according to the critics themselves, six out of fourteen of the promises mentioned have been carried out. If six out of fourteen platform pledges are carried out in one year, and the Socialists are in office two years, how many would be left at that rate in the end? However, of the fourteen mentioned in their list at least five have either been actually achieved or advanced to the utmost limit possible by the Socialists, while the critics fail entirely to make mention of more than a dozen achievements of the administration which were not promised in the platform, but which have been carried out.



THE RISE OF THE PROLETARIAN.—The evolution of the conditions of existence for a numerous, strong, concentrated and intelligent proletarian class goes hand-in-hand with the development of the conditions of existence for a numerous, wealthy, concentrated and powerful middle-class. The working-class movement itself is never independent, never is of an exclusively proletarian character, until all the different factions of the middle class, and particularly its most progressive faction, the large manufacturers, have conquered political power, and remodelled the State according to their wants. It is then that the inevitable conflict between the employer and the employed becomes imminent, and cannot be adjourned any longer; that the working class can no longer be put off with delusive hopes and promises never to be realised; that the great problem of the nineteenth century, the abolition of the proletariat, is at last brought forward fairly and in its proper light.—“Evolution and Counter-Evolution; or, Germany in 1848,” p. 22.

THE REVIEWS.

CAUSES OF THE PRESENT MINISTERIAL CRISIS IN RUSSIA.

Dr. Dillon has the following to say in this month's "Contemporary Review" on the present situation in Russia:—

Piotr Arkadyevich Stolypin, many of his countrymen say, is a man of destiny for the monarchy. Involuntarily he damages the cause he would fain promote. Whether he leans towards Liberalism, as was the case down to the year 1909, or towards Quietism, as he has done since then, his influence upon the monarchical system in Russia would seem to be subtly baneful. In either case he has been steadily or fitfully knitting democratic fibres into Russia's national growth, or plucking out monarchist fibres from it. Foreigners have no call to meddle in domestic matters of this nature. Beyond the fact that as friends of the Russian nation we should like to see it truly strong, and therefore adopting means to become so, it matters little to us how this or that internal problem is solved. The following narrative, which will give the reader an idea of the present state of politics in Russia, and of the chronic crisis there, embodies the views of Russian Monarchists. I reserve my own. The facts are known and can be verified by all.

A twelvemonth ago the Russian Premier pledged his word to introduce Zemstvo institutions in the Western provinces. Whether this is a desirable reform or the reverse is doubtful. Opinion on the subject is divided. Anyhow the promise was made, and its outcome was a measure which was laid before the Duma, and with certain democratic modifications was adopted by that Chamber. The Zemstvo is a sort of county council, which levies local taxes, mends roads, provides schools, hospitals, dispensaries, and also gathers up a certain amount of political influence into its hands. Unhappily there are racial differences in the Western provinces which introduce awkward elements into the problem: Poles vie with Russians, Catholicism wrestles with Orthodoxy. If, therefore, you establish Zemstvos there on the same lines as in the centre of Russia you give the Poles the upper hand, and that is a consummation which cannot be thought of by the Duma. M. Stolypin's way of solving the puzzle was to split up the voters into two national curiæ, and to limit the number of Polish

delegates so that the Russians would always possess a majority. That was the scope of the Bill which the Duma passed.

In the Upper Chamber it had powerful enemies. Some members of that House discountenance the Zemstvo altogether, and their opinion is not unsupported by good grounds. Others disapprove of the nationalist principle, for once introduce nationalism as a framework separating voter from voter and you have established separatism of the worst sort, which, if thoroughly applied, cannot but lead to disruption of the Empire. The fate of the Bill then was doubtful. But M. Stolypin knew of a remedy. He invoked the name of the Emperor, with his Majesty's permission, in order to oblige the Monarchist deputies to vote in favour of the measure. The wavering and even decided Monarchists, who held that M. Stolypin was committing a grave error, felt constrained to say: "We will vote for Stolypin, for his Majesty desires it." A month before this M. Trepoff, a Monarchist, had delivered a stirring speech against the project; but after the President of the Upper Chamber had opened his Majesty's pleasure to the Conservatives, the passage of the Bill seemed secure. In order to convince the Czar that the interests of the Russian and Orthodox elements in the six Western provinces would be best furthered by the scheme, M. Stolypin had deputations from the population presented to the Emperor.

Meanwhile the out-and-out Conservatives and many moderate Monarchists fretted and chafed. . . . For the deputations received by the Emperor were composed largely of officials dependent on the Government and of Marshals of the Nobility. A letter to the Czar revealing these data was indited by M. Durnovo, and handed to the President of the Upper Chamber. The object of that letter, M. Stolypin now contends, was bad, and to write it was a punishable offence. It was the attempt of an intriguer and frondeur to obtain in an underhand way undue influence over his Majesty, and the recurrence of such irregular meddling must be made impossible henceforward. Good government would otherwise be impossible. To these allegations M. Durnovo's friends have an answer. The object of the letter was excellent; it was precisely to prevent undue influence from being brought to bear upon the Monarch, whose person should not be dragged into debates of fifth-class importance; it was to counteract irregular meddling. . . .

M. Durnovo's letter was held back. Then M. Trepoff solicited an audience of the Monarch, and received it. He unfolded his views and those of his political friends to the Czar, who, seeing how things were, authorised M. Trepoff and those whose opinions he voiced to vote according to their consciences. This message was given informally. Next day the voting took place, M. Stolypin being present in the House. His brother-in-law, who heads a party, noticed that the dissidents were in force. He remarked to the Premier that the majority might not rise above six or seven.

Neither of them yet knew what changes M. Trepoff had quietly wrought in the ranks of the voters. Then came the bolt from the blue: the Bill was thrown out by a majority of 24. M. Stolypin sat there for a while transfixed to his seat.

Next day the Premier learned how the unexpected had come to pass. He at once placed his resignation in the Emperor's hands. His friends declared that this time his withdrawal was definite and final. He would retire into private life. The crisis took everyone by surprise. People asked each other how Russia could get on without M. Stolypin. Who could succeed him? What would happen next? Groups of questions arose, one more urgent than the other, and called for answers.

On May 10, the great hall of the Tavrida Palace, in which the elected legislators sit, was crowded. Never before during the present Session had there been such a large or brilliant gathering. The galleries for the public and the stands for the journalists were packed, seemingly on the scholastic principle of finding room for countless heavenly messengers on the point of a needle. Members of the Upper Chamber, including the most prominent and best known among them, were huddled together with a heroic disregard for mere personal dignity and comfort. Every Minister was in his place. The Premier, to hear whom they were all assembled, entered and cast a hasty glance around the hall. His pale features flushed, his eyes sparkled as he beheld the audience. Several days before this he had been censured by the Upper Chamber. The Council of the Empire had declared that he had committed a breach of the laws, and that his attempted defence was nugatory. But then he had expected that verdict and discounted it. . . .

He began, as we saw, by declaring the whole interpellation illegal. Then he went on to co-operate with the "law-breakers" who presented it. He next offered reasons for his coup d'état, which will not bear scrutiny. For instance: Why did he not re-introduce the rejected Bill into the Duma and have it passed nominally? his adversaries had asked. "Because," he answered, "I know that it would have been again thrown out by the Council of the Empire. That is why I had recourse to the methods I employed." "Good," insisted his antagonists, "then tell us how you are going to persuade the Council of Empire to pass it now? For the self-same approbation of that body is necessary under the method you have applied as well as under that which you declined to apply. And if you can move the Upper Chamber to vote the measure now, you could have determined it then equally well." To these arguments there was no answer.

And so the sun of M. Stolypin's career has set. He has, in a moment of unaccountable mental blindness, ruined his prospects

just for the sake of taking revenge on a number of political adversaries. And what surprises the most is the clumsy way in which he carried out his scheme. For, apart from the ethics of the matter, his tactics were suicidal. He could have executed everything that he has actually done, and everything which he intended to do, without arousing the storm of indignation which has swept away all his roots in the Legislature, the country and the Court. He could have passed the rejected Bill in the usual way, or, if he preferred it, he might have had it promulgated by the Czar; but only during the long vacation. He might have punished his antagonists, too, if considerations of generosity proved inadequate to appease his itching for revenge. If he had waited till the end of the year, when the list of nominated members of the Upper Chamber is regularly revised, he could have caused the names of the obnoxious members to be eliminated without fuss. But he dashed ahead—ran amok, say his adversaries—and landed himself on an island, so to speak, where he is completely isolated. Nearly all that is greatest and best in Russia, among Conservatives and Liberals, Octobrists, and even Nationalists, must be disingenuous or imbecile if M. Stolypin is right.

M. Stolypin is now alone. He has no support in the Chambers or in the country. His best friends, like Baron Megendorff, bore witness against him on that day of doom. Ex-Speaker Homyakoff had parted company with him before. Speaker Gutchkoff resigned in consequence of the unceremonious way in which the Premier treated the Duma. Grand Dukes admonished him that he was on the wrong road. Members of the Imperial Family advised him to bethink himself and give up his conditions, or, as they were termed, "compensations." From among his own colleagues he heard a salutary warning, which proved as prophetic as those of Cassandra, and as unfruitful. The Upper Chamber, by a large majority, declared, although the law had been promulgated by the Emperor and the fullest advantage had been unwisely drawn from the use of the Emperor's name, that the act was illegal, and that the Premier's explanations of it were inadequate. And now the Duma, too, delivers judgment, by a majority of 202 against 82, that the summary introduction of the Zemstvos in the western provinces was counter to the spirit of the fundamental laws, and that the Prime Minister's plea in favour of it was unconvincing.

Verily, May 10 will be a red-letter day in the annals of Russian constitutionalism, thanks to the furtherance unwittingly given to this cause by the ex-professor Chief of the Monarchists.

The Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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IS THE S.D.P. TO BLAME ?

By H. W. LEE.

That the Socialist movement in Great Britain is not at present in a satisfactory condition we must all agree. It is difficult to imagine anyone holding a contrary opinion, unless he be of the few who seem really to believe that the smaller in membership a Socialist body may be the better body of Socialists it is. There are some who hold that view, but their number is so small as to be negligible in any serious discussion. It is when we come to consider the causes which have brought about this unsatisfactory condition of things in the British Socialist movement that we need to approach the subject with a mind as open and unprejudiced as possible.

I am in entire accord with a good deal of what F. Victor Fisher lays down in last month's "Social-Democrat." There are, undoubtedly, elements in our propaganda which do not bring the best results to the S.D.P. There is a Calvinist spirit that rises up at times which has a tendency to freeze out new recruits who might become valuable comrades. There is also

too much of a so-called determinist attitude towards everything in general that amounts to a cult of the inevitability of the inevitable, and furnishes an excuse for all manner of drawbacks—from an unwillingness to do anything for the movement to the defalcation of branch funds. One may sympathise with the “Bottom Dog,” but one does not necessarily elevate him into a hero, or trust him in every particular. There are other little peculiarities among some of our comrades that may not be altogether advantageous to the S.D.P.; but then there can be no human organisation entirely free from them, and we must recognise that they will exist, though we should take every step to reduce them to a minimum.

The admission of all I have stated, however, and a good deal more, will not account for the unsatisfactory position of the Socialist movement in general here, and the S.D.P. in particular. If it were due entirely to the faults of the S.D.P. we should be the body which, if we did not suffer alone, would be suffering a great deal more than any other organisation that is regarded as Socialist. Yet we know that this is not the case. I have no hesitation in saying that the slump among Socialists rather than in Socialism—for the progress of Socialist ideas has continued in spite of everything—has affected the S.D.P. relatively less than any other organisation. That is not saying that we are faultless, or that our slow growth is due entirely to the folly or stupidity or ignorance of the British workers. But the folly and stupidity and ignorance of a large number of the workers in these islands have undoubtedly something to do with the slow progress of the definite and organised Socialist movement as against the spread of Socialist ideas, feeling their way, as it were, through sections of the Liberal Party or through the Labour Party, like streams striving to find an outlet to river and sea. Victor Fisher’s illustration of the shop that doesn’t pay is admirable, but there is another that he should have included—that is that, although our goods are of A1 quality, other shops may

open for the sale of goods which appear equally as good as our own, and are got up so well that they deceive the too credulous worker and seem to him to be more easily purchaseable than those that we offer. His own reference to Radical-Socialist legislation is a case in point.

Apart from the concrete examples of weakness to which Victor Fisher calls our attention, and the suggestions he makes for our future policy, with which I am agreed in the main, there seems to underlie his article a spirit of which we have need to be careful. That spirit, it seems to me, is one that almost unconsciously suggests a superiority on the part of the entire middle class to the working class, which I do not think is evidenced in every department of human activity. It suggests more than a superiority bred of education and opportunity. We are all compelled, unfortunately, to recognise the want of capacity that is frequently exhibited, even in simple matters, by the workers of this country; but are the middle class—as a class, not certain individuals—displaying such extraordinary capabilities in ordinary affairs as would warrant our making special efforts to convert them as distinct from the people generally? We want members of the middle class, and even of the upper classes, in the Socialist movement, so long as they are prepared individually to work with their fellow Socialists, who, in turn, must treat them as comrades in our common cause, and not as persons against whom suspicion is to be continually directed. Nevertheless, we have to be on our guard against anything that would even apparently suggest a superior class of Socialists, for along that way lies the road to the greatest of all dangers—bureaucracy. Bureaucracy may be efficient, but it is far better for the people to take in hand their own business, and to blunder over it most fearfully, than for it to be managed most beautifully and orderly for them by an oligarchy of “experts,” whose “expert” knowledge and administration are usually gained at the expense of human sympathy and good fellowship.

Experience teaches, and the people who make no mistakes are those who do nothing. Moreover, the recent comments that are being made on that sacrosanct institution of the middle-class, the public school system, show that it is no longer an efficient training ground for those who look forward to occupying positions in the government of the country.

Personally, I am of opinion that the slump among Socialists has been caused more by the Labour Party in Parliament than anything else. I do not say that that is the only cause, but I do feel that it is the principal cause. The results of the 1906 elections gave the Labour Party such a much better position in British politics than was expected that nearly all of us, though we might have wished that success had been achieved in a different manner, felt that a new era had dawned on political conditions in this country, and that some sort of independence would henceforth find a place in the House of Commons as against the machine politics of the two-party system. It would not be Socialist, it is true, but nevertheless even independence was so great a step forward that it could be heartily welcomed. It is not too much to say that that feeling animated the majority of Socialists in this country after the elections of 1906: it does not animate them to-day.

The great thing that is wanted now among Socialists generally in this country is hope. Without that quality all the schemes for better organisation, all the suggestions for improvement, all the lines of conduct that we should pursue towards Socialists outside the S.D.P., no matter how admirable, are little better than useless. We have got to have more hope and more confidence in ourselves. There is undoubtedly a more hopeful feeling abroad now than there was six months ago. Let the undoubted progress of our ideas throughout the length and breadth of the land encourage us to put forward our best efforts for the Socialist movement, and at the same time let us see to it that nothing is done by us that will weaken our Socialist principles

on the one hand, or repel by cold antagonism those who will be useful to our movement on the other.

These remarks are levelled not at all against the main contentions of Victor Fisher in his criticism of methods of propaganda and organisation, but against the spirit which seems to me to underlie a good deal of what he has written in that connection, and against the assumption that our past methods and policy are largely, if not entirely, responsible for our rate of advancement, which certainly does not keep pace with the progress of our ideas.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

BY H. GEORGE FARMER.

"The Paris Commune," said Karl Marx, "will ever be celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society." It was the first and only attempt of the working class to govern itself, having for an ultimate aim the inauguration of a Socialist State. The revolution was practically accomplished on the 18th of March, 1871, when the Parisian workers declared it "their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies by seizing upon Governmental power." For two whole months the working-class Commune held Paris with an armed array of nearly a hundred thousand National Guards (the Paris Militia) against the forces of capitalism in the shape of the regular army. For two whole months the Commune directed the administration of the city, which, according to no less an authority than Frederic Harrison, "was never more efficiently carried on."

We are so often told how low and debased society would be in the hands of Socialists and Atheists. The intellectual life, it is said, would especially suffer from a socialistic régime which found its "all" in the mere satisfaction of physical needs, whilst being atheistic it would necessarily be soul-less. An answer to all this may be found in the socialistic and atheistic Commune of Paris of 1871. How Education, Art, Music and Literature fared at its hands this hitherto-neglected chapter in its history will answer.

EDUCATION.

(Dedicated to EDOUARD VAILLANT.)

The first revolution accomplished by bourgeois and workmen alike favoured education for all. The Constitution of 1791 decreed "a public education common

to all citizens, and gratuitous in respect to all those parts of instruction that are indispensable to all." That, as we know, was never accomplished, as the revolution, the real intellectual revolution, was arrested at the fall of the Cordeliers and the Freethinkers, and the aggrandisement of Robespierre and the religionists. But we must pass on. At the Restoration, *fifty thousand francs* was the total amount set aside for primary education for *all France*! No wonder that when Louis Philippe took the purple, more than half the male and quite three-quarters of the female population could neither read nor write. Certainly, State primary schools were opened in 1833 for boys, and in 1867 girls were placed on the same footing. But that was not much, since public instruction on every hand was marked with the spirit of class, and that education "free to all," willed by the people, was still as far off as ever. The workman, despite his Voltairianism, was compelled to place his children in the hands of the priests, who ruled the schools, and took precious care that these children were kept in subjection to the bourgeois, the priests' most powerful patrons, that the colleges, lycées and special schools—nurseries for the high stations in civil and official life—might be open only to them.

Small wonder, as Lissagaray says, that when the proletariat did get power, the question of education would mark the era, springing forth ready-armed, and writing one of the finest pages in the social revolution.

Under the Commune, education was dealt with by a special "commission," nominated on March 29, which took the place of the "Ministry" of the *ancien régime*. The commission included two eminent doctors of medicine—Dr. Goupil and Dr. J. E. Robinet, two teachers—Verdure and Urbain, three well-known literary men—Jules Vallés, Ernest Lefèvre and Albert Leroy, and a workman-sculptor—Demay. A secretary was also appointed in the person of Constant Martin.

Unfortunately two of those—Robinet and Leroy—resigned immediately, whilst a third—Lefèvre—followed soon after. In truth they had little sympathy with the revolution, and were counted no more than extreme Liberals. The secession of Dr. Robinet was, however, a distinct loss. An eminent physician and publicist, and the friend and leading disciple of Comte, he saw practically eye to eye with the revolution in education matters. These vacancies made room for more devoted men—Jules Miot and J. B. Clément.

Before proceeding further, let us see more closely who these “commissioners” were. The “Delegate for Education,” who acted like the Minister of Public Instruction of old, was a Dr. E. A. Goupil, “a distinguished savant” (Larousse), known for his writings on medicine, notably “*Les Maladies de la Poitrine*” (1869). He was an ardent Republican, and took part in the affair of the 31st of October, for which he was sentenced to imprisonment. Augustin Verdure had been a teacher, but settling in Paris had joined the social revolution and became affiliated to the International. He contributed to the revolutionary press, especially the “*Marseillaise*.” The other teacher, Raoul Urbain, a man of great ability in his profession, was head-master of an academy in Paris. Jules Vallés was the foremost pamphleteer of his day, and the author of the immortal “*Réfractaires*.” Jules Miot, a rebel of '48, who had tasted both prison and transportation, was a chemist by profession, and known for his strong writings and his books “*Réponse aux deux libelles*” and “*L'Heure Suprême de l'Italie*.” J. B. Clément was a revolutionary journalist and *chansonnier*.

The “commission” comprised, then, a “delegate” and six “commissioners.” Unfortunately, the multitudinous duties which crowded upon its members made it impossible for them to do justice to their mandate. Not only had they to attend the daily sittings of the Commune, but they were held responsible for the administration of their arrondissements, besides attending to several other commissions.

Trouble arose the first week by the resignation of the "delegate"—Dr. Goupil. Furthermore, the confusion which reigned at the Ministry, or, as the Commune called it, the Ex-Ministry of Education, owing to the desertion of several important officials, hampered all efforts to organise a bureau of service. Many of the schools, both municipal and Church, were closed (especially in the "fashionable" quarters), the teachers having abandoned their charges. Teachers were advertised for immediately so as to proceed with their opening; for, as a member of the Commune said, it was "worthy of the people to send the children to school amid the roar of the cannon which were making a breach in the ancient strongholds of ignorance and superstition. That vision of little children applying themselves to learn without a moment's loss of time while their fathers were dying to gain for them the right of intellectual equality was not without grandeur." (Cluseret in "Frazer's Magazine," 1872).

On April 15 the delegates for education in each of the 20 arrondissements were asked to co-operate with the Commission, and two days later the heads of all colleges and schools supported by the State were notified to render full details of their personnel and state of organisation.

The complementary elections on April 20 brought about the re-organisation of the "Commission." The services of two members—Urbain and Demay, who had taken little part in the sittings—were dispensed with. In their place came the famous painter—Gustave Courbet, the director of fine arts—whose department came under the administration of the commission. But more important was the appointment of a new "delegate" in the person of Dr. Edouard Vaillant, now the famous leader of the "Parti Socialiste Révolutionnaire." He was a learned student, a doctor of science at 25, who had studied at the "Ecole de Medicine" at Paris, and at the universities of Heidelberg, Tubingen and Vienna, a member of the International and a Blanquist. Vaillant was devoted to the

Commune, and no sooner was he installed at the Ministry of Education than affairs assumed an aspect of motion. Firstly, he placed the administration under the control of a capable official named Pepin. The detailed reports which had previously been asked from the colleges and schools without avail were now demanded from the *maires*. A notice in the "Journal Officiel" for April 23 also invited projects of educational reforms, both *intégral* and *professionnel*.*

All the boasted educational reforms of late years—the kindergarten, the workshop and laboratory, secular education, the superintended playground, free clothing and feeding, and all the rest—sprung from those whom the respectable, church-going, profit-sharing bourgeoisie look upon with horror—the Socialists! Read your histories of the Owenite movement, and that of Fourier or St. Simon, or the writings of the later Socialist schools, and then try and squeeze an original idea out of to-day's educational schedule which had not been practised or taught by these votaries of social revolution.

The educational reforms to which the Commune was pledged were—(a) secular education and suppression of religious images in schools, (b) *l'éducation intégrale*, (c) increase in scholarships, (d) augmentation of teaching staff, and (e) free maintenance of children during school hours. Fortunately for the Commune, it had in its very midst a society called "L'éducation Nouvelle," manned by good and sturdy *revoltés*. Scarcely had the Commune been established than it was petitioned by this society on the question of reforms, insisting mainly—

That religious and dogmatic instruction be left entirely to the private direction of parents and be immediately and radically suppressed for both sexes in all the State schools.

* The Communal Budget allowed *one thousand francs a month* for education. This sum was, of course, for the central administration. Each *arrondissement* voted its own educational budget: for instance, in the Seventh *Arrondissement* some *eight thousand francs* were deposited for this purpose.

That objects of worship or religious images be no longer exposed in the schools.

That it should employ exclusively the scientific and experimental method of instruction, that which always concerns the observation of facts, physical, moral, and intellectual. (The basis of *l'éducation intégrale*).

That all questions in the religious domain be completely suppressed in all public examinations.

That the staff of teachers be increased.

The signatories of this petition were: J. Rama, J. Manier, Maria Verdure (the daughter of Augustin Verdure), Henriette Garoste, and Louise Laffitte—all teachers or educationists.

Secular education was bound to become one of the chief features of the communal legislation. The Church, always an instrument of class domination, was marked by the proletariat as the most designing enemy of the social republic, and so one of the first decrees was the separation of Church and State, bringing its natural sequence—secular education. The transformation from religious to secular instruction was not accomplished without trouble. On May 11 a report on the state of education in each arrondissement revealed the fact that the schools in some quarters still retained the old teaching. The matter was immediately placed in the hands of the "Commission of Public Safety," who enforced the law. Thus secular education, which afterwards took a bourgeois Republic 30 years of political tomfoolery to arrive at, was accomplished by the Commune in one stroke.

Then came the suppression of religious images in schools, promulgated by law May 11. In the eyes of the Versaillese this was an abominable sacrilege; and the English press, whose royal and aristocratic families had fattened on Church plunder, affected to be greatly shocked. That "old woman," as Turgénief called the public, was treated to fanciful pictures of roving bands of desperadoes plundering schools under this law, when, as a matter of fact, the secularisation was

carried out in a perfectly regular manner, all the property being accounted for at the Public Domains.

L'éducation intégrale was, and is still, the educational ideal of the social revolution. M. Paul Robin, the educationist has expounded its aims as follows:

"The word *intégrale*, applied to education, includes the three epithets—physical, intellectual, and moral; and indicates further the continuous relations between these three divisions.

"*L'éducation physique* embraces muscular and cerebral development. To note this development, and to learn to direct it with prudence, anthropometric observations should be made and statistics kept.

"*L'éducation intellectuel* has to do with two totally distinct matters: Matters of opinion—variable, debatable, the cause of antagonisms, etc.; and matters of fact—of observation, of experience, whose solutions are identical for all.

"The new teaching should diminish as much as possible the prominence of the first in favour of the second. The study of nature, of industry (by its practice in the workshop), and of the sciences (in laboratories and observatories) gives to the brain a harmonious development, makes it well balanced, and imparts a great justness of judgment."

The increase in scholarships was definitely promised by the Commune (Vésinier, "History of the Commune of Paris"), whilst the augmentation of the teaching staff was granted on April 17. When the Commune took the "Conservatoire de Musique" in hand, the communal director also insisted upon an increase of professors.

It was worthy of the Commune that it should practically initiate what our educationists of to-day have called the "Charter of the Children"—i.e, their free maintenance during school hours. But the scheme did not come direct from the Hotel de Ville, or even from the "Commission of Education." It seemed almost too revolutionary a proposal even for them.

The Commune could send food to the widows and orphans of the Versaillese soldiery who had fought against them, claiming the right to care for *all* widows and orphans. Yet it could not vote food for its own school children. The proposal came independently from two working-class arrondissements, the Third and Twentieth, and there put in force. Who knew better than the workmen of Belleville what the provision of food and clothing meant to the cold, hungry and wet-footed children, and without which free education was an infamous fraud?

From the first days of the revolution we find the arrondissements asserting the old communal right in the administration of their own affairs in their entirety. Long before any educational motion issued from the Commission of Education some of the arrondissement delegates had published their programmes and were hard at work re-organising the schools. One of the first to move was that of the Seventeenth (Batignolles), where that grand heroine of revolt, Louise Michel, was a teacher. Here are some thoughts from its official circular (April 8):—

“The teachers . . . will, for the future, exclusively employ the experimental and scientific method, that which always starts from facts, physical, moral and intellectual. Moral instruction will be freed of all religious or dogmatic principles, so that it can be given to all without offence. . . . Neither prayers, dogmas, nor anything which is reserved for the individual conscience, shall be taught or practised. The schools will not contain . . . any object of worship or religious image. The pupils will not use any book, or anything else, which might in any way be contrary to the scientific method and to sentiments of concord. . . . Teachers who cannot admit the rigorous application of the principle of liberty of conscience to communal instruction, are asked . . . to let us know the day they would like to resign, so as to avoid any interruption in the studies, so disadvantageous to the children.”

J. Rama, the Eighth Arrondissement education delegate, was one of the promoters of the society for *L'éducation Nouvelle*.

Perhaps the best conducted schools were those of the Eighth and Eleventh Arrondissements, under the respective control of Jules Allix, an educationist, and Augustin Verdure, a teacher, both members of the Commune. Poor Verdure! At the Courts-Martial the Versaillaise were compelled to testify to his untiring zeal and labour in the administration of his *mairie* and his schools especially. Yet they transported him to New Caledonia, and to death. Jules Allix has left us two reports concerning his schools from which I will quote:—

“THE OLD SCHOOLS.

“ . . . Three Church schools, boys' schools, which counted numerous members, have, without any apparent reason, suspended their classes. The teaching which the titularies thought fit to abandon has been re-established in two schools. All the communal schools, with one exception, are, therefore, in activity.*

“L'ÉDUCATION NOUVELLE SCHOOLS.

“The girls' school in the Rue de la Bienfaisance will be the first of the new schools, and the basis from which we hope to see the reform rise up. With this end in view, we propose to contribute to the practical education ourselves, and we have chosen as head mistress, Mdme. Gènevieve Vivien, a teacher of great merit, and the one of my pupils who knows best the importance of . . . *l'éducation nouvelle*. . . . Children will be admitted from the age of three.† . . . For children between five and seven—reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling should be taught. . . .

“NORMAL SCHOOLS.

“ . . . We have already established a normal gymnastic school. In a few days we shall be in a position to

* There were 14 schools in the arrondissement.

† A special school was set apart for them.

have gymnastics as a regular course for all the communal schools.

"We will also do the same with music and drawing.

"We make an urgent appeal to the conscience and intellect of all to help us in this work—the dream of our life, which we hope some day to see flourishing—'the scientific and practical reform of the education of children.'" (April 27.)

The Third Arrondissement, which had four working-men councillors, issued the following:—

"That which you claimed with us so long ago, that which the men of September 4 refused us—secular education—is an accomplished fact for our arrondissement. By our solicitude, and the care of the Commission of Education, the direction of the three Church schools of the Rues Ferdinand-Berthond, Neuve-Bourg-l'Abbé and Béarn is to-day confided to lay teachers.

"We hope, for the future of our country, that these teachers will form citizens instructed in their rights and their duties towards the Republic." (April 23.)

The schools of the Eighteenth Arrondissement, under the care of J. B. Clément, "a thoroughly skilled and just administrator" ("Fortnightly Review," 1871), were also well conducted.

Here is a circular of the Tenth Arrondissement:—

"The public is notified that the Communal School for boys at 157, Faubourg Saint-Martin, has been entrusted to the direction of the teachers offering all guarantees of instruction and *moralité désirables*.

"The exclusively rational education will comprise: Reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, metric system, first elements of geometry, geography, history of France, rational ethics, singing, and drawing—both artistic and industrial.

"All children from six to fifteen years, whatever may be their nationality or religion, will be admitted on presenting a card from the *mairie*. . . .

"Public courses of *morale rationnelle* and of political rights every evening at 8 o'clock by Citizen Ch. Poirson, Licentiate in Law, the director of the school." (April 22.)

This circular is signed "Leroudier."

The Fourth Arrondissement, which boasted Arthur Arnould and Lefrançais (the former lately an official at the Ministry of Education and the latter an ex-schoolmaster) among its representatives, issued a noble plea for the education of its young citizens:—

"Education is the perfect right of the child, and its distribution an imperative duty of the family, failing which, the community. Education, and education only, renders the child, when grown up, fully responsible for his actions towards his fellows. How, for instance, can the observance of the law be enacted when the citizens cannot even read the text? Education, we repeat, is the first duty of the family, or if that is unable to provide for it, the community.

"Moved by these obvious principles the Commune will organise public education on the widest possible basis. But it should first see that in future the child's conscience is respected, and that anything that might be injurious to it is rejected from the instruction. . . . It is more important than anything else in the school for the child to be taught that philosophical ideas should undergo an examination by reason and knowledge.

"The Commune does not intend to clash with any religious belief, but its strict duty is to take care that the child may not be forced to affirmations which its ignorance does not allow it to control. . . . So we have removed from all the public schools of the arrondissement, all members of the various religious bodies who were invested with the power to teach contrary to the principles of Liberty, Conscience and Worship set down by the French Revolution. Henceforth, these schools will be directed by lay teachers, and we will be scrupulously careful, by the help of frequent examinations, that religious teaching, without exception, is completely banned.

"To teach the child to love and respect his fellows ; to inspire in him a love of justice ; to teach him that he should equally instruct himself in view of the interests of all—are the principles of morality upon which communal education will be based for the future."

So much for primary instruction. As for higher and professional instruction, the Commission specially directed its energies for its better administration. The social revolution has always insisted on the progress of the arts and sciences, with a view of expanding the horizon, the wants, and the appetites of the workers. It enlightens them to the knowledge of their rights, and, moreover, excites them to the acquisition of those rights which are indispensable for their moral and intellectual development. Thus it was only in the nature of things that the Commune should look to the higher branches of instruction in their efforts to establish the social republic.

On April 28 a sub-commission was formed to assist in the communal reforms of education. As the arrondissement delegates for education were held responsible for the primary and infant schools, this sub-commission was able to give attention to professional and technical instruction. It comprised J. Rama and J. Manier (two of the promoters of the Society for *L'éducation Nouvelle*), Eugène André (who gave attention to the Turgot and Colbert Colleges), E. Sanglier, the well-known *chansonnier*, and E. Dacosta.

A little more than a week later this committee announced the opening of a special school for professional instruction in the school in the Rue Lhomond, which the Jesuits had deserted. Here youths were instructed in the trade or profession they had selected to pursue in life. In the Eighth Arrondissement an orphanage had already been established for girls and young people who could not obtain employment. Here workshops were run in conjunction with cantines.

One of the last circulars of M. Vaillant addressed to the arrondissements insisted that "the essentially socialistic character of the communal revolution" demanded the application of *l'éducation intégrale* to

public instruction. In view of this, the arrondissements were asked for "full details of premises and establishments most convenient for the immediate inauguration of technical schools where students, whilst undergoing their apprenticeship to some profession, will complete their scientific and literary training."

Professors of languages, sciences, drawing, modelling, history, as well as the trades, were advertised for on every hand. The Commune notified the inspectors of primary schools and *écoles du chant* appointed by the old régime that they were dismissed. As a saving of public funds, and for a more rigorous supervision of the reforms, this duty was to devolve upon the commissioners and special delegates.

A school of Industrial Art for girls was opened in the Rue Duprutyren, under the direction of Professor Parpalet. Here drawing, modelling and sculpture were taught, with which practical instruction a scientific and literary course was held in conjunction.

On the day the Versaillese entered Paris (May 21) another sub-commission was appointed to organise education for girls. It comprised the *citoyennes* André Léo (one of the heroines of the Commune, a most gifted and accomplished woman and a distinguished authoress), Jaclard (the wife of Professor Jaclard, the author of "Théorie sur le Communisme" and the friend and co-worker of Clemenceau), Perier, Sapia, and Reclus (a distinguished educationist, afterwards Inspectrice-General and member of the Chief Council of Education under the Third Republic).

Now we come to the higher schools and academies. Both the Turgot and Colbert Colleges were maintained in their courses by the Commune. From the first days of the Revolution to the last the "Académie des Sciences" regularly held its sittings, and the "Journal Officiel" threw open its pages to its reports. At the historic "Collège de France" courses were still held. The "Ecole des Mines" was placed in the charge of a savant and revolutionary, Dr. Parisel. The "Museum d'Histoire Naturelle," which gave instruction in the sciences and nature, was specially organised, with

greater facilities for students. A good revolutionary—Ernest Moullé—had the administration of this institution.

The "Ecole de Medicine," deserted by its professors, was boldly taken in hand by the Commune, which was prepared to inaugurate a more democratic régime. It convoked an advisory board of doctors, professors and students for this purpose. Dr. J. Alfred Naquet, assisted by the Doctors Dupré and Rambaud, were responsible for the school. Naquet was a brilliant young doctor who, with Regnard, founded the famous "Revue Encyclopédique," suppressed by the Government. He had been twice imprisoned for his opinions, lastly for his work on "Religion, Property and Family" (1869).

Another savant, appointed by the educationists of the Commune, was Pierre Acollas, the jurisconsult, known for his manuals on the legal rights of the people. He became head of the Faculty of Law on the desertion of Colnet d'Aage. Acollas will be remembered in England as the author of "Marriage: Its Past, Present and Future" (1880).

The "Ecole des Beaux-Arts" was marked for suppression as being injurious to the progress of art. Art was to be taught in all the primary schools, both model and design. Large schools were also to be opened for superior art education in the æsthetics, history, philosophy and sciences connected with art.

The "Conservatoire de Musique," idle since the Prussian siege, was noted for organisation. On the death of Auber (May 12) the Commune appointed as director Salvador Daniel, a Professor of Music, late of the "Ecole Arabe," Algiers, the composer of "Chansons Arabes," and author of "La Musique Arabe," etc. Here, again, the desertion of the professors became a hindrance. At a convocation ordered May 13, five professors only out of forty-seven answered the appeal.

Mr. Thomas March, the most recent English historian of the Commune, refers to the "superficial hand of ignorance" which the Commune displayed in

its educational reforms. The foregoing pages are, I hope, a sufficient answer to this sublime specimen of what Heine called "genuine British narrowness." Apart from this, we have the testimony of two of Mr. March's bourgeois kin, both parsons, and therefore not likely to be favourable to the atheistic Commune. One, an Anglican Vicar, bears witness that the "Commune did manage its schools strangely well." ("Frazer's Magazine," August, 1871.) The other, a Nonconformist minister, tells us of "increased facilities for the instruction of children," and that many of the educational efforts of the Commune were "admirable." ("Paris under the Commune," Gibson, 1872.) Both these men were in Paris at the time of the Commune and they ought to know.

Just a final word for the educationists of the Commune. Dr. Goupil, the first Delegate for Education, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on its account. His successor, Edouard Vaillant, now the veteran Socialist leader in France, escaped to London, and the Versaillese condemned him to death in his absence. He returned to France at the amnesty (1880) and became Municipal Councillor of Paris, and later a Deputy, and still sits in the Chamber. He has proposed pensions for the combatants of the Commune and the re-naming of streets after some of its leaders.

Both Verdure and Urbain were transported to New Caledonia. Poor Verdure, ever faithful to the cause, asked permission to open a school there, where he might instruct some of his unlettered comrades, but the authorities refused. A few months later he died.

Courbet got six months' imprisonment and a heavy fine. The other members of the Commission—J. B. Clément, Demay, Miot and Vallés—escaped the vengeance of the Versaillese. Salvador Daniel, the director of the "Conservatoire de Musique," was taken during the battle in the streets and summarily executed. The official report of those punished for complicity in the Commune included no less than 106 teachers, many of them women, including the heroic Louise Michel, who was transported to New Caledonia.

AN APOLOGY FOR HISTORIC MATERIALISM.

By H. J. STENNING.

The two articles of Mr. Huw Menai, entitled "A Metaphysical Objection to the Materialist Conception of History," may serve as the occasion for a re-statement of Marx's historic theory. If such exposition serves to remove some obstacles, and to render clear some matters which to some have been obscure, its purpose will have been well justified.

Mr. Menai's treatment of his subject is very unequal. His objections are urged in a tentative spirit, and his qualifications render nugatory no small number of his conclusions. He contents himself in his first article with a few hackneyed tilts at historic materialism, whilst in his second contribution is to be found a more systematic attempt to dethrone materialism as a scientific method of investigation.

Speaking of Herbert Spencer, Mr. Menai is good enough to observe: "On everything transcending the possibility of knowledge he conveniently remained agnostic." Why the adverb "conveniently"? It suggests a sneer at Spencer. Does Mr. Menai know a thinker who on matters transcending the possibility of knowledge remained a materialist? Or, in other words, was a materialist when the conditions for and justification of materialism are lacking?

Marx translated "his philosophy into action by forming a great working-class movement, whose purpose is not so much to realise the Socialist Republic by means of political action (which is utopian), but to

behave itself so that its actions or inactions might not impede the development of those forces that inevitably make for Socialism." Let us examine this closely. Apparently our critic recognises the existence of forces that make for Socialism. These, he will further admit, were demonstrated for the first time in the clearest and most unmistakable manner by Marx. The result of his demonstration was the creation of a great working-class movement, whose goal is the Socialist Commonwealth, through the conquest of political power. This proposition Mr. Menai puts into more scientific and intelligible language, "but to behave itself so that its actions or inactions might not impede the development of those forces that inevitably make for Socialism." Does he draw a distinction between the first description and the second? If not, why is the first labelled "utopian"? If he does, what is the distinction?

Bernard Shaw's epigram does not involve fatalism. He doubtless wishes the Socialists were of better mental calibre, and to bring his point home sacrifices exact truth to paradox.

It is cheap question-begging and totally inaccurate to describe the theory of the inevitability of Socialism as a dogma. Mr. Menai's description of the process is good only in parts. I recommend him to read Marx's chapter on the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation," where one movement is traced, which, however, has three clearly distinct aspects: (1) The technical and, so to say, purely material side of the process, the concentration and centralisation of capital, which furnishes the technical and material basis of the future society; (2) The effect of the said technical and material side of the process on the members of society, particularly the working class, which creates the active force ready and able to make the change from the present system to the future one; and (3) the resulting influence of the technical and material side of the process upon the needs of society in general, and of the working class in particular, which necessitates the change.

The part played by the active working class, "a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united and organised by the very mechanism of capitalist production itself," finds its theoretical expression in the modern Socialist movement. It is somewhat different from Mr. Menai's brief and misleading phrase, "while the Socialist agitator is only schooling the masses as to *what shall be done when the inevitable crash comes.*"

A man subscribes to scientific Socialism because he believes the premises upon which its conclusions are based to be in strict accordance with historical and social realities. A dogma is surely something different from this. Further on in the article under consideration we meet with the charge of dogmatism again. This time it is accompanied by an inaccuracy which a slight acquaintance with the literature of Marxism would have rendered impossible. "It is further suggested that those who are unable to subscribe to this view of history (the materialist one) are revisionists, or at least unscientific Socialists, a somewhat sad case of believe in Marx or be damned." Nothing of the kind is suggested. Those who are unable to subscribe to this doctrine are unable to do so, and there the matter ends. Revisionism is the name of the movement which has set itself the task of altering, adapting, and bringing up to date the economic and historic theories of Marx.

It is time to censure strongly the current cant which stigmatises every clear and courageous thinker as a dogmatist. If a biologist or a naturalist cannot agree with the principle of natural selection as the main cause of the differentiation of species, he is not a Darwinian. In this domain of knowledge no one would dream of spitting the epithet "dogmatist" at a leading Darwinian who insisted on this position.

Since when has Marxism not been a synonym for modern Socialism? There is no confusion in Socialist polemics as a result of such association. Mr. Menai

probably means that he could demolish Marxism and remain a Socialist, were the terms in question not necessarily convertible.

In order to dispose of the assertion that Marx was a sensational materialist of the school of Condillac, etc., I will quote Karl Kautsky, whose materialism is identical with that of Karl Marx.

In "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History" a chapter is devoted to Kant. Kant's method is summarised as follows: "He took the same ground as the materialists. He recognised that the world outside of us is real, and that the starting-point of all knowledge is the experience of the senses. But the knowledge which we acquire from experience is partly composed of what we acquire through the sense impressions, and partly from that which our own intellectual powers supply from themselves; in other words, our knowledge of the world is conditioned not simply by the nature of the external world, but also by that of our organs of knowledge. . . . In this there is nothing contained that every materialist could not subscribe to, and that had not also been previously said by materialists."

Thus, our organs of knowledge are postulated as indispensable for the association and unification of sense impressions into facts of consciousness.

The demonstration of Spencer and Mill, referred to later in the articles of Mr. Menai, is thus accepted by materialists of the school of Kautsky and Marx.

The foundation in experience of the mathematical axioms and so-called a priori propositions has been admirably shown by, amongst others, Paul Lafargue. For particulars, see his article in the "Social-Democrat" of May, 1906, "Economic Determinism and the Natural and Mathematical Sciences." It would take up too much space to recapitulate the facts he adduces.

The function of a historical theory is to explain the movement of humanity we call "history." Such a

theory may be successfully assailed by overturning the premises upon which it is based, or by demonstrating that its applications to various periods and epochs, instead of illuminating what was dark, renders confusion worse confounded. Neither of these courses is followed by Mr. Menai. The scientific investigation of history proceeds upon the logical principle that the change in the result of a mathematical operation cannot be ascribed to the factors that remain constant. In attempting, therefore, to ascertain the motive powers of social evolution it is necessary to eliminate those factors in social life which have remained practically constant throughout the historical period.

Thus, the human mind, since the full bloom of Athenian culture, has remained of the same average power. The dramatic and artistic geniuses and the natural and social philosophers of ancient Greece were not inferior in their mental powers to the first minds of modern Europe. Obviously, the mind of man cannot in any way be held to account for history. Under the same heading comes also climatic and geographical conditions. The wider generalisation "upon the manner in which our sun maintains its heat is built all the politics and economies and all the philosophies in the universe" is urged as *a sort of* materialist conception of history. What is desired, however, is to explain the politics and the economies. Why has the last two hundred years witnessed a phenomenal and unprecedented activity in the natural sciences? How can be explained the appearance at different periods in the world's history of great moral enthusiasm, for example, the rapid spread of Christianity in the last days of Rome's decadence, and the wonderful humanitarian aspirations which characterised the best Frenchmen during the latter part of the eighteenth century? The first was not a celestial revelation, but an ethical and religious system which the conditions of the time imperatively demanded and alone gave shape and direction to. The second was not a sporadic manifestation of man's innate love of justice, but an

enthusiasm generated by the irresistible march of the economic and social forces. It resulted in the demolition of the feudal superstructure, which hung over Europe long after its economic base had disappeared. With the collapse of feudal institutions the road was clear for the expansion and development of modern industrialism. These facts indicate at once that the element in man's social life which through the ages has changed is the material and economic factor.

The accumulation of inventions, of new methods, and discoveries of new processes in the course of time radically alters the economic substratum of society. With the development of the new and higher productive forces the social destiny of a class has invariably been associated. At length the social system becomes nothing but a fetter and a drag on the changed productive forms, and a period of social revolution begins.

The application of this principle alone explains the great dramas of history. Listen to the admission of Professor Weisengruen, an eminent German opponent of Marxism:—

“For certain historical relations within certain periods of time, this historical theory (the Materialist Conception of History) is a relatively correct, practical, explanatory principle. We can, for instance, by its aid drag out from historical obscurity the more hidden economic forces which propelled the French Revolution. We can, by its aid, I am convinced, throw more clear and glaring light on the period of decline of the Roman Empire than could be done until now. Many phases of the German Middle Ages may be understood by us with the aid of a mild economic motivation. The powerlessness of the German bourgeoisie, particularly during 1848, may be partly explained from purely economic causes.”

Mr. Huw Menai concedes that our social and political organisations may be built upon economic foundations, but he refuses such a materialist origin to our spiritual life.

He utterly fails to see any connection between conventional Christianity and the social system of Capitalism, and requires more evidence before he can assent to the proposition that our inquiries into the possibility of knowledge are to be explained by material economic factors.

I will endeavour to point to the connection in the first case, and to furnish the reasons for the second.

Conventional Christianity is individualist Christianity. The religious revolution known as the Reformation advanced *pari passu* with the economic upheavals which brought modern industrialism in their train. Strangely enough this association between individualism and Protestantism has been brought out as clearly as anywhere in "Socialism and Society." From what source is derived the idea of God? As Labriola observes: "Ideas do not fall from the skies, and nothing comes to us in dreams." The materialist origin of the god idea has been demonstrated by Herbert Spencer and Grant Allen. It assumed its most anthropomorphic form, and it influenced men's lives and dominated their actions to the fullest degree, when man's power over matter was insignificant. With the development and spread of this power, that is, with the technical evolution and growth of economic forces, God has receded more and more into the background, until now his function and personality have been "defecated to a pure transparency." On this point Joseph Dietzgen writes: "The more the idea of God recedes into the past, the more impalpable it is; in olden times man knew everything about his god; the more modern the form of religion has become, the more confused and hazy are our religious ideas."

I have already remarked on the phenomenal development of scientific research, and the practical application of scientific results during the past 200 years.

Need I point out that the material forms of our social life, its technical basis, alone furnished the conditions

for experiments, which, among other results, have made possible the theory of natural selection?

It is well to ask upon what other basis than historic necessity and economic expediency can modern Socialism rest?

Is historic materialism to be supplanted by such metaphysical will-o'-the-wisps as "natural rights," "eternal justice," etc.?

These phantoms have long since been brought to earth.

With the editor's kind indulgence I will deal with comrade Menai's strictures on materialism in a separate article. In the meantime, I trust this present essay will not be entirely without value.

THE CROWNING OF THE KING.

By F. B. SILVESTER.

(SPECIALLY DEDICATED TO MISS MARIE CORELLI, WITH THE REMINDER THAT THE SOCIALISTS, IF NOT PRESENT AMONG THE GALAXY OF THE "GREAT" AT THE CORONATION IN THE HISTORIC ABBEY, HAD THEIR REBELLIOUS EYES FIXED UPON THAT THEATRICAL CEREMONY.)

With Fancy's universal eye I saw
The crowning of a King in Britain's Isles ;
I saw the Crown, the Orb, the Sceptres twain ;
The triple Swords with points sharp, blunt, obtuse ;
The Sword of State too heavy to be grasped
By puny monarchs of George Wettin's stamp ;
The sacred Spoon and consecrated Oil—
Symbols of Sovrainty and Christendom,
Of Justice, Mercy, Equity, and Power ;
And Heaven's blessing on the Oil-stained King.

But with all-seeing eye I also saw
The crowds that thronged the cities of those isles :
The ragged children, the degen'rate men,
The women pale in cheap, ill-fitting clothes,
The miles of wretched slums, diseased and foul
(The Empire homes of an Imperial Race),
Near fact'ries belching forth grim coal-black fumes ;
And, here and there, saw blood stained bodies lie—
Self-slaughtered martyrs sacrificed to gold.

I also saw the grandees' fair domains,
Their stately homes adorned with pictures rare ;
Their parks of deer, their game-infested woods ;
Their fields, their gardens, and their limpid lakes ;
Their hounds, their horses and their flocks and herds ;
Their farmers and the farmers' serfs I saw
Disporting 'neath the "tall ancestral elms,"
Where bunting fluttered, bands loud music played,
In honour of the Crowning of the King.

Now, as I gazed upon these scenes I heard
 The shouting of the people of those isles,
 As through their cities marched the men of war
 With bands that brayed exultant battle-songs;
 With boys and girls arrayed in war attire;
 With Priests adorned with holy Cross of Peace;
 With blue-clad, stiff necked Officers of Peace
 Riding with haughty mien their prancing steeds;
 And with vain Snobs who ruled those slum-cursed towns
 To please the rich but not to bless the poor.
 I also heard amid the hoarse huzzas,
 And howling of stale Coronation lays,
 And singing of the Nation's banal hymn,
 And strains of anthems through Cathedral aisles,
 The curses of the Seamen out on strike
 For higher wages and less slavish life
 When sailing in the Argosies that bring
 The horns of plenty from wealth-teeming lands.

As on this pageantry my eyes were fixed
 Methought I heard the Universal Voice
 Which ever to the human heart has sung
 Its strange, prophetic melody
 In all the stages of Man's upward climb;
 The Sage, the Bard, the Prophet has essayed
 In Bibles, Epics and Philosophies,
 In Dramas, Novels, and in orat'ry,
 In Carlyle's thunder, in "Das Capital,"
 And in the Ocean tones of Whitman's verse—
 To utter forth the Message of that Voice.
 Wherefore I, a proletarian bard,
 Emboldened by Burns's wrath, by Shelley's fire,
 By Adams' passion, and by Markham's scorn,
 Do here attempt to give in rough-hewn verse
 What spake the Voice at Crowning of the King.

"O, crowned and sceptred King of Britain's isles
 And wide domains beyond the foaming seas,
 Anointed by the holy Priest of God—
 The God of savage Moses, moody Saul,
 Of David the adulterer who slew
 His tens of thousands (chosen man of God!),
 Of Christ who failed to save the Bottom Dog,
 And of the Jews who had him crucified
 Because he taught the doctrine strange of Love,
 Of Peace, of Righteousness, of Purity,
 Of Soulfulness transcending meat and drink—
 O, King, Defender of this ancient creed,
 Are Love and Peace and Pureness in thy heart
 And in thy People's hearts? Is Religiousness

Thy Empire's base? Is Goodness paramount
Within thy realm? Why art thou silent, King?
Why are thine eyes cast down in shame?
Canst thou not speak, canst thou not face the truth?
O, King, the poor are pining in thy wealthy land
For Love and Peace and Justice, for good food.
They toil, half-starved, from morn to smoky eve
In cheerless factories. In dread of scourge
Of unemployment they accept bad pay.
Their greedy masters take the lion's share
Of wealth they make. Thy palaces, thy pelf,
The glittering fabric of Society,
From giant Labour's power-loom are derived.
Behold, O, King, poor children dwarfed and thin
In ragged clothes! Behold white slaves to Lust
With asking eyes in thousands on thy streets!
Behold the squalid, miserable dens
Where millions of thy people scarcely live!
Behold the pauper, lunatic and felon,
The mangled suff'rer in the hospital—
Poor, hapless victims of the pirate crew
Of money kings who rule thy realm and thee!
O, feeble King, thou durst not them accuse
Who drink the precious wine of life themselves
And leave the dregs to those who make the brew;
Thou durst not tell them they are cunning thieves
Who steal a living from good honest folk,
Because thy Queen, thy offspring and thyself
Share in the booty wrung from ill-paid toil.
O, King, I see no signs of Peace, of Love,
Of Justice, Goodness, of Religion true,
In dismal Britain cursed by venal knaves
Who truckle, lie and bend their servile knees
To gain the pelf by honest men contemned.
The Ministers defend the State with lies;
They wring unrighteous taxes from the poor;
They overawe the natives 'neath thy sway
With force of armed men, with ships of war;
They baton workers justly out on strike
To force their masters grant them living wage.
The Press, the Pulpit, Platform ring with lies
To cozen fools to vote as they are told,
So that the Lords of Land and Capital
May gorge their ill-got gains without restraint.
I warn thee, King, thy Empire will not stand
Based as it is on fraud and guile and greed,
On hatred, strife, and gross unrighteousness,
On grim oppression, lies, and vice and crime.
Its knell is ringing less in hearts of foes

Than in the hearts of rebels 'neath thy flag.
O, King, I hear a cry from many lands,
A cry that grows in volume every year ;
It is the cry of Workers of the World
More menacing than thunder of big guns
Of hostile navies gathered near thy coast :
It is the cry for Justice, Peace and Love,
For Freedom from the galling chains of Power—
Power based on class monopoly of wealth :
It is a cry demanding wealth for all,
That all should own the means whereby they live ;
That Empire should give way to Commonwealth.
Then Justice will give ev'ryone a share
Of wealth created by the work of all ;
Then Peace will end the bloody feuds of greed
That have so long disgraced Man's forward march ;
Then Love will blossom forth in joy of life,
In faith in human worth, in human power,
In Goodness, Beauty, in immortal Truth :
Ah, then will be the *Crowning of the People*
As Kings of Earth by right of toil divine.
Farewell ! ”

July 1, 1911.

THE MONTH.

The Coronation is over ; the King and his Consort have been at last safely crowned, and—for this relief much thanks !

All the manufactured enthusiasm and the frenzied efforts to whip up crowds of loyalists largely failed of their object. The streets through which the royal processions passed were not unduly crowded on either day ; and the bulk of the sightseers were animated by no more loyal sentiment than would have inspired them in witnessing any other raree show. As for loyalty to the person of the Sovereign or devotion to the monarchical idea, there was a greater lack of such sentiments than there has been at any State ceremonial during the last twenty years.

The truth is, of course, that George is not precisely the person to arouse any popular enthusiasm. The majority of his subjects know nothing about him, and care less. His father was, for various reasons, exceedingly popular, while for *his* predecessor there had been worked up considerable popularity among those classes who regard the selfish domestic virtues with which " Victoria the Good " was credited as the sole qualifications necessary in a Sovereign, although that was certainly not very flattering, either to the monarchical idea or to the individual monarch. The popularity of his immediate predecessors, however, do not make the position any the easier for our present Gracious King. He has still to win his spurs.

The " honours " distributed in connection with the Coronation should serve as another object-lesson of the identity of the two great political parties. The Opposition shared almost equally with the Ministry in these Royal " favours."

It is impossible to find any excuse for the action of Mr. Ashton, General Secretary of the Miners' Federation, in attacking the men

of the Cambrian Combine who have been sustaining so long and so gallantly their struggle against the conditions masters and union officials alike seem determined to force upon them. It had its desired effect, however, in the throwing over of the strikers by the Federation. The Executive accepted Mr. D. A. Thomas's "assurances" as guaranteeing the men "all they could reasonably ask for." Mr. Thomas himself, however, now that the mischief has been done, tells them with refreshing frankness that his assurances had "no money value," and that nothing was further from his intention than to guarantee a minimum wage.

In the light of Mr. Thomas's latest utterances, the whole question should be reconsidered. We have never hesitated to express the opinion that the men should receive the united support of all the workers in the whole of the coalfields of the United Kingdom. It is all very well to say that no single section of an organisation like the National Miners' Federation can be allowed to dictate to the whole body. That principle cannot be gainsaid. At the same time, when a section is forced to strike against conditions which are generally admitted to be intolerable and unjust, it is clearly the duty of the whole body to stand by that section.

The principle for which the Cambrian men are contending is a perfectly sound one, and we sincerely hope that the whole of the colliers in Great Britain will make common cause with them. Without that they can scarcely hope to win, stubbornly as they have fought. With that, success is assured.

The great and unexpected success of the seamen's strike shows what can be accomplished by solidarity among all sections in a given industry. With little more than the skeleton of an organisation, no one imagined that a seamen's strike would be other than a ghastly failure. It has been a success, and the men have gained a signal victory, solely through the good comradeship of all concerned. The fight is not over yet, however, and the dockers and others who came out in support of the seamen must receive the same support in their turn.

What is, above all, essential to be borne in mind in this connection is the need for consolidating any little advantage that may have been secured by the strike. Nothing gained by a strike can be permanently held so long as all the political power remains in

the hands of the master class. The road to victory for the working class, and to their final emancipation, lies through the conquest of political power. Until that is gained, almost every victory is bound to be but temporary in its results.

The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and we have seen in the case of Mr. Lloyd George's tampering with the load-line how the capitalist manipulator of the political machinery can, by a stroke of the pen, deprive the working class of any advantage they may have won by years of patient striving.

In the utterly unwarrantable use of the police and soldiery to provoke disorder to defeat the men in a strike, too, we see the effect of leaving the monopoly of political power in the hands of the master class. The duty of the police is to maintain order; it is no part of their duty to assist the master class to procure blacklegs. It is said to be the duty of the State to "keep the ring" in labour disputes, not to take sides. In that case it should keep the ring and leave the opposing forces of capital and labour to fight it out between them. If it intervenes it should intervene to bring pressure to bear upon the stronger side, and generally the instigator in the dispute. But the State will not do that while it is exclusively the State of the master class.

It is encouraging to see the growth of the opposition to Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance Fraud. When the Bill was first introduced it was received with an almost universal shout of approbation. Mr. George was the greatest genius of the age. He had discovered a remedy for poverty without in any way touching its cause. The poor were to be made richer—at their own expense!—while the rich were not to be made any poorer, but, on the contrary, were to be relieved of the burden of maintaining the indigent. It was really the most wonderful discovery of a most wonderful man—not another Daniel, but another David, come to judgment.

But, characteristically, we Social-Democrats introduced a note of discord into this beautiful harmony. We led the attack upon this fraudulent measure, and have done so to some purpose. The tide of opposition is steadily rising, and although the conference called by the representatives of the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress, and the Federation of Trades bestowed a half-hearted

blessing upon the measure, it will be found that there is a growing feeling against the Bill among the rank and file, and that, above all, in accepting the principle of taxing the workers—the poorer among them the most heavily—to pay for their own insurance, the Conference did not represent its constituents.

In this connection it is encouraging to find the I.L.P., as a body, with us in being opposed to a "contributory" scheme of insurance. It is not so encouraging, however, when, in the Conference referred to, only 44 votes could be mustered against that principle.

There seems to be a great deal of confusion of thought on this point. We are told that the workers have to pay in any case, and it is much better that they should retain control than that they should be relieved of a direct contribution.

But Mr. George's scheme, while it imposes a direct contribution on the worker, places the control in the hands of a bureaucracy. The only way to have control in the hands of the workers would have been to leave their friendly societies and trade unions intact, and to raise a State Fund from which those associations should receive grants for their sick and unemployed benefits, equal grants being made to those who, by reason of their poverty, or from any other cause, are unable to be members of such associations. In Mr. George's scheme the latter, while being compelled to pay as much as the more fortunate, are to receive far less benefit.

We are glad to see that some popular feeling is manifesting itself against our Foreign Office for its inaction in the case of Miss Kate Malecka. This lady has now been in prison in Warsaw for three months, and she has not yet been informed of the charge upon which she was arrested, nor has any investigation been made. It was hoped that Sir Edward Grey, having been supplied with proofs of Miss Malecka's British nationality, would have taken steps to ensure justice for her. On the contrary, he seems to have been quite willing to accept the view that she was a Russian subject, and that, therefore, he had no responsibility in the matter. It is pretty evident by now that he is being brought to take a more serious view of his duties, and we hope ere long to hear of Miss Malecka's release.

It is somewhat strange that while the British authorities should be so indifferent to asserting the British nationality of Miss Malecka when it is a question of securing her liberty, they could be active enough in asserting their jurisdiction over Savarkar when it was a question of depriving him of his liberty. It would be interesting to know, moreover, what justification there can be for carrying out the sentence passed upon Savarkar, now that the Dacca conspirators have been acquitted. His "crime," as we understood, was complicity in that conspiracy. But if the conspirators are not guilty, surely their accomplice ought not to be punished.

Trade, we are told, still continues to improve, and exports and imports go up by leaps and bounds. Nevertheless, there is no appreciable diminution in the number of applications for employment, even at the blackleg-supplying Labour Exchanges. According to the "Labour Gazette" the number of applications received during May was 139,707 (men 90,409, women 28,082, boys 12,999, and girls 8,217), a daily average of 5,821, compared with 5,437 in April. The number of vacancies filled during the period was 49,925 (men 29,427, women 9,791, boys 7,070, and girls 3,637), a daily average of 2,080 compared with 1,822 in April.

Thus not 40 per cent. of those applying were found employment ; and, of course, we have no information relating to those who may have been displaced.

FINANCE-CAPITAL AND CRISES.

By KARL KAUTSKY, in the "Neue Zeit."

I.—HILFERDING'S BOOK.

For some time we Marxists were reproached with the unfruitfulness which is said to have obtained since the death of Engels. The reproach was not quite unfounded, but the connection of our "unfruitfulness" with the death of Engels was only caused by the fact that for many Marxists this death was the signal for turning away from Marxism; even, indeed, for eagerly combating it. Thus the ranks of the Marxist theorists were momentarily thinned, while the desertion of our former comrades from the camp of "orthodox" Marxism strengthened its opponents and forced us temporarily into the defensive. For years we had to use our best time and strength in defending the already won results of Marxism against comrades who had themselves helped to obtain those results, and in refuting arguments which had a short time before been declared unsound by the very people who now used them.

But this crisis in Marxism hardly lasted a decade. Theoretical (not, indeed, the practical) Revisionism is shelved, and we Marxists are again able to devote our whole time and strength, as far as we can turn these towards the theoretical side, to the great task of building up the edifice that the masters left unfinished and adapting it to modern times. And, in truth, during recent years no one can any longer complain of the unfruitfulness of Marxism.

Among the new creations of Marxist literature—indeed, among any of that literature—one of the most remarkable phenomena is the book written by Hilferding* on finance capital. In a sense it may be called a continuation of Marx's "Capital."

"Capital" was left unfinished, and already on that account demands completion and continuation. Then, also, its more important parts were concluded in the sixties, so that it is half a century old. During this long period a great economic revolution has taken place. It has, indeed, not left "Capital" behind; on the contrary, it is only by the help of this work that it can be

* The work appeared in the third volume of "Marx-Studien," published by Max Adler and Rudolf Hilferding, Vienna, 1910.

properly understood. But it has produced a number of new phenomena which were not dealt with in "Capital," and which until the appearance of Hilferding's book had not been subjected to a detailed and sufficient examination on the basis of our theory.

The first volume of "Capital" is hardly touched upon in Hilferding's work. It is the second and third volumes from which it starts out and which it enlarges upon. And that is just where a continuation and further development was specially needed. First, because these volumes, in contradistinction to the first, only constitute fragments, and also because it is just on these planes that development has progressed with special rapidity, and the conditions show many more new phenomena than those dealt with in the first volume.

The latter treats of the process of the production of capital in the narrower sense of the word; its scene is laid in the factory; it shows us the foundations of the class antagonism between capital and labour. The second volume deals with the process of the circulation of capital; the buying and selling of the wares which have been produced. Its scene is laid on the market, where the class antagonisms between capital and labour are not directly noticeable, where there are only producers and consumers, and between them the negotiating traders.

The third volume then treats of the whole process; but here, also, the circulation of commodities is in the forefront. Here the chief part is played by the distribution of the surplus-value among the various classes of exploiters—industrial capitalists and land-owners—who draw the surplus-value in the form of industrial profit, interest or ground rent. The formation of the price, its deviations from the value, have a determining effect on the distribution of surplus-value. But these deviations are not arbitrary, but are subject to certain laws which can only be explained by the law of value.

It is easy to understand why the first volume of "Capital" became much more popular and had a much greater effect than either of the others. Not only because it was much more perfect in form, but also, and above all, because it dealt with the actual domain of the class struggle between capital and labour. Here the workers were at home; here they had lived through that which in the work of their pioneer was theoretically developed. Their class position and class instinct made them capable on this field of understanding some things with more ease than the bourgeois professors.

Not so the second or third volumes. Here, apparently, only the antagonisms of the exploiters among themselves were dealt with, fields which are far more strange to the worker than to bourgeois theorists. Here his experiences from his class position could not help him at all.

All the more would one have expected that these two volumes would have fructified bourgeois theory. For was it not a

question of their own affairs—profit, interest, ground rent, of stock exchange and banks—planes in which the interest of the possessing class bade them make themselves at home and take a complete view of the whole.

But, strangely enough, the bourgeois economists showed no sign of using these Ariadne threads, with whose help they could have found their bearings in the labyrinth of capitalist business life. For they knew well that these Ariadne threads led with infallible certainty back to the starting-point of the labyrinth, to the law of value, and against the recognition of that, against the determination of value by labour, they fought with hands and feet. Thus they were happy enough to manage to find nothing in these two volumes but the statement that the prices deviate from the values, and to deduce therefrom with great gusto the bankruptcy of the value theory.

Here, also, on their own special field, they left it to Social-Democrats to raise and make use of the treasures contained in the second and third volumes of "Capital." Now, when Hilferding has done this, they will probably not fail to take possession, at any rate partially, of his results, but they will continue to abuse the starting-point and the method to which they owe these results.

Hilferding's book is, however, written least of all for these people. It will, above all, bring new strength and clearness to the proletarian class war, even though it is only a few pages at the end that are devoted to this struggle. It is only when one has completely grasped the total process of capital that one can clearly grasp the tendencies of its development, and therein the functions and goals of the Socialist movement. But the latter is unconditionally necessary if the proletariat would continually unfold the maximum of its strength and always use it to the point, avoiding false paths, which mean wasting time and strength.

But there is also a narrower sense in which the knowledge of the circulatory process of capital is hardly less important for the militant proletariat than that of the process of production. The former does indeed show them the insurmountable and ever-growing antagonism between wage-labour and capital; but the form of process of circulation determines how the capitalists are constituted with whom the worker has to do, a thing by no means without importance for the tactics of the struggle. And the forms which capital assumes change much quicker through the influence of the process of circulation than through that of production.

Profit is the driving force of the whole capitalistic mechanism; the foundation of the profits of the capitalist class is surplus-value, the amount of which depends upon the number of the workers employed by the total capital and the intensity of the exploitation. But the amount of profit pocketed by each individual capitalist does not only depend on the amount of surplus-value on the exploitation of the workers employed. The capitalist cannot only gain at the

expense of the workers, but also at the cost of his capitalist confrères; and if one understands how to do it, and possesses the necessary amount of capital and luck, one can get rich much quicker by plundering the big robbers than by merely plundering the plundered.

Hilferding examines the driving forces which underlie the different kinds of profit-gaining at the cost of the exploiters, the speculation profit, the foundation profit, the monopoly profit through the exclusion of competition, and shows how powerfully they influence the shaping of the capitalist class, and how, driven by them, the industrial concerns are coming to belong less and less to individual capitalists and passing over into the hands of joint-stock companies. He shows, further, how with these joint-stock companies, and through them, the power of the banks over industry is brought about; and, on the other hand, also the concentration of the concerns, partly by means of combination in mixed undertakings, one of which supplies the material to the other, partly by uniting several works of the same kind into a league, a cartel, or, finally, into a consolidated trust. He shows clearly how by this means the process of production is being more and more revolutionised, and large production coming more and more to the fore and assuming greater and greater powers of extension. All this is represented by Hilferding in the clearest and most exhaustive manner, in which he opens out to us a number of new points of view into the most complicated connections.

Of course the processes of circulation and of production stand in constant reciprocal action. The development just described is certainly not the result of the circulation process alone. The effects of the production process, the improvements in technique, have without doubt played a most important part; but it is an injustice to Hilferding to reproach him with having overlooked these factors. It does not belong to the plan of his present work to deal with them in detail. He does not under-value them; but his primary object was to explore the factors arising from the circulation process, which have hitherto been too little considered in the development in question and have never been systematically examined.

And, as already mentioned, the factors which are engendered by the circulation process prove themselves the more powerful for the formation of the relations of capital, and also those that change it the quickest.

The capitalist has always begun with being the merchant; the sphere of circulation is his element. But without a change in the process of production (in the narrower sense, for in the wider sense it is included in the process of circulation) an industrial undertaking may, through a mere change in the circulation, completely alter its character; may, for instance, change from a manufacture to a capitalistically exploited concern. Nothing in the workshop need

be altered in the least ; it suffices that the manufacturer should no longer buy the raw product himself, but that a merchant who desires to turn it to account should buy it and give it to him to be manufactured, so that the merchant, and no longer the manufacturer, becomes, in exchange for a mere compensation for the work, the owner of the product which he sells. So, also, it is not necessary for anything in the process of production to change in a factory while it goes through the transformation from the property of a single capitalist into that of a stock-jobbing company, the change from an independent individual enterprise into a member of a cartel, into a trust undertaking, or into the property of a bank.

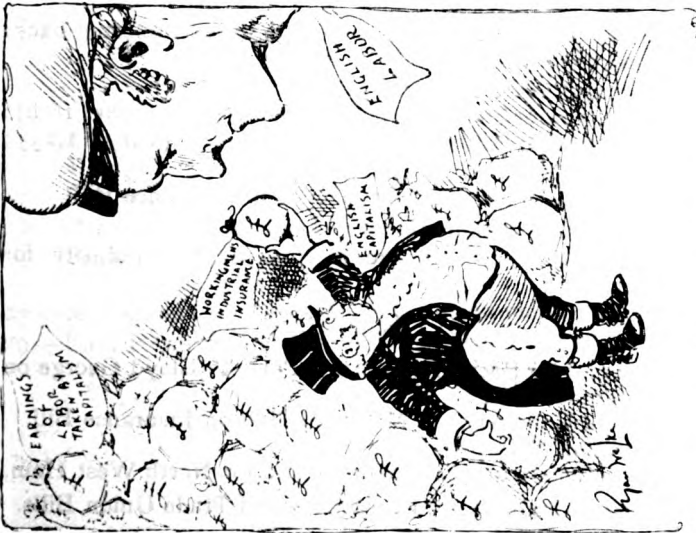
It is thus quite permissible to trace this development without special reference to the process of production.

And the comprehension of this development is of the utmost importance for the proletarian who would consciously carry on his class struggle.

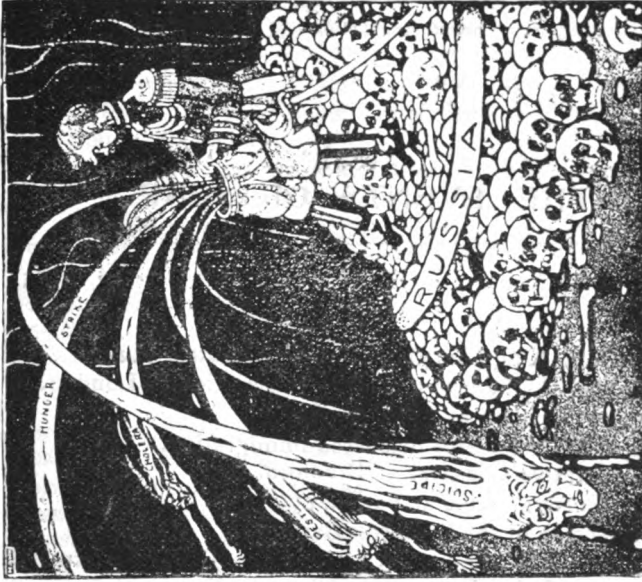
Among other things, it brings a new proof of the necessity of the intensification of the class antagonisms, which Hilferding shows up very well. His book shows once more what a mistake it is to expect that employers will come more and more to see that they will do well to be on good terms with their workers ; that they will gain more and more "social political insight." The idea of "Scharfmachertum"* is spoken of as a relic of past times ; one likes to describe it as "backward," as a phenomenon which must disappear during the further progress of capitalist development. And we Marxists, who view in the "backward" conception of the "Scharfmacher" not a product of the past, but as something which has its strongest roots in the present and in the future as far as it belongs to capitalism, are of course looked upon as equally "backward."

(To be continued.)

* "Scharfmachertum," literally a system of "making sharp," the sharpening up, driving, and intensification of labour and of industrial processes in order to enhance profits.



JOHN BULL: "Hi say! Hi gives you this of me h'own free will, an I 'opes you'll be gentleman enough not to bother about what Hi saved up out of what you have earned."



THE "LITTLE FATHER" WITH THE BOX OF PANDORA.
When opened, out jump hunger strikes, cholera, suicide, and other monsters.

THE EVENTS OF JUNE.

AT HOME.

- 1.—Sir H. S. King (Tory) unseated for Central Hull.
- 2.—Imperial Conference approved Declaration of London.
- 4.—Serious accident to Mr. John Dillon.
- 5.—Imperial Conference discussed immigration.
Co-operative Congress at Bradford.
- 6.—Coal Porters' strike at Southampton.
- 8.—Suspension of the Birkbeck Bank.
- 10.—Mr. Lloyd George at Birmingham on the Insurance Bill.
Death of Judge Bacon, oldest County Court judge.
- 13.—House of Commons re-assembled : Army Ordnance Factories
Vote.
Miners' Federation declined to accept further responsibility for
Cambrian strike.
- 14.—House of Commons : St. Paul's Bridge scheme referred back.
Great seamen's strike declared.
- 15.—Preliminary Census Report issued.
Ross and Cromarty bye-election (declared on the 16th):
Macpherson (Liberal), 3,717; Templeton (Tory), 1,253;
no change.
- 16.—Women's deputation to Lloyd George on Insurance Bill.
- 17.—Great Suffragist demonstration in London.
- 18.—H. Quelch publicly adopted as prospective candidate for
Poplar.
- 19.—List of Coronation honours: more Peers.
Parliamentary luncheon to Dominion M.P.'s.
- 20.—Deputation from Social-Democratic Party to Lloyd George on
Insurance Bill.
Joint Board Conference at Memorial Hall on Insurance Bill.
Final meeting of Imperial Conference.
C. F. G. Masterman (Liberal) unseated for North West Ham.
- 21.—Joint Board Conference on Insurance and Trade Union Bills.
- 22.—George V. crowned at Westminster Abbey.

- 23.—Shipping strike spreading.
Royal "Progress" through London.
- 24.—Naval Review at Spithead.
- 26.—House of Commons: Home Office Vote; criticism of Home Secretary.
Brighton bye-election: J. Gordon (Tory) returned unopposed.
- 27.—Mr. Balfour at Cannon Street Hotel denounced the Declaration of London.
- 28.—House of Lords went into Committee on the Parliament Bill.
House of Commons: Debate begun on the Declaration of London.
Shipowners' Association willing to concede terms but refused to recognise the men's union.
- 30.—Dockers united with the Seamen.
£50,000 damages awarded against Mr. Bottomley, M.P.

ABROAD.

- 7.—Earthquake at Mexico City; considerable loss of life.
Death of M. Rouvier, ex-Premier of France.
- 8.—Resignation of the Belgian Cabinet.
Spanish landing in Morocco.
Division among French Socialists on the new Workmen's Pensions Law.
Surrender of the Moorish Pretender.
- 10.—Fourth German Dreadnought launched.
- 13.—Austrian General Election: Severe defeat of the "Christian Social" Party.
- 14.—Swiss Parliament passed compulsory insurance scheme.
- 16.—Bankers' Trust Company (U.S.A.) announced to have acquired controlling interest in Mercantile Trust Company.
Turkish disaster in Yemen.
- 17.—Assessors in Bengal conspiracy case acquitted 42 prisoners.
Mr. R. D. Ashe, Collector, murdered in Madrid.
- 18.—Sub-inspector shot dead in Eastern Bengal.
- 19.—Portuguese Constituent Assembly opened.
- 23.—French Government defeated; M. Monis tendered his resignation.
- 27.—M. Caillaux formed new French Cabinet.
- 29.—First Russian Dreadnought launched on the Neva.

THE REVIEWS.

CLERICALISM VERSUS SOCIALISM IN BELGIUM.

Writing under the above heading in this month's "Contemporary Review," Dr. Dillon says:—

The Belgian Clerical Cabinet, presided over by M. Schollaert, has resigned, and another Ministry of the same colour has been formed. The news is not sensational, and yet, if examined at close quarters, it is by no means devoid of interest—cultural, however, rather than political. For nearly a generation the reins of political power in Belgium have been held by the Clericals. I was personally acquainted with their adversaries under the late Frère Orban, from whom they wrested it during the last quarter of a century. At that time there were only two parties in the country—the Liberals and the Clericals—and both sides were led by men of capacity and culture. The questions which in those days fired the enthusiasm or roused the anger of these political combatants were the representation of the State at the Vatican, the control of the schools, and the widening of the electoral franchise. If the Clericals have remained in power ever since then, they must have shown some consideration for the wishes and the feelings of the hostile camp. Otherwise they would have been swept away after their first or second innings. And it is admitted on all hands that they are wise in their generation. . . . Moreover, as time went on, and the Liberal Party waned and almost disappeared at the approach of the Socialists, the Clericals shelved their uncompromising leaders, and put men of the new generation, imbued with democratic notions, in their place. The Premier, Schollaert, was a man of this school, and he had assimilated a number of ideas and schemes which would have caused Clerical politicians of the old era to shudder. Among these was the Education Bill, which led to his overthrow. . . . This scheme declares that education is obligatory in Belgium, and that the choice of the school is to be determined by the head of the family, who shall receive every year a coupon issued by the State for thirty or thirty-six francs, which he is at liberty to hand over to any school he prefers.

This project, which the Government adopted and laid before the Chamber, was criticised severely. The Socialists found fault with it formally for professing to make education obligatory, while enacting no punishment against those who violated the law. That,

however, is a mere detail. They condemned it absolutely on the ground that this grant of thirty or thirty-six francs would whet the appetite of the religious congregations, and cause teaching orders to increase and multiply beyond the endurance of self-respecting agnostics. Moreover, it would deal a formidable blow to State schools of the undenominational kind. The surviving Liberals, taking the same view, joined hands with the Socialists under M. Vandervelde, and the struggle was carried on vigorously. At last the end was in sight and the upshot foreseen and discounted. Despite the spirited opposition, the Bill would pass by a small—a very small—majority, and the schools would be divided into confessional and neutral, and primary education would remain in Clerical hands for a long time to come—assuming that this would indeed be the effect of the measure, as its adversaries professed to believe.

All of a sudden, however, an enemy rose up where he was least expected—in the Clerical camp itself. . . . The old Clerical leader, M. Woeste, had an audience with the King and is understood to have told the young Monarch that the effect of the Bill, if it passed, would be baleful. Therefore, it would be wise to hinder it from becoming law by having a new Cabinet formed. Whatever M. Woeste may have said to the King, he certainly made a speech in the Chamber, setting forth his own view pretty clearly, and hinting vaguely and delicately that when the critical moment for voting came he would feel bound to adjust his action to his religious conviction. And his conviction is that the Bill is unfavourable to Catholicism, and opposed to the Catholic principle that only a denominational, and therefore the Catholic, school should be adopted by the State. As the Catholic majority in Spe was very small, and as M. Woeste and his few friends would have sufficed to annihilate it by voting with the Opposition, the Cabinet found itself in a very tight place. Whether the King again intervened, as some say, by advising M. Schollaert to draw the practical inference from M. Woeste's declaration, or by foreshadowing his own line of action if this were not done, is immaterial. The fact is that the Cabinet resigned, its resignation was accepted, and a new Government formed.



THE DESPOTISM OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Mr. Harold Cox is much concerned about the poor, Anti-Socialist members of trade unions. This one-time Fabian concludes an article in this month's "Nineteenth Century and After," on "The Despotism of the Labour Party," with the following:—

It is not, happily, in all workshops that the Socialists can thus tyrannise over those who disagree with them, but even where men are freed from this daily persecution, they have to suffer the humiliation of knowing that the organisation to which they are in

many cases compelled to belong is being used against their convictions. Here, for example, is a letter from Lanarkshire:—

"Along with many others, I am in a position of having to pay Parliamentary levies against my will, and also against my political opinions. We had a meeting in our workshop on Wednesday of this week and decided by a large majority of 45 votes against 6 to try and get our Executive to withdraw it. . . . I don't expect to get civility, far less justice, as they seem to work solely with a selfish end in view, being composed practically of so-called Socialists."

These illustrations from private letters will suffice to show the practical injustice involved in permitting the trade unions to become political caucuses. Against this injustice the Government Bill gives no real protection. The authors of the Bill have not even taken the precaution to insist that a substantial majority of the members of the union shall be really in favour of political action. This would not, of course, remove the injustice, but it would reduce the number of people affected by it. In practice, moreover, it would place a very serious obstacle in the way of converting trade unions into Socialist caucuses. At present this conversion is generally accomplished at the dictation of an active minority of members, the majority expressing no opinion. This abstention is due to two causes: first, the reluctance of the natural man to worry about political questions at all except when he has been stirred up by the excitement incident to a General Election, and secondly the fear felt by the average workman that he may injure his pecuniary position by running counter to the wishes of those on whom his employment directly or indirectly depend. This latter is a consideration to which Parliament has frequently and properly devoted great attention, and every conceivable precaution has been taken to prevent an employer from intimidating his workpeople. No precaution is taken to prevent a trade union official from intimidating the rank and file of the members of his society through the power which he possesses of retarding or advancing a man's chances of obtaining employment. As a result, workmen who do not feel very strongly on political issues, or whose moral courage is over-weighted by the anxieties of providing for a large family, protect themselves by a policy of silence. Hence we find that in the trade union ballots on the question whether the society shall or shall not embark upon politics, in most cases only a minority of members vote at all. Yet the majority of this minority claims and exercises the right to determine the policy of the whole society. In union matters, this method of working is of little consequence, but in such an admittedly important matter as the question whether a trade union shall become a Socialist caucus, it is obviously desirable that the assent of the majority of the members of the society should be required. Yet the Government Bill endorses the present practice, and authorises a majority of members voting, which may mean a small minority of the total members, to bind the whole society to the Labour Party.

The
Social-Democrat
A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. XV., No. 8.

AUGUST 15, 1911.

THE FOLLY OF WAR AND THE POSSIBILITIES AND PERILS OF PEACE.

By H. QUELCH.

The International Social-Democracy stands for peace; it is the great peace party of the world. It has for motto, "Workers of all Countries, Unite," and for mission, to "Seek Peace and ensue it." The rivalries of nationalities, of states and statesmen, of kings and kaisers, and of the various interests, do not appeal to Social-Democrats. Any open act of hostility or aggression on the part of any Power does not inspire us with the spirit of Chauvinism, but simply calls forth from the organised workers of the countries involved mutual assurances of amity, fraternity and concord. The latest demonstration of this kind has been evoked by recent developments in Morocco. We have had the Socialists of France and the Socialists of Germany denouncing the aggressive acts of their respective Governments and declaring that between the peoples of the two countries there is no cause of quarrel. On August 13, too, we are to have a big demonstration in London, in favour of international peace, organised by

the Socialists, Trade Unionists, and Labourists of Great Britain, in co-operation with the French Socialists, Trade Unionists and Co-operators who are visiting the co-operative institutions of this country.

All this is quite as it should be, and in entire accordance with the fitness of things. The interests of the working class are bound up with the maintenance of peace; and it is the working people who suffer most severely from the devastations and horrors of war. When a country is invaded by a hostile army the rich may suffer loss; but they can generally escape the worst horrors of starvation and misery which the poor are compelled to endure. The rich can get away. The poor have to stay and "stew in their own juice," as Bismarck elegantly expressed it. Anybody, therefore, claiming to speak on behalf of the working class must necessarily be in favour of peace.

While it is true, however, that the interests of the working class are bound up with the maintenance of peace, it is not equally true that, in existing circumstances, the workers have any interest in abolishing or even limiting armaments. It is often said, and with perfect truth, that the wealth wasted on armaments cannot be devoted to the useful work of social amelioration; that the labour and material used up in the manufacture of big guns and battleships cannot be also applied to constructing merchant ships, or roads, or bridges, or to the building of schools, hospitals, and dwelling houses. But no attempt is ever made to show, nor is there any evidence, that the wealth now wasted on armaments would be devoted to useful social work if armaments were abolished; or that there is any lack of labour or material for the building of merchant ships, schools, hospitals, or dwellings, *because* that material and labour are being used up in the construction of guns and battleships. On the contrary, we find that there is plenty of available material and plenty of unemployed labour for all these works of peace; and our experience teaches us that a reduction in expenditure on armaments does not improve but

worsens the economic position of the working class. Some time ago Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the expenditure of this country on armaments was equal to four shillings per working-class family per week. But he did not show, and he could not, that if that expenditure were to cease altogether the family wage of the working class would be augmented, either in cash or purchasing power, by four shillings weekly. He could, on the contrary, have easily shown that with the abolition of all expenditure on armaments there would probably be a considerable reduction in wages, due to the increased competition in the labour market from the labour thus set free and unemployed.

In his article on "War and Peace," in the May Day number of "Justice," Karl Kautsky speaks of a possible revolt "against the intolerable burdens which have been imposed on the peoples by armaments." With all due deference to so eminent an authority, I venture to suggest that it would be quite as reasonable to speak of the intolerable burden of motor cars, or any other luxury of the rich. In this country, at any rate, armaments impose no intolerable burden on the people. So far from that being the case, the waste on armaments, as any other form of waste, provides a kind of safety-valve to relieve the pressure of production. Malthus was greatly concerned about the pressure of population against the limits of the means of subsistence. The problem of modern society is the pressure of ever-increasing, ever-accelerated production against the limits of consumption. Modern society is in constant danger of being choked with a plethora of wealth. It is only the waste—of armaments and luxury of all kinds—which reduces that plethora and relieves the pressure.

Kautsky, in the article referred to, says that the Revolution "may spring from two separate causes : one being the revolt, the intolerable burden" of armaments ; "the second would be war itself."

That would seem to afford an argument for Social-Democrats, not to oppose war and armaments, but to

support them. It appears to me, however, that war and armaments, instead of provoking the Revolution are much more likely to stave it off. It seems to me that the Boer war, by the employment it afforded, and the stimulus it gave to all industries in this country, put back the Revolution in this country. The same may be said to have been the result of the Cuban war, the Philippine adventure, and the San Francisco disaster, in the United States of America. But for the waste and consequent relief of economic pressure afforded by these events, it is difficult to see how a working-class revolt, culminating possibly in a Social Revolution, could have been averted in the United States.

From this, therefore, it would appear that it is in every way our interest as Social-Democrats to "work for peace"; not only because the workers of the different countries have no quarrel, and yet suffer the worst from the horrors of war; but also because the pressure of the economic development which proceeds apace in time of peace is much more likely to engender revolution than is either the burden of armaments or the outbreak of war.

On the other hand, in our advocacy of peace we find ourselves in very distinguished company. That exalted and estimable personage, the Czar of Russia, the Little Father of the Russian people, who so manifests his love for his children by his manifold chastenings, is an ardent champion of peace, and actually inaugurated the Hague Conference. Kaiser Wilhelm, of the Mailed Fist, is also a protagonist of peace, and claims that he and his have used their power by sea and land for the maintenance of the peace of Europe for the past forty years; and was not our own Edward known as the Peacemaker? Then we have President Taft, Andrew Carnegie, and Sir Edward Grey all chanting the praises of International Peace, and directing their energies to formulating and cementing arbitration treaties and "ententes" between all the great rival Powers.

And they have reason. It should not need any superhuman intelligence or perspicacity on the part of these high and mighty personages to enable them to see the advantages of peace to themselves and their order, and the folly of war. "War is a game," we are told, "which, were their subjects wise, kings would not play at." But even kings may be supposed to have sufficient intelligence to know on which side their bread is buttered, and to understand that for them to quarrel and fight is, in present circumstances, sheer folly. Neither they, nor the class of which they are the figureheads, the commercial, huckstering capitalist class, have anything to gain but much to lose by war. It is that class, the class which rules the world to-day, which really has to bear the "intolerable burden of armaments." Armaments are paid for and maintained out of the surplus-value screwed out of the unpaid labour of the proletariat, and that surplus-value would certainly not be less, and might, quite conceivably, be very much greater, if there were no armaments, and if that portion of the proletariat now enrolled in armies or engaged in the manufacture of the munitions of war were free to be exploited in more profitable directions. The wealth which is wasted on war and armaments is bourgeois wealth—wealth which the bourgeoisie has extracted from the proletariat by the arts of peace. It would not be wonderful if the bourgeoisie should be at last beginning to realise the folly of wasting that wealth, and at the same time reducing their power of exploitation, by fruitless quarrelling and fighting among themselves.

It has come to be regarded as a commonplace among Socialists that war is inevitable under capitalism; that the fundamental class antagonism through which capitalist exploitation is carried on engenders a whole series of antagonisms, including that competition for markets for the surplus product, which is the ever fruitful and inevitable cause of rivalry and war under the capitalist régime. That has been true; but is it still the case? In the industrial and commercial

world we are seeing combination superseding competition, and the world-wide trust and combine taking the place of warring rival concerns. Is not that combination for mutual interests, which has already been largely accomplished between previously rival commercial and industrial concerns, now in process of realisation among rival States? The present trouble in Morocco is said to be due to German opposition to French aggression there, and to the determination of Germany to protect German interests, and to take care that when it comes to sharing the spoils Germany should not be left out in the cold. Were those interests examined into, however, it would be found, I think, that the rivalry is not clearly one between French on the one side and German on the other, but between concerns each of which has, so to speak, a foot in each national camp. These capitalist interests are not national and patriotic, but international. Were it otherwise, however, there is no reason why the different States should not agree about the division of the spoil instead of quarrelling over it. It would be much more thrifty and economical, and thrift is above all things dear to the heart of the bourgeoisie. We have an understanding between England and Russia as to their respective "spheres of influence" in Persia; a new treaty has just been concluded with Japan by which she is to be maintained in her continued exploitation of Korea; France, it is understood, is not to have her operations in Morocco interfered with by England on condition that England continues to have a free hand in Egypt, and so on. In Europe we have the Triple Alliance, and the Triple Entente, two combinations of Powers in rivalry with each other. But why should this rivalry continue? If a Triple Alliance, why not a Quadruple, a Quintuple, or a Sextuple Alliance? Why not "Let them all come?" The rivalry between Germany and England does not appear to be any more intrinsic or essential than was that between France and England, France and Germany, or Russia and Germany. Why should they not

all compose their differences and combine to form the United States of Europe—or, indeed, the United States of the World ?

We have President Taft's epoch-making suggestion of an all-embracing arbitration treaty with this country by which the possibility of war between the two States is to be for ever abrogated. It is now proposed to extend that treaty to include Japan and France and Germany. Well, why not ? I see no insuperable obstacle. On the contrary, all the conditions are assuredly propitious. The thrones of three of the greatest Powers in the world are now occupied by first cousins—Wilhelm, Nicholas, and George. Behold, how sweet and pleasant it is to see brethren dwelling together in peace and unity ! If unity between the peoples of Russia and Germany and England is possible, how much easier should it be to have unity between the three pacific and distinguished heads of these nations. Let Wilhelm and Nicholas and George agree that under no circumstances will they quarrel and fight, and the peace of Europe, and with it of the whole world, would be assured. Not the Pax Romana, the Pax Germanica, or the Pax Britannica, but the Pax Mundi, the dream of poets and philosophers, "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," would be achieved !

So much for the possibilities of Peace. But what of its perils ? With such a consummation, with the combination of all the Powers in a world's League of Peace, we might then surely scrap all the navies, beat our swords into ploughshares, our spears into pruning hooks, and convert our rifles and machine guns into the component parts of bicycles and motor cars. Why, certainly ! And then ? What of democracy ? What of the Revolution ! What of the working-class ? What of the subject peoples of this great consolidated, trustified world-State ? What, in a word, of Socialism and all that Socialism connotes ?

Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war ; and the Pax Mundi of capitalism might con-

ceivably present for the great masses of the people such an abject, hopeless, horrible state of existence that the worst horrors resulting from existing rivalries would appear blissful by comparison. No popular democratic movement, no revolt, would be possible. All would be held down under the iron hand of one universal authority. We should have attained the Servile State, so eloquently denounced by Hilaire Belloc, and so vividly pictured by H. G. Wells in his "When the Sleeper Wakes." One often hears trade unionists profess gratification at the combinations of employers. One feels them to be either very foolish or very insincere. If the combinations of capitalists meant that there were fewer to expropriate, that would be well; but so long as it means simply the consolidation of the power of the capitalists to retain possession and mastery, all combinations between them are obviously and notoriously inimical to the interests of the workers. Trade unions may make some headway against disunited capitalists and benefit by their mutual rivalries; but the great trusts are able to crush out all fighting combinations among the workers, and to reduce them to a state of abject slavery. Indeed, one of the chief objects of capitalist combinations is to put a stop to "labour troubles," and to ensure "industrial peace." They may ensure a certain standard of material well-being for the working class; organise industry so as to ensure that every man shall be employed; fairly well housed; fairly well clothed; fairly well fed; fairly well cared for when sick; and fairly well buried when dead; but in such circumstances the workers would be wage-slaves all their life, notwithstanding.

So, too, with a world-wide combination of capitalist States. We see, to-day, that the chief concern with the heads of the different States is to arrive at a common understanding for the mutual repression of any revolutionary movement. We know the activities of the international police; the difficulty of safeguarding the right of asylum, and of the frequent clandestine surrender of political refugees. But with a world-

league of the Powers, there would be no such thing as the right of asylum, and the political refugee could not exist. The international police would be omnipotent, and any movement of revolt would be ruthlessly stamped out at its inception. The massacres of Moscow, of Petersburg, of Kischineff, and of Blagovestchensk would on occasion be repeated in every State and city in the civilised world; Siberia would not only be at the disposal of Russia but at that of the World-State, as would also be the horrors of the "Bull-pen." There would be no free State to make any protest, and no place of refuge to which any recalcitrant wage-slave could escape. We should not have made a solitude and called it peace; but we should have constituted a world-wide Servile State, in which peace, indeed, would reign, but a peace to which even the horrors of war would be preferable.

It is for us, therefore, while we endeavour to "seek peace and ensue it," to strive for that greater object even than peace—Social-Democracy; so that when peace is assured it shall be a peace based upon universal freedom, co-operation and fraternity, and not a peace upheld by the blighting power of consolidated capitalism.

THE ESSENTIAL SOCIALISM.

By E. BELFORT BAX.

It is with a certain reluctance that I enter the controversial lists against one who has done so much hard but unobtrusive work in the cause of Socialism and Freethought as comrade Gould. Only the strong conviction that the question, "What is Essential Socialism?"—as our friend Gould himself urges—ought to be discussed, and that the answer given by our comrade is a wrong one and likely to lead to harmful consequences, induces me to offer the following words of criticism.

The position contended for by comrade Gould is the popular one—that Socialism is exhausted in the bare economic formula anent the communisation of the means of production, etc. This notion sounds so plausible that it counts with most persons for unassailable and "sound common-sense." But I venture to suggest that, like many another fruit on the tree of "sound common-sense," this favourite thesis also contains a maggot at its core. The fact alone might render it suspicious that, notwithstanding the perpetual reiteration of the dogma that Socialism is exclusively an economic proposition, and in spite of the comparative rareness with which this dogma is seriously traversed in theory, yet in practice the great bulk of Socialists disregard it and are ready to insist on a distinct attitude for Socialism in all the broader issues of human life and conduct—be they political, religious, or ethical. Their nominal acceptance of Gould's favourite thesis does not prevent them, when occasion arises, from keenly claiming the essentiality of some issue outside the strict economic formula, which, according

to the theory, *alone* expresses the true inwardness of the Socialist movement. This tendency, I think, of itself should give pause to a too dogmatic attitude in the above sense.

The fact is—to most Socialists Socialism is of the nature of a political, religious and ethical ideal based *upon*, it is true, but not identical *with* nor exhausted *in*, the economic postulate. In an article published some two years ago in a magazine called the "Open Review," I sought to show the absence of historical justification for the very exclusive limitation of the definition of Socialism which many persons seem anxious to erect into a canon in the present day. And the fact remains that the term Socialism, from the days of its first employment for the movements of St. Simon, Fourier and Owen onward till lately, has always stood for a concrete conception of human life, involving, without doubt, as the first condition of its fulfilment, an economic transformation, but which was never confined to the economic change itself abstracted from all else.

Yet, notwithstanding this, the advocates of the restricted definition invariably talk as though the inclusion of other than purely economic interests within the purview of Socialism were a species of unjustifiable—not to say illogical—innovation. So far from this being the case, the innovation is on the side of those who seek to limit the definition, and it is for them to show a justification for the change. This, as it seems to me, comrade Gould, no less than his predecessors, has failed to do. Throughout his article he dogmatically assumes the position that Socialism means simply and exclusively the assumption by the community of the possession and control of the land and capital of the country, and has no concern with, nor thought for, aught else. (His limitation to the "vital industries," as he terms them, seems to me unjustified, since once the latter were effectively communised the whole industrial system would be bound to follow.) Now, as I contend (1) you cannot successfully carry through

any attempt to separate the fundamental issues of life into watertight compartments—both in logic and in practice they inevitably overlap—and (2) in your zeal for watertighting the economical side of life you run the imminent danger of divesting your economical postulate itself of all real and living meaning.

Let us look at the logical consequences of this popular doctrine of the exclusive essentiality of the economic formula. "Socialism," says comrade Gould in defending this doctrine, "is merely the public ownership of the vital industries." Hence, Socialists, as such, must rigidly limit themselves in their public action to promoting and defending the above formula. Should, therefore, it be proposed to re-introduce domestic slavery—or, still worse, public slavery—Socialists, as Socialists, would not be entitled to express any opinion on the matter, seeing it is conceivable that the "vital industries" might be publicly owned and worked in a sense for the good of the whole people, including the maintenance of the slaves themselves. Again, it is proposed to re-establish the "Holy Office" to enforce Catholic Christianity as a creed binding on all citizens. Here, again, is a question which, inasmuch as it does not directly concern "the public ownership of the vital industries," must, on Gouldian principles, be an open one for Socialists—nay, there would be no inconsistency in a Socialist himself occupying the post of Grand Inquisitor. If there is one thing which Socialism has been supposed to involve it is Republicanism. But here, again, our friend Gould, in perfectly logical accord with his definition of Socialism, declares it to be unessential, since a good step in the direction of the "public ownership of the vital industries" could be conceivably attainable under a King and hereditary Chamber. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, arguing on the same lines, has declared it within the competence of a Socialist régime to abolish divorce, and condemn men and women to life-long slavery and misery—to offer them as whole burnt-offerings on the altar of monogamic dogma, varnished

over, it may be to make it sound plausible, with phrases such as "social order," "political stability," and the like.

Now, I make bold to assert that most Socialists, however much they may offer lip-homage to the orthodox theory defended by comrade Gould—to wit, that Socialism means no more than a bald economic formula—if it came to the point, would fling this would-be cautious and prudent—and, may I add, pedantic—orthodoxy to the winds and affirm by word and deed that all or any of these things were radically incompatible with Socialism, alike in theory and in practice. For to them the functions of Socialism are ethical no less than economic. For them, whatever they may pretend, the economic transformation is no more than the essential means to an end which is not merely economic, but embraces the whole fabric of human life. It is a significant fact, moreover, that those who from motives of expediency think they are facilitating the advent of the economic side of Socialism by giving it an exclusive prominence, either have no adequate conception of what is involved in the economic change itself; or, if they have—as doubtless in the case of comrade Gould—they usually find themselves hoodwinked, when it comes to practical politics, into accepting some plausible counterfeit of statification, some fraudulent, make-believe measure of sham socialisation—municipal or national—some Bismarckism or Seddonism, for the genuine thing. This is happening constantly in the present day. It is only in applying the touchstone of the spirit of Socialism to the various economic nostrums masquerading in the modern world under the name and guise of Socialism that you have any real and definite standard to go by as to what constitutes the effective (from a Socialist point of view) socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and as to its intrinsic value. Apart from this, we necessarily drift about among those who give ear to the cry, "Lo, here is Socialism, and, lo, there!"

The real strength of Socialism lies in the fearless consistency of Socialists in pointing out the concreteness of human society in each of its phases of development—in exhibiting Socialism, not, indeed, in its details, but none the less in its general tendencies, as a coherent doctrine of social life, to which nothing human is foreign. To this proclamation of Socialism as a religion and an ethic, and not merely as an economic scheme, belongs the pointing out of its inconsistency with current cherished bourgeois conceptions of religion and ethics—its presentment as the modern attempt to realise the ideal of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in the recognition that the first and only means thereto is the economic reconstruction of society on the basis of communism in the means of production and distribution. It is because the aim of Socialism is the recognition of the economic change as being the basis upon which the other changes will be effected that the chief stress is laid upon the latter, and not because Socialism has no interest in aught but the technical economic transformation itself.

It may be convenient for electioneering purposes to represent Socialism as indifferent if not favourable to religious hypocrisy, to moral humbug, and to every conventional principle—however baneful, however destructive of liberty, however incompatible with equality, however deadly to fraternity—provided it does not directly traverse the letter of the economic formula; but it is a falsification, and a falsification that will find you out in the long run. The man who wants to bully his fellow-men forcibly into accepting conventional theories on religion, on marriage, on royalty, on patriotism, etc., friend Gould, as I understand him, would have us greet as a Socialist “comrade” provided he can mouth his adhesion to the bare economic formula, no matter with what implications or reservations, and no matter how much his attitude on other issues contradicts the recognised spirit of Socialism. Against such a view as this I cannot sufficiently protest, popular and sound common-sense though it may be.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

By H. GEORGE FARMER.

CHAPTER II.—ART AND ARTISTS.

(Dedicated to WALTER CRANE.)

Ever since the first revolution the artistic rebels of Paris had grouped themselves in line with political rebels. David and his unconventional associates—Gérard, Prud'hon, Regnault, Vernet and the rest—plotted in their "Commune des Arts," which triumphed in the revolution over "official art." The later Romanticists—Dupré, Rousseau, Delacroix and Daumier—founded their "Nouvelle Société," in opposition to the "Salon," under the protection of the revolutionists, which received its apotheosis in the days of 1848. And so in the "sixties," the several groups of Realists, Naturalists and Impressionists, with their "Salon des Réfuses," found their battle-cries against the Académie and the Ecoles readily voiced by the Socialist press, for, as Max Nordau says in his "Art and Artists": "A close relationship unites the phenomena of one time, and about 1868 realism meant quite as much a revolt against a bit of authority as republicanism did."

These artist *révoltés* were not all conscious Socialists; indeed, only a few took that label. It seemed more likely that they felt instinctively the message of William Morris in "Art and Socialism," when he said: "Surely there are some of you who long to be free; who have been educated and refined, and had your perception of beauty and order quickened only that it might be shocked and wounded at every

turn by the brutalities of Competitive Commerce ; who have been so hunted and driven by it that, though you are well-to-do, rich even may-be, you have nothing to lose from social revolution. . . . You must throw in your lot with that of the wage slave you and he have one hope in common to be set free from the oppression of the money-grubbers."

Thus we find that when the Commune was about to be realised a goodly number of artists rallied in its support.

The foremost artist *révolté* of the time was Gustave Courbet. Ever since his famous "Burial Scene at Ornans" and the "Stonebreakers" (1850) flashed on the world of art, Courbet stood among the first artists of France. Socialists, who are first of all humanitarians, will always reverence him for his animal subjects: "At Bay," "Run down in the Snow" and "The Quarry." Courbet was a Socialist and a personal friend of Proudhon. He was pleased to call himself a "craftsman," and would not even dress well lest he should be considered bourgeois.

No sooner had the Commune been set up than Courbet sought to federate his class, and convoked them to a meeting authorised by the Commune on April 6 at the Ecole de Medicine. This was followed by another four days later, when a provisional committee was elected, comprising Courbet ; Hippolyte Moulin, the sculptor, whose "Une Trouvaille à Pompei" may be seen in the Luxembourg ; Stephen Martin, the painter of religious pictures ; Jules Hereau, the landscapist ; Feyen-Perrin, the painter of "The Return from Oyster Fishing" ; the engraver, Auguste Trichon, since known for his "Grève de Mineurs" ; Jules Dalou, the sculptor of "The Triumph of the Republic" ; and lesser artists like H. Dubois, Alexandre Jousse, Roszezench, C. Chabert, A. Faleynière, A. Moulliard, and Eugène Pottier.

These drew up an elaborate mandate (actually the work of Courbet, Moulin and Pottier) defining the

aims and constitution of a "Federation of Artists of Paris," which declared its adhesion to the Commune.

The Federation insisted on the free expansion of art, independent of all State protection and privileges; the equality of rights between all members of the Federation; the independence and dignity of each artist to be guaranteed by the creation of a committee elected by the universal vote of artists. The aims of the Federation ran as follows:—

The Mandate.—The government of the world of arts by artists has for its mission:—

The preservation of the treasures of the past. The bringing to light all the elements of the present. The regeneration of the future by education.

Monuments and Museums.—The monuments (from an art point of view), the museums, galleries, collections and libraries of art works, which are not private property, are confided to the conservation and administrative surveillance of the committee.

It will arrange, conserve, rectify, and complete the plans, inventories, repertories and catalogues.

It will place them at the disposal of the public . . .

It will report on the preservation of buildings, notify urgent repairs, and present to the Commune a frequent account of its work.

After an examination into their capacity, and an inquiry into their responsibility, it will appoint the administrators, secretaries and archivists of these establishments . . .

It dismisses for negligence, bad management . . .

Exhibitions.—The Committee organises the communal, national and international exhibitions taking place in Paris . . .

It will only admit works signed by their authors, original works or translations, such as an engraving from a painting . . .

It rejects absolutely all commercial exhibition, tending to substitute the name of the publisher. . . . for that of the real creator.

It does not bestow awards.

The ordinary works commanded by the Commune shall be divided between the artists. . . . The special works will be given to the concourse.

The mandate also considered the creation of a journal called the "Officiel des Arts," arrangements for arbitrations, and lastly invited every citizen "to communicate any proposition, project, etc., having for purpose the progress of art, the moral and intellectual emancipation of artists, or the amelioration of their lot."

The chief reforms of the Federation related to education and exhibitions. They were: (1) The suppression of the budget of the "Ecole des Beaux Arts." (2) The increase in the budget for art instruction in communal schools. (3) The suppression of all Government patronage and assistance. (4) The reduction in the budget for the architectural course.

Concerning the schools the Federation, following the first revolution, said: "All official direction imprinted on the judgment of the student is fatal." And again: "The rational teaching of art is completed when the student has acquired the whole of the elementary and practical knowledge which enables him to translate his thoughts." The Federation, therefore, decided on the suppression of the old "Ecole des Beaux Arts," the schools of Athens and Rome, and the Institute section of Fine Arts. In their place large halls were to be raised for superior education in the æsthetic, history, philosophy and sciences connected with art. All attention was now to be given to art instruction in the communal schools.

As for exhibitions, the Federation declared that henceforth the administration of these should be vested in those concerned in them, and suppressed the budget. In future the Commune would decide which works it would purchase and make a special grant for that purpose. Official purchases were thus condemned and the budget suppressed. It asked for the increase in the budget of Public Fêtes, and suggested lengthy reforms in Architecture.

Such were the views of the artistic adherents of the Commune, which bore the imprint of the Council of the Commune and the Commission of Education. And the world called them "Vandals" !

On May 13 a school of "Industrial Art" for girls was opened in the Rue Dupuytren. Throughout the arrondissements art instruction began to be organised, and professors of drawing and modelling were advertised for. Alas ! this was the solitary reform the Federation was able to attempt, for soon all was over and the Versaillese hordes slaughtering the Commune.

There is no art of the Commune. Time did not allow for that. If only the Commune had been consummated, or at least prolonged, we might have had a repetition of the glorious art of the First Revolution, whose Commune commissioned works dealing with episodes of the Revolution, which resulted in Gérard's "Dix Août," Vincent's "Scène Vendéenne," and Regnault's "Liberté ou la Mort."

I have said there was no art of the Commune. That is substantially true. I was not then thinking of the press. A word for the *dessinateurs*, whose cartoons lashed the Versaillese to fury, must therefore be given.

Like all the rest they, too, have been vilified. An English historian of the Commune—John Leighton—himself an artist, is rudely contemptuous of the Communard *dessinateurs*. He affects to know all about them, yet not sufficient, it seems, to enable him to spell the names of well-known people like Pilotell and Pottier correctly. "The art advocates of the Commune" (Leighton refers to the *dessinateurs*), "with but few exceptions, seem to have been of the most humble sort, inspired with the melodramatic taste of our Seven Dials . . . venting itself in ill-drawn heroic females. . . . They are the work of aspiring juvenile artists or uneducated men." This is but one more instance of the total incapacity of bourgeois historians to

refrain from wholesale lying where the Social Revolution is concerned.

In the British Museum there is a collection of prints, cartoons, etc., of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune, of no less than 41 volumes. Reference to these will soon dispel the idle chatter of Mr. Leighton. There you will find that some of the best work of the best artists in Paris were given to the Commune.

There is fortunately no need to mention André Gill, Pilotell or Faustin; their reputations are generously allowed, even by Mr. Leighton. But there are others.

First, I would like to point out the several works signed F. D.—“The Flight to Versailles” (which Leighton wrongly attributes to Faustin), with Thiers as the Virgin, Favre as Joseph, and the Comte de Paris as J.C.; and another—“The Prussians of Versailles,” depicting Thiers and Favre in Prussian helmets serving a “twelve-pounder” against Paris.

In the “Père Duchêne en Colère” there is one by W. Alexis entitled “Ah! tas de Genfourtres,” and one by H. Demare, who is also responsible for a fine cartoon, “Une Page d’Histoire.”

The “Actualités” by Saïd, Paul Roya, G. Bar and J. Corseaux are, on the whole, good. Saïd’s best efforts are “Versailles et Paris,” and “Quelle Tuile!”

The anonymous “Three Graces,” with Thiers, Favre, and Picard clasping each other’s nakedness, which brought shrieks of laughter to the Commune, is a perfect gem of satire. A Frenchman told me that this cartoon alone justified the massacres of May.

Then take the *dessins* of Molock and Rosambeau in “La Scie” and “La Flèche,” notably the latter’s “La Mise en Accusation,” or Molock’s “Circulars de M. Thiers (Pouah!),” and his noble print of the Commune of Paris saluting the Commune of Lyons. They are scarcely the works of “juvenile,” “uneducated” artists. Neither are the Thiers series, by Gaillard *fils*. Nor the one by De la Tramblin, “Toujours faisant face à l’ennemi.” Nor the placard by

the famous Lancon, "Les Cadavres découverts dans les souterrains de l'église St. Laurent."

On April 13 a mass meeting of the Federation of Artists was held at the Ecole de Medicine, for the adoption of the "Mandate" aforementioned. Over four hundred gathered for the reunion, including the well-known painters Feyen-Perrin and Hereau, the sculptors Moulin and Delaplanche, the famous *dessinateur* Bertall, the engraver Michelin, and the art critic Phillipe Burty. Yet Leighton ("Paris under the Commune") had the audacity to say that no artists of importance were present, and called the assembly a "parcel of daubers, without name and without talent." Well, I have seen the beautiful landscapes of Hereau, and have admired the sculptured groups of Dalou, and heard a thousand voices in Pottier's "Internationale," and I feel constrained to say that these are names that will last long after John Leighton has gone to supper!

The election of the members of the Commission of the Federation of Artists took place on April 17. They were:—

Painters.—Bonvin, Corot, Courbet, Daumier, Arnaud Durbec, Hippolyte Dubois, Feyen-Perrin, Armand Gautier, Louis Gluck, Jules Hereau, Lancon, Eugène Leroux, Manet, Millet, Oulevay and Picchio.

Sculptors.—Becquet, Agénor Chapuy, Jules Dalou, Lagrange, Edouard Lindeneher, Moreau-Vauthier, Hippolyte Moulin, Ottin, Poitevin, and Deblézer.

Architects.—Boileau (*fils*), Delbrouck, Nicolle, Achille Oudinot, and Raulin.

Engravers and Lithographers.—Georges Bellenger, Bracquemond, Flameng, André Gill, Huot and Pothey.

Decorative Artists (hitherto called Industrial Artists).—Emile Aubin, Boudier, Chabert, Chesneau, Fuzier, Meyer, Ottin (*fils*), Eugène Pottier, Reiber and Riester.

Never was there a more freely-elected assembly. The political element was distinctly a minus quantity.

Yet among the "politicals" of the Commune were several artists. Besides Courbet, there was another Socialist painter, Alfred Billioray, a pupil of Chazal. His works were regularly refused by the Beaux Arts until 1870, when his "Sollicitude Maternelle" gained admittance. He was a member of the Central Committee and the Council of the Commune, and was transported to New Caledonia and to death for it. Among other painters who were "politicals" of the Commune were Ulysse Parent (a member of the Council), Henry, the *chef du Legion*, and Lamy. Among the best known *dessinateurs* of the day was Pilotell, whose work in the "Eclipse" and "Caricature" is of the highest order. Some of his cartoons were republished during the Commune, including "La Bêtise Humaine," "Pantheon Pilotell," "Actualités," "Cannoniers de la Republique" and "Toutes Trois Trahies." He was a militant Socialist, and was appointed a police commissary under the Commune. Two members of the Commune, George Arnold and Mortier, were architects. The former was a sub-inspector of architecture, and whilst in transportation at New Caledonia for the Commune he obtained a prize for his Noumea Church at the Sydney Exposition. Another architect connected with the Commune politically was H. Barnout, who was also editor of "L'Athée," and wrote for the "Réveil" and "Vengeur." As for industrial artists, quite a legion of them were implicated politically in the Commune.

Yet not one of these "politicals" sought an entrance, which they might easily have obtained, into the Commission of the Federation of Artists. I mention this fact as bourgeois historians have insisted so much on the "tyranny" of the Commune.

The Commission rightly included some of the greatest names in art. Besides thoroughly conservative people like Bonvin and Corot, were *révoltés* like Daumier, Manet and Millet. It was only right that Daumier should find a place—that *rude peintre de mœurs* who had been so unkind to Louis Philippe (and gone

to prison for it), and again to Napoleon III. Manet was certainly no "political," he simply belonged to Cloutz's "party of indignation," for no artist or litterateur, not even Wagner or Ibsen, had been so vilified by the bourgeoisie as Manet. Similarly, Millet could not be counted a man of action, although he fought on the barricades in 1848. Yet he belonged to the "masses." Never were there more direct pleas for the toiling multitude than his "Sower," "Peasants Grafting," "The Gleaners" and "The Sheepshearers."

Among the painters who leaned to the principles of the Commune were Lancon, Feyen-Perrin and Hereau.

The most genuine revolutionary sculptors were Dalou and Otton, whilst Moulin and Deblézer held *libertaire* views.

Delbrouck, who, like Courbet, had indignantly refused the Legion of Honour, was perhaps the only rebel among the architects.

André Gill stood alone among the lithographists and engravers as a definite revolutionary.

Both Chabert and Chesneau, of the industrial artists, were inclined to the Commune. Lastly comes Eugène Pottier, one of the real Socialists of the group. Although a *dessinateur* by profession and a fine craftsman, he is better known as the "Tyrtæus of the Revolution." His terrible *chanson* of revolt, the "Internationale," is perhaps the greatest song of liberty ever penned. Some of his mightiest verse are to be found in his "Chants Révolutionnaires."

This Commission of Fine Arts, elected to preside over the artistic interests of Paris, was constituted a department of the Commission of Education, with offices at the Ministry of Fine Arts. The Commune charged the Commission with the organisation of the museums and art galleries—"with the least possible delay," and also to proceed with the "Prix du Rome" and the annual art exhibition in the Champs Elysées.

The first work of the Federation was to dismiss the arrondissement architects who had refused service

and later it abolished the post of architect to the Luxembourg, the post being a glaring sinecure.

Like the officials of other services, many of the staff at the various museums and galleries had deserted their posts, leaving their departments in disorder. Those who remained and acknowledged the Communal authority had their appointments ratified.

The museums of the Luxembourg had been closed since the Prussian siege, when most of the pictures and statues were deposited in the cellars of the Mary di Medici Palace. Under the Commune every effort was made to place the galleries in order, but here, as elsewhere, the officials, whilst nominally adhering to the Commune, and readily taking their salaries from it, did all in their power to complicate matters. Pilette, the well-known *dessinateur*, assumed surveillance of the museums, although unofficially. He was, however, dismissed from the Communal service in April.

By the second week in May, the organising of the museums seemed as far off as ever, and finally, upon pressure, the officials promised to open on May 15, but did not keep their word. The two responsible "conservators" were therefore dismissed two days later, the Federation of Artists appointing three new provisional guardians—André Gill as administrator, with Agénor Chapuy and Louis Gluck as adjuncts. André Gill, one of the most famous of French *dessinateurs*, was well known in revolutionary circles, contributing for many years to their press, notably Rochefort's "Marseillaise," although at the fall of the Commune he took much care to explain that his adhesion was purely artistic. Nevertheless, he was a thorough-going Bohemian *révolté* till his death. Of Chapuy's or Gluck's political attitudes I know nothing. Chapuy afterwards became famous as a portrait sculptor, whilst Gluck was already well known as a painter. Oddly enough, his "Jardin du Luxembourg" is one of his best known works. At the fall of the Commune, the galleries of the Luxembourg were found absolutely intact ("Art Journal").

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The Palais des Tuileries, lately the home of a venal monarchy, had been shut up by the bourgeois Republicans in September, 1870. After March 18 the Revolution took charge of the Palace and opened it to the people, that, for once in their lives, they might enjoy the works of art—the magnificent Gobelins tapestries, the Salon des Roses, the gorgeous ceilings, the works of Charles Lebrun, Pierre Mignard, Coypel and Meillet, all of which they and their forefathers had paid for in strenuous toil.

At the Louvre the museums had also been closed since September 4, many of the greatest treasures having been transferred to the Brest Arsenal before the Prussian siege. However, under the instructions of the Federation of Artists part of the museums were opened on April 22, including the Musée Lacazes, the Salle Henri III., the Salle des Sept Cheminées with the masterpieces of David and Gericault, the Musée des Antiques, the entire Musée des Dessins, the Musée Sauvageot with its valuable pottery, and the Musée des Sculptures.

One of a legion of base misrepresentations of the Commune which flourished in the Versailles and bourgeois press generally was that it was selling the treasures of the Louvre to foreign countries. Yet the officials at the Louvre, with the pictures in question under their very eyes, made not the slightest stir to deny the charge and vindicate the Commune, whose bounty they were accepting. It was indeed time for the Commune to relieve these people from such places of trust, and give its own adherents the custody. This was done on May 16, when the Federation of Artists appointed Achille Oudinot as Administrator, with Jules Hereau and Jules Dalou as assistants. These were the people who were impudently called by the "Art Journal": "a discreditable committee of artists." Oudinot was a well-known painter and architect. He seems to have been out of sympathy with the Commune, and was succeeded as Administrator by one Brives, on May 20. Hereau, the landscapist, and

Dalou, the sculptor, were both revolutionaries. On the fall of the Commune they, with another painter who was connected with the Commune—Cazin—fled from the fury of the Versaillaise and settled in London. Some of Hereau's best work was done in England. His "Shepherd's Song" in the Rouen Museum reveals his genius. Cazin, hunted from Paris, poor and friendless, had to support himself by making artistic earthen jars. Dalou afterwards became a teacher at our Royal Academy and (strange fortune) was much patronised by our aristocracy. But he never deserted his faith. For years he was a member of the Anarchist group "L'Idée Nouvelle," with another painter, Eugène Carrière, and Elisée Reclus, the geographer. His busts of the rebels, Victor Noir and Blanqui, are among his best works.

The Palais de l'Industrie also came under the care of the Federation. Here they allowed Buon, the inspector of fine arts, to remain in charge, although it appointed two of its members as *adjoints*—Deblézer, the sculptor, and Meyer, an *artiste industriel*. On May 19, Buon, having deserted his post, the Federation instructed its *adjoints* to remove the paintings and sculptures "for safety" to the Louvre and Luxembourg.

The treasures at the Musée Carnavalet were not overlooked by the Commune, which appointed its own guardian in the person of one Delmotte. Other less important collections were also supervised by the Commune.

Courbet was arrested for his part in the Commune and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a heavy fine. He was made responsible for the demolition of the Vendôme Column, which figures as one of the so-called "acts of vandalism" of the Paris Commune. The overthrow of the column was decided by the Commune on April 12, which was four days before Courbet became a member of the Council. That fact alone should have removed responsibility from him. However, Courbet, who condemned it as an art-work, had favoured its removal to the

Esplanade des Invalides some time previously. That was sufficient for the Versaillese to judge him guilty. Yet the destruction of the column had been enunciated by no less a person than the great Comte, and even one of the heads of the Versaillese—Picard—had once asked for its abolition. And these infamous people, who had themselves demolished the Napoleon I. statue at Neuilly, besides removing two others, had the effrontery to charge the Commune with "vandalism" on account of the Vendome Column.

Every abuse and calumny was heaped on the name of the high-minded Courbet. Sickness and neglect at last sent him to exile in Switzerland. In November, 1877, the heavy fine in which he was mulcted brought about the sale of his pictures, which realised only twelve thousand francs, and a month later, as if unable to survive this last blow of the bourgeoisie, he passed away.

THE MONTH.

The great event of the past month was, undoubtedly, the international crisis created by the fresh developments arising out of the Moroccan imbroglio. It may be too soon yet to say that the danger has passed, but it is certain that for some days Europe was on the brink of war; a war which could not but have been one of the most tremendous conflicts that has ever been experienced.

It cannot be said that any credit attaches to the British Government, or to British diplomacy, for having averted the danger. On the contrary, by their treacherous secret diplomacy; by their blundering, vacillation, and pusillanimity our rulers had done their worst to create a most critical situation; and then when, above all else, the most careful and cool handling and the most judicious and pacific utterances were called for, they put up the fire-eating pacifist Lloyd George to make one of the most bellicose, jingo, "we don't want to fight, but—" speeches that have ever been uttered.

Fortunately this Bombastes-Furioso speech was treated with cool disdain by the parties directly concerned. Germany curtly told England to keep her hands off, and she would settle with France without British interference. Our Asquithian rulers had to pocket the snub with the best grace they could assume, and the British lion, frightened at its own Georgian roar, retired with its tail between its legs.

So far it has been another victory for German diplomacy, and another proof of our contention that the chief menace to the world's peace to-day is the rivalry between England and Germany; and that one of two courses must be adopted by this country if war is to be avoided—either we must be prepared for a practically unlimited expansion of armaments, or we must be prepared to make concessions to Germany.

When we have said this before we have been accused of anti-German sentiment, jingoism, and what not. Hard words break no bones, and to call names is no argument. This is not a matter of sentiment, but of fact. And the facts are generally admitted even by those who have most vehemently denounced us

for stating them. So far from being anti-German, however, we have all along urged that the British Government should come to terms with Germany. That, however, our precious rulers would not do. They would neither take steps to ensure peace, nor the measures necessary to guard against war. On the contrary, while affecting to smile at the menace of war, and denouncing as scaremongers those who dared to mention it, they were so frightened by the reality of the menace as to enter into the most unholy alliances, and thereby to precipitate the danger they were pretending to ignore.

One of the most mischievous results of this ostrich policy is the entanglement with Russia. Their dissimulated fear of Germany—whom they would neither propitiate nor guard against—has thrown our Government into the arms of Russia, and now they appear to be in abject fear of their baleful ally. It is as sinister a mesalliance as that between France and Russia, and forebodes as evil consequences.

The shameful cowardice displayed by the British Foreign Office over Miss Malecka is a case in point. By every rule of reason and common-sense Miss Malecka is a British subject, and entitled to that protection the British Government professes to afford to every British subject anywhere. In this case we claim that it was the duty of the British Government to demand an immediate investigation into the charge on which Miss Malecka was arrested, and a speedy and impartial trial or her immediate release. But Russia, it appears, claims that Miss Malecka is a Russian subject; and thereupon Sir Edward Grey, instead of vigorously contesting it, tamely admits this claim and practically surrenders an innocent and refined Englishwoman to the tender mercies of the ruthless Russian barbarism.

Really, of course, it is no concern of ours, or of Sir Edward Grey, how the Russian Government may regard their prisoner or her nationality. British or not, anyone is called upon to conform to the laws of any country in which they may find themselves, and to answer for any offence against those laws. Sir Edward Grey is not called upon to demand immunity for Miss Malecka on the ground that she is a British subject; but, *because she is a British subject*, he is called upon to intervene on her behalf and to insist that, whatever may be the view of Russian law as to her nationality, she is entitled, as a human being, to common justice and to freedom from the extra-judicial tortures to which the victims of Russian law are too often subject.

That is the point which Sir Edward Grey is too stupid to understand or too cowardly to enforce. He is not called upon to say to the Russian Government, "You must release this woman because

she is a British subject," but to say "Because she is a British subject it is *my duty* to intervene and to see that she is treated justly and gets a fair trial." Our business is not with the Russian Government, but with Sir Edward Grey, and he must be taught, if he does not know, that he is the servant—and the well-paid servant—of the British public, not of the Czar of Russia.

In other matters, as well as in this, however, Sir Edward Grey appears to take his orders from St. Petersburg. There is the high-handed action of Russia in Persia, which can have no other object than the absolute destruction of Persian autonomy, connived at, aided and abetted by Sir Edward Grey, even to the extent of dismissing, at the bidding of Russia, a British officer from his position in the gendarmerie, to which he had been appointed by the responsible head of that force under the Persian Government.

"A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind," and possibly our Liberal Government is thus subservient to Russia not only from motives of international State policy, but because it finds Muscovite methods of government so entirely to its taste. We have had frequent occasion to animadvert on the extent to which Russian methods have been adopted in India, in the manufacture of bogus plots and conspiracies, the provocation and actual perpetration of assassination; the suborning of evidence; the torture of prisoners, and the arrest and deportation of innocent persons without trial or the public formulation of any charge against them.

Perhaps one of the worst cases of this kind has just culminated in the condemnation in a fine of £60 of an English magistrate in Midnapur, Bengal, and two native police officers, for as nefarious a plot as was ever hatched. In this case no less than 154 persons of standing and respectability were implicated in an alleged conspiracy against the Government. A bomb was discovered in the house of an elderly Government pensioner—which had evidently been placed there in order to be discovered, and the son of this pensioner was intimidated and tortured into making a confession which led to the arrest of the persons named.

The whole plot has turned out to be a put-up job on the part of the magistrate, Weston, and the two police officers, who have been condemned and fined as already stated. In this instance the exposure of the plot has saved the persons implicated any further punishment; but who shall say how many innocent people in India are to-day in prison as the victims of similar infamous malpractices?

The folly of all the subservience to Russia, however, from the point of view of State policy, is that, apart from the flattering emulation of Russian methods in India, it is bound to be utterly

futile. Russia is an adept at fishing in troubled waters, and knows how to reap advantages from the alliances which the difficulties and fears of England and France have constrained them to make. But she will not for a moment hesitate to throw them both over whenever it may suit her book to do so. Potsdam and St. Petersburg understand each other perfectly well, and although a Franco-Russian or an Anglo-Russian alliance may be useful to Russia as a means of driving a bargain as well as of replenishing her exchequer, there is a much closer affinity between the two great militarist Powers than between either of them and the Western democracies. Neither Russia nor Germany will go to war for the sake of the "fine eyes" of either England or France.

The squabble between the international gang of thieves over the division of the spoils in Morocco is, as the S.D.P. Executive has expressed it, not worth the blood of a single private soldier. But we do not think that Morocco is the real issue or anything more than the occasion for the raising of international issues of a much graver character. These, again, are, primarily, questions of capitalist commercial interests; but it is idle to say that they are matters of indifference to the working class. As a matter of fact, capitalism to-day is much more international and much less patriotic than is the proletariat, and the most vital interests of the working class may be involved in a quarrel between two States which may be of superficial interest to the master class in either.

The gravity of the international crisis has not, unfortunately, served to obscure or lessen the interest in the comic constitutional crisis. There is only one consolation about the latter, and that is that with the passing of the Veto Bill we have nearly reached the end.

The bye-election in South-West Bethnal Green has once more demonstrated the impossibility of winning in a triangular contest with the two-party system and no second ballot. That is why it answers the purpose of both parties to maintain our present antiquated electoral system. The answer of our party should be to put up a candidate in every constituency, and that might be done but for the official expenses.

The remarkable series of strikes in the shipping industry has culminated in the greatest revolt of London labour that has taken place for many years. It is practically a repetition of the Great Strike of 1889, and bids fair to be at least as successful. It is to be hoped that when the strike is over the men concerned will take steps to retain the fruits of victory, and not let them slip out of their hands as they have done in the past.

FINANCE-CAPITAL AND CRISES.

By KARL KAUTSKY, in the "Neue Zeit."

I.—HILFERDING'S BOOK.

(Continued.)

In reality it is the smoothing over of class antagonisms which dates from the past—the past in England. It bases itself upon the supposition that it is still England that shows us our future, as was the case in Marx's time. This expectation is supported by the, not exactly new, fact that in England after the victory of Free Trade (1846) the relations between capitalists and workers became better and better for some decades. But this revisionism, which reproaches us with swearing by the letter of the master's words, fails to see how Marx's words about the value of England as an example have long ago been fulfilled by the facts, and also the observations, which they themselves made in England. During three decades England has more and more relapsed, economically, into the rear, and the class antagonisms are becoming intensified there, too; not, indeed, to the same extent as in Germany or the United States, because England is backward, because the individual capitalist ownership still predominates in industry, whose dependence on the banks, and the concentration of which into cartells and trusts, has not yet proceeded so far as in the two above-mentioned countries. This was already a known fact, but Hilferding has most admirably expounded some reasons, not hitherto known, for this phenomenon.

Not England, but the United States, is the country which shows us our social future in capitalism. The backward "Scharfmachertum" is nowhere more intensely developed than there.

It is to finance-capital that the capitalist future belongs. But this, both in the international struggle of competition and in the internal class struggle, means the most brutal and violent form of capital.

What Hilferding understands by finance-capital and its development can best be told in his own words. In one place he gives a short resumé, which helps considerably in following the line of thought which runs through a great portion of his book. He says:—

"We have seen how in the beginning of capitalist production the money of the banks comes from two sources. First, from

the money of the non-producing classes ; secondly, from the reserve capital of the industrial and commercial capitalists. We have seen, further, how the development of credit tends to place at the disposal of industry not only the whole reserve capital of the capitalist class, but also the greatest part of the money of the unproductive classes. Present-day industry, in other words, is carried on by means of a capital far larger than the total capital in the possession of the industrial capitalists. With capitalist development the sum of money constantly grows which is placed by the non-producing class at the disposal of the banks, and by these latter at the disposal of industry. The disposal over these sums, so indispensable to industry, belongs to the banks. With the development of capitalism and its credit organisations there thus grows the dependence of industry upon the banks. On the other hand, the banks can only draw the moneys of the non-productive classes, and keep the ever-increasing foundation stock of the same at their permanent disposal by paying interest on these moneys. This they could do, as long as these sums were not too extensive, by making use of them for speculation credit and circulation credit. With the growth of these sums on the one hand, and, on the other, with the decreasing importance of speculation and commerce, it became necessary to convert them more and more into industrial capital. Without the steady extension of production credit the possibility of making use of the deposits, and therewith also the paying of interest on the bank deposits, would long ago have sunk much lower. This is partially the case in England, where the deposit banks only negotiate circulation credit, the interest on the deposit being therefore only minimal. Hence the continual departure of the deposits into spheres of industrial investment by the purchase of shares. Here the public does directly what, in the case of the union of industrial and deposit banks, is done by the bank. For the public the result is the same, as in any case the founder's profit does not come to them. But for industry it means less dependence on bank-capital in England in comparison with Germany.

“ The dependence of industry on the banks is thus the result of the conditions of property. An ever-increasing portion of the industrial capital does not belong to the industrials who use it. They only receive the disposal over it from the bank, which, as far as they are concerned, represents the owner. On the other hand, the bank has to fix an ever-growing portion of its capital in industry. It, therefore, becomes, in an ever-growing measure, an industrial capitalist. I call this bank-capital—that is, capital in money form—which in this way is converted in reality into industrial-capital, the finance-capital. Towards the owners it always conserves its money-form, is invested by them in the form of money-capital, interest-bearing capital, and can at any time be withdrawn by them in money form. But in reality the greater part of the capital thus invested in the banks is converted into industrial, pro-

ductive capital (means of production and labour-power) and fixed in the process of production. An ever greater portion of the capital employed in industry is finance-capital, capital at the disposal of the banks, and being made use of by the industrialists.

"The finance-capital develops with the development of the joint-stock companies and reaches its height with the monopolisation of industry. The industrial revenue becomes a steady and increasing one. Thus the power of the bank-capital to invest in industry gains ever further extension. But the bank-capital is at the disposal of the bank, and the bank is ruled by the owners of the majority of the bank shares. It is clear that with the increasing concentration of property the owners of the fictive capital, which gives power over the banks, and of that which gives power over industry, are becoming more and more identical. All the more, in that, as we have seen, the large banks are ever gaining more and more power of disposal over the fictive capital.

"Though we have seen how industry is becoming more and more dependent upon bank-capital, that by no means involves the industrial magnates. Just as, on the contrary, capital itself, on reaching its highest stage, becomes finance-capital, so the magnate of capital, the finance capitalist, comes more and more to unite the disposal over the total national capital by ruling over the bank-capital. Here, too, the personal union plays an important part.

"With cartellisation and trustification, finance-capital reaches the highest stage of its power, while the commercial capital experiences its deepest degradation."

One sees Hilferding is far from believing in the utopia of the democratising of capital through shares. With a light turn of the hand he puts aside this "petty-bourgeois theory." (Page 166; compare also 144.)

These quotations are already sufficient to show that Hilferding's book has not only academic importance. It is of the greatest weight also for practical workers in the Labour movement, and especially for its representatives in the Parliaments, who must not limit themselves to purely Labour questions.

But it is true that the principal importance of the book is on the theoretical plane. Starting out from the Marxist fundamental ideas, Hilferding unites a complete control of his methods with the control of a comprehensive material, and he develops in a compact representation, on the foundation of the theory of the nature of money, of credit, of the banks, of the shares system, of cartells, of crises. There is hardly one of the phenomena on these planes about which he has not something new to say, and which is not made clearer by the connection which he traces between it and the total process.

His book is a new brilliant confirmation of the fruitfulness of the Marxian method. That is not to say that Hilferding swears by the letter of the master's words. He knows how to use his method while preserving his own complete independence. This he

shows best in the question of the founder's gains, which he explains as the difference between rate of profit and rate of interest, between the real value of the productive elements of an undertaking and the capitalised amount of its profit. If, for instance, the erection of a factory costs a million marks and bears 10 per cent. profit, then, given a rate of interest of 5 per cent., the mass of profit derived from the factory will constitute the interest on a capital of two millions. If the factory be converted into a joint-stock company, one can fix the share-capital at two millions. The surplus of one million over the value of the factory drops, as founder's gain, into the pockets of the founders without any deception.

This is a very important discovery. It opens out to us a deeper insight into the nature of the motive powers which extend the share system, render the individual capitalist superfluous, and deliver up industry to the dominion of the banks. Thanks to the founders' gain, this development proceeds much faster than if the struggle of competition had to effect it alone. Thereby, too, the extension of the workshops to gigantic undertakings and their union with other works in the most varied forms of monopolist conjunction is extraordinarily encouraged.

The founder's gain proves itself to be one of the strong factors in the process of development which is bringing modern capitalism to a head, and converting capital into a quite impersonal force, but at the same time greatly increasing the class antagonisms. The discovery of this fateful force is due to Hilferding. To Marx it was still quite unknown.

Now and then Hilferding not only goes ahead of Marx, but deviates from him; but this only happens on special questions, into which we cannot go here beyond saying that on these questions also Hilferding says remarkable and true things.

There is only one point where I cannot follow Hilferding: that is his conception as though the money commodity (gold or silver) could be replaced by paper not only as means of circulation, but also as measures of value. The real measure of value is not the metal money, but the total value of the wares to be circulated (the time of circulation remaining the same) of the "socially necessary circulation value" as he calls it.

(To be continued.)



H. E. HOLLAND.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

A. CRAWFORD.

THREE INTERNATIONALISTS.

We are indebted to the "International Socialist," of Sydney, New South Wales, for the portrait group we give here of Mrs. Montefiore, Harry Holland, and A. Crawford, as also for the facts in the following notices.

Mrs. Montefiore is well known to Socialists in this country for her work in the movement here. Harry Holland is also not unknown to readers of "Justice" in consequence of the imprisonment to which he was condemned in connection with the Broken Hill strike. In A. Crawford, however, we make the acquaintance of a comrade previously unknown.

This is what the "International Socialist" has to say of—

MRS. D. B. MONTEFIORE.

"Mrs. Montefiore has been here some time now, and has proved herself a great fighter. She has sought out the enemy in every place where he might be expected to lurk. At the Science Congress at the Sydney University; through the columns of the Melbourne and Sydney press; at the Labour Conference in Sydney; and at the Hoskins's stronghold at Lithgow—she has hunted Capitalism and exposed the monster in his true colours.

"She is a fine speaker with an infinite sympathy for the people, splendidly equipped by education, reading, and culture, and wields a powerful and facile pen. Born and nurtured in the ranks of the enemy, Mrs. Montefiore knows how to deal effectively with him, and having noble ideals and an enthusiastic temperament, she is a host in herself. She reminds one of George Eliot, steadfast, scientific, and true; and, moreover, she possesses deep insight and great poetical ability. She is international, charming, and lovable, filling the eye with a fine personality, and charming the ear with a musical voice and noble language and sentiments. She is a great traveller, and has visited the brethren in all countries.

"We are fortunate that Mrs. Montefiore is here while comrade Holland is ill, for she is undoubtedly one of the finest fighters south of the line. Like Olive Schreiner, she is very womanly, in the best sense, and burns with a mighty yearning for the economic emancipation of her sex, while recognising that mankind as a whole can only be happy when both sexes are free."

H. E. HOLLAND.

"Over twenty years ago, large audiences of miners and other workers assembled in the Islington Reserve, near Newcastle, on Sunday afternoons, to hear addresses by speakers from Sydney and other places.

"On one occasion a large audience had gathered to hear a new speaker, whose name a few of the men and women knew, but as he

came from Sydney, it was expected that he would have something good to say.

"He was only a youth, but he was in dead earnest, and his earnestness, and the easy flow of his words and ideas, made a good impression upon the minds of his hearers, so that when he concluded his address, numbers remained to shake hands with him, and get his name correctly memorised.

"They found that his name was 'Harry Holland,' that he was full of fight for his beloved subject—Socialism, and so they invited him to come again to speak in the Reserve. From that time Harry Holland was a frequent speaker in the district.

"One morning he arrived at the Newcastle wharf with two mates—I. Askew and T. Batho—and a quantity of type and other appliances necessary to the production of a weekly paper. Holland and his comrades secured a small galvanised-iron room of about the dimensions of a fair-sized water tank, and they proceeded to produce the 'People,' a journal of revolutionary, uncompromising Socialism.

"During the next few years, Editor Holland and his mates made things lively in the Newcastle district. Writing at night, setting type in the little office—which was hot enough in the summer months to bake a damper in—and speaking in the open-air in different parts of the districts on Sundays, they fought to arouse the miners and workers generally to act for the Revolution, and think and hope for it.

"It was a great fight against all odds, including the apathy of those who toil and are debased, and left little energy for either study or recreation. The publishers of the 'People' had few luxuries and little rest themselves—they slept in their hot-house for some time after establishing the paper—and they gave the enemy no rest or peace.

"During all the years of fight, the miners for the most part remained apathetic. They could, with little effort, have made the 'People' an immediate success by subscribing in a body, but they preferred the local 'Herald,' which lost no opportunity to help their enemies.

"Often they could have assisted Editor Holland with a small job of printing, but they went past the 'People's' office to the office of the 'Herald' or some other enemy, and did so while the Editor of the 'People' was vigorously fighting their battles in times of strike and in times of peace, year in and year out.

"After years of strenuous fighting, the 'People' was boycotted and starved out of the coally city, and the editor and his comrades moved to Sydney.

"In the metropolis Holland had to practically commence life again. He had sacrificed years of his best time in Newcastle, and now, with a young family, he had to battle for dear life and for those dependent upon his efforts.

"Working at his trade as a compositor, he managed to struggle long, never failing to deal a blow between times at his old enemy

—Capitalism, until, with the help of a few comrades, he founded the 'International Socialist.'

"Holland is gifted with great abilities as a writer, speaker and technical workman. There is no part of the newspaper business he does not know. He can write any kind of good matter, set it up, put it on the machine, and turn it out as a newspaper in good style. As an all-round man there are few men equal to him and none his superiors; and had he applied his talents to his own aggrandisement, there is little doubt that he might have been in a different position to-day.

"But Holland has no selfishness in his composition. He has refused more than one good offer, more than one safe seat in Parliament, and set aside many a good chance which perhaps he would have been justified in taking. But he couldn't have been happy if he had gone out of the fight for his convictions, or modified his views for the purpose of catching votes.

"Time and again Holland has proved his fearlessness and disregard of self; but in the Broken Hill strike, when a hostile Government was showing its bias and determination to persecute any man who dared to stand up for the men, Holland did a service to Australian Labour and set an example which it is safe to say had a tremendous effect on the future of industrial unionism."

A. CRAWFORD.

"He delivered many addresses while here, and contributed considerably to the knowledge we had of South African problems as they bear on Socialism.

"As a speaker he is one of the most clear and logical who have ever visited us; and, being young and earnest, we may expect a good deal from him in the future.

"Comrade Crawford's present tour should result in an immense amount of good, for he is working on a wide and deep plan of international fellowship, which we may hope to see grow until all the industrial workers of the world are united so strongly that international capitalism cannot withstand us.

"As a first step, comrade Crawford will endeavour to establish an international correspondent in each place he visits, so that in time of industrial trouble we all may have first-hand intelligence of what is going on, instead of being now at the mercy of the cable crammer.

"When we are combined internationally—as are the capitalists now—we will be in a much better position to render each other mutual aid when industrial crises, or wars, or rumours of wars are worked up and engineered by the enemy. Simultaneously, in all countries, we will be able to raise a vigorous protest against such brutal acts as the execution of a Ferrer or a Kotoku, or against national acts of aggression at the instance of capitalists who are on the hunt for markets to exploit in their own interests."



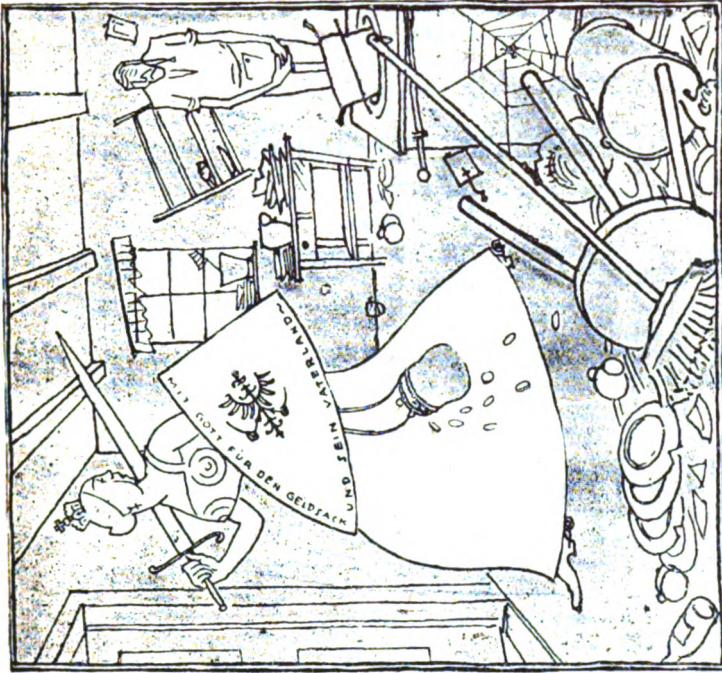
MARIANNE: "See those crowns and sceptres, while I, the prettiest of them all, have to be contented with this stupid commoner."

—"Kladderadatsch" (Berlin).



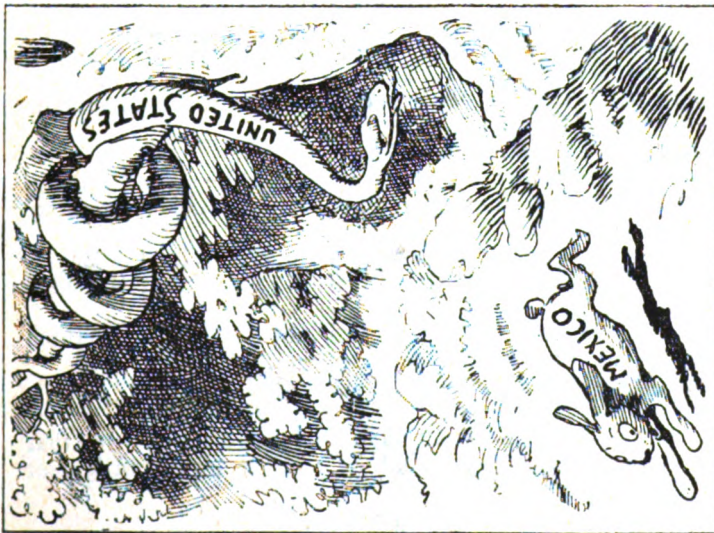
"You're not *really* cross with me, are you, pet?"
 "No, Russki dear; but people *will* talk; and they say we've been quarrelling again."

—"The National Review" (Shanghai).



ORDER-LOVING GERMANIA.

"What? I do not keep my own house in order? Why, it is just because of my orderliness that I am hurrying off to Morocco, to establish order there!"
—"Der Wahre Jacob."



AMERICA AND MEXICO.

"I didn't get him that time, but I can wait."
—"Kladderatsch" (Berlin).

EVENTS OF JULY.

AT HOME.

- 1.—Transport Workers' strikes still proceeding at Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow.
- 3.—House of Commons passed the Naval Prize Bill second reading.
Eleven airmen successfully crossed the Channel.
- 5.—House of Lords adopted Lord Lansdowne's amendment to Parliament Bill.
House of Commons began Committee stage of Insurance Bill.
Central Hull bye-election: Sykes (Tory), 3,823; Aske (Liberal), 3,545.
- 6.—House of Lords finished Committee stage of Parliament Bill.
Premier made a statement on Morocco.
Tradeston bye-election: Dundas White (Liberal) 3,869; Watts (Tory), 2,783.
- 8.—Bradford Woolcombers' strike settled.
- 9.—Manchester shipping dispute settled.
Shop Assistants' demonstration in Hyde Park.
North West Ham bye-election: Baron de Forest (Liberal), 6,807; Wild (Tory), 5,776.
- 12.—Death of Sir Eldon Gorst, late British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.
Social-Democrats interviewed Mr. Sydney Buxton on Unemployment Insurance scheme.
- 13.—House of Commons: Mr. Runciman made his annual statement on Education.
New Anglo-Japanese treaty signed.
- 14.—House of Commons: Telephone Transfer Bill: second reading.
- 16.—Demonstration in Trafalgar Square to demand immediate release of Miss Malecka.
- 17.—Lord Kitchener appointed to succeed Sir Eldon Gorst in Egypt.
Northumberland Miners voted a strike to end the three-shifts system.
- 18.—Mr. E. H. Pickersgill (Radical M.P. for South-West Bethnal Green) appointed police magistrate.
Death of Dr. Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi.
- 20.—House of Lords: Parliament Bill read a third time.
Mr. Asquith informed Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne that Royal Prerogative would be used to force Parliament Bill through.
Six thousand men on strike at Cardiff.

- 21.—Meeting of Peers at Lansdowne House.
Luton bye-election result: Harmsworth (Liberal), 7,619;
Hickman (Tory), 7,006.
- 22.—Mr. Lloyd George, at Bankers' dinner at Mansion House,
warned Germany.
West Somerset bye-election result: Boles (Tory) 5,825; Ward
(Liberal), 4,421.
Great air race started from Brooklands to Scotland.
- 24.—House of Commons: Lords' amendments to Parliament Bill;
Tories refused the Premier a hearing.
22nd International Miners' Congress opened at Westminster.
- 26.—House of Commons: Indian Budget.
Dinner to Lord Halsbury, leader of the revolting Peers.
Two Frenchmen finished first in the British air-race.
George Archer-Shee given £7,120 compensation for removal
from Naval College.
- 27.—House of Commons: Foreign Office Vote; Premier made
important statement on Morocco.
- 28.—Violent thunderstorm in London intervened in long drought.
- 29.—Bethnal Green bye-election: Masterman (Liberal), 2,745;
Hoffgaard (Tory), 2,561; Scurr (Socialist), 134.
Russian Government replied to Sir Edward Grey claiming
Miss Malecka as a Russian subject.

ABROAD.

- 1.—German Government sent a warship to Agadir.
Violent scenes in the Italian Chamber on the Insurance
Monopoly Bill.
- 3.—Intense heat in the United States: many deaths.
- 9.—Political riot in Mexico: eight killed.
- 10.—Germany gave Russia assurances regarding Morocco.
Strike in Paris: numerous acts of sabotage.
Murder of Zeki Bey, public official, at Constantinople.
- 13.—Trouble between France and Spain over Morocco.
Great loss of life reported from forest fires in Canada.
- 15.—Turkish reverse in Albania.
- 16.—Rebellion in Haiti.
- 17.—Ex-Shah returned to Persia: trouble feared.
United States Congressional Committee started to inquire into
Sugar Trust.
- 18.—Franco-German negotiations on Morocco unpromising.
Spanish incident at Alcazar settled.
- 22.—United States Senate passed Reciprocity Bill.
- 23.—Terrible fire at Constantinople: 2,000 houses destroyed.
- 26.—Outbreak of cholera in Constantinople.
- 29.—Canadian Parliament dissolved.
Persian Mejliss put a price on the ex-Shah's head.

THE REVIEWS.

FRENCH ATROCITIES IN MOROCCO.

The "Contemporary Review," in an article on "Morocco, the Powers, and the Financiers," mentions that great atrocities have been committed by the French in that unhappy country. The author, S. L. Bensusan, writes:—

"When this country's hands were fully occupied in wresting from the Boers the independence that was to be returned to them when sufficient blood and money had been wasted for the assertion of imperial supremacy and the inalienable rights of financiers, France moved her Algerian boundaries many kilometres to the west, seized Moorish oases, and destroyed their defenders in the highest interest of civilisation.

"When the South African war was over, and the question of consolidating the imperial position was under discussion, the Anglo-French Convention of 1904 was arrived at. . . . Monsieur Deleassé then made a secret treaty with Spain in regard to Morocco. A year later another secret treaty followed with the same Power, and there is no reason to believe that either of these treaties was disclosed in its entirety to the Conference.

"France lost no time in putting into working order the mandate she had received at the Conference. The Moors are stubborn folk, and full of absurd prejudices. When in the high interests of civilisation it became necessary or expedient to run a railway line through one of their burial grounds outside Casablanca, they were so ill-mannered as to protest violently, and kill a workman or two. To be sure, the Bashu of the town arrested the murderers, and undertook to hand them over to justice, but at the critical moment, when excitement was still running high, the French warship *Galilée* arrived off the port, and her commander saw glory within his grasp. So he bombarded the defenceless town of Casablanca, soldiers were landed, and the proceedings, as described to me by eye-witnesses, were of the kind that are better left unprinted here. Naturally, it became necessary to punish the Moors for objecting to the desecration of their burial grounds, and compelling the commander of the *Galilée* to cover himself with glory, and the campaign, which will be well-remembered, followed. Europe saw with satisfaction how hundreds of wicked Moors who endeavoured to stop the French advance met with the inevitable fate of those whose cause is not supported by modern armaments. The campaign came to an end, and

naturally France expected the Sultan to pay the bill. Then it was that the financiers began to appear upon the scene. Morocco had no money, but had assets, and financiers are ready to lend money on the double security of valuable assets and a Government guarantee. If the borrower cannot pay, he must give more assets, until at last all that is worth having is in the hands of his creditors, and while he is being sold up the Press of Europe reads him a solemn lesson upon the dangers of improvident finance. Mulai-el-Hafid, new-proclaimed Sultan of Morocco, found himself in an extremely difficult position; he did not feel secure, so he gave concessions. Spain had some in the Hinterlands of Melilla, but unfortunately the mountaineers in that part do not recognise any Sultan's right to dispose of their property, and although there was some French money behind the Spanish endeavour it was hardly successful. Spain suffered considerable reverses, and came near to a revolution, owing to the strange aversion of her reservists from leaving their wives and children to starve while they went into the mountains of Melilla to fight the battle of International capitalists."



DIAZ: THE MAKER OF MODERN MEXICO.

E. Alec Tweedie has a laudatory article on Diaz in the "Fortnightly Review." The author admits that Diaz had only himself to blame for being hurled from power in his eighty-first year. Diaz gave the people to understand that he would retire in 1910, which saw his 80th birthday, and they consoled themselves that after that date a serious attempt would be made to stamp out what the party considered political immorality, fostered and abetted by the acts of what they call the *grupo científico*, or grafters, and by the policy of the Minister of Finance, Limatour, in particular. Therefore, when Madero stood up as the chieftain of the Revolution, inscribing on his banner the redress of this grievance, with some utopias, the people followed him without stopping to measure his capabilities.

Had Diaz retired in 1910 he would have done so with honour, and every hostile voice in Mexico would have been stilled. All would have been forgotten in remembrance of the immense debt that his country owed him. He would have stood out as the great historic figure of a glorious era in the national annals. It was the first time he had broken his word with the people. Staying too long, he has been driven from office by a movement of ideas the strength of which it is evident that he never realised until too late. He retires a poor man, to live on his wife's little fortune.

Three days after signing his abdication, General Diaz was well enough to leave Mexico City. In the early hours of the morning three trains drew up filled with his own soldiers and friends, in the middle one of which the ex-President, his wife, the clever and beautiful Carmelita, Col. Porfirio Diaz, his son, with his wife and

children. Along the route the train came upon a force of several hundred rebels. A sharp encounter ensued. The Revolutionists left thirty dead upon the field; the escort, which numbered but three hundred, lost only three men. The old fighting spirit returned to the old lion, and, unarmed, the ex-President descended from his car and took part in the engagement. He entered Mexico City fighting, and he has left her shores with bullets ringing in his ears.

Nothing can alter the fact that he made Mexico. It was no easy task; the Mexicans are a cross-breed of Spaniards and countless Indian tribes. There are still half-a-million Aztecs. Diaz has given this strange mixed race education, and a high order of education for such a people; he has brought his country to a financial position in which the Government can, or could, borrow all the money it wanted at 4 per cent. Railways intersect the land in every direction. The largest financial interests are American, the next in importance are British. Except Germany, no other foreign country has much capital invested in Mexico.



MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE ON ARBITRATION AND THE BOYCOTT.

In the "Contemporary Review" Mr. Andrew Carnegie discourses upon arbitration, which, he thinks, will soon be internationally possible. He says that America spent last year 70 per cent. of its total revenue upon war and war pensions. Britain's cost per head was even greater. Mr. Carnegie thinks that war, like duelling, will soon cease to be, and is now coming to be regarded as a brutal custom of the past. "The man," he says, "who enlists in the army or navy to-day really runs such slight danger, from either heroic defence or assault, that an insurance company, making only nominal charges and paying enormous premiums for every act of heroism or every injury received in battle, would earn surprising dividends. Its shares would soon head the list in value. It would prove a splendid risk to insure that not one soldier or sailor to-day in the service of our English-speaking race will ever fire a shot at an enemy—that he should be wounded in battle is so highly improbable as to be pronounced almost impossible. They all run infinitely greater risk to-day of being struck by lightning. The strong probability is that not one of them, from commander-in-chief downwards—generals, admirals, colonels, or captains—will ever see an enemy; and that these would-be heroic gentlemen will pass into old age and finally leave us, just as our warships are destined to decay without firing a single shot.

"Times have changed. The military and naval people have had their day in the past and ranked at the top. The professions are now at the top, and the heroes of industrialism follow."

Mr. Carnegie seems to favour the social boycott for bringing recalcitrant people to reason. He says he had occasion to differ from Mr. Gladstone upon his first Irish Home Rule Bill, which excluded Irish members from Parliament. He explained that America required the Southern States to send members to Washington, thereby binding their States to obey the mandates of the National Congress. "Suppose they had refused—what would you have done then?" asked Mr. Gladstone. "First employ all the resources of civilisation—as a first step, stop the mails," was the reply. "Stop the mails?" Mr. Gladstone repeated reflectively. "Yes, sir; stop the mails." He pondered a few moments until the drastic effect of this was realised. . . . The boycott in reserve would be found a much more powerful instrument for lasting peace than the Dreadnought.



BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

The July "Quarterly Review" has an article on British investments abroad. "The total sum," says the author, Mr. E. Crammond, "subscribed for investment abroad during the ten years was not less than £901,000,000; and as this sum did not find its way out of the United Kingdom in the shape of gold, in what manner, it will be asked, was it provided? The amount was obtained mainly from four sources:—

- "(a) Exports of British produce and manufactures.
 - "(b) The re-investment abroad of interest, dividends, etc., earned abroad and not brought home.
 - "(c) The earnings of British shipping which were not remitted home.
 - "(d) The earnings of British banking, insurance, and mercantile houses carrying on business abroad which were re-invested in the countries in which they were earned or elsewhere abroad.
- "The predominant influence which the investment of capital abroad and the earnings of our shipping, banking and insurance houses exercise upon the foreign trade of this country appears to have been practically ignored by the protagonists of Free Trade and Tariff Reform alike.

"Now, it may be assumed, without the slightest fear of exaggeration, that the nations of the world with whom we have trading relations stand, as a whole, to remit to this country each year gold or commodities to the value of at least £330,000,000 in payment of interest on loans and for services rendered. In what form are we to accept payment of this vast sum, or such portion of it as we are not prepared to re-invest abroad? It is inevitable that we should accept payment in the best form in which our debtors can make it and of which we can make good use, namely, in food-stuffs, raw materials or manufactured goods. The world's production of gold amounts to about £90,000,000 per annum; so that

we could not possibly obtain payment in full in gold, even if we desired it—which is hardly conceivable. Any attempt to obtain payment in such a form would result in universal bankruptcy, and, possibly, repudiation, which might destroy the whole fabric of our investments abroad. It is difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that, so long as we remain the greatest creditor nation in the world—i.e., so long as we continue the investment of capital abroad on the present scale; so long as we do two-thirds of the carrying trade of the world and 70 per cent. of the international banking business of the world—it will be impossible to prevent the importation of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods having an aggregate value greatly in excess of the commodities exported, unless we re-invest abroad the whole of our earnings from these sources.

"It would appear, therefore, that a tariff designed for the protection of the whole of our manufacturing industries is impracticable. Exports, visible and invisible, pay for and render possible the expansion of imports; and, if we curtail our imports, we must limit to a corresponding extent the expansion of our exports. If we attempt to protect one industry to the point of excluding from our markets the products of other countries, the balance of trade is so delicately adjusted that we run the risk of prejudicing to an equal extent other British industries which are at the present time manufacturing for export.

"A further conclusion which it is difficult to avoid is that, so long as we maintain our position as the greatest lending power in the world, a moderate measure of Tariff Reform designed purely for revenue purposes should not appreciably check our foreign trade. London is the centre of the world's financial system; credit is not only cheaper, but far more abundant, in London than in New York, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Vienna or Frankfort. The other great lending centre is Paris; but the activities of French investors are confined mainly to securities of a non-speculative character, and Paris is more a feeder than a rival to London. The amount of loanable capital now available for investment each year by the country may be estimated at from £300,000,000 to £400,000,000. In normal years a little more than one-half of this amount is required for the extension of factories, works, plant, etc., the building of railways, docks, public works and offices, private dwelling houses, etc., at home—the remainder being available for investment abroad. The amount invested abroad during 1910 was about £170,000,000. In France the amount of loanable capital available for investment abroad may be estimated at between £50,000,000 and £90,000,000 per annum, and in the case of Germany the amount in normal years does not usually exceed £50,000,000. America's fund for loanable capital has not yet reached the German total. It may be claimed that London controls the direction of about one-half of the world's fund of loanable capital available for foreign investments."

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A Monthly Socialist Review.



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THE ESSENTIAL SOCIALISM.

REJOINDER TO E. BELFORT BAX.

By F. J. GOULD.

In his reply to my paper in the May number of the "Social-Democrat," comrade Bax does not, in effect, deny my simple proposition that the essential Socialism is merely the public ownership of the vital industries. What he urges is, that one must not tie down Socialism and Socialists to a bare economic programme. Heaven forbid that I should seek to tie anybody down to a formula. My varied experiences among Christians, Jews, Rationalists, Ethicists, Positivists, Socialists, Educationists and the rest have created in my soul a perpetual horror of the narrow-mindedness which I discover in them all. Nevertheless, this dread of bigotry does not prevent me from sifting out the essential element of any given movement, and declaring that the other things, while important, are unessential. I am

quite aware that comrade Bax regards Socialism, and has for many years most ably presented it to the public, as a political, religious and ethical ideal. I hope he will go on doing so. Without ideals, we lose manhood and we perish. But this principle applies all round. At its best (in the Middle Ages) Catholic Christianity has been an ideal, "political, religious and ethical," and, relatively speaking, it nobly fulfilled its purpose. But everything in Catholicism was not essential. The essential and central thing was the doctrine of the Mass. Round that gathered all kinds of idealism, from the mystical rapture of Saint Teresa to the masterly politics of the Jesuits. So in Socialism. The essential point is the public ownership of the vital industries. While we are securing that, and after we have secured it, we may construct a thousand ideal commonwealths (Bax admirably aiding); but the one substantial aim all the time, in discussion and in practical politics, is to abolish private profits out of the people's prime necessities, and to socialise the apparatus of food, housing, clothing and transport. I will examine the salient pleas in comrade Bax's reply.

I. He says:—

The term Socialism, from the days of its first employment for the movements of St. Simon, Fourier, and Owen onward till lately, has always stood for a concrete conception of human life, involving, without doubt, as the first condition of its fulfilment, an economic transformation, but which has never been confined to the economic change itself abstracted from all else.

Quite so; and this very statement proves my case. Here are three movements which, while different in details, depend upon one essential—"economic transformation." Since Owen we have had Marx, who never even troubled to construct a social Utopia; and we have had Bellamy and Morris, who did construct Utopias; and to-day we enjoy our Webb, our Wells, our Shaw, and our Bax. But the peculiar and indispensable factor in the various Socialist forms is the public ownership of the vital industries.

2. He says :—

The man who wants to bully his fellow-men forcibly into accepting conventional theories on religion, on marriage, on royalty, on patriotism, etc., friend Gould, as I understand him, would have us greet as a "Socialist" comrade, provided he can mouth his adhesion to the bare economic formula.

And he throws in another terror in the shape of a cad who wants to enforce Catholic Christianity as a creed binding on all citizens.

Yes, Bax understands me aright. While attending the Socialist circle I accept these disagreeable persons as fellow-members. It is true I prefer Bax's company. I would rather sit next to him and hear him chat interestingly on Babœuf, Marat, peasants' wars and philosophy. But we must remember that these other people also suffer. Loyalty to the economic formula brings them into association with me and Bax, and they more or less inwardly grieve. Over us all, moreover, hangs the dire necessity of struggling for our varying ideals—Humanist, Theistic, Catholic, and the rest—when the meeting breaks up. Alas! we all hope to eat bread from the municipal bakery, but we shall dispute as to the moral upbringing of the children. We shall apply to the national workshop for our clothes, and yet, at the very counter, argue about the great First Cause. While we travel together in the public and gratuitous aeroplane, we shall have to counter-plot against the attempt of a sect to fasten upon us the awful choice of Pantheism or penal servitude. In other words, we must be prepared to co-operate politically with all sorts and conditions of orthodoxies and heresies so long as we can co-operate on the principle of the public ownership of the vital industries.

3. Comrade Bax further says :—

To most Socialists the functions of Socialism are ethical no less than economic. For them, whatever they may pretend, the economic transformation is no more than the essential means to an end which is not merely economic, but embraces the whole fabric of human life.

When I first read these lines I said "Yes." On reading them a second time I said "No." The hesitation corresponds with a complication of ideas in Bax's statement. When he observes that the economic transformation (i.e., the public ownership of the apparatus of food, housing, clothing, transport, etc.) is the essential means to a vast human end, I, of course, agree; for it is the position I contend for. But when he also observes that "the functions of Socialism are ethical," I pause, reflect, and finally dissent. Strictly speaking, the functions of Socialism are only industrial; that is, concerned with the organisation of the means and instruments of production and distribution. It is true that, without a moral aim, Socialism fails; but so does every civic movement fail without a moral aim. It is true that most profound moral changes must ensue upon Socialism. As the Communist Manifesto suggests—

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions—in one word, man's consciousness—changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations, and in his social life?

It is also true for me to say that I have found more genuine, broad, sensible morality (abjuring the priggish and philistine senses of the term) among Socialists than in any other political section of the public. For all that, the actual functions of Socialism are economic; they are only concerned with housekeeping, in the widest municipal and national significance. Individual Socialists may rightly exercise liberty of judgment in outlining the logical consequences, intellectual and moral, of the removal of capitalism. They may appeal to a variety of motives—self-interest, sense of social order, desire to combat great evils, obligations toward God, or Christ, or Humanity, and the rest. But the Socialism on which their efforts converge is an economic system, which eliminates rent, interest, profit, and, finally, wages. Just as a mixture of Catholics, Protestants, and Agnostics may constitute the Board of Directors of a railway, so a mixed multi-

tude of citizens of many varieties of religious and ethical denominations may combine to obtain and administer a Socialist ownership of the vital industries.

It seems to me that a clear recognition of the nature of the essential Socialism is necessary in order to secure efficiency in the field of practical politics. The Labour Party in Parliament, from 1906 to 1911, have attended to minor issues which prevented the emphatic emergence of such Socialism as their Party programme included; and in particular, they have insufficiently stressed the enormous gravity of unemployment. Literary Socialists are continually in danger of distracting the attention of the public by questions of marriage, divorce, temperance, religion, and political constitutions. On the other hand, the steady ploughing of such a paper as "Justice" makes deep and sure furrows, because the economic issue is invariably treated as of primary importance. Our friend Ben Tillett, who is not, I think, distinguished for his views on general social philosophy, sticks religiously to the central purpose, and, in the recent strike, has made as definite a mark on English history as Sir Francis Drake, or Dr. Johnson, or Richard Cobden. The building of the Socialist Commonwealth needs the help of all the philosophers, poets, artists, educationists, and even mystics, it can attract. But as a practical programme in politics, the Socialist demand must be made by a party which is drawn together by an economic charter, and a Parliamentary group which concentrates on winning, step by step, the public ownership of the vital industries.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

By H. GEORGE FARMER.

CHAPTER III.—MUSIC AND THEATRES.

(Dedicated to RUTLAND BOUGHTON.)

Of all the great family *Bohême*, none have suffered more at the hands of society than the musician and actor. From mediæval days, when the minstrel and player were banned by the State as “rogues and vagabonds,” they have never ceased as a body to steer clear of Carlyle’s “thousand gigs of respectability”! Whatever their attitude may be to the social revolution in times of political apathy, that at least should be counted them. *Réfractaires* ever to the social form if not the social state, but given a crisis they prove as sturdy fighters against the latter as the *travailleurs-prolétaires*. Every revolution has testified that. The Commune testified it. Who was braver than the heroic actor, Maxime Lisbonne, so cruelly wounded in the proletarian cause of 1871, or the devoted Socialist musician, Salvador Daniel, shot in cold blood by the Versaillese soldiery?

The Paris Commune meant economic freedom for all proletarians, whether they laboured with hand or head. As soon as the revolution (March 18) was accomplished, a group of *libertaires* connected with the theatres and concerts, chief of whom were the authors Paul Burani and Alfred Isch-Wall, and a young musician, Antoine Louis, sought immediately to federate their class. They had learned, like their brothers in

the plastic arts, that they belonged to the masses, and to live their dream, to realise their aspirations, they too must work for the moral and intellectual uplifting of the people, since their own development was simply the total of the intellectuality of all. These few *révoltés* that I have named, with two others, Nicol and Fernand, issued a circular to all "authors, composers and artistes of the theatres and concerts" in Paris, inviting them to a meeting at the Salle de Alcazar on April 2 to discuss the project. The absolute necessity for a "Federation," said the circular, would readily be acknowledged. Firstly, the Commune had decreed the mobilisation of all citizens between the ages of 19 and 40 for the National Guard, and by the Federation forming themselves into a separate battalion, instead of being scattered throughout the various legions, their professional engagements in the theatres and concerts would receive better attention. Secondly, said the notice, "In the name of democracy and fraternity, it was only right to call under the same flag the members of the same family, the same tastes, the same aspirations, bound in so many ways by their daily relations."

Thus the *Fédération Artistique, Lyrique et Dramatique* was formed, eventually numbering over 600 members, embodying both military and civil organisation; the former as an armed asset to the revolution and the latter for the social protection of professional interests. Among the officers elected were J. Pacra, a well-known *artiste lyrique*, as President; Paul Roche as Vice-President; and Paul Burani, author, as Secretary. On April 16 the election of the officers for the battalion of the *Fédération Artistique* took place, and the *gardes* were enrolled two days later. It was numbered the 15th Battalion (3rd Legion) of the National Guard, under Commandant Montplot, with headquarters at the Théâtre du Châtelet.

On April 22 the Commune granted the Federation the use of the State-subsidised theatres for the organisation of fêtes in aid of the wounded, widows and orphans of the National Guard. For this purpose the

Federation appointed a Commission of Theatrical Performances — Saint-Aubin, of the Ambigu, President ; Paul Burani (and afterwards Thos. Bertringer), Secretary ; J. Arnaud, of the Opéra, Goubert, the manager of the Alcazar, and Montplot, the Commandant of the *Bataillon*, as the Committee. On account of these fêtes the battalion was excused active service. But on May 7, Rossel, the new "War Delegate," cancelled the exemption, and ordered the battalion to parade in marching order the following day. They do not appear, however, to have been called upon for active service. After the entrance of the Versaillaise they were once more called "to arms," but what part they took in the last days of the fighting I do not know.

Having completed the military side of the Federation, a Commission was appointed to draw up "bases and statutes" of a purely social department known, in contradistinction to the *bataillon*, as the *bureaux civiles*, with its offices at 10, Faubourg Poissonniere. The Commission elected comprised :—

Authors.—Houssot, Nazet.

Composers.—Henry Litolff, A. de Villebichot.

Dramatic Artists.—Delanglay, Damiens, Kalpestri.

Concert Artists.—Perrin, Muller, Berger.

Musicians (Instrumentalists).—J. Javelot, Benza.

The Commission, which also included Isch-Wall, Burani, and Louis as ex-officio members, contained but few names of real eminence. Litolff was perhaps the "star." He was a brilliant pianist and a gifted composer, whose works were frequently staged at the *théâtres lyriques*, notably the operas "Nahel" and "Helöise et Abelard." Here, in England, he is known better for his "Spinnlied" and "Robespierre" overture. He was the founder of the "Collection Litolff," the first cheap edition of classical music. Although he had little connection with the revolutionary groups, Litolff was an "out and out" rebel, and had taken an important part in the Vienna revolution of 1848. As a young man, he had trodden the Bohemian road—

la misère!—that Murger speaks of, “by which every man who enters the arts without other means of existence than art itself is forced to travel.” Small wonder that Litolff threw in his lot with the Commune; he could never forget *la misère*.

De Villebichot was a composer of opéra comique, whose “Nabucco” had some vogue, but better known as a conductor of concerts at the Alcazar and the Café des Ambassadeurs.

Paul Burani, the author of the immortal “Pompiers de Nanterre,” was known as a *révolté*, or at least he found his friends in that quarter. Towards the end of April, Grousset, the Delegate for Foreign Affairs, appointed him envoy for the Commune at Brussels. In his later days, he became quite “respectable” and an officer of the Academy.

Antoine Louis, a clever young musician, was a friend of Burani's. During the Prussian siege they organised a monster charity concert, Louis conducting the orchestra.

Delanglay and Damiens were actors, one at the Ambigu and the other at the Porte Saint-Martin, whilst Houssot and Nazet were well-known librettists.

This social department of the Fédération Artistique, unlike that of the federal group of painters, etc., has not left a line of its “bases and statutes” to bear witness of its aspirations, although numerous courses were held. A thought here and there in its official circulars may bespeak its intentions. But no programme was issued. Hence the Commune found it necessary to take the “profession” under its care, and on May 20, the Delegation of Education was charged with a decree, suppressing all State subvention of theatres, placing them under its administration, for the substitution of a scheme of co-operation in place of the existing system of capitalistic exploitation. A delegate was specially appointed for these reforms, in the person of Salvador Daniel, the communal director of the Conservatoire de Musique, a professor of music and the author of “La Musique Arabe.” He issued a

circular to the artistes (including the orchestra, choir, ballet and staff) of the Opéra, Opéra Comique, and Théâtre Lyrique inviting them to a mass meeting at the Conservatoire on May 23 to discuss these reforms. This very day, the unfortunate Daniel, taken prisoner by the Versaillaise with arms in his hands, was led to a barricade and shot.

Arthur Pougin, the eminent musical litterateur, has scarcely done justice to the Commune in his "Tablettes Artistiques" ("Le Ménestrel," 1871). Speaking of music and theatres under the Commune, he says:—"The situation in Paris . . . was little favourable to the interests of art and artists." Truly, a city with a powerful enemy bombarding its walls was less likely to bestow attention in this direction than one resting in peace. Yet the phrase may be interpreted that the Commune "was little favourable to the interests of art and artists"; for such is the general view. On the contrary, indeed, it was *the* great error of the Commune that it gave so much time and labour to the better organisation of such things as these, which should have been deferred until victory was assured. If Commissions that discussed education had discussed the state of the siege, if delegates supervising museums and art galleries had supervised armaments, if organisers of theatrical fêtes had organised battalions, if those journalists and *dessinateurs*, ever ready with pen and brush, had only handled chassepôt and mitrailleuse, the story of the Paris Commune might have been different.

One thing in particular *artistes-prolétaires* owed to the Communal régime was the closing of all theatres, concerts, and cafés between the hours of 12.30 a.m. and 6 a.m., thus relieving them from arduous night-work. During the Prussian siege most of the theatres and concerts closed their doors. After the evacuation, in the early days of March, the "Gay

City" began to assume its normal condition. The theatres and concerts opened one by one, and by March 18 more than a dozen theatres, and several concerts, were in full swing, most of which, despite the evasions of bourgeois historians, were kept open some way or other under the Commune.

Here is a list of those announced open on March 19, the day after the Revolution had begun :—

Comédie Française—"L'Honneur et l'Argent," &c.

Palais Royal—"Le Carnaval d'un Merle Blanc,"
le Musée d'Anatole.

Variétés—"Le Chapeau d'un Horloger," "La Patrie de Piquet," &c.

Vaudeville—"Les Parisiens."

Gymnase—"Froufrou."

Bouffes-Parisiens—"Les Bavards."

Ambigu—"Les Nuits de la Courtelle."

Gaieté—"La Chatte Blanche."

Délassements-Comiques—"Les Contes du Fées."

Folies-Dramatiques—"Le Canard à Trois Becs."

Cluny—"Malade Imaginaire," "Les Folies Amoureuses."

Folies-Marigny—"Les Parfaits de Peperman,"
"Le 66," "La Consigne est de Ronfleur," "Les Vales Modiles."

"Spectacles" at Chateau d'Eau, Menus-Plaisirs, and Folies-Bergère, and concerts at Casino Cadet, Valentino, Tivoli-Vauxhall, Eldorado and Alcazar.

The Vaudeville, Variétés, and Palais-Royal closed about the middle of April, their companies being engaged to play in London and Brussels. Every other theatre, save the Bouffes-Parisiens, kept its doors open until the "Bloody Week."

Among those which remained absolutely faithful to their posts and répertoires, were the Gymnase, the Folies-Dramatiques, and the Délassements-Comiques. The Gymnase never failed to attract, not only with reasonable prices, but by a most varied repertoire. Among the pieces it played during the Commune were

Sardou's "Fernande," "Froufrou," "Seraphine," "Suzanne et les Deux Vieillards," "Le Voyage de M. Perrichon," "Le Collier de Perle," "Le Monde où l'on S'Amuse," "L'Homme aux 76 Femmes et la Maison sans Enfants," "L'Autographe," "Le Père de la Débutante," "Comme Elles sont toutes," "Les Maris sont Esclaves," "Les Idées de Madame Aubray."

The Folies-Dramatiques kept to its répertoire: "Le Canard à Trois Becs," and "L'Ami Choutard," as did the Délassements-Comiques with "Les Contes des Fées."

At three other theatres, the artistes, deserted by their directors, united *en société* and opened their doors to the public. They were the Gaieté, which played each day "La Grâce de Dieu," the Château d'Eau, where Regnier and Dica-Petit gave "l'Ange de Minuit," and the Châtelet with "Le Courier de Lyon." Among the other theatres which were open I may mention the Comédie Française, which played "Tartuffe," "l'Avare," "Le menteur," etc.; the Ambigu-Comique, under the direction of Taillade, and the Théâtre Français. And yet the insolent writer who annotated Bertall's "Types of the Commune" pretends that "Thesbian art was at low ebb" under the Commune.

The Vaudeville, Porte St. Martin and Lyrique were used for the numerous Communal Fêtes. The Commune, bearing in mind the great fêtes patriotiques of the first Revolution, gave encouragement to these entertainments, which were held for the benefit of the wounded, widows and orphans of the National Guard. One of the most active workers in this cause was an actor, Hippolyte Richard. He organised the first fête at the Porte Saint-Martin the last week in April, and another on May 14. At the Vaudeville he directed a special fête on April 30, in which appeared Roussel de Méry, the poet, celebrated artistes like Villaret from the Opéra, Caillot from the Théâtre Lyrique, Mlle. Agar from the Comédie Française, Marie Roze, Coquelin, and others. Another fête was given

here on May 9 by the combined artistes from the Châtelet, Gaieté, Folies-Dramatiques, Athenée, and Vaudeville. The Fédération Artistique were responsible for two fêtes at the Châtelet and Lyrique on May 7 and 18. This last concert was an enormous success. Mlle. Agar, of the Comédie Française, who rendered the "Marseillaise," was the "star" among the dramatic artistes, whilst among the singers were Villaret, Michot, and Mlle. Arnaud from the Opéra, and Mlle. Mario from the Scala. A massed choir from the *théâtres lyriques* performed, among other items, the Soldiers' Chorus from "Faust."

At the Palais des Tuileries, on May 7, 11, and 18, *soirées dramatiques et musicales* were given on a grand scale. In the "Illustrated London News" for May, 1871, there is a picture of the first concert. This journal said: "The music was badly arranged and indifferently performed; but Madame Agar, of the Grand Opéra, was one of the singers"! Agar, from the Comédie Française, as a singer of grand opera is ineffably funny. No wonder these ignorant people could write that "the music was badly arranged and indifferently performed"! Everything the Commune did was "bad" in the eyes of the bourgeoisie.

At the second *soirée*, three concerts were held in the Salle des Marechaux, the Galerie de Diane, and the Salle de Théâtre. Mlle. Agar recited Hugo's "Le Lion Blessé," and Mlle. and M. Caillot, of the Lyrique, sang a duet from "Maître de Chapelle" and an excerpt from "Dinorah." Roussel de Méry, the poet, and Danbé, the violinist, also assisted, whilst an orchestra of three hundred, under M. Schneider (late President of the Chamber of Deputies), and a band of the National Guard, which played in the gardens, were also in attendance. On May 18, Agar again appeared with Hegésippe Moreau's "l'Hiver" and Barbier's "Lyre d'Airain." Camille André gave Hugo's "Abeilles," and Fernand Desaulnée rendered "Sois maudit, Bonaparte," whilst Henry Roze delivered "Châteaudun."

On May 21 the Cirque National was open for a fête, at which appeared Mlle. Agar (Comédie Française), Arnaud (Opéra), Alfred Audran (Gaieté), Monti (Ambigu), and the band of the 159th National Guard. The same day a monster concert was held under the shade of the Tuileries by the massed bands of the National Guard, numbering *one thousand five hundred* performers, under the baton of Delaporte.

The bands of the National Guard were better organised under the Commune than before or since (see Neukomme, "Histoire de la Musique Militaire"). Their music was in evidence on every possible occasion, and open-air concerts for massed bands were very frequent; whilst every day the bands took it in turn to play in the Tuileries Gardens. Numbers of these musicians, many of whom took no military part in the Commune, save professionally, were taken and shot by the Versaillese.

On May 22 a grand spectacle was arranged at the Grand Opéra, and the Opéra Comique was also preparing one, whilst another monster concert was announced for the Place de la Concorde on the 28th.

Students of the first great Revolution will remember how Chaumette and Hébert took the Grand Opéra of Paris under their special protection, and induced the Commune to pass a resolution (September 17, 1793) for the encouragement of opera. Eighty years after, another revolutionary Commune took up the mantle of its parent.

During the Prussian siege and after, the Opéra had closed, save for concerts organised by the artistes. But not so with the second siege. Ever mindful of its important charge, the Commune decided that the Opéra should be encouraged, and towards the end of April notified its wishes to Emile Perrin, who had been opera director under the Empire, and a convocation for the entire artistes and staff was arranged for May 1 at the Opéra.

Here the artistes and staff were met by the Communal delegates, Albert Regnard, Chief Secretary at the Prefecture; Levrand, Police Commissary; and Raoul Pugno. Perrin attended, together with many of the principal artistes—Villaret, Gaspard, Hazet, Freret, Arnaud; and among the ladies, Mlle. Mauduit and Antoinette Arnaud, most of the chorus, and about one-third of the orchestra.

Almost the entire personnel present gave their adhesion. The orchestra, which supplied the greatest number of absentees, was soon augmented by musicians from the leading theatres and concerts.

After a few days it was apparent that Perrin, the director, was causing friction between the artistes and the Commune, and finally it was decided to dismiss him (May 10), when the post was given to Eugène Garnier, a singer from the Bouffes-Parisiennes, who had made a name in Hervé's "*Chevaliers de la Table Ronde*." A commission was appointed at the same time "to look after the interests of the musical art and artistes," composed of Cournet, Regnard, Lefèvre-Roncier, Edmond Levrand, Raoul Pugno, and Johan Selmer, the last two being professional musicians. Raoul Pugno was a brilliant young musician, fresh with laurels from the Conservatoire, who gave his services to the Commune. He is now known in France as the composer of several successful *opéras comiques* and ballets, and world-wide as one of the most gifted of pianists. Dr. Johan Selmer, who died last year, was a young Norwegian musician and a friend of Grieg.

Cournet, the Delegate to the Commission of Public Safety, was a journalist and late deputy; Regnard a doctor and literary man and Chief Secretary at the Prefecture; whilst Lefèvre-Roncier (afterwards a Municipal Councillor of Paris) and Levrand (a student) were police commissaries. This Commission, for the simple reason that it included people unconnected with music or the opera, was the source of high amusement to the bourgeois press. Yet this same bourgeoisie had once

applauded a quack doctor as director of the opera under the Empire, and had not long before accepted absolute "outsiders" for a Commission to reorganise the Conservatoire de Musique.

At the opera itself several heads of departments refused service, and were superseded. On May 11, Adolphe Dupenty was appointed chief secretary, Delphine Ugalde, the famous *chanteuse*, was placed in charge of musical studies, and Raoul Pugno was named Director of Music. A special gathering of the personnel was placarded for May 12, when the Commune formally took charge of the historic Grand Opéra. Regnard, addressing the artistes, assured them that "the Commune intended to make itself respected as much in the world of art as in the political world."

Eugène Garnier then delivered a speech from which I will quote, that we may be under no delusion as to the motives, artistic and social, of these "ruffians," as the world's press was pleased to name the adherents to the Paris Commune. Garnier pointed out that by the Commune taking the opera under its care the artistes would now be able to continue their avocation, which had been denied them since the Prussian siege, to the destitution of so many of the lesser artistes and officials. The first performance was to be a "benefit" in aid of the victims of the war, the orchestra, choir, and small officials. A second "benefit" performance was for the entire personnel. After that a fresh régime was to be inaugurated, concerning which I will quote in Garnier's own words:—

. . . . "Then will commence, and I hope as soon as possible, the regular representations, which I propose to inaugurate on new lines, which will perhaps realise the hope which all we artistes have uselessly cherished, that of working a little for ourselves instead of making use of our lives and talents to make the fortunes of the directors. I will not here waste your time in developing my subject, although it is very distinctly outlined in my mind. I think that, faced

especially with an administration as complicated as that of the opera, I could not surround myself too much with knowledge. . . . I will ask you, then, as soon as possible, even this very day . . . to kindly elect some from amongst yourselves as delegates for each of the services of the opera. These will make an appointment with me; I will make them acquainted with my ideas, and they will make their observations to me, and let me know of the improvements which I will, believe me, be most happy to adopt when I find in them the welfare of all. . . . For our part, whatever may be the events, we will always be proud of having taken officially the initiative of this artistic revolution, and of having, with the aid of our delegates, founded on a solid and fruitful basis the Association of the Artistes of the Opera."

Garnier, Pugno, Ugalde and Selmer immediately set to work for the opening of the Opéra, it being decided to mount Auber's "Masaniello," that revolutionary opera which had led to the Brussels riots in 1830. But the time was short, and this, coupled with several other obstacles, led to its abandonment for the time. In its place an enormous concert spectacle was organised for May 22, in which the artistes from the Opéra, Opéra Comique, Théâtre Italien and Théâtre Lyrique were to combine. The programme, which was announced in the "Journal Officiel," is an excellent foil to the inane talk about the "vulgar" Communard:—

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-----|--|-----|------------|
| 1. | Overture | ... | "Der Freischütz." | ... | Weber. |
| 2. | Solo & Chorus | ... | "Hymn aux Immortels." | ... | Pugno. |
| | | | (Words by Victor Hugo.) | | |
| | | | Signor Ricardo Romani (Théâtre Italien). | | |
| 3. | Act IV. | ... | "Il Trovatore." | ... | Verdi. |
| | Leonora | ... | Madame Lacaze (Opéra). | | |
| | Manrico | ... | Melchissédec (Opéra Comique). | | |
| | Count di Luna | ... | Villaret (Opéra). | | |
| 4. | Scene Funèbre for Orchestra. | ... | | ... | Selmer. |
| 5. | Air from | ... | "Ballo di Maschera." | ... | Verdi. |
| | | | Caillot (Théâtre Lyrique). | | |
| 6. | ... | ... | "Patria." | ... | Beethoven. |
| | | | (Words by Hugo.) | | |
| | | | Madame Ugalde (Opéra Comique). | | |

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|-----|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|---|
| 7. | "Air des Bijoux" | "Faust." | ... | ... | Gounod. |
| | | Mlle. Arnaud (Opéra). | | | |
| 8. | Chant Patriotique | "Quatre-vingt-neuf." | | | |
| | | M. Morère. | | | |
| 9. | Finale Act IV. | "Nahel." | ... | ... | Litolff. |
| | | Mlle. Mario (Scala, Milan). | | | |
| 10. | Act VI. | "La Favorite." | ... | ... | Donizetti. |
| | Leonora | Delphine Ugalde (Opéra Comique). | | | |
| | Fernand | Michot (Opéra). | | | |
| | Balthazar | Melchissédec (Opéra Comique). | | | |
| 11. | ... | Trio from "William Tell." | ... | ... | Rossini. |
| | Arnold | Richard | } | | Three Laureates of the
Conservatoire de Musique. |
| | William Tell | Angé | | | |
| | Walter | Menu | | | |
| 12. | March & Chorus | "Alliance des Peuples." | ... | ... | Pugno. |
| | | (Words by David Gradhith.) | | | |
| 13. | Chorus | "Vive la Liberté" | | | Gossec. |
| | | (Chénier.) | | | |
| | Orchestra Conductor | ... | | Georges Hainl | |
| | | | | (Conductor of the Opéra). | |
| | Choir Conductor | ... | | Devin-Duvivier. | |

The specialities were Pugno's "Hymn," which was dedicated to the art collector, Sir Richard Wallace, who had taken a box for the performance, and another work of the composer's—the "Alliance des Peuples." Selmer's *piece d'occasion* was a "Scene Funébre," in memory of those who had died for the Commune. The excerpt from "Nahel" gave prominence to another musical adherent to the Commune—Henry Litolff. The greatest feature was, of course, Gossec's "Hymn à la Liberté," composed for one of the fêtes of the first Revolution, and had not been performed since.

On May 22, the day of the performance, a thousand eyes watched an agile soldier of Versailles climbing over the opera roof to the figure of Orpheus, from whose lyre fluttered the red flag of the Commune. It was soon torn down. The Versaillese were in Paris, and the infamous bourgeoisie had again triumphed over the workmen in fire and sword.

THE MONTH.

The revolt of labour which had manifested itself in a whole series of strikes in the shipping and waterside industries culminated last month in the general railway strike.

It is not too much to say that this is the greatest event that has ever happened in modern industrial history. For two days the whole railway system of the country was dislocated, and the transport of goods and passengers was completely paralysed. The pity of it is that, having thus manifested their power, the men should have been once more tricked out of the victory that was within their grasp.

We do not blame the men ; they could not help themselves. Nor can we altogether blame their leaders for the compromise. The latter could scarcely have foreseen the ready and widespread response which the men made to the call to strike. Everybody, and none more so than the men themselves, was astonished at the enthusiasm and solidarity displayed.

The men have been " sold again," it has been said ; and so we think. Not, however, by themselves or their leaders—although the latter perhaps might have kept a stiffer upper lip. But they had a difficult part to play. Had they held out, they might have found that they had stretched their power to breaking point, and that would have been disastrous. No. Those who have sold the men are the treacherous Liberal Government, with that arch-trickster, Lloyd George, as the " honest broker."

That worthy, who, while posing always as the " friend of the working man," never loses an opportunity of playing him a scurvy trick in the interests of his plutocratic patrons, dexterously repeated his conciliation dodge of 1907 ; and the leaders were caught in a trap, just as Richard Bell was caught in a trap then.

We have never felt disposed to blame Richard Bell overmuch. Had he refused the Georgian conciliation fraud, he would in all probability have been severely censured by the men whose cause he would have served. So many of them believed in the good intentions of the Liberal Government, and especially of the modern Saint George. Four years' trial has convinced them of the fraudulent nature of the conciliation scheme ; but it had not shattered their child-like faith in the goodwill of the Government and Saint George.

That faith must have had a very severe shock, however, from the happenings of the two days' strike, to say nothing of the brutal menace of Asquith, which actually precipitated the revolt. In his hypocritically sympathetic speech, smoothing over Asquith's brutal candour, Lloyd George dilated on the humiliating part he had played in the negotiations of 1907, when he was kept trotting between the room where the railway magnates sat and that in which the men's representatives were assembled.

In thus showing the part he had played, he showed also the part he ought to have played. Having been called in by the railway owners to prevent a strike, he should have told them plainly that he would not move a finger to help them until they were prepared to recognise the representative capacity of the men with whom he was asked to negotiate terms. That was quite plainly, as we pointed out at the time, the course he should have taken. He did not take it then. No Minister in a capitalist Government could thus refuse to do the bidding of his patrons and paymasters. Nor dared he take it on this present occasion. Hence the men have been once more sold.

Much, however, will have been gained if that fact is clearly recognised, as we believe it is, by large numbers of railwaymen who had not discovered it before. If it has only taught them, as we believe to a large extent it has, that in the constant struggle between capital and labour a capitalist Government always is, and must be, on the side of their enemies, the strike will indeed have been well worth the sacrifice it entailed.

And there are other gains from the strike. It has brought home to the men, and to the public generally, the meaning and

power of working-class solidarity in a way that no amount of theoretical exposition could possibly do. Everybody can see now what an "industrial interdict," as our comrade Hyndman has called it, would mean, and how completely even one or two bodies of workmen, thoroughly organised and determined, could "hold up" the whole industrial and social life of the community.

The strike may be said to have been a drawn battle, or even a victory for the master class ; but it is a victory which will cost the master class dear in the long run. It would have been far better for them to have conceded the too moderate demands of the men than to have had this striking demonstration of the power of labour to paralyse the whole operations of the community by simple passive resistance.

"You can do anything with bayonets except sit upon them," we have been told. That is not true. Men cannot be made to work by bayonets, and the whole British Army had to be mobilised because the railwaymen struck, and even then the railway system could not be put into operation.

Acting solidly together, the railwaymen and the colliers are masters of the situation ; and yet, while we can record a success for other bodies of workers, and even the railwaymen have not been defeated, we have to record that a body of miners who for ten long months have been bravely sustaining a struggle against capitalism have had to surrender. The defeat of the Cambrian men is a disgrace to the organised workers of this country ; but there are not wanting signs that ere long that disgrace will be wiped out in a general movement for a minimum wage for miners, which, if it is taken up as we hope it will be, will be ensured complete success.

Added to this is the lesson, enforced by the strike, of the infamy of allowing our modern highways and our mineral wealth to remain the monopoly of a mere handful of plutocrats. The nationalisation of the mines and railways will receive an immense impetus from the demonstration of the national peril which the strike has afforded. But in pressing forward nationalisation, the necessary safeguards must not be overlooked, and before we clamour too loudly for the State ownership of mines and railways we must take care to democratise the State.

"Let the nation own the Trusts," has long been the cry of our comrade Gaylord Wilshire. We re-echo that cry, and say let the nation own the railways, the mines, the land, and all the great means of production. But in the meantime let the workers organise and use their political power so that it shall be really the *nation* which will own these things, and not a capitalist class State.

The industrial war here at home has, for the time being, largely obscured the international crisis. Unfortunately, that crisis appears to be not nearly at an end. In the "conversations" between French and German diplomatists Germany seems to be determined to drive a hard bargain, probably with a view to future contingencies. The Socialists of France, of Germany, and of England have expressed in public demonstration their hostility to war, and to all diplomacy calculated to provoke war. The great demonstration of our comrades in Berlin on September 3 was the most magnificent popular manifestation that has ever taken place there. Unfortunately, however, the maintenance of peace or the outbreak of war does not rest with us, but with our enemies of the plutocratic International. We can only do all in our power to warn the peoples of the menace and the danger of war, and to make it risky for our rulers to provoke it.



"ANYONE can at any time, by reference to the medical papers or to various little books on the subject, ascertain the exact composition of any patent medicine in the market. It is interesting, also, to have such information as this, 'Sold at 2s. 7½d. ; average cost of materials, one-fifth of a penny.' It will be observed that this leaves a certain margin for the vendor. It should be made a statutory requirement that the composition of these things be stated upon every box or bottle. I do not know how the gorge of any humane and honest man can fail to rise when he considers how thousands of poor consumptives, who need every farthing they possess for the purchase of pure milk and the obtaining of pure air, are spending their shillings on somebody's 'lung tonic,' let us say, which is absolutely worthless, and probably worse than worthless. Yet this sort of thing goes on everywhere, and the writer, like myself, who is allowed a free hand in all other directions by any number of editors, cannot gain a hearing on this subject, because 'the paper must live,' and the advertisements of these liars and thieves are indispensable."—Dr. C. W. SALFEEBY, in "Health, Strength and Happiness."

THE EVENTS OF AUGUST.

AT HOME.

- 1.—House of Commons discussed Insurance Bill—medical benefit.
Many thousand dockers on strike in the Port of London.
- 3.—Sir Albert Rollit sat as arbitrator in dock dispute.
Pit-brow girls attended at Home Office to protest against being excluded from pit bank.
- 4.—House of Commons passed Clauses 16 and 17 of Insurance Bill; progress reported.
Area of London dock strike greatly extended : tens of thousands of dockers and others on strike.
- 6.—Sir Albert Rollit's award for dockers announced and accepted at great demonstration in Trafalgar Square ; but strike continued till other workers' demands conceded.
- 7.—House of Commons : Mr. Balfour's motion of censure on the Government for their action re Parliament Bill defeated by 365 to 246.
Two thousand railway porters struck work at Liverpool.
- 8.—The Peers adopted a Vote of Censure on the Government.
House of Commons rejected most of the Peers' amendments to Parliament Bill.
Sir Edward Grey permitted the Czar to claim Miss Malecka as a Russian subject.
Great strike of London carmen.
- 9.—House of Lords again discussed the Parliament Bill.
Heat record : 97 degrees in the shade.
- 10.—House of Lords decided by 131 to 114 not to insist on their amendments to Parliament Bill.
House of Commons : Resolution on Payment of Members carried by 256 to 158.
Great extension of London carmen's strike : traffic generally dislocated : 100,000 men idle.
Military ordered to Liverpool : collisions with strikers and others.
- 11.—London Transport Workers' dispute settled : strike ended.
Home Office issued a circular to Chief Constables instructing how to regulate pickets in strikes.
Military convoys for provision vans at Liverpool.

- 12.—Strikes of railway workers threatened.
"Good-bye" Social to Edward Hartley.
- 13.—Great Anglo-French Demonstration for Peace in Trafalgar Square.
Police made a murderous attack on peaceful meeting at St. George's Hall plateau, Liverpool; charges by cavalry, hundreds injured.
- 14.—Transport lock-out and general strike at Liverpool: 75,000 men idle.
South Wales Miners' Federation decided that Cambrian Combine colliers should return to work.
- 15.—Joint Railwaymen's Executives decided to give companies 24 hours to choose whether they would meet union representatives.
Collision between military and crowds at Liverpool: two men shot.
- 16.—Great dislocation of traffic at Liverpool and Manchester.
Government assured railway companies of "ample protection."
- 17.—Prime Minister lectured railwaymen at Board of Trade, and offered a Royal Commission: immediate strike ordered; troops took possession of London stations; special constables enrolled; discussion in Parliament: Mr. Lloyd George explained "Royal Commission."
- 18.—Strike in full swing; a quarter of a million idle; fresh negotiations proceeding.
London Transport Workers' agreement signed.
Death of Lord James of Hereford.
- 19.—Railway strike "settled"; Royal Commission to sit at once.
Two men killed and three wounded by soldiers at Llanelly; three others killed by explosion.
German officer remanded at Plymouth on charge of espionage.
- 20.—Death of Dr. Guinness Rogers, Congregational minister.
- 21.—South Wales miners decided to ask Miners' Federation of Great Britain to declare general stoppage to secure guaranteed wage.
- 22.—Statements in both Houses of Parliament on the use of military in the strike; Labour Party attacked the Government; Houses adjourned.
Railway Inquiry Commission's first meeting.
Liverpool strike continued on account of tramwaymen; Manchester strike settled.
- 24.—Liverpool Tramways Committee promised to reinstate strikers.
- 25.—London County Council's Highways Committee received deputation of tramwaymen: strike averted.
Liverpool dockers' lock-out ended.

- 26.—Great demonstration in Trafalgar Square to protest against the use of the military in strikes.
Death of Dr. Rainy, M.P. for Kilmarnock Burghs.
- 28.—Pay of Metropolitan Police increased.
King sent a message of sympathy re illness of Mrs. J. R. MacDonald.
- 29.—Mr. Lloyd George at Neath on industrial unrest.
- 30.—Presidential address of Sir W. Ramsay at the British Association on the conservation of natural resources.
Cardiff dock strike settled.
- 31.—Great Eastern Railway strike averted.

ABROAD.

- 1.—Slow progress of negotiations on Morocco.
Fatal strike riot in Mexico.
Dock strike at St. Petersburg.
Tramway strike in Cairo.
- 3.—Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty signed.
Russian Government protested against appointment of Captain Stokes as head of Persian gendarmerie.
National Congress of French Railwaymen declared against sabotage.
- 4.—St. Petersburg strike growing : 12,000 men idle.
- 6.—Great Peace Demonstration in Paris.
- 7.—Additional Sessions Judge reversed assessors' decisions in Dacca Conspiracy case : 35 persons received heavy terms of imprisonment.
Damages cast against police officers in Midnapur conspiracy.
English officer arrested at Bremen for espionage.
- 14.—Morocco " conversations " still continued.
Serious outbreak of cholera at Constantinople.
- 15.—Immense demonstration in Brussels against Government's education policy.
- 19.—Russo-German agreement signed.
- 20.—Demonstrations in Germany against Moroccan policy.
- 22.—Leonardo de Vinci's masterpiece " La Gioconda " stolen from the Louvre.
- 24.—Dr. Manuel Arriaga elected President of the Portuguese Republic.
- 25.—Railway accident in United States : 31 killed.
- 26.—General German Press attack on England.
- 28.—German Emperor in speech at Hamburg suggested stronger Navy.
Resignation of Japanese Cabinet.
- 30.—Demonstrations against high food prices in Northern France.
- 31.—Popular agitation in Finland against Russian annexations.



EDWARD R. HARTLEY.

EDWARD R. HARTLEY.

Edward Hartley was born on May 25, 1855. Before he was 20 he decided that politics, as represented by the Tories and Liberals, were a fraud, devoting himself to work in the Sunday-school, the Band of Hope, the Mutual Improvement Society, and similar things. Being passionately fond of books, he began to read papers on his favourite authors, often reciting passages from their works. Working for the Y.M.C.A. movement, he was put on the committee, and afterwards taught elocution classes for many years in both Leeds and Bradford. He became noted as one of the best reciters in the North of England.

As years went by, he found vent for the energies previously spent in the cricket field in the Adult School movement, graduating from vice-chairman to the chairmanship. It was here he first began to study Socialism. Speakers of every class and every shade of opinion came to the school, and it soon came to be noted that every advanced section found a supporter in E. R. Hartley.

He read and studied Socialism, becoming an avowed supporter in 1889. There being no Socialist body in Bradford, he joined "The Labour Union," which was formed after a big strike at Manningham Mills, his card being No. 1 of the Bradford Moor Branch of the same.

The year 1892 saw him fight his first election. It was Bradford Moor Ward, and, as Hartley says: "The known Socialists in the ward could be easily counted on one man's fingers." To-day, any Socialist or Labour candidate is sure of from 1,200 to 1,400 votes.

The change was not made all at once, Hartley fighting the ward seven times before winning. His method was propaganda all the year round, and, at election times, meetings in almost every street.

Seven, eight, and on one occasion nine, meetings were held in one evening. He wrote leaflets, and a band of loyal comrades supported and helped him. He would never canvass in the accepted sense of the term, believing that to allow your names to be entered into canvass books which might be consulted and examined by the capitalist class and their foremen and managers was a dangerous matter to the working class.

"Take the leaflets, take the bills, distribute them thoroughly, asking every man or woman to read the same and to come to the meetings, and you will get every opportunity to argue and discuss with the electorate, with none of the dangers of a book canvass."

He does not believe in posters and carriages. "The man who can be got to vote by a poster doesn't think long enough for me," he says.

"The man who will vote for a ride is useless. Carriages for the old, the lame, the sick, etc., should be part of the electoral machinery, and in charge of the presiding officer."

After once winning the seat there was no difficulty in holding it, and later on he was made an Alderman of his native city.

His record for fighting elections is unique: 23 in 18 years. His first municipal fight was in 1892, his first Parliamentary fight in 1895—Dewsbury, for the I.L.P.

There has never been any of the spirit of compromise about Hartley; he would only stand as a Socialist, without any qualifying adjectives.

He has always been a strong opponent of Liberalism.

"Toryism we know, and fight always. Liberalism is an organised hypocrisy, which is always pretending to be friendly in the hope of gaining a position from which to oppose Socialism."

To a member of the I.L.P., who wanted to be a Liberal and a Socialist at the same time, and who objected to Hartley's motto, "Death to Liberalism," he pointed out that in 1892 he had written:—

"If Liberalism succeeds, Socialism cannot. If Socialism succeeds, there is an end to the Liberal Party. Therefore we must clear out of the way the pretended reformers called Liberals."

"It's war we're in, not politics. It's systems wrestling now. It is a fight of classes, not politicians. It is the workers as against the shirkers."

This militant and uncompromising attitude soon made difficulties for what was a prosperous business, and Hartley found himself with a growing family and a diminishing income. Fortunately, he found the power of expression, and with voice and pen became a force in the new Socialist growth. He often tells of seven years during which his income was less than 30s. a week, and if pressed says it was nearer 20s. than 30s.

He will always be remembered as the first Clarion Vanner who took charge for a whole season, staying generally for a week in one place, giving a series of addresses pointing out why and how Socialism was the next stage of human development.

It is many years since Robert Blatchford declared his belief that Hartley was the best man in the country for this kind of work, and he has stuck to his task. In the twelve years ending 1909 he spoke on an average nearly exactly six times a week, winter and summer included. Not many men could manage this physically. His method of keeping fit is deep breathing and a gargle of mild salt and water daily.

His field of work has extended from Wick (John o' Groats) to Penzance (Land's End), extending this year to Lerwick in the Shetland Isles.

In addition to his lecturing work, for many long years he has given at least two days each week to the work of the Bradford Corporation. For three years he was a member of the Calverley

and Farsley School Board, where he was one of the most regular attenders and visitors.

Of late years he has been secretary of the Clarion Vans, for two years receiving a salary for this work, but for five years doing it voluntarily. Hartley has, at least, fifty letters a week to write in making arrangements, etc., and this heavy work, combined with numerous articles to "Justice," the "Clarion," various local papers, combined with an almost never-ending correspondence in the local newspapers, has kept him going full time.

Two years ago a severe attack of influenza seized him on a Monday, and on Tuesday he was due at a big meeting in Glasgow. Many people would have gone to bed, but Hartley went to Glasgow. It was a great mistake, the poison working into his system, and he has never really recovered from the attack.

This is one reason why the invitation from the New Zealand Socialist Party for a visit of a year or longer has been accepted, and we all hope that the voyage and the change may send him back a new Edward Hartley—at least, new in the sense of renewed vigour and health.

Who has not read his humorous and convincing "Train Talks"? His reasoned and clear exposition of the absurdity of Lloyd George's "Fudget," printed in "Justice," helped many Socialists to understand that no change in the incidence of taxation can bring any real relief to the workers.

Hartley has gained neither place, position, nor money from his connection with Socialism; but, as our comrade Hyndman said at Anderton's Hotel: "He has won his way into the hearts and intelligence of the people by sheer hard work."

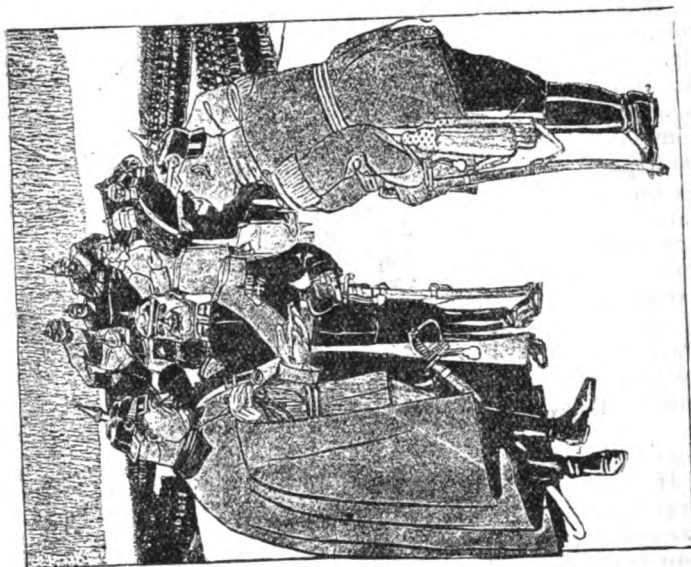
A cheerful disposition, a magnificent constitution, a talent for quiet, forceful humour, with a magnificent method of clear illustration, have made Hartley one of the most useful of the Socialist Pioneers. If you ask Hartley himself the secret of his success, his eye will twinkle, but the fervour of his voice will carry conviction when he says:—

"I owe it all to my wife, who, even when we ate the bitter bread of poverty, never faltered, but always bravely sent me out to fight for Socialism."

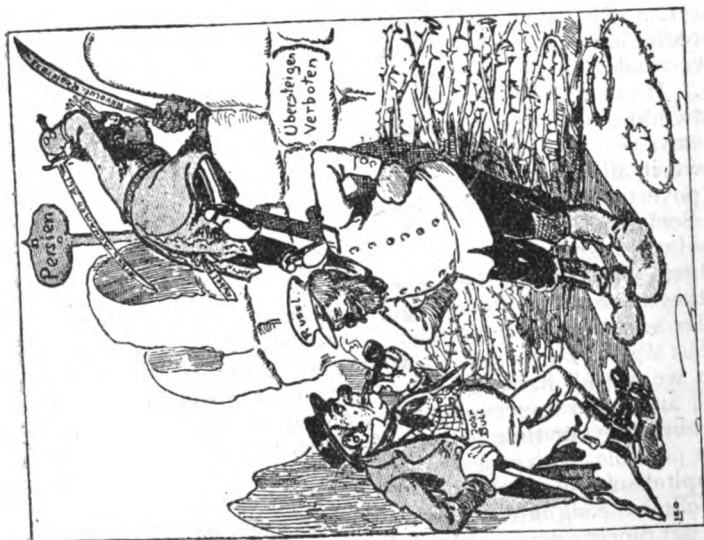
Mrs. Hartley goes with him on his trip to New Zealand, and his daughters will keep on the home at Esholt until their return.

May they have a fine voyage, great success, and, in the words of the letter sent to him by his fellow-members of the Executive of the S.D.P.: "Knowing as we do your sterling work for the cause for which we are all fighting, we wish you long life, health and happiness, and a most successful tour, and trust that you will not give too much of your time to New Zealand, but will return to us as soon as possible, with renewed vigour to carry on the campaign against capitalism and wage slavery in this country."

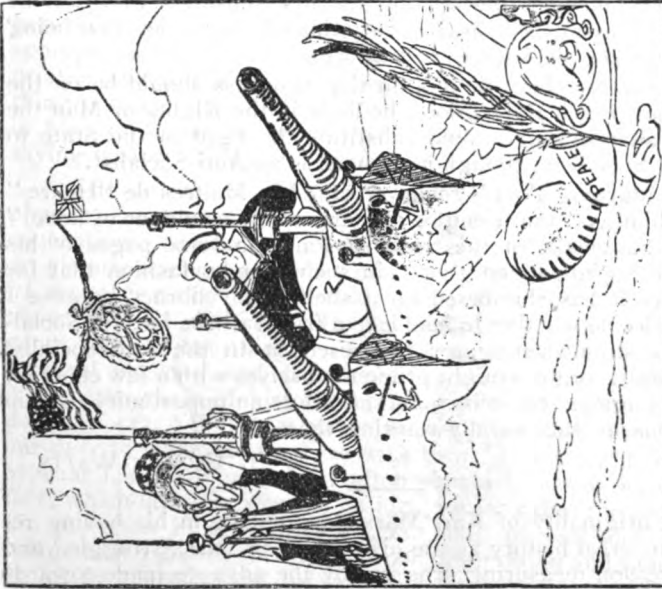
Here follow the signatures of the Executive and its secretary.
Of the sentiments expressed: "Why! So say all of us."



DISARMAMENT IN SIGHT.
THE SUPREME WAR-LORD: "What? Three-fourths of the Army are Social-Democrats? The Imperial Chancellor had better at once propose disarmament to the Powers!"



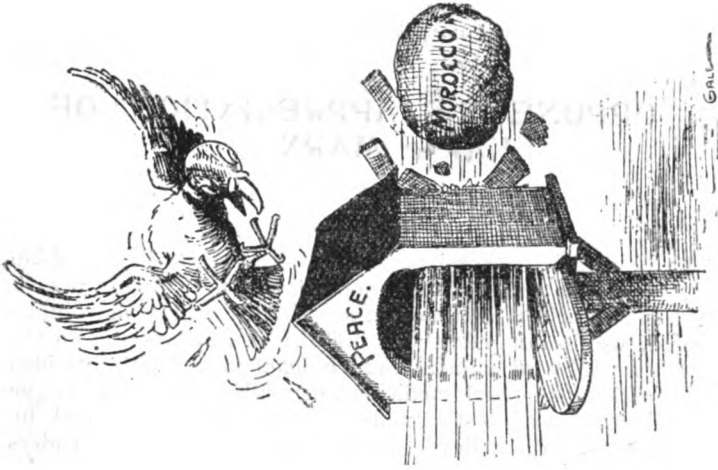
INNOCENT RUSSIA!
"But, John Bull, my dear friend, how can I help it if this Persian fellow climbs over the wall behind my back?"



JOHN AND JONATHAN.

Off for a voyage of peace together.

—"Kladderadatsch" (Berlin).



WHO THREW THAT

—Gale in Los Angeles "Times."

AN OPPONENT'S APPRECIATION OF KARL MARX.

FOREWORD.

Certain bourgeois economists, and several sages of the Fabian Society, boast that they have knocked all the stuffing out of the theories of Karl Marx ; but as their vitality remains absolutely unimpaired, we do not publish the following translation from the pages of a work by an eminent French academician with any idea that the theories, like quack medicines, can only gain greater vogue by the circulation of testimonials to their efficacy signed by eminent persons. We believe, however, that our Socialist readers will peruse with interest the following appreciation of Marx by M. Emile Faguet, who describes him as "the great master of contemporary Socialism." M. Faguet is himself one of the "literary lights of the hour," if we may thus translate the title—"Les Maîtres de l'Heure"—of a recently published work by Victor Geraud, who includes him among the five stalwarts who are the subject of his essays on contemporary thought, the other four being Loti, Brunetière, de Vogué, and Bourget.

M. Faguet combats the notion that progress should be on the lines of the French Revolution ; he finds in the Rights of Man the germs of anarchy, and would substitute the right of the State to "utilise" Socialism, though he himself is an Anti-Socialist.

"The Morning Post" reviewer of "Les Maîtres de l'Heure" refers to him as "the friend of all parties, the confidant of none." Certainly he speaks of the Socialist Party in some pages of his book "Le Socialisme en 1907" in such friendly fashion that for three years it has slumbered on a shelf in my library because I could not decide whether to lend it to a friend whose faith in Socialism needs strengthening, or to present it to the Anti-Socialist Society that its orators might prime themselves with a few coherent arguments against Socialism, and afford us an opportunity to gain some kudos by successfully refuting them.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

"The originality of Karl Marx does not lie in his having regarded universal history as the history of the 'class struggle' and for that reason measuring progress by the advance made towards

the disappearance of classes ; for this is but the idea, more clearly defined, of the rise of plebeianism, and the idea that equality between men should be regarded as the supreme goal ; and this idea, the very soul of the French Revolution, had been expressed a thousand times since 1789, not to mention that there was nothing novel in it even at that date.

" The originality of Karl Marx does not lie in the discovery of the iron law, that is to say of the theory that wages, under the present system, oscillate between a bare subsistence level and a little less and a very little more ; for this theory was formulated by Ricardo, and even by Necker, and later by Lassalle.

" The originality of Marx is not that of having established the theory of *surplus value*—the theory which represents the worker as occupied a part of the day creating value equivalent to the wage he receives and the rest of the day producing a profit for his employer, thus creating a surplus value whence capital springs, surplus value which is unceasingly augmented in proportion to the greater number of workers brought together in one factory, the longer the hours they are sweated, the greater the quantity which, thanks to improved machinery, the workman can turn out within a given time, surplus value which thus becomes enormous capital created entirely by the robbery of the workers. This theory, though stated by Marx with greater conciseness, was advanced by Proudhon, who said that ' the worker, even after receiving the agreed wage, retains the natural right of property in the thing he has produced.'

" Marx's originality is not in pointing out the contradiction between the existing form of production and the existing form of appropriation, and that production, having become collective, appropriation should also be collective. Proudhon, who had said everything, unfortunately in a desultory sort of way, had indicated this in his *first essay on property*, and Marx only has the merit of saying it more clearly and more emphatically.

" The originality of Marx is that he broke away from metaphysics, from abstractions, from Socialism deduced from vague conceptions, and having made Socialism : first a science ; second an historic science, a science of historic facts. Marx never said, ' I make Socialism ' ; he said, ' Socialism makes itself, and I observe its self-making.' He did not say ' *I make* Socialism because it is a just thing.' On the contrary, he ridicules ' the juridical illusion,' and declares, ' Socialism makes itself because it is in the chain of historic sequence that it should do so.' He does not say, ' We have some just and beautiful ideas, and it is our duty to make facts square with them ' ; thoroughly convinced of what I, for my part, have often repeated, that an idea is first a fact, which later on becomes an idea, he says that theories are but the reflection in a well-constituted mind of real and inevitable things which impose themselves upon observation and submit themselves to analysis, and he says that Socialism is simply the last

word up to now, or up till to-morrow, of all the economic evolution of humanity.

"What is this evolution? In a large number of observed facts evolution operates 'by the transition from an incoherent form to a form more and more coherent; by the transition from a diffused to a concentrated state or condition (little tribes becoming peoples, peoples becoming nations, nations becoming empires—and evolutions of like character in biology), and in proportion with the greater concentration of parts, their reciprocal dependency increases, each being powerless to extend its own activity without the help of the others.'

"Now Labour, as he states the case, has at first been infinitely morselled and parcelled: small property, small industry, small factory with a staff of master, one workman and one apprentice—it grows more and more collective, and becomes the great manufactory which produces commodities and pours them on the market. But what is the huge factory? Does one not see that it is a nation, a nation of workmen? We are in the presence, here and now, not of individual or elementary collective labour, but of national labour. He who can read the near future in the well-understood present can entertain no doubts that labour is becoming national in the strict sense of the word, and will soon concentrate itself in the hands of the State.

"This is what is meant by saying that Socialism makes itself; it means that there is a spontaneous Socialism which it is quite useless to oppose and quite useless to try to controvert. It is no good addressing observations to facts, observations are made upon facts. History makes Socialism, it is not we who make it, and it is history that shows it to us in the making. As Lassalle says, 'Economic categories are not logical categories; they are historic categories.'

"But, it will be said, if socialisation is spontaneous and Socialism makes itself, why do you write about it, why not content yourself with watching it in the making, why not let things simply take what you call their natural course?

"Certainly, I do not write as my forerunners wrote 'to abolish by decrees the phases of natural development of modern society; but to shorten the period of gestation and to mitigate the birth-pangs of the new society.' That is all one can do. Man has to endure history; he can hasten its course a little by understanding it and conforming to it; he renders it more painful for himself and more harsh by opposing himself to it; neither can he go in advance of it; but he suffers so much the less if he neither goes ahead of it nor tries to set it back.

"Marx has exercised immense influence, and he can still be regarded as the great master of contemporary Socialism. His book has had as wide an influence on the second half of the nineteenth century as the 'Social Contract' had upon the century ending in 1848.

"Since Marx Socialism has turned almost entirely towards the collectivist solution. This is rather remarkable, as up to 1848 collectivists particularly were regarded as dwelling in the clouds, and as those who wandered farthest into dreamland. They called themselves at that time Communists, and Communism was looked upon as something quite unrealisable. Communism is now called Collectivism, and to-day it is Collectivism that occupies the front benches.

"Karl Marx brought it about mainly through giving at least a scientific colour and character, and especially the authority of the *things asserted as scientific*, to his conceptions; and by very specious argumentation, imparting to a certain number of men the illusion that as Socialism was making itself it was nigh at hand, and that only a little effort was required to help it accomplish itself. Men like winning causes or those on the threshold of success; they love fatalism because it suits their natural indolence; to present a thing to them as designed by the gods and therefore inevitable is to attract them to it, and to make them regard it as legitimate, rational, and practical."

(Translated from "Le Socialisme en 1907," by Emile Faguet.)



THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTIONS.

"The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background which is prevented by outworn institutions from satisfying itself. The want may not yet be felt as strongly, as generally as might ensure immediate success; but every attempt at forcible repression will only bring it forth stronger until it bursts its fetters."—From "Revolution and Counter-Revolution; or, Germany in 1848," by Karl Marx. (Kerr's edition, p. 14.)

TOM MANN, INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

We cannot but offer a tribute to our old comrade Tom Mann for the courage, determination, and generalship he has displayed in the recent strike. That makes us regret the more keenly his withdrawal from our ranks and his failure to draw the obvious moral from the strike—i.e., the need for more united class-conscious political action on the part of the working class. There is no necessary antagonism between industrial action and political action. On the contrary, the latter is essential to give full effect to the former and to prevent it being defrauded of the fruits of victory.

Recent events give point to the following, which we have received from the Editor of the "International Socialist Review," Chicago :—

Dear Comrade,—It is with profound regret that revolutionary members of the Socialist Party of the United States note the resignation of comrade Tom Mann from the Social-Democratic Party. His letter has been printed in several papers here. We seem to face a general movement in this direction in all Anglo-Saxon countries. A similar movement occurred here six years ago, when the Industrial Workers of the World was first organised. It is entirely wrong, and must not be permitted to develop without the strongest opposition on our part. It injures revolutionary unionism no less than revolutionary political action. Enclosed you will find a copy of a manuscript which has been sent to several of our papers here. Perhaps you can use it.

I am, with fraternal greetings,

Yours for the Revolution,

FRANK BOHN.

TOM MANN RESIGNS.

By FRANK BOHN.

Comrade Tom Mann has resigned from the British Social-Democratic Party. His reasons for so doing are set forth in a letter to

the organiser of Central Branch of the S.D.P., comrade H. W. Lee. The letter, with comments interjected, follows :—

“ Dear Sir and Comrades,—I hereby tender my resignation as member of the S.D.P.

“ I do so partly because of the endorsement by the recent Conference of the official attitude of the party on the issue of war, but more because, since rejoining the party a year ago on my return to this country, I find myself not in agreement with the party on the important matter of Parliamentary action.

“ My experiences have driven me more and more into the non-Parliamentary position ; and this, I find, is most unwelcome to some members of the party. After the most careful reflection I am driven to the belief that the real reason why the trade unionist movement of this country is in such a deplorable state of inefficiency is to be found in the fictitious importance which the workers have been encouraged to attach to Parliamentary action.”

It has always been our opinion, and we thought that comrade Mann shared our view, that the “ deplorable state of inefficiency ” which marks the craft union movement of Great Britain and America has resulted from the fact that these unions are craft divided, and devote themselves whole-heartedly to the defence and protection of capitalism on the economic field. We have been guileless enough to believe that the defence and protection which capitalism receives from them on the political field followed rather than preceded their economic weakness. What was the situation, Tom Mann, before the craft unions went into politics? Were they free from error until despoiled of their virtue in the House of Commons?

“ I find nearly all the serious-minded young men in the Labour and Socialist movement have their minds centred upon obtaining some position in public life—such as local, municipal or county councillorship or filling some Government office, or aspiring to become a member of Parliament.”

This has been due to the Labour Party, which has grounded its work upon a false faith in office-holding, instead of, like the Social-Democratic Party, emphasising the need of revolutionary Socialist education.

“ I am driven to the belief that this is entirely wrong, and that economic liberty will never be realised by such means. So I declare in favour of direct industrial organisation ; not as a means, but as THE means whereby the workers can ultimately overthrow the capitalist system and become the actual controllers of their own industrial and social destiny.”

Perhaps we are not sufficiently familiar with conditions in Great Britain. Will you, comrade Tom Mann, be good enough to point out to us how the Social-Democratic Party is interfering, or can interfere, with direct industrial organisation or direct industrial action?

Almost all revolutionary Socialists are now agreeing that economic freedom will never be realised by an unaided Socialist Party. As a member of the I.W.W. since the day of its organisation, the writer has been constantly emphasising this view. Comrades Haywood, Debs, and many others whose opinions may have some weight in Great Britain, and specifically with you, Tom Mann, hold this view, and are loyal members of the Socialist Party of the United States. Economic freedom cannot be realised through political action alone any more than a duck can be brought down by the use of powder without shot. Now you are going to try shot without powder.

"I am of opinion that the workers' fight must be carried out on the industrial plane, free from entanglements with a plutocratic enemy."

Debates with the enemy are a necessary evil. Every time a Labour union committee demands higher wages or shorter hours from the masters, they get into "entanglements with the plutocratic enemy." The facts may not be so distressing in Great Britain, but here in America for every political office-seeker there is in the Labour movement there are ten anti-political craft union job-holders who could not be severed from their salaries and graft with an axe.

"I do not forget that it was in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Federation I first learned the principles of Revolutionary Socialism, and I believe that I am entirely loyal to those principles in resigning my membership for the reasons given.

"Yours fraternally,

"TOM MANN."

Around the whole world the industrial union movement is growing. It is growing side by side with the political organisation of the Socialists. Try anti-politics awhile, if you please, Tom Mann. But I am afraid, very much afraid, that it **will soon lead to**—it is hard to say it—advocacy of the British Labour Party. And supporting the British Labour Party will end, like a ball rolling down hill, in your surrender of revolutionary industrial unionism.

FINANCE-CAPITAL AND CRISES.

By KARL KAUTSKY in the "Neue Zeit."

I.—HILFERDING'S BOOK.

(Continued.)

Hilferding is probably not of opinion that irredeemable paper-money as such could be the measure of value. He rightly ridicules Professor Lexis, who asserts this in the "Hand-Dictionary of the State Sciences." But he does not improve matters by twisting the relationship between money and commodities, and making of the mass of commodities a measure of value, and also the creator of value in paper-money. In order, then, to make this paper-money, thus provided with a certain value, the measure of the value of the commodities, he declares:—

"Of course, all commodities are still (in pure paper currency), as before, expressed, "measured," in money. (Not gold!—K.) Money appears still, as hitherto, as the measure of value. But the greatness of the value of this "measure of value" is no longer determined by the value of the commodity which creates it, the value of the gold, the silver, or of the paper. On the contrary, this value is in reality determined by the total value of the commodities to be circulated (the date of circulation remaining the same). The real measure of value is not money, but the bank-rate is determined by that which I should like to call the socially necessary value of circulation." (Page 29.)

This, evidently, can mean nothing else than that the real measure of the value of commodities is not the money, but the real measure of the value of the money is the commodity.

If the value of the money could be determined in this way by the "socially necessary value of circulation," that would mean the negation of the law of value for the money-commodity; it would be saying that for the latter the value is not determined by the socially necessary labour time needed for its own production. The universal applicability of the law of value would be broken through, and that would be all the more astonishing in this case, in that this would happen just in the case of the money-commodity, "the commodity the natural form of which is at the same time the imme-

diate social form of realisation of human labour in abstracto." ("Capital," I., page 124.)

There is no necessity for any such Marxist suicide. The phenomena, which appeared after the cessation of the free coining of silver in different countries during the last decades, and on which Hilferding bases this idea, can be easily explained in other ways.

I will, however, abstain from expressing myself in detail about that. It would involve a great expenditure of subtleties, which would perhaps be wasted, as Hilferding's usually very clear method of explanation becomes at times very obscure regarding this particular point, so that I am not always certain of having understood his words in the sense in which he meant them. But, above all, any long treatise on Hilferding's money theory is superfluous for the present, because it has no effect upon him, either theoretically or practically.

After he has taken the trouble, from page 18 to page 43, to construct the pure paper currency, he suddenly comes to the following result :—

"Such a pure paper currency does not permanently satisfy the demands made on the means of circulation. As its value is determined by the sum of value of the commodities circulating at any given time, and as these are subject to continual fluctuations, the value of the money would also be constantly fluctuating. The money would no longer be the measure of the value of the commodities ; but, on the contrary, its value would be measured by the need of circulation at any given time : thus, when the rate of circulation remained the same, by the value of the commodities. Pure paper-money is thus impossible in the long run, because the circulation would thereby be subjected to constant perturbations." (Page 43.)

That is only saying in other words that the replacing of the money-commodity as a measure of value by the socially necessary circulation-value is nothing but an academic whim. But, as such, it plays no more part in the course of the book. One can calmly reject it, and yet admit everything that Hilferding goes on to build up on his examination of the different functions of money as means of circulation, measure of value, and means of payment.

It will, therefore, suffice if, to satisfy my conscience, I simply state my misgivings as to Hilferding's theory of the socially necessary value of circulation as a measure of the value of goods without elaborating upon it.

There is only one point that I would like to go into more fully—namely, the theory of crises. Not because I differ from Hilferding here ; on the contrary, I regard his remarks on this point among the best and most fruitful of his book ; but because they have inspired me most, and have drawn out opinions of my own which perhaps, to a certain extent, serve to complete those of Hilferding.

II.—THE CRISES.

a. THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND THE MEANS OF CONSUMPTION.

The most difficult of all economic problems which Marx has bequeathed to us to solve is perhaps that of the periodic crises. The difficulty here does not lie in the fact of new phenomena having arisen since Marx's death, which involve a modification, not to say a revolution, in his theory. That which Liberalism and Revisionism asserted about the cartels in this respect proved to be a very short-lived illusion. No; the difficulty lies in the fragmentary character of "Capital," which, especially in the treatise about crises, makes itself painfully felt. Marx had found the solution of the crises problem—this is evident from the remarks he makes about it; but he never came to do more than develop the individual elements. He never attempted to deal with them as a whole. Thus this task was left to his successors. They have the sphinx-enigma of the crises to solve—a task of such difficulty that bourgeois economy hardly dares to deal with it. For the classical economists, the physiocrats, Adam Smith, Ricardo (Malthus cannot be counted among them), the problem did not yet exist. And to the later bourgeois economy the problem was necessarily unsympathetic from the outset. For the crises are the *memento mori* of the capitalist method of production. All the antagonisms which are contained in its womb, and are making it more and more unbearable, and forcing more and more sections of the population into the struggle against it, are most crudely expressed in the crises. Therefore, bourgeois economy always tended to deny the inevitability of crises, to assign chance causes to them which could very well be avoided in future. To formulate a theory of crises would be to recognise their necessity and inevitability. It was therefore preferable to investigate the causes of each individual crisis, to describe and explain these historically.

On the other hand, the critics of the capitalist method of production, especially the Socialists, soon recognised the necessary connection between capitalism and crises. The crises-theories are for the most part Socialist theories. Here we did not, as in other departments of economics, climb up on the shoulders of bourgeois predecessors. In this most difficult and obscure economic domain, the scientific research of Socialism has always been in the forefront. What has been attained by bourgeois economy in this domain has been, almost exclusively, a reluctant and weakened echo of the Socialist conception. This conception reached its culminating point in Marx. Led forwards by his hand, we shall be the more sure to find our way through the labyrinth the better we have grasped Marx.

A weighty and decisive step forwards on this path is constituted by the research undertaken by Hilferding regarding the causes for the periodical return of crises. This is the portion of the crises-

theory which hitherto has been most obscure. Hilferding throws a brilliant light upon it.

In examining crises, three elements must be distinguished from each other. Many critics have thought to discover contradictions in Marx's conception of crises, because he lays special stress, sometimes on one, sometimes on another of these elements. This criticism would only be right if Marx had ever pointed to one or the other element as the *only* cause of crises. But his crises-theory, on the contrary, consists in bringing together the various elements each of which is, alone, insufficient to account for the necessary periodic return of crises.

These three elements are, first, the anarchy of the production of commodities, then the under-consumption on the part of the labouring masses, and finally the variety in the conditions of the growth of the various component parts of social capital.

Hilferding handles these three elements, but the two first only quite briefly. The new things he has to say concern the third element. He is probably justified in only giving a passing touch to the first, the anarchy of production. This point is the clearest ; there is not much that is new to be said about it. Production of commodities is production by private, independent producers, who know nothing of each other, and, even where they do, take no account of each other. Each goes on producing, his only lodestar under the capitalist system being profit, which takes care that the whole undertaking does not end in a miserable chaos—profit, or rather the price on which the extent of the profit depends. By the fall of prices when too much is produced, and their rise when the supply lags behind the demand, production and demand are always readjusted to their right proportion, but not without friction and loss, not without crises. As long as there is production of commodities, there is at times congestion of circulation and crises.

But these crises are dependent upon chances, and for the most part only affect certain classes of commodities. The explanation of such crises presents no difficulties. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century a particular kind of crises has appeared, a general congestion of the markets, which throws the whole process of production into disorder, and which repeats itself periodically at stated intervals, about once in each decade.

The first broke out in the year 1815, the second in 1825, the third in 1836, the fourth in 1847. It ushered in the revolution. Then there was another in 1857. Then the wars in Europe and America interrupted the cycle, and in 1866 there was only a slight crisis, while the next great industrial crisis did not appear till 1873. Its effects were all the more far-reaching for having been so long deferred. After a short recovery, a new depression occurred in 1882. Towards the end of the 'eighties a slight rise became apparent, to be followed in 1891 by another fall, and in 1895 there was again a crisis. The alternation between prosperity and crisis had become so irregular between 1873 and 1895, the

times of prosperity so short and slight, that it was widely assumed that we had reached an age of permanent over-production, thereby superseding the regular cycle of crises. But when, during the last half of the 'nineties, a totally unexpected, highly sensational period of prosperity again appeared, many of us assumed, on the contrary, that, thanks to the cartels, the cycle of crises was now abolished, not by an era of chronic over-production, but by an era of permanent economic prosperity. But this opinion only depended upon the experience of a few years, and was soon bankrupt. Already in 1900 came another crisis, and in 1907 yet another. Since then there can no longer be any doubt that the cycle of crises, depression, prosperity, is still proceeding. It is only the decennial return of the cycle that is broken.

This regularity cannot be determined solely by the anarchy of economic life. This only constitutes the determining factor in the cycle of crises. If production were carried on according to a plan, there would certainly be no crises. But why should they appear in so extensive a form as to affect the whole of society, and why at such regular periods?

The reason for this must lie in factors that only gained great strength in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For it was not until then that the cycle of crises began. It was convenient to observe those phenomena as such factors, which already disquieted the whole world: the introduction of machinery, which enormously intensified the productivity of labour, and which coincided with the pauperisation of the industrial workers, whose consuming capacity decreased, while their productivity increased. Here lay a contradiction which had sometimes to find an expression in crises. This was taught, already after the first crisis, by the Socialist Robert Owen and the Social-Conservative Sismondi.

Therewith was discovered the second element which causes crises. But it was on no account made clear how it affected the process of production, and why over-production was not permanent. It was now the period of prosperity between the crises which called for explanation.

The thing was not so simple as it at first sight appeared.

In order to understand over-production, we must get beyond the usual manner of looking at economics, which considers commodities only as values, as things identical in their nature, all embodiments of equal abstract human labour. Bourgeois economy, too, accepts this manner of consideration, even while it denies the Marxian theory of value. It always examines only the production and realisation of values. And, indeed, the capitalist is only concerned with the relationship between value and the price of his commodities because the extent of his profit depends upon it. The use-value of his commodities does not interest him at all.

(To be continued.)

THE REVIEWS.

DEMOCRACY ARRIVES.

"The Fortnightly Review" for this month has an editorial article on Democracy, which has for its leading idea that the country has now got to recognise Democracy as a force to be dealt with. It admits that Democracy has come, like all great movements, with a certain dramatic suddenness; but confesses that, on looking back, its evolution, as an underground force, has been going on for several years. We understand, it says, now what the popular apathy which has existed for some time meant.

"The people refused," the writer continues, "to be galvanised into interest by subjects like Tariff Reform or the Constitution of the House of Lords, or this and that panacea of strenuous party men in the House. Even on the subject of Irish Home Rule there was rather a sombre acquiescence than any positive decision one way or another. So far as they allowed themselves to be interested in anything, the people in two successive elections declared that if it were true that the House of Peers obstructed radical and popular legislation, they must be done away with. But they were not very keen on the matter, and now we know the reason why. The one absorbing preoccupation in their minds was the social status of the working classes. When are we coming to our own? was the solitary question which arrested their intelligence, to the exclusion of everything else. When shall we, the Democracy of England, attain to a position in which we can secure for ourselves the modicum of comfort and ease which we desire? No other topic was of the same burning importance, because, in that obscure fashion in which great movements are engineered, it had suddenly occurred simultaneously to all orders of democratic intelligence that now or never was the appointed time."

Recognising that the social crisis of 1832 inaugurated the supremacy of the middle classes, the editor thinks that "on the whole it cannot be said that the middle classes used their power in any estimable or reputable way. They built up large fortunes for themselves. They took their firm stand on principles of individualism. They transformed, according to the measure of their power, the aristocratic Government of England into an oligarchy—an

oligarchy of wealthy men. Above all, they inaugurated the reign of money-bags as the sole criterion of civic worth. They used their power selfishly after all. They did not care very much for the State. They possessed a creed somewhat narrow and inelastic, which became known to the world as the 'creed of Manchester,' and was promptly parodied in later times by what we now call 'Brummagem.' 'Each one for himself and Devil take the hindermost' was practically the doctrine in which they believed. They aped the classes above them in social extravagance. They kept the classes below them, so far as they had dared, under their heel."

The editor ventures to affirm that "The rise of the Imperialistic spirit was the beginning of the end for the middle class régime. The newer Radicalism, as interpreted by Mr. Chamberlain and his followers, included not only certain ideals of Greater Britain in all the Seven Seas, but was exactly founded on the notion of a democracy whose needs and aspirations had not hitherto been considered. 'The People' no longer meant the commercial magnates and the shopkeepers, but included new elements, elements hitherto untried and unknown, which quickly made their mark as soon as the opportunity was given. In faint and elusive manner, also, arose ideas of Collectivism and Socialism, which were the direct antithesis of the Individualism of the middle classes. The deep impression made by the Boer War upon the working classes has never yet received its due meed of attention. Obscurely, inarticulately, but determinedly, the people vowed that whatever wars there might be in the future, they should not be waged in the interests of capitalism. Trade unions, already formidable, began to rise in importance. In labour war after labour war the people won. In due course of time arose the prophet of the new Democracy—Mr. Lloyd George."

Referring to the recent labour troubles the writer recognises that "the methods of the new domination are not pleasant, for they consist largely of strikes and what is, in embryo, civic revolution. At the same time it is very difficult to see what other method the Democracy could have employed, for a strike is the only weapon in the hands of the working classes, and it is by means of strikes that every rise in their position has been brought about. The capitalists have so many advantages that the only fashion in which working men can checkmate their power is by bringing industry itself to a standstill by a flat refusal to work."

The men, the author considers, have won by adopting the principle of "solidarity," advocated by the working-class leaders both here and in Australia. "The pressing question now is: What Next? Certain alternatives can be unhesitatingly dismissed. There can be no question any longer of refusal to recognise the Labour organisations. . . . the cut-and-dried methods of laissez-faire schools are worse than ineffective under modern conditions. It was not the cold, legal utterances of the Prime Minister which succeeded; it was the persuasive accents of the man who knows the people from within, and who is prepared to let the people speak

through the mouths of their own representatives. . . . Perhaps one of the first results of the Great Strike will be a renewed outcry for the 'nationalisation' of railways. We should view any such outcome with regret. But to say that the railways are to continue to manage their own affairs is not to say that they are to do so unrestricted. . . . It will be urged, of course, that this gradual widening of State control is another name for the advent of the Socialistic State. But how do you like the alternative? . . . At one end of the scale you can have the dictatorship which proclaims martial law and mows down malcontents with maxim guns; at the other end you have the Government 'broad-based upon the people's will'—which it is the fashion nowadays to call Socialistic."

Arbitration, the writer says, has been proved in the past to be disappointing and irritating. Conciliation Boards seem to meet with more favour, both because action can be taken at an earlier stage in the dispute, and because they can be made more or less permanent institutions in important industries.

"It is obvious," says the author, "that the success of a Conciliation Board to appoint an arbitrator depends largely on the personal equation. It is not enough to have a permanent official; indeed, it is undesirable to leave such a delicate task to any such official. Who have been the successful conciliators? Men of the world, men of affairs, men especially like Lord Rosebery or Mr. Lloyd George, with the orator's gift and the orator's quick sympathy with his audience. Is it not time to include in the Cabinet a Minister of Labour someone who can relieve the President of the Board of Trade of some part of his multifarious duties? He would need to be a Cabinet Minister."

The author invites Mr. Lloyd George to take up the new rôle.



THE FUTURE OF UNIONISM

In the "World's Work" for September an "Indiscreet Unionist" writes an article in the "candid spirit" style on the "Future of Unionism." He resents the view of the Liberal papers that nowadays write as if the Unionists were a small body of aristocrats surviving from the time of their power in the past, claiming that they represent nine-twentieths of the electorate. "Three General Elections have been lost in succession. Solid areas within the Kingdom have assumed an appearance of being permanently Liberal; and worst of all is the fact that London and Lancashire, whose votes used to keep Salisbury in power, now give a much wider allegiance to Liberal and Labour than to Unionist candidates."

The writer is very sarcastic on the leading lights and leaders of the present Conservative Party.

"The Leading Lights," he writes, "are so honest that they can never agree among themselves as to what line the party should take on any question, and they publish their conflicting views in equally conflicting party journals to the utter confusion of the rank and file who seek enlightenment from them. Then comes the great Leader—the expression is, unfortunately, sarcastic—of whom it need only be said that the bravest and most incorruptible figure ever seen in British politics has somehow spread the impression that he does not believe a word he says. Whatever be the coordinating evil inspiring all that is wrong with Unionism, its symbol and monument and spokesman is that melancholy figure, the paid speaker, whom every one must have seen and heard at some time. He stands, in his cart or on his platform, wearing a black tail coat and a gold watch chain, boasting that he is a working man, loud of voice and fierce of gesture, sometimes sober and sometimes drunk, calling on the name of God and quoting the examples of Nelson, Wolfe, and Wellington, lashing himself to frenzy—and all for £2 10s. a week. We, who no longer put our trust in princes, rely upon the potent help of this creature, whom we pay to befool the electors and save us from the Radicals."

The writer admits that the Conservatives have tried numberless election tricks, but have lamentably failed to score with them, and turns his eyes as a last resource to the new organiser, Mr. Steel-Maitland, M.P., who is to start work with the humiliating admission that our opponents have had good reason to vote against us. Following up his spirit of candour, the writer gives an instance in proof of his case from the "Times," a Unionist newspaper.

"Some time ago a sharp and sudden strike occurred among the servants of a big railway company, of which the ostensible reason was the removal of a signalman from one end to the other end of a certain station. Of course, the company were sweetly conciliatory upon this particular point, and the men had an appearance of being unreasonable. And then 'The Times'—the paper read by the Conservatives for their instruction in things they should think and say, the paper read by other journals for their instruction in the things they should write—'The Times' pours scorn and scoldings on the unhappy railwaymen without any show of sympathetic inquiry into grievances other than the absurd incident that had finally precipitated the strike. Does this seem a small matter? It is this which makes the working man laugh incredulously when Conservatives profess their devotion to 'Social Reform.'"

The writer considers that Mr. Steel Maitland has special qualifications as Conservative organiser, one of the most valuable being that he is a very rich man, and can afford to be independent of salary considerations. In conclusion, he winds up with some very drastic suggestions:—

"When he has taught us to take a new view of the working man, both as a striker and a listener at political meetings, when he

has abolished our hireling orators, dissolved our leagues, returned the cheques of our wealthy dictatorial supporters, and inoculated us against spasms of semi-sincere hysteria, he must teach us to wait for the slow fruits of repentance. The Liberals will make a new mistake, yet we must refrain from screaming that this last crime against the working man has moved us past all self-control. An election will occur, yet we must refrain from inventing a new policy to catch votes on the eve of the poll. An attack will be made, yet we must refrain from a grave concession in the middle of the fight. In fact, we must stick to our principles, let none but honest men be our spokesmen, abandon our aspirations after immediate power, study the working man whom we claim to represent, and honesty will at last serve as well as tricks have served the Liberals. The voter likes one thing in a Liberal, and another thing in a Conservative, and we must offer him that which he expects from us."



"Have you looked back at the history of working man? If you do you will find that one hundred and fifty years ago in England and all over Continental Europe he was a slave. He was bought and sold with the land. He wore one garment, if you would call it a garment. His food was of the coarsest. He had no luxuries.

"But gradually the light began to dawn in the minds of those toilers, and they organised themselves into guilds and trade unions, and they met in the forests and waste places and formed their unions.

"They were sent to jail and died on the gallows fighting for liberty; fighting for better food, for better clothing, shorter hours, for something to drink, for some little of the luxuries which the rich had always claimed for themselves, and you, the poor man of to-day, you have profited by the brave fight your ancestors made in the years gone by.

"The world's goal is liberty. There is no other way. It has never yet had real liberty. It has never had enough. It has never had very much.

"What we are hoping for and dreaming of is that real liberty will some day come to this old world of ours. If you look at the history of the human race, look at its progress in the past, slow and difficult, but still on the whole going onward and onward; if you look away back to where man first began, and it looked very hopeless, and look at the world now and you think he has a good deal.

"Every step is marked with blood. It shows the toils and troubles of the human race, and yet through all the world has gone on, moving upward, and every step has led by one hope and one dream, and that is the hope and dream of liberty, the dearest to the hearts of men.

C. S. DARROW.

The Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



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THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. XV., No. 10. OCTOBER 15, 1911.

THE ESSENTIAL SOCIALISM.

By E. BELFORT BAX.

I propose to devote a few words to defining my position as regards the contention of comrade Gould, for it seems to me the whole question is one of definition. Now, comrade Gould would define Socialism as the "public ownership of the vital industries." I should define it, in so far as it can be defined at all in a short formula, as the realisation of the old revolutionary trinity—liberty, equality, fraternity—involving transformation of our existing state-world into a social-world, of our "civitas" into a "societas," the central, albeit not only, condition being the communisation of the means of production, &c. I say *not only* condition, inasmuch as there are forms which the infringement of liberty, equality and fraternity may take which are not directly or exclusively economic in their origin. Coercion in all matters of opinion or of taste constitutes such an infringement of liberty. Hence those who advocate coercion in these matters I decline to regard

as Socialists. Freedom for all individuals in self-regarding matters I hold to be essential in Socialism. Again, what is known as patriotism (or jingoism), namely, the sentiment which seeks to place the particular nation-State into which one has been born above other nation-States, or which does not recognise the solidarity of interest of progressive mankind—especially of the disinherited classes of modern civilisation—I consider incompatible with Socialism, inasmuch as it implies a negation of equality.

Hence I cannot regard persons who in any positive manner hold such views as these as properly belonging to the Socialist Party. Comrade Gould, himself, presupposes toleration as a *sine qua non* in his characterisation of future society. And yet he would consent to regard persons whose principles otherwise involved the negation of toleration as having a place with him in the "Socialist Circle"! Mind you, the "Socialist Circle"! If our friend Gould had said he was prepared to confer with these persons for the attainment of an immediate political or economic object, I could understand his position. I would do so myself, just as I might enter into an alliance with a Liberal, a Conservative, or an Irish Nationalist for such an object. But I should certainly not regard them as belonging to the "Socialist Circle." And their professed adhesion to the economic formula of Socialism would not of itself be good enough to alter my attitude essentially towards them in this respect.

Comrade Gould would deny any ethical function of Socialism. "Strictly speaking," he says, "the functions of Socialism are only industrial." From this thesis, needless to say, I most emphatically dissent. Socialism is an ideal, the expression of which, economically, is the communistic organisation of industry, because this is the material foundation of its realisation. As I said before, the whole question turns upon definition, and I contend I am both historically and actually justified in my definition. Human life is concrete, and the attempt, as I have so often urged, to

separate it up into water-tight compartments is, in the last resort, impracticable. No one objects to uniting with persons holding the most opposite political views for immediate purposes. But that is quite a different thing from regarding or treating persons whose whole outlook on life is out of harmony with the Socialist ideal as "comrades" and members of the Socialist Party. Personal liberty in self-regarding matters, freedom of thought, the belief in international solidarity through the union of the working class of all countries for its emancipation, the supremacy in matters affecting the whole community of reason and demonstrable fact as opposed to private dogma and traditional belief—all these things belong for me to the "essential Socialism." I would, by no means, deny the name of Socialist to a man who differs from me, or, for that matter, from the general party, on matters of detail, questions of tactics, or special policy. But I once more insist that no mere adhesion to the economic formula will constitute a Socialist of the man who holds views on the above fundamental points (non-economic though they be) out of harmony with the spirit of Socialism as I have defined it.

"THE FOLLY OF WAR AND THE POSSIBILITIES AND PERILS OF PEACE."

By A. A. WATTS.

The article by H. Quelch in the August number of the "Social-Democrat" is not only an able contribution on an important phase of present-day happenings, but also is one that stimulates thought in all who read it. We Social-Democrats are so apt to oppose, tooth and nail, war and any possibilities of war that we might possibly lose sight of those dangers of peace so ably pointed out by comrade Quelch; not to speak of the horrible loss of life now daily and hourly occurring in peaceful industrial pursuits. I am one of those who oppose war and all actions likely to lead to war; I emphatically object to armies and navies; to the expenditure on them, and to the waste of them, even while agreeing that the expenditure might not be spent on social amelioration, and that the waste gives employment. We cannot uphold waste simply on that plea. Just as when comrade Quelch quotes Kautsky to the effect that war might hasten the Revolution; possibly it might, but I take it we do not want it that way; we are not willing that such a price should be paid for it, because we know all the time that the people can bring it about—at least, in many instances—peaceably.

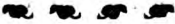
But it is not so much to say this that I write this short note. Comrade Quelch seems to me to have proved too much. After, as he says, having scrapped all the navies, beaten our swords into ploughshares and our spears into pruning-hooks, and converted our

rifles and machine guns into the component parts of bicycles and motor-cars, he goes on to say that the peoples "would be held down under the iron hand of one universal authority." But whence would the "authority" get its force if the armies and navies were abolished? At the end of the article we have a casual reference that "the international police would be omnipotent." I confess I cannot follow our comrade. The police, as we know it, and almost even as we can imagine it, cannot hold down a revolt on anything like a general scale. This has been proved times without number. If our comrade has in his mind an enormously increased police force, armed with "swords and spears and rifles and machine guns," then it seems to me it is only "begging the question" to abolish the army and set up another force similar (or even worse) in its place.

No doubt Quelch will answer this point by saying that the Powers may agree to abolish the armies and institute such a force as I have described, capable of putting down revolt and yet not to be used, as armies are now, in territorial conquest. Of course, that is the point of his article—namely, that war (and armies and navies) may be abolished, yet the peoples be in economic servitude. It might be so, but I very much doubt it. After all, I think we are a little further on the road to progress than the people of Montezuma when Cortes gobbled up ancient Mexico.

But surely we have to take up a position on one side or the other. Either we are against war or we are in favour of it. If we are opposed to it, then we should oppose it on all and every occasion, and all that leads to it. Whatever may occur on its abolition—well, we must risk that. Otherwise it seems to me a policy of despair. The net result of comrade Quelch's article is, "What's the good of anything?—nothing." True, he has a face-saver at the close in saying we are to strive for Social-Democracy; of course, we always do that. But I think, before we expect to lead the working class to that goal we shall need to be very clear our-

selves on such matters as these. So far, we have presented a very good front in favour of peace, but there is danger of that being whittled down. What comrade Quelch should have done, to my mind, was to have pointed out the dangers and horrors of war and the dangers and horrors of peace, and *then* to have definitely chosen one side or the other and put in a powerful plea for that side, still keeping his conclusion for Social-Democracy. For myself, understanding the horrors and the reaction of war, knowing something of the horrors and lethargy of peace, I still unhesitatingly choose the latter, and look to our propaganda and education of the people to result in the accomplishment of Social-Democracy by peaceable methods.



"You remember, Evelyn, the morning we turned out of the little inn on the top of the Niessen to see the sun rise over the Bernese Alps? . . . You remember, when we got to the highest point, we looked down into the great valleys, where the lakes and the villages were; and there it was still night under the heavy clouds? But before us, where the peaks of the Jungfrau and the Wetterhorn, and the rest of them, rose into the clear sky, there was a curious faint light that showed the day was coming. We waited and watched; and the light grew stronger; and all sorts of colours began to show along the peaks. That was the sunrise. But down in the valleys everything was misty and dark and cold; everything asleep; the people there could see nothing of the new day we were looking at. And so, I suppose, it is with us now. We are looking ahead. We see, or fancy we see, the light before the others; but sooner or later they will see it also. For the sunrise is bound to come."—From "Sunrise," by William Black.

THE MYTH OF THE OVER-POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

By JNO. RHIND.

The lines of Greene—

“ False prophecy which dreams a lie
That fools believe and knaves apply ”—

came into my mind as I pondered on the over-population myth.

In a previous article the writer stated that “ man, as it were, has only to scratch the surface of the earth to procure an abundance of all the necessaries of life.” Such being the fact, it seems rather strange that so many apparently well-informed men acquiesce in the fallacy that “ the world is over-populated, or, at any rate, will be in the immediate future,” blindly accepting the Malthusian theory that the increase of population is far in excess of the increase of the food supply.

This is a mere myth, as a little inquiry will prove. Not only is there no “ problem of over-population,” but there cannot possibly be one for, at least, some thousands of years; nor even at any time, no matter how remote, if man so determines.

After all, perhaps one should not be surprised at the ruling classes in general accepting so willingly, and with little reflection, this false and pernicious doctrine. It helps to pacify their consciences regarding the awful amount of poverty which abounds in our midst: not from natural but artificial causes. For, as Socialists know, the problem of poverty is the problem of a more equitable distribution of wealth, and not of the niggardliness of Nature.

Such important questions as we are about to discuss cannot be settled by mere *ex parte* statements. It will, therefore, be necessary for us—if we wish to arrive at a definite conclusion—to enter somewhat into detail.

We will commence by an inquiry into the land area of the world and the distribution of its population.

	Areas in millions (square miles).		Population in millions.		Average number of persons per square mile.	
Europe	4	...	380	...	100
Asia	17	...	820	...	46.6
Africa	12	...	150	...	12
America	15	...	140	...	5
Australasia	5	...	6	...	1.5
Polaris	(?)	...	91 thousand	...	—
Average, 25 per square mile.						

The population of the world is estimated to be approximately 1,500,000,000 (fifteen hundred millions), nearly half of whom inhabit China and India—the Chinese Empire accounting for 400 million souls; the Indian Empire 300 million. Thus we see that nearly one in every two of the human family is a native of either China or India. Yet the area of China and India together is only three millions of square miles, whereas the total land area of the globe is 52 millions of square miles. Hence these two countries embrace three-sevenths of the population of the world, but only one-seventeenth of the land area. And, in spite of this apparent density of population (and it is only apparent in the light of modern science), there is plenty of wealth, or means of creating it, for all. Few will deny that China is a wealthy country, and, if need be, almost self-contained. And India has been known for its fabulous wealth throughout historic times. This is easily realised when we reflect on the enormous amount of wealth which has flowed from India since the sixteenth century, more especially to England since the East India Company was formed in 1600. It is wealthy to-day, though the great mass of the people are miserably poor. But this is not through an

unfruitful soil, or the density of its population, but because the people are prevented from producing a maximum amount of wealth; and that which they now create is largely appropriated by those who "toil not, neither do they spin."

We hear at intervals of famines in India, and appeals are made for assistance for the natives. At such times the crops are certainly below the average. Yet this, with the aid of science, is almost wholly preventable. But to call such times periods of famine from natural causes (failure of the monsoon, or rainy season, which can be anticipated and provided for) is a prostitution of language. For, be it noted, these so-called famines resolve themselves into (if the term may be allowed) famines of money. When this is forthcoming food is also forthcoming. During the last of these famines (?) whilst hundreds of thousands, yea, millions, of people were dying for the want of food, thousands upon thousands of sacks of corn were rotting on the railway sidings. This food the people themselves had raised, but owing to the unjust social system which obtains, it passes from them into the hands of the monopolists, who determine the conditions under which it shall be consumed by regulating the prices in their own interest. Under such circumstances the people have not the money to buy the food which they themselves have brought into existence, and consequently die for want of it. Then their rulers have the audacity to declare there is a famine. Again, in regard to India, we must remember that the cultivation of the land is principally carried on by primitive implements and methods. The great mass of the ryots (small farmers) are almost wholly uneducated. If they were granted reasonable means of education, and a knowledge of scientific farming, together with facilities for procuring modern agricultural machines, the land would produce food-stuffs as though by magic—would, in fact, become a land literally "flowing with milk and honey."

If India was governed for the good of the whole of its people, there is not the slightest doubt that wealth

could be produced in abundance for all, in spite of its enormous population. We speak of the teeming millions of India and China as though they were packed like herrings. This is a mere delusion! The fact is, neither country is so densely populated as England and other European countries. China has an area of 1,336,841 square miles, and a population estimated at 386,853,029, which works out roughly at 290 persons to the square mile. India has an area of 1,776,000 square miles, and an estimated population of 300,000,000 souls. This gives an average of about 180 persons to the square mile. Compare the above with, say, Europe: area, rather less than 4,000,000 square miles, and a population of 380,000,000, or an average of 100 per square mile; or Belgium, with a population of 520 to the square mile; or Great Britain, with 390 to the square mile. But if England and Wales are taken together we find they have an area of 58,000 square miles and a population of 36,000,000, which works out roughly at 600 per square mile, or twice the density of China, and upwards of three times that of India. Oh! these teeming millions! And it can easily be proved, as we shall see below, that though Great Britain is only producing enough food for about one-fourth of its people, she could, with very little effort, raise enough for, at the least, twice her present population.

Let us now return to the area and distribution of the world's population. If, then, the rest of the world was as densely populated as India and China, it could carry a population of 12,000 millions. If we allow a deduction of 2,000 millions for uninhabitable parts of the earth (though such terms will become meaningless with the advance of science), there would still be room for 10,000 millions of people; whereas, to-day, there are but 1,500 millions. But if we take Belgium or England as a basis, there would be room for 30,000 or 40,000 millions of human beings!

So, even with the limited knowledge we possess to-day, we need concern ourselves little regarding over-

population. We will try to bring this over-population myth more clearly before the reader; though it seems ridiculous to labour the point when we consider the fact that if we take a box of 700 cubic yards—700 yards in length, width, and height—divided into sections, allowing six cubic feet of space for every individual, there would not be enough people in the world to occupy each section.

Or, again, twelve miles square of land would be ample for all the people in the world to stand on. If we take, say, the Isle of Man, and could, by some legerdemain, reduce the surface of the land to a level, then the population of the world—so far as space is concerned—could dance a polka, or even form for sets of “lancers.” There are, relatively, so few people in the world and the earth is so large. This may seem far-fetched. However, it is simply a case of arithmetic, so the reader may work it out for himself to prove the truth or falsity of the statements.

One can imagine some reader saying: “Yes, this may be true, and very entertaining; but we cannot live, move, and have our being in your imaginary box, on the twelve miles square of land, or even on the Isle of Man.” Which, of course, is quite true. We only put the case in this light to emphasise the sparseness of the world’s population, in spite of the fact that all civilised countries have so many congested areas.

However, we will return to the practical, and inquire as to the land required for the housing of the human family—not, as is often the case to-day, with 40, 50, or even more families housed on one acre, but rather for the “ideal” housing of mankind, as we Socialists so much desire.

Now, the ideal system of housing is considered to be eight to the acre. This will allow 605 square yards per house. A piece of land 7 yards wide by 86 yards in length contains 602 square yards, or one-eighth of an acre. Thus, on an acre of land we could erect eight large spacious houses, with small gardens in the front and large gardens at the back—such, for instance,

as let to-day in Manchester at £50 or £60 per year, and in London at £80 to £100 per annum.

How much land, then, would we require to so house the population of the world? If we take the average of five to a family, we would have to provide housing accommodation for 300 millions of families. 300 millions, divided by 8, equals 37,500,000. Hence 37,500,000 acres of land are sufficient to house mankind. The area of Great Britain and Ireland is 78 millions of acres; England and Wales together contain more than 37 millions. So the area of England and Wales would be enough to house the whole population of the world on the ideal system of eight families to an acre.

Now, the area of England and Wales is, roughly, one-seventieth that of Europe, whilst Europe contains but one-fourteenth of the land area of the globe. Thus we find that rather more than a thousandth part of the earth's surface is ample for housing the human family on an "ideal," scientific and moral basis. There is no further need to dilate upon this housing question. The facts speak for themselves.

As to the increase of population, as already stated, we have no need to concern ourselves on that point. It may, however, be stated that it is estimated there is a birth every 69 seconds and a death every 72 seconds. This is, after all, a mere guess. If, however, in thirty thousand or forty thousand years hence there is an over-population "problem," we, if we are alive then, or those who are living at this remote time, will be able to solve it without much trouble, seeing that man can, even now, determine the number of his offspring.

So now we will turn our attention to the food supply.

It is estimated that one acre of land will, under the present state of cultivation, supply one individual with all the food he requires, but for vegetarians enough for three persons. At one acre for each individual, land equal in area to Australia would be more than sufficient to supply the whole population of the world with all the foodstuffs they require. This, however, is

estimating a minimum yield; whereas, the future "citizen of the world" will be content with nothing short of a maximum. And we know from practical experiments that, with scientific and intensive cultivation, the land will produce enormously more than it does to day.

For instance, let us take the case of Great Britain. The yearly consumption of wheat is estimated at $8\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per adult. If we take the whole of our population (and this is giving a point away) at 44 millions, we would require 374 million bushels. Now, the average yield of wheat in Great Britain is 33 bushels per acre. At this rate $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of acres would produce 379 million bushels, or more than we require. Again, in certain parts of the South of England, and also in Scotland, 70 bushels an acre have been obtained. In Jersey, man's yearly supply of wheat ($8\frac{1}{2}$ bushels) has been raised on 2,250 square feet, or one-twentieth of an acre! This is equal to 170 bushels to the acre.

Prince Kropotkin (than whom there is, perhaps, no greater authority on agriculture), referring to the hasty conclusions as to the impossibility of raising enough food to feed our own population, says:—

"(1) If the soil of the United Kingdom were cultivated only as it was 35 years ago, 24 million people, instead of 17 millions, could live on home-grown food; (2) if the cultivable area of the United Kingdom were cultivated as the soil is cultivated on the average in Belgium, the United Kingdom would have food for at least 37 million inhabitants; and, (3) if the population of this country came to be doubled, all that would be required for producing the food for 80 million inhabitants would be to cultivate the soil as it is cultivated on the best farms of this country, in Lombardy and in Flanders, and to utilise some meadows, which at present lie almost unproductive, in the same way as the neighbourhoods of the big cities in France are utilised for market gardening. All these are not fancy dreams, but mere realities—nothing but

modest conclusions from what we see around about us, without any allusion to the agriculture of the future."

In Canada and the United States, as also in other countries, on limited areas, as much as from 50 to 70 bushels of wheat to the acre have been raised; yet the average crop at the present time in Canada and the United States is only about 15 bushels to the acre.

Now, in this case, what can be accomplished in particular can be done in general, if facilities are to hand. Then, again, we must not forget that two or three crops of different kinds can be had during the year from the same ground. In fact, in Jersey and Guernsey they obtain as many as six crops per annum. Hence we have at the present time no idea as to the limit of the food-producing power of the land. With scientific farming, the more produced the more it seems can be produced; at least, the limit is not within sight. And in this sense, with access to the necessary material, there is no such thing as poor land. In Ireland, Scotland, Belgium and France farmers have practically manufactured their own land by carrying soil in bags on their back up the rocks, from which they have procured large returns for their industry. In Belgium, farmers who have land which was considered inferior, and which at first yielded but small crops, after being treated in a scientific manner yielded abundant crops. In proof of these statements, let us consider for a moment the evolution of agriculture.

In the early colonising days of North America, the wheat raised from the soil was as low as two bushels per acre. In England, prior to the "Black Death" (fourteenth century), the average yield per acre was only eight bushels. During the two following centuries it gradually increased to 12 or 14 bushels. But it was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that great advance was made in agriculture. By 1770 the average was 23 bushels; by 1850, 26½ bushels; to-day the average is 33 bushels. And in particular parts, as previously stated, in England, Scotland, and Belgium, Canada and U.S.A., from 50 to 70 bushels have been

obtained. Yet scientific agriculture is practically in its swaddling clothes. No man dare attempt to assert the limit of its possibilities.

Although we have selected wheat for our illustration, the yield of barley, rye, and the like have increased in the same proportions. We must further remember that we do not get a maximum amount of food by raising wheat. For instance, if equal areas of land are producing wheat, which we will take as 1, potatoes would be 44, and bananas 130 times as much. Regarding potatoes, which have only been known to us a few centuries, we find that formerly a ton per acre was considered an excellent crop. To-day we have an average of 7 tons per acre. Yet 34 tons per acre have been produced in that small island where farming is carried on by the most advanced scientific methods—Jersey. "In Minnesota, 1,120 bushels, or 30 tons, could be ascertained as having been grown on one acre." The average yield in Jersey is double that of England—12 tons per acre.

The following will show the advantage of science as applied to agriculture:—

FERTILISING BACTERIA.

Professor Bottomley, in an interesting lecture at Ipswich Social Settlement, disclosed some of the wonders of science as applied to the soil. The advantage of the four-course shift in farming, he pointed out, was that the little nodules on the roots of leguminous plants, beans, peas, etc., are crowded with bacteria, the effect of which farmers found, by practical experience, was to enrich the soil for the next crop; but these bacteria can be cultivated in the laboratory and sent out in small packets to inoculate the soil. Professor Bottomley held up a small package, not so big as an ordinary envelope, which, he stated, contained enough for two acres. He had, he said, sent out 100 samples from the laboratory at King's College, the cost of which was one penny each, leaving out of account the cost of the laboratory equipment and staff. One Norfolk farmer who used a sample found, as a result of this "inoculation," that his peas were ready for picking three weeks earlier, and were 50 per cent more prolific.—Manchester, "Evening Chronicle," February 16, 1911.

It may be stated that the potato is one of the few kinds of food-stuffs we practically produce for ourselves

in Great Britain. We consume, roughly, some ten million tons, about 200,000 tons of which are imported. At an average of seven tons per acre, which we procure at the present time, 1,700,000 acres suffices. With regard to fruit, it is stated that there is sufficient land on one railway siding to produce all we require.

It is further estimated there are enough nut trees in the world (down, ye vegetarians!) to supply mankind with all the nourishment they require. The nut is a proteid food, like meat, eggs, cheese and the like, and, as such, is a flesh-forming food. Nuts are only recently becoming valued at their true worth.

Man, it is said, was originally a vegetarian, and it is almost a certainty he will eventually return to this his natural diet. In proportion as this change takes place, nuts will be more and more valued. Again, we must not forget that "an acre of good fishing will yield more food in a week than an acre of the best land will yield in a year. Thus the sea is more productive than the land."

Sampson Morgan, writing in the "Fortnightly Review" (August, 1907), said agriculture in Jersey and Guernsey was fifty times more productive than in England. This, of course, is owing to their more scientific methods.

(To be continued.)

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

By H. GEORGE FARMER.

CHAPTER IV.—LITERATURE.

(Dedicated to E. BELFORT BAX.)

Those who have seen Bertall's picture of the *Etat-Major* in his "Types of the Commune," will call to mind the figure behind the smart citizen officer, whose long hair, untrimmed beard, be-spectacled features, and portfolio reveal his craft. He is the type of the *prolétariat littéraire* from the Latin Quarter, who fought side by side with the workman in the Commune of 1871. Although sprung from the middle class, he has not been spared (as Murger, that grand *bohème*, says) the execrations of the "puritans of society," and the "insults of all the timorous and jealous mediocrities who cannot find enough of outcries, lies and calumnies to drown the voices and names of those . . . harnessing audacity to their talent."

In Bertall's "Types of the Commune" the author, whilst admitting that the Commune had the adherence of a number of intellectuals, qualifies his statement by sneering that "Science and Literature may have owed them no debt, save in the lowest stratum of journalism"!

Fancy Science owing nothing to the Communards Reclus and Flourens! Fancy Literature owing nothing to the Communards Tridon and Andrieu! Perhaps the writer's connection with a higher stratum of journalism would scarcely bring him in touch with an illustrious geographer like Elisée Reclus, author of "La Terre"

and the monumental "Universal Geography." Reclus certainly contributed to the small circle of the revolutionary press, but his studies in the "Tour de Monde" and "Révue des Deux Mondes" had a world-wide praise. At any rate, few would deny that Science owed him a debt.

A late professor of the Collège de France, Gustave Flourens, author of the "Science of Man," is claimed by those competent to judge as having contributed something to the science of ethnography, in spite of Bertall's annotator. He also had the honour of being a revolutionary journalist, and of dying for the Commune.

Then we have an eminent *littérateur* like Tridon, whose remarkable studies, "Les Hébertists," "Gironde et Girondins," and "Du Molockisme Juif," are to be relegated, I suppose, to the "lowest stratum of journalism." And likewise Andrieu's "L'Amour en Chanson," "Chiromancie," "Etudes sur la main, le crâne, la face," and his "Histoire du Moyen Age." "Bah! an ounce of civet, good apothecary!"

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Literature under the Commune! One can scarcely expect much in sixty-four days, and an enemy knocking at the gates. Yet it is positively astounding the number of journals which sprung up during the period; whilst the array of pamphlets, placards and cartoons is simply prodigious. I will refer, of course, only to the publications of the Communal cause.

The British Museum has a fine collection of these journals, which, although not complete, may be looked upon as real treasures, since I doubt if another series exists, except at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Let any impartial inquirer look into these journals of the Social Revolution and then say whether they are not immeasurably superior to any of the so-called "respectable" journals of the day. But is journalism "literature"? G. Bernard Shaw claims it to be "the highest form of literature."

First comes the "Journal Officiel" of the Commune. From March 20 to May 24 it issued from the hand of the revolution. Its first editor was E. Lebeau, installed by the Central Committee; but the Commune afterwards appointed Charles Longuet, and later Pierre Vésinier, to this post. Longuet was a learned student, well-known in revolutionary circles, especially for his journal, "Les Ecoles de France." In later years he became an Inspector of Education and a municipal councillor of Paris. Pierre Vésinier was a well-known journalist of the "Rappel" and "Réforme," who had suffered both exile and imprisonment for his writings. As the author of "l'Histoire du nouveau César," "Le Mariage d'un Espagnole," and "Pie IX.," he had some celebrity. In this country he will be remembered for his "History of the Commune."

Among the articles in the "Journal Officiel" which deserve mention are:—"Les Rouges et les pâles," by J. B. Clément; "Chouans et Girondins," by Regnard; Vaillant on "Regicide"; "Une page d'Histoire," by Vapereau; two articles by E. Maréchal, "Une Commune au Moyen Age" and "St. Denis et Montmartre en Oct., 1870"; and one by Marie Verduze on "Education."

The name of Delescluze and his fine journal "Le Réveil" deserves the first place after the "Journal Officiel." This heroic figure of the Commune, a revolutionary journalist since the "thirties"—from his "Courrier de Charleroi," through the "Révolution Démocratique," "Proscrit," "Peuple," to the "Réveil"—had all his life suffered persecution, exile, imprisonment and fine in the cause of the Social Revolution. His awful agonies in the dungeons and hulks for fourteen years (only *one* of his sentences) may still be read in his "Voyage from Paris to Cayenne." On April 18, 1871, he launched his last journal, "Le Réveil du Peuple," with Cournet. A month later this noble and devoted soul died on one of the last barricades of the Commune with his face to the foe.

Naturally, several suppressed journals of the Social Revolution were immediately resuscitated. Foremost of these was the "Cri du Peuple" of Jules Vallés, whose circulation rose to 100,000. Vallés was the first pamphleteer of his day. Originally intended for the law, he took to journalism, writing for the "Figaro," "Liberté," "Epoque," and a journal of his own—"La Rue." Two of his books will ever claim a place in the world's literature—"Réfractaires" and "Jacques Vintras." Among his *confrères* on the "Cri du Peuple" were Pierre Denis, of the "Courrier Français," "Patrie en Danger" and "Combat"; Casimir Bouis, Alphonse Humbert, J. B. Clément, Henri Verlet and Vuillaume. Bouis, the author of that brilliant satire, "Calottes et Soutanes," which made the Clericals squirm, was transported for the Commune, together with Humbert. J. B. Clément was a poet, whose fine revolutionary "Chansons" are treasured by all rebels. In the "Pavé," "Réforme" and "Courrier Français" his pen was ever active. Henri Verlet also revived the freethought journal, "La Libre Pensée," during the Commune, assisted by Paul L. Lafargue, A. Goullé, A. Breuillé.

Henri Rochefort's "Mot d'Ordre" comes next. Its editor, who had flayed the Empire in the "Lanterne" and the bourgeois Republic in the "Marseillaise," was no less militant in his new journal. He was also the author of "Les Français de la Décadence," and "La Grande Bohême." Transportation was meted out to him for the Commune. At the amnesty he re-entered France and edited the "Intransigeant." His later works include "Les Dépravés," "Les Naufrageurs," and "L'Evade." His assessors on the "Mot" were Mourot (his secretary, who also got transported), Barberet, Martin Bernard, Georges Richard and R. Halt.

Then there was the rollicking and blasphemous "Père Duchêne," which gave many a nightmare to the "third sex," and circulated sixty thousand. Eugene Vermersch, its editor, one of the fiercest poets of the Commune, was the author of "Le Latium Moderne,"

"De L'Ostracisme Littéraire" and "Letters à Mimi," and a well-known writer in the "Figaro," "Eclipse" and "Cri du Peuple." After the Commune he wrote "Les Incendies" and "Histoire de la Commune." Both Humbert and Vuillaume helped on the "Père Duchêne."

Felix Pyat, a deputy, the foremost dramatist of his day (witness "The Ragpicker of Paris," "Les Deux Serruriers," and "Mathilde"), and late editor of the "Combat," was responsible for the "Vengeur." He will be remembered in England for his "Apology for Orsini," which so offended our "respectables." His contributors included Pierre Denis, H. Maret, Vésinier, Delimal, Beslay, Rogeard (the author of the famous "Les Propos de Labienus," who had seen prison five times under the Empire), and Milliere, the author of "Etudes Révolutionnaires," a writer in the "Courrier Français," "Patrie en Danger," and "Marseillaise," and a political prisoner. He was shot by the Government troops at the fall of the Commune.

Among the revolutionary journals already in vogue were: "La Nouvelle République," under the charge of Paschal Grousset, a young *révolté* who abandoned the Ecole de Medicine for the school of rebellion. Although only twenty-five years old he had made quite a name with three books, "Régence de Decembrostein," "Les Origines d'une Dynastie," and "Le Rêve d'un Irréconciliable." Previously he had written for the "Marseillaise" and gone to prison for it. He, too, was transported for the Commune. His brilliant staff included Arthur Arnould, E. Bazin, Morot, Rigault, Charles and Gaston Dacosta, Albert Grandier, Oliver Pain, Albert Regnard, Kunemann, and Vésinier. Arnould, a gifted *littérateur*, afterwards famed as a dramatist and novelist, was then known for his "Contes Humoristiques," "Les Trois Poetes," "Béranger," &c., and in the journals of revolt, the "Rappel," "Réforme," and "Marseillaise." His "L'Etat et la Revolution" and "Histoire de la Commune" belong to the best literature of revolt. Regnard, a doctor, and author of

"Essais d'Histoire et de Critique Scientifique" and "New Researches on Cerebral Congestion," was one of the founders of the famous "Révue Encyclopédique" and "La Libre Pensée." Later he wrote "Atheism," "England since 1815," "Aryens et Semites," and "La Renaissance du Drame Lyrique."

Vallés, J. B. Clément and Bouis were responsible for another journal, "La Drapeau." The "Avant Garde" had G. Sol, D'Anglés, V. Bergeret, Fontenac, and L. Boileau on its staff. March 20 saw the appearance of "La Commune" by the editors of the "Combat" and "Vengeur." Here are its writers: Odilon, Delimal, Henry Maret, Lullier, Henry Brissac (secretary to the Executive Commission), Rogeard, Milliere and Daubes.

J. B. Bertrand, who also edited the "Moniteur Parisien," brought out the "Triomphe de la République" on the 23rd. The same day Pilotell revived the "Caricature," with its fine cartoons.

"L'Homme," edited by Maretheux, had among its contributors A. Noury, A. Clément, Sarrut, Morel of the "Réveil," and Salvador Daniel, author of "La Musique Arabe." "La Fédération," the organ of the Central Committee of the National Guard, was contributed to by many of its members.

"L'Ordre" was edited by Auguste Vermorel, a brilliant young littérateur whose novels ("Desperanza" and "Amours Vulgaires") and political histories ("Mysteries de la Police," "Hommes de 1848," and "Hommes de 1851") had considerable vogue. He was the founder of the "Courrier Francais," and had contributed to the "Presse," "Liberté," "Réforme" and "Marseillaise." Poor Vermorel died on the barricades for the Commune. Among his assessors on this journal were H. Roullier, Vésinier and Saillard.

On March 26 Gustave Maroteau, another gifted writer, revived "Le Faubourg." It led to his transportation to New Caledonia and to death.

The organ of the Republican Federation, "Le Mont Aventin," was also issued on March 26. Secondigné,

whose pen was known in the "Petite Lanterne," "Pavé," and "Citoyen," was the editor.

The last day of March brought "La Sociale" from the revolutionary press. Its contributors counted Andre Léo, a distinguished authoress ("Mariage Scandaleux," "Une Vielle Fille," "Jacques Galéron," "La Guerre Sociale," &c.), Camille Barrère, and Jacques Cousin.

Other sheets that appeared in March were "L'Actualité" and "La Flèche," whose fine cartoons laid bare the Versaillese.

April opened with a new paper from Maroteau, "La Montagne," a "journal of the Social Revolution." His helpers were Georges Cavalier (an engineer, who wrote in "La Rue"), Milliere, Léon Picard, J. Gouffé, Passedouet (of the "Globe" and "Corsaire"), Pollio, and Oldrini. The organ of the "International," "La Révolution," edited by J. Nostag, appeared on the same day (April 2), for which wrote Masquin, Malon (with a fine article on "Socialisme"), H. Goullé, and L. Laverine. "La Mère Duchêne" came out on April 3. More important was Grousset's new venture, "L'Affranchi," a "journal of free men." Vésinier, Regnard, Courbet the painter, Oliver Pain, Grandier, Charles Dacosta, Kunemann, Rousin and Morot were his collaborators.

Lissagaray, the great historian of the Commune, brought out "L'Action" on April 4, assisted by Henry Maret, afterwards a deputy and editor of the "Radical," and Charles Lullier, an ex-naval officer, who was transported for the Commune. Lissagaray had already tasted prison as a revolutionary journalist, first for the "Réforme" and then for the "Courrier du Midi."

Another effort from Secondigné, St. Léger and H. Lefèvre, called "Le Bonnet Rouge," was dated the 10th. Two days later and "Paris Libre" came on the scene, its writers being E. Morot, Minetti, Devaux, and two others who signed themselves "Hasavérus" and "Junius." The "Ligue du Bien Public" of A. de Bosson appeared on the 15th. On the 19th,

"Le Fils du Père Duchêne" appeared, and "Le Livre Rouge" (Jean la Costa) on the 22nd. This was followed by another journal of Secondigné and Co., "L'Estafette" (23rd), its principal writers being André, St. Léger, Camille Barrère, Geo. Dautray, Leon Hugonnet, H. Lefèvre, Jacques, etc.

On the 23rd, Vermorel's new paper was published, "L'Ami du Peuple." A journal with fine cartoons by Molock, "La Scie," left the press on the 24th, and the "Fédère des Batignolles" the next day. Three days later appeared "La Fronde Illustrée," edited by Bocquillon, and contributed to by Vermorel, Camille Barrère, and Humbert. An old *révolté* of '48, Jules Choux, brought out "La Nemesis Galante" on the 29th. I must not omit the organ of the "Chambers Syndicales"—the "Ouvrier de l'Avenir," which Vailant and Evette issued.

The beginning of May introduced "Jacques Bonhomme," "Le Corsaire," and "Le Bulletin Communal." "The Proletaire" appeared on May 10, with C. G. Jacquetine, E. Parthenay, J. M. Hoche, E. Picard as contributors. A fresh effort by Vermorel—"La Justice"—is also dated the 10th. The following day "Le Drapeau Rouge," from René Girard, and Auguste Petit's "Souveraineté du Peuple" were issued. The "Republicain" came out on the 14th.

The "Salut Public" of Maroteau was cried in the streets on May 16. His assessors were G. Santon and Dillon-Kavannagh. A new "Revolution" was registered the same day by J. J. Danduran, an old revolutionary journalist. On the 17th, "La Rouge" came on the scene, Fondeville, G. Gallet, Belliver, H. Benoist, and Ch. Duplan writing for it.

A new venture by Lissagaray, "Le Tribun du Peuple," dated the 17th, then began, and was contributed to by H. Maret and E. Lepelletier. On the day of the entry of the Versaillese, Odysse Barrot—who had been secretary to Flourens, and since known for his "Contemporary Literature in England," issued

"Le Fédéraliste," assisted by V. d'Argurande and Concevreaux.

The other publications during the Communal régime did not aspire to anything more formidable than a sixteen-page pamphlet. They were mostly *pièces d'occasion*, and served their purpose.

The official publications of the Commune outside of placards were not numerous. The Delegation of the Exterior issued several four-page pamphlets (some by Andre Léo), eloquent pleas for the Parisian Revolution. The Commission of Inquiry concerning the Government of September 4 published three works from the pen of Casimir Bouis.

J. B. Bertrand, the editor of "Le Moniteur Parisien" and "Le Triomphe de la République," was the author of several leaflets during the Commune, notably "Demonstration des droits de la Commune," "Grande manifestation des Compagnons du Devoir" (in favour of *instruction obligatoire*) and "Propositions de Paix."

Auguste Hardy, a disciple of Cabet, issued, among other brochures, "Arrestations des Pretres," "Le Comité Central," a eulogistic account of the proclamation of the Commune, "La Mise en Accusation de Thiers," "Si j'étais la Commune," and "La Mort du Flourens."

A leaflet by Julex Allix, "Au Peuple," is a fervent appeal for the Commune. Another fine piece is an "Oraison funèbre à la memoire des Gardes Nationaux," by F. Dechamps, suggesting a monument in their honour. He was also responsible for a leaflet entitled "Rémise Gratuité par la Commune de tous objets engagés au Mont-de-Piété."

A number of worthy pamphlets came from the Ligue d'Union Républicaine des Droits de Paris, especially the "Discours de M. Thiers," "Aux Conseils Municipaux des Departements," and the "Opinion de la Ligue."

"La Vengeance de Versailles," by Defayet, is a good review of the work of the Commune, whilst "La Versaillaise" is a satirical chanson by Veuillo. A pamphlet, "Le Rachat de la propriété par le payment des loyers," by H. Barnout, the architect, and "La Question du Jour," by Dr. B. Milliot, are also of interest. A notable contribution is "La Paix en 24 Heures," by Victor Considérant.

The ideas of "La Ligue du Bien Public" were contained in a brochure by A. de Bosson. A piece signed Delaurier, concerning "Les Droits de Paris et Versailles," and a "Réponse à M. Thiers," by Levallier, are refutations of Thiers. "A Lettre des Père Raguse," probably by Sapia, is good. A biography of Flourens, the first of a series of "Chefs Révolutionnaires," by Vindex, promised well. Two conciliatory pieces ought to be mentioned, "Ce que veut Paris, ce que veut France," by A. L. G., and "Réconciliation de Paris et Versailles," by Dr. Obriot.

An eight-page pamphlet by "Citoyen Xuorced" displayed a line, "En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis, celui qui n'est pas avec moi est contre moi." Another, by an officer of the National Guard, was entitled "Les Crimes de Versailles et la justice du Peuple."

But I must cry "Halt!" Enough has been said of the *littérateurs* of the Commune, the "vulgar fellows" that the bourgeoisie were so indignant about. Well, even Béranger thanked his lucky stars that he was a "vulgar fellow"!

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The administration of the public libraries, which, we must not forget, had their origin in the great French Revolution, was not likely to be overlooked by the Commune. And so one of its earliest acts was to appoint an "Inspector of Communal Libraries." This post was given to a well-known author and revolutionary journalist, Benjamin Gastineau. He had twice tasted transportation for his writings, whilst among his best known books were "Génies de la

Liberté," "Les Socialistes," "Les Monstres Historique," and "Génies de la Science." One of his first acts was to suppress the lending of books, a system by which, he said, under the Empire the privileged few carved their private libraries out of the public collections. (April 13.)

The Bibliothèque Nationale, which holds a place in France similar to the British Museum in England, was the first to come under the care of the Commune, and it allowed 80,000 francs a month for its upkeep. On April 1, the Commission of Public Safety insisted upon its immediate reorganisation. In the official document, which speaks of the strict intention of the Commune "to carefully preserve for future generations all that which concerns the glory and science of the past," we again see the value of the infamous charge of "the vandalism of the Commune."

The guardian, Taschereau, having fled to Versailles, the Commune appointed one Jules Vincent in his stead. In the reorganisation, difficulties arose on every hand, notably the same evil that troubled every department of public service which the Commune tried to administer—the desertion of officials. At the Bibliothèque Nationale every means was extended to the officials to enable them to continue their services, and by special instructions they were exempted from service in the National Guard. The "Journal Officiel" for April 22 notified those who had abandoned their posts that they were given until May 1 to return or be dismissed. Yet such was the clemency of the much-abused Commune that it did not actually dismiss the absentees until May 11.

Working with so small a staff, and even that assuming a passively refractory attitude, delayed the opening of the library until April 24, when the departments of Printed Books, Manuscripts, Prints, and the Geographical Section admitted the public. The only parts kept closed were those specially protected on account of the siege.

On April 29 Jules Vincent was succeeded by Elie Reclus, a scientist, and elder brother of Elisée Reclus, the eminent geographer, both of whom were militant Socialists. In this country he is known as the author of "Primitive Folk" in the "Contemporary Science Series." A capable student, named Guigard, was named his assistant at the library. Another who served the Commune well at this institution was the Egyptian, Anys-el-Bittar, appointed in charge of the Manuscripts Sections (Arabian and Syriac). The appointment of this man (who was no doubt a specialist in this department), irrespective of his nationality, was only one of the many affirmations of the international principles of the Revolution.

The Commune instructed Gastineau (May 4) to proceed with the opening of the "Bibliothèque Magazine," which was accomplished four days later. The library of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle was also opened on May 15. Among other important libraries specially cared for under the Commune were Sainte Geneviève, Sorbonne, Louvre, Hotel de Ville, Arsenal, and the Palais Royal.

At the fall of the Commune, when the "lawful" guardian of the Bibliothèque Nationale returned to his post, not a book nor MS. was found missing. ("Times," November 30, 1871.) Unfortunately the libraries of the Louvre, Palais Royal and Hotel de Ville (with its beautiful missal of Juvenal des Ursins) perished in the conflagration resulting from the battle in the streets.

Gastineau was transported for having "illegally" assumed office. His later works were "Le Centenaire de Voltaire," "Femmes et les Prêtres," "Les Crimes des Prêtres et de l'Eglise," "Romans du Mariage." Elie Reclus escaped the Versaillese and settled in London. He afterwards became a professor at Brussels, where he died.

It may be asked, what brought all these artists, littérateurs, savants, to the cause of the Commune?

Were they not as much prolétaires as the workman in field or factory? Had they not as much cause to arraign the existing social organisation, which conditions society to mediocrity, compelling them, if they wish to live, to submit to intellectual slavery, as well as wage-slavery, by compromising to this mediocrity? They may not all have been Socialists, or even understood the economic drift of the Revolution. Many of them simply cherished that "discontent" that William Morris spoke of, a hope of better days. But all of them were, had been, or were likely to be, victims of *la misère*! Small wonder that they came to the workmen of the Commune with open arms and said, "Your cause is ours." Jules Vallés, who once placed himself at the elections as the candidate of *la misère*, wrote, "*Misère* without a flag conducts to *Misère* that has a flag."

In 1896, when the historic carnival of the "Bœuf Gras" (fat ox) was revived in Paris, the rebel intellectuals of Montmartre answered by inaugurating the carnival of the "Vache Enragée," (famished cow). "Over against the 'bœuf gras,' father of the Golden Calf, the emblem of the wealth and prosperity of the bourgeoisie," said the promoters of the latter in a public manifesto, "the painters, poets, and *chansonniers* of the Mont des Martyrs have prepared for the pleasure and edification of the Parisiens a spectacle which they call the cavalcade of the 'Vache Enragée,' intended to present the pictures of their struggles, their sufferings, their ideals, their chasings after phantoms their unrealised dreams, their often illusory hopes."

Alas, the carnival of the "Vache Enragée" is no more. Some day it may be revived. Then, perhaps, the rebel intellectuals of Montmartre will pay the long debt of tribute to their brothers, who in one of their "unrealised dreams," sought to free them from the fetters of the "Vache Enragée," in the Commune of 1871.

THE MONTH.

The month has been a very important one both for Socialists in this country and our comrades abroad. Many changes have taken place, bearing witness to the eternal truth of the statement of Heraclitus of Ephesus, that "All things flow." Several things have been flowing pretty quickly, and this particular period of 1911 will not be without its historic interest.

First and foremost is the Conference held in Manchester to bring about the unification of the Socialist forces in this country. The result of the Conference is certainly sufficient to satisfy the most optimistic. Unity has been enthusiastically proclaimed, and the welding together of the different Socialist forces is proceeding apace. Forgotten are all those petty feuds, those petty animosities and hatreds, that for so long have divided the army struggling for the right, and now it is joined together for the last great fight and the glorious victory.

That the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society did not think fit as organisations to take part in the deliberations of the Conference is, of course, to be regretted. Many branches of the first named sent delegates, and it surely will not be long before all who seriously desire the emancipation of the working class and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth will be fighting for their realisation in the ranks of the British Socialist Party.

Last month we referred to the railway strike as the greatest event that has ever happened in modern industrial history. We see no reason to modify that opinion, although the strike, even in its latest phase, the Irish outbreak, has now been "settled," and "industrial peace" once more reigns.

The strike was far more important in itself as a manifestation of the spirit of revolt among the workers than in its results. The latter are very small indeed, and may be said to consist chiefly

in the Royal Commission, which, as is the wont of Royal Commissions, is proceeding with lethargic slowness. If there are to be any material gains to the men they will only come after the Commission has finished its labours. As to the principle of recognition of the unions, which was really the crucial point in the dispute, that may be conceded or advised by the Commission. It certainly was not conceded, as some people fondly imagine, before the strike was closed.

But the strike itself, the revolt, was the thing, and it is encouraging to see that the railwaymen's representatives, sitting in Conference at Carlisle, while they have emphatically endorsed the principle of railway nationalisation, have, not less emphatically, insisted on the maintenance of the right to strike.

At the present time the most insidious attempts are being made to destroy or impair the power and the right to strike. And, unfortunately, representatives of Labour, who should know better, are actually engaged in promoting these attempts to disarm and shackle the organised workers. We Social-Democrats can never be accused of too great liking for strikes. We are perfectly conscious of their risks and limitations and their too frequent futility. But, outside political action, the power and the right to strike; the right to combine together to collectively withhold their labour, is the only means by which the workers can compel any concessions from their masters, or resist capitalist aggression. We doubt the effectiveness of the strike as a means of revolution; but it is the one means which the workers have for resisting reaction, and it must never be surrendered—for the sake of an illusory "industrial peace" or for any other reason.

How much has yet to be done to bring the political action of the workers abreast of their industrial action was shown by the Kilmarnock election. There, in spite of the recent revolt; in spite of the evidence the Government has afforded of the class-consciousness and class solidarity of the master class, and the identity of the two bourgeois political factions when class interests are involved—in spite of all this we find a majority of the workers of Kilmarnock voting for the representative of the Government and of capitalism.

It is really wonderful, and Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill are perfectly justified in regarding the Kilmarnock result

as an endorsement by the working class of the "social reform" fraud of the one, and the bludgeon-and-bayonet policy of the other. Of what account are the fiery denunciations of the Government's brutal policy of repression by Hardie or Lansbury in the House of Commons, or resolutions of mass meetings in Trafalgar Square or Victoria Park, when Ministers can point to so practical and emphatic an endorsement of their policy as that given in the Kilmarnock election?

We are quite willing to admit that the supineness of the Labour Party in the House of Commons and their subservience to the Liberal Government has done much to discourage working-class political action. But, after all, the Parliamentary Labour group are representative of those who elected them, and fairly well reflect the opinions of the mass of their followers. They have not done all they might have done to stimulate and inspire independent working-class action on political lines; and that fact would account for some falling-off and some discouragement. But the point here is, not that the working class have become so disgusted with political action that they don't vote—they do vote; but they vote *for* their masters in preference to voting against them!

The Trades Union Congress this year was chiefly remarkable for the fact that, taking place on the close of one of the most memorable periods of trade union activity and capitalist repression, it entirely failed to rise to the occasion; and, in spite of the protests of a minority, tamely submitted to the patronage of the bought tools of the blood-besmirched capitalist Government. Two good things, however, are to be counted to the Congress for righteousness. It condemned in most unqualified fashion Mr. Will Crooks's "Industrial Peace Bill," and it emphatically endorsed the democratic principle of Proportional Representation, which the Labour Party Conference so contemptuously rejected.

The Trades Union Congress is still the most important and the most representative body of organised labour in this country. But it is overweighted with officialism. The delegates consist too largely of officials, who, through the circumstances of their position, are largely out of touch with the rank and file. It should be possible to modify this state of things by providing that where more than one delegate attends from a union, at least half the delegation shall be from those actually working at the trade, and not paid officials.

The Congress of our German comrades, held at Jena on September 10, and the following week, was chiefly concerned with discussion on the action of the Party in the Morocco question, and towards militarism and imperialism generally. The resolutions of the Congress on this matter left no doubt as to the solidarity of our German comrades with the international movement, although the reference of Bebel to the equal commercial rights of Germany in Morocco sounded somewhat strange from him, and occasioned some approbation from enemies and disapprobation from friends.

After the Jena Congress came a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau at Zurich. It was some gratification to us who have repeatedly urged more frequent meetings of the Bureau, especially in view of the critical situation which has existed in Europe for some time, that this meeting should have been held. While it was not possible to define the tactics to be employed in every country in the face of a war crisis, the general principle of opposing war by every possible means, as laid down in the resolutions of International Congresses, was emphatically reaffirmed.

The need for even more vigorous action, and more definite pronouncements on the part of the Bureau, has been strikingly enforced by recent developments in the European situation. No sooner had a settlement been arrived at in the Morocco affair than Italy made an unprovoked and unwarrantable attack upon Tripoli. It is impossible to say at the moment what will be the upshot of this latest piece of international brigandage. It may be localised, or quickly concluded, but there are in the situation all the potentialities of a European conflagration.

Francisco Madero has been elected President of Mexico. It is some months now since Porfirio Diaz was deposed, and his baneful career will soon be forgotten ; but, as we hinted a couple of months ago, the troubles of Mexico are in no wise ended. With the success of the Maderists Yankee capitalism comes to the fore. Diaz was maintained by the hacendados—big land proprietors. Madero will be maintained by the Standard Oil Company. The three brothers—Francisco, Ernesto, and Gustavo Madero—are all deeply interested in the Waters-Pierce Oil Company—a tentacle of the oil octopus—and there can hardly be any question that the Rockefeller crowd advanced thousands of dollars to assist Madero to crush Diaz on the one hand and the revolutionary Socialists on the other.

THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER.

AT HOME.

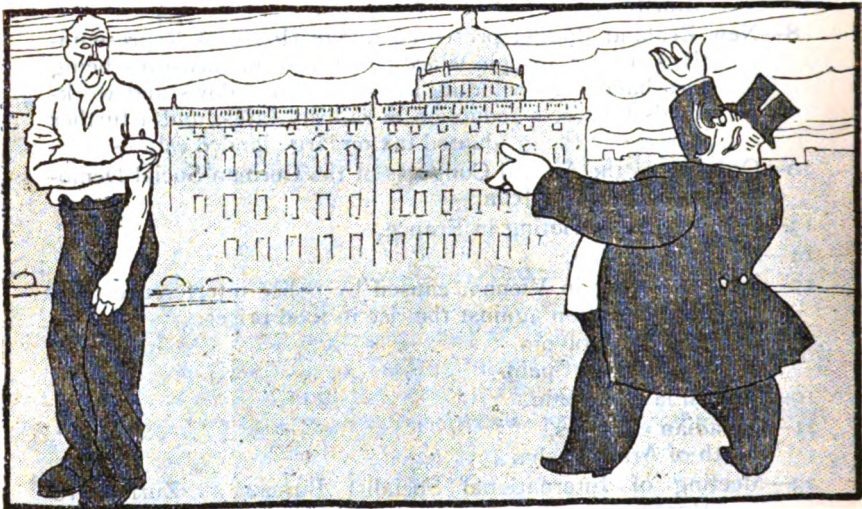
- 1—British Association meeting at Portsmouth.
- 2—Three airmen killed.
- 4—Trades Union Congress opened at Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 5—Heated discussion at Trades Union Congress over the use of military during the recent strikes.
- 6—Trades Union Congress reject resolution in favour of a citizen army
- 8—Death of Mrs. J. R. MacDonald.
- 9—First aerial post.
- 11—Strike of schoolboys.
Annual cavalry training abandoned by Army Council on account of drought.
- 13—Death of Lord Lochee.
- 14—Volunteer police force promulgated.
- 15—Colliery fire in Chester-le-Street, Durham.
- 17—Railway strike in Ireland.
- 18—Irish railway strike spreading all over the country.
- 20—Collision between the Olympic and cruiser.
- 22—North-Eastern Railway Company make a grant of £20,000 to its blacklegs.
- 25—Troops sent to Ireland to intimidate railway strikers.
Home Secretary refuses to permit the Johnson-Wells prize-fight.
- 30—Conference on Socialist Unity at Manchester.

ABROAD.

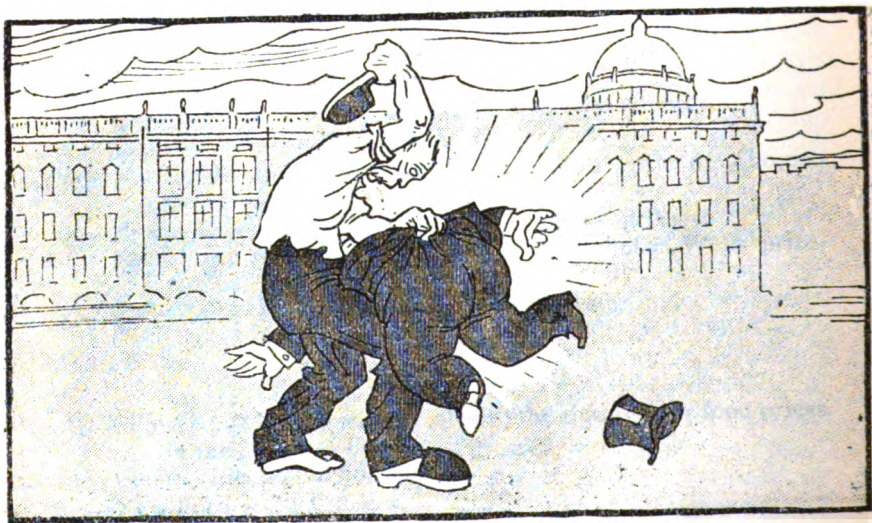
- 1—Ministerial Conference to deal with the rioting over food prices in the North of France.
General Election in Sweden.
- 3—New Portuguese Cabinet.
- 4—Serious food riots in Brussels.
French naval review at Toulon.
- 6—Ex-Shah's forces routed and his general shot.

- 7—Report of the Commission to inquire into the cause of the high food prices laid before the French Council of Ministers.
- 8—New Zealand Budget presented to the House of Representatives by Sir Joseph Ward: new reform measures being foreshadowed, including assistance to widows and workmen's homes, a reduction in railway fares, and a further increase in the graduated tax on large landed estates.
- 10—Opening of the Annual Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party at Jena.
- 13—Continued food rioting in France.
- 14—M. Stolypin shot.
- 17—Serious rioting in Vienna, caused by police interference with demonstration against the rise in food prices.
- 18—Death of M. Stolypin.
Great strikes in Spain.
- 19—Martial law in Spain.
- 21—Canadian elections.
Death of Arabi Pasha.
- 23—Meeting of International Socialist Bureau at Zurich, re Morocco.
- 25—French battleship *Liberté* destroyed by explosion in Toulon Harbour.

A WARLIKE FOLK !



THE JINGO AGITATOR : " War ! War ! Your Majesty has only to say the word and the people will fight for its highest good and for the defence of the national honour ! "



THE WORKER : " That will I ! And this is how ! "

—Wahre Jakob.



REASSURING MOROCCO.

"Don't be afraid, my coloured friend. We shall only each take a little bit."

—*Kikerikt* (Vienna).



A PROMISING CHILD.

—*Lustige Blätter* (Berlin).

FINANCE-CAPITAL AND CRISES.

By KARL KAUTSKY in the "Neue Zeit."

II.—THE CRISES.

(a) THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND THE MEANS OF CONSUMPTION.

(Continued.)

In the question of over-production we have to deal not only with the exchange of commodities, but also with their *consumption*. This plays a determining part here. It is impossible for long to continue producing commodities which find no consumers. But for the consumer it is not the value of the commodities alone that counts, but—and above all—their particular use-value. They interest him as value, as embodiments of general human labour, only in so far as his purchasing power depends upon the amount of values of which he can dispose and the extent of the value of the means of consumption. But he does not buy the things on account of their dearth or cheapness—except perhaps American parvenus, who only buy works of art because, and when, they cost an enormous sum. The ordinary consumer, the consumer who comes under consideration in the production of capitalist mass-production, only buys commodities because he needs them. Their particular corporeal form interests him as embodiments of special kinds of labour—bakers' or shoe-makers' labour, not human labour in general.

If we desire to examine into what conditions must exist if the equilibrium between production and consumption is to be permanently maintained, we must distinguish, above all, between two groups of use-values, which continue to be created from one year's end to another—namely, means of production and means of consumption. Society must create, each year, not only the means of consumption which it needs, but also the means of production which are necessary in order to be able to continue the production of the means of consumption in the following year. Each group must be the complement of the other if there are to be no congestion and disturbances in the circulation of commodities.

Let us take the simplest case, simple reproduction—that is, the production which is not extended, but carried on year after year to the same extent. In order to illustrate this process Marx elaborated a method, which is reproduced here because it plays a great part in the explanation of crises. Hilferding, too, starts out from it. Group I. embraces the production of the means of production, Group II. that of the means of consumption. The constant capital (buildings, machines, raw material, etc.) is called c ; variable capital (the wages of labour) v ; the surplus-

value m. As to the figures, one can think of them as any sum—for instance, as millions of marks.

I. $4,000\ c + 1,000\ v + 1,000\ m = 6,000$ Means of Production.

II. $2,000\ c + 500\ v + 500\ m = 3,000$ Means of Consumption.

Let us assume that the total product of society bears this character. How does the exchange between the two domains take place?

Group I. creates for 6,000—say million marks—means of production. It itself requires 4,000 for means of production. These are bought and sold inside this group. There remain over, means of production for 2,000, which represent labour-wages and surplus-value.

Group II. creates 3,000 means of consumption. If we assume that the capitalists consume their total surplus-value, and the workers their total wages, according to this assumption no extension of the production takes place. Of the means of consumption, $500\ v + 500\ m$ are bought by the workers and capitalists of Group II. There still remain in this group the means of consumption for 2,000. But in Group I. there remain means of production for 2,000. These represent wages for labour and surplus-value; they must be spent on means of consumption. On the other hand, the capitalists of Group II. have to buy means of production for 2,000 if they are to continue the production on the same scale during the following year. The workers and capitalists of Group I. buy from Group II. means of consumption for 2,000, while these buy means of production for an equal amount from the capitalists of Group I., thereby supplying the money for wages and for the realisation of the surplus-value.

If the quantity produced and the purchases and sales in both groups equal each other in this way, there is no over-production.

We here leave the fixed capital out of account, leaving the part it plays to be considered further on. Here, for the sake of simplicity, we are assuming that within a year the total capital is used up and renewed. But how does the thing work in the case of extended reproduction, when the capitalists do not consume the whole of the surplus-value, but hold back a portion of it, in order to carry on the production during the following year on an enlarged scale?

For this Marx gives another scheme, as follows:—

A.

I. $4,000\ c + 1,000\ v + 1,000\ m = 6,000$ Means of production.

II. $1,500\ c + 750\ v + 750\ m = 3,000$ Means of consumption.

B.

I. $4,400\ c + 1,100\ v + 1,100\ m = 6,600\ P.$

II. $1,600\ c + 800\ v + 800\ m = 3,200\ C.$

C.

I. $4,840\ c + 1,210\ v + 1,210\ m = 7,260\ P.$

II. $1,760\ c + 880\ v + 880\ m = 3,520\ C.$

D.

$$\text{I. } 5,324 \text{ c} + 1,331 \text{ v} + 1,331 \text{ m} = 7,986 \text{ P.}$$

$$\text{II. } 1,936 \text{ c} + 968 \text{ v} + 968 \text{ m} = 3,872 \text{ C.}$$

E.

$$\text{I. } 5,856 \text{ c} + 1,464 \text{ v} + 1,464 \text{ m} = 8,784 \text{ P.}$$

$$\text{II. } 2,129 \text{ c} + 1,065 \text{ v} + 1,065 \text{ m} = 4,249 \text{ C.}$$

F.

$$\text{I. } 6,442 \text{ c} + 1,610 \text{ v} + 1,610 \text{ m} = 9,662 \text{ P.}$$

$$\text{II. } 2,342 \text{ c} + 1,172 \text{ v} + 1,172 \text{ m} = 4,686 \text{ C.}$$

Here the total surplus-value is not consumed ; but a portion is allowed to accumulate, and used for extending the production. This, however, does not necessarily involve over-production. The reproduction process continues uninterruptedly. But now it is not, as many suppose, independent of consumption. A steady increase in the consumption is pre-supposed. If an increase of from 6,000 to 9,662 in the means of production created within a year can progress uninterruptedly, the consumption must increase from 3,000 to 4,586. This increase is partially brought about by the growing consumption through the increasing number of workers. The sum-total of wages grows, during the period under consideration, from 1,750 to 2,782. But this is not sufficient. In spite of the accumulation, in spite of the " saving "—that is, the abstinence from consumption—the consumption by the capitalist must also increase. According to the scheme there amounts :—

Annually.		The Total Capital.	Increase over preceding year.	Surplus Value.	Of the Surplus Value is	
					Accumulated.	Consumed.
A	...	7,250	—	—	—	—
B	...	7,900	650	1,750	650	1,100
C	...	8,690	790	1,900	790	1,110
D	...	9,559	869	2,090	869	1,221
E	...	10,514	955	2,299	955	1,344
F	...	12,166	1,652	2,529	1,652	1,877

The consumption amounts to :—

—			Of the capitalists.	Increase over the preceding year.	Of the workers.	Increase over the preceding year.
A	...	...	1,100	—	1,750	—
B	...	...	1,110	10	1,900	150
C	...	...	1,221	111	2,090	190
D	...	...	1,344	123	2,299	209
E	...	...	1,877	533	2,529	230
Total increase			71 per cent.		44 per cent.	

One sees that the consumption by the capitalists must at last rise very considerably if the equilibrium of the production is to be maintained, if over-production is not to result. In the scheme it at last increases faster than that of the wage-workers. In reality, in the given rates of accumulation, the capitalist consumption would have to increase at a still greater pace than is assumed here. For the scheme assumes that the value of labour-power and its exploitation, and the organic constitution of capital, are subject to no changes. But with the growth of accumulation there is also a great increase of the fixed capital at the expense of the variable capital. The former increases faster than the latter. Simultaneously the productivity of labour grows, while the value of labour decreases and its exploitation increases. Thus Item V.—under the given accumulation conditions—will increase slower than is allowed for in the scheme; the consumption by the capitalists must needs increase all the more if the mass of the means of consumption which are produced is always to be used up, and if no congestion is to take place.

Malthus already saw the necessity for a growth of consumption by the exploiters for the maintenance of the equilibrium in the case of the accumulation of capital. He managed to draw from it a fine argument in favour of the rich thieves whose interests lay so near to his heart. It was the function of the capitalists to accumulate. The other function, of consuming on a rapidly-increasing scale as much as was necessitated by the growing accumulation, was not comparable with it. Other classes were there to do that, such as ground-landlords, courtiers, officers, etc., who were wastrels by profession, and had attained a special facility in that art. Their existence was necessary if the accumulation of capital was to proceed without disturbance.

It is indeed a clever argument for the economic necessity of rich wastrels, only, it is true, on the assumption of the necessity of the capitalist method of production itself. But capitalist reality develops tendencies which considerably reduce that necessity for the existence of luxurious idlers.

(To be continued.)

THE REVIEWS.

HOW TO PREPARE FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF A REVOLUTION.

Mr. J. Ellis Barker, the Tariff Reform advocate, has in the "Century" an article on "The Labour Revolt and its Meaning." He twits the Free Traders with the cheap labour which Free Trade has given to Great Britain, and which has proven a curse to the country, which he says has degraded the nation, undermined the physique of the people, and has made for inefficiency in our methods of industrial production, which are incredibly far behind those of the United States.

Mr. Barker, after expressing sympathy with underpaid workers, and his belief that the present revolt of labour is in reality not a revolt against capital but a revolt against cheapness, and against the exploitation of labour under Free Trade, goes on to say :—

"Mr. Mann has at a stroke altered the character and basis of British commerce and industry. He has, perhaps without knowing it, killed Free Trade.

"The most important social reform is not education, or thrift, or better housing, or the promotion of temperance, or workmen's insurance, but higher wages. A man who has to keep a family on twenty shillings a week lives in poverty, and will continue to live in poverty even if all the social reforms promised to him should be introduced. Double that man's income, and he is likely to become a more self-respecting, a more sober and a better citizen, who will insist upon better housing, better clothing, and better education, and who will either ensure himself or provide for his future by thrift. If we double the wages of our workers—and they can be doubled under a Tariff—we shall destroy the worst of our social diseases and improve and elevate the race.

"Of course, we cannot make the people more prosperous merely by doubling their wages. People neither eat money, nor do they wear it on their backs. The prosperity of the people can be increased only by increasing production. By doubling production we shall double prosperity, for the additional articles produced will be consumed. To increase production we must have improved

labour-saving machines. A considerable rise in wages will make the introduction of the best labour-saving machinery indispensable. Thus by increasing wages we shall increase production, and by increasing production we shall increase prosperity. The labour revolt may prove a blessing in disguise. It should prove a most powerful stimulus to commercial and industrial Great Britain, and it may herald the beginning of a new economic era.

"The revolt of labour is apparently only beginning, but the State cannot afford to keep neutral in the coming struggle, because it threatens to endanger its own existence. We must have security that labour will not cripple simultaneously our Army and our Navy, as it threatened to do during the railway strike. Full provision for the immediate militarisation or the temporary nationalisation, in case of danger, of those industries on which our Army and our Navy depend must be made in time of peace. There are more than 100,000 motor-cars and lorries in the country. An alternative means of transport should be created by the War Office, by preparing the organisation of a national motor transport system if the railway service should break down. Our workers must be taught that they have the right to strike, but not the right to terrorise, assault, loot, and burn. The forcible prevention of men from working by huge threatening mobs in the name of 'peaceful picketing' must be stopped, and the people must be taught that the destruction of railway stations and signal-boxes, the tearing up of the permanent way, the cutting of telegraph wires, and attempts to stop and wreck trains are not ordinary incidents of labour warfare, but crimes against Society and the State. A permanent force of Special Constables able to be called out at a moment's notice should be enrolled, and if the national and local authorities should refuse to take adequate measures for the protection of the citizens, the latter must create powerful voluntary organisations devised to repel by force mobs bent on violence and plunder. Lastly, legal proceedings should be taken against those who, from a secure distance, incite the mob to plunder, arson, and civil war. We must prepare for the possibility of a revolution."



WAGES AND THE PRICE OF FOOD.

In the "Contemporary Review" of this month, Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree has a very interesting article on "The Industrial Unrest," in which he quotes figures personally given him by Prof. Bowley, the eminent statistician. The article is written in a sympathetic vein by the author, who believes that the readjustment of the two great economic factors—Capital and Labour—in this country will proceed at a quickened rate, and that with a more even balance of power between the conflicting interests of masters and

men, there is bound to arise greater tolerance and mutual comprehension.

A trade union, says Mr. Rowntree, is not an end in itself: only a means of collective action for bettering those conditions. . . . Let us see what justification they had for being dissatisfied with their lot: Professor Bowley estimates that about 8,000,000 men are employed in regular occupation in the United Kingdom, and that the proportion at various wages is as follows:—

WEEKLY MONEY WAGES OF ADULT MEN IN ORDINARY FULL WORK
(INCLUDING VALUATION FOR PAYMENT IN KIND).

Wage.	Number of Men.	Per cent. of Total Number.
Under 15s.	320,000*	4
15s. to 20s.	640,000	8
20s. to 25s.	1,600,000	20
25s. to 30s.	1,680,000	21
30s. to 35s.	1,680,000	21
35s. to 40s.	1,040,000	13
40s. to 45s.	560,000	7
Over 45s.	480,000	6
—	8,000,000	100

* Mostly agriculture.

These figures show that, including agricultural labourers, nearly a million men are working for wages of less than 20s. a week, and over $1\frac{1}{2}$ for from 20s. to 25s. As the total number of agricultural labourers is certainly under a million, the number of industrial workers earning under 25s. is, according to Professor Bowley's estimate, over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million. But this refers to men in full work, and takes no account of men whose work is either quite casual or made up of a number of temporary jobs of varying duration. There is no doubt that these are to be numbered by hundreds of thousands. In York, with a population of 82,000, a town where there is no reason to suppose that the proportion of casual workers is exceptionally high, there are at least 1,500.

Mr. Rowntree then asks the reader to consider what kind of life is possible for men receiving such wages, and whether there is justification for regarding their condition with complacency. He then details the various items of household expenses, and gives the experiences of various housewives, arriving at the result that the families receiving these wages cannot obtain more than two-thirds to three-quarters of the food necessary for their maintenance in full physical efficiency.

The number of workers at any given moment who suffer from semi-starvation due to unemployment, Mr. Rowntree judges from figures available, probably varies from 2 to 3 per cent. in the best years to 9 or 10 per cent. in the worst. The labourer also suffers from the lack of consideration of his employers and from the petty tyranny of overlookers. . . . There are factories and workshops in which men are goaded to anger by harsh words and unreasonable treatment, and dismissed on the spot if they give a sharp reply. . . . The worker is regarded as a part of the industrial machine, to be bought in the market as cheaply as possible. So long as the parts fit the machine perfectly, it is left in operation ; but if it gets out of adjustment, ever so slightly, it is thrown aside. These, then, are the conditions under which the unskilled workers live and work. It may be said, however, that such conditions have existed for generations, and they are no worse now than they were. Why, then, should men suddenly revolt against them all over the country?

It is worth while to answer this question. First, although for the last two years the wealth of the nation has increased by leaps and bounds, the working classes, generally speaking, are no better off. Day by day they have read in the papers that imports and exports have exceeded all previous records, and that never before have returns been so high. They have been like men who watch a rich feast, in the provision of which they had played an important part, but in which they might not share.

The following figures supplied by Professor Bowley show his estimate of money wages from 1880 to 1910, allowing for the shifting of occupations (that is from agriculture, etc., to better paid industries), and also his estimate of the retail food prices for the same years :—

INDEX NUMBERS.					
Year.	Wages.	Food Supply.	Year.	Wages.	Food Supply.
1880	100	125	1896	115	91
1881	100	124	1897	116	94
1882	103	124	1898	120	94
1883	103	123	1899	123	94
1884	103	113	1900	130	95
1885	101	104	1901	128	96
1886	100	100	1902	126	96
1887	101	95	1903	125	97
1888	104	95	1904	123	97
1889	110	98	1905	123	97
1890	114	96	1906	126	97
1891	115	98	1907	133	98
1892	115	98	1908	130	100
1893	115	96	1909	127	100
1894	115	93	1910	128	100
1895	115	91			

Taking the last four years, it will be noted that while wages have dropped from a level of 133 to 128, food prices have risen from 98 to 100. Different results are, of course, obtained according to the years during which the comparisons are made, and it is in order to give the reader a true picture that the figures are quoted for so long a period. But whatever conclusions may be drawn, it is clear that the drop in wages and the rise in food prices has continued long enough to cause strong dissatisfaction among the workers, especially at a time of exceptional trade prosperity.

A second reason for the present industrial unrest is to be found in the growing discrepancy between the standard of comfort of the labouring classes and of the class just above them. While the man with 18s. to 25s. a week is still forced to spend it as he would have done two decades ago, the man left with a small margin after supplying the demand of physical efficiency, can satisfy a greater variety of desires every year. . . . Apart from the wider range of choice in food and other necessities, it may be said that the advantage which a family with 30s. a week has over one with £1 a week is greater than it ever was before. It is probable that even the luxury of the rich does not rouse in the labourer so acute a sense of the inadequacy of his own resources as the greater comfort and freedom from monotony enjoyed by the class just above him.

Another important factor in the situation and one which is sometimes overlooked in economic argument is the immense change in the industrial situation resulting from popular education. While men cannot read or write, and their mental horizon is narrow, it is possible to keep them virtually in the position of serfs. They can be roused to no persistent effort to improve their lot, although they may occasionally be goaded into revolutionary outbursts. But with education comes a wider outlook. Men learn how others are living, and through books and newspapers see articulate expression given to their own vague feeling that all is not right. The individual learns that he is not an isolated unit at the mercy of invincible forces, but that strong agencies and powerful men are ready to come to his aid. Their fatalism gives place to new resolves and new hopes.

In the "Daily News" of October 5th, Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money traverses the figures of Professor Bowley, who may be regarded as a pure and simple capitalist economist, and whose calculations are always aimed at showing that the working class gets the lion's share of the wealth annually produced. Mr. Money writes :—

THE BOARD OF TRADE FIGURES.

I think the average householder will be surprised to learn that the price of food, giving due weight to the different articles used, has risen only 5 per cent. during the last ten years, and it may be pointed out that the Board of Trade calculations are quite at variance with those of Professor Bowley. In the valuable Blue Book

on "British and Foreign Trade and Industry," Cd. 4,954, published in 1909, the Board of Trade for the first time published an official estimate of the variation of retail food prices in London, based upon carefully calculated data, and the Board of Trade "Labour Gazette" has given us another calculation of the same kind based upon the consumption of 23 principal articles of food. The latter is as follows :—

BOARD OF TRADE ESTIMATE OF VARIATION OF RETAIL LONDON
FOOD PRICES.

1895	93.2	1903	103.2
1896	92.0	1904	104.3
1897	96.2	1905	103.7
1898	100.8	1906	103.2
1899	96.4	1907	105.8
1900	100.0	1908	108.4
1901	101.9	1909	108.2
1902	101.6	1910	109.9
Increase (1895-1910)		17.9 per cent.	
Increase (1900-1910)		9.9 per cent.	

Thus the Board of Trade gives authority for showing that retail food prices rose by 17.9 per cent. and not by only 9.9 per cent. in the last fifteen years, and further, that in the last ten years food prices have risen by 9.9 per cent., and not by only 5.2 per cent.

The differences, of course, are very grave ones, but every man who is poor enough to take an intelligent interest in his household bills will, I think, agree that the Board of Trade calculation is, on the face of it, the more reasonable one.

IMPORTANT CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY EVIDENCE.

An interesting piece of evidence on this head has recently reached me from the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Limited, who have worked out an average weekly family grocery order on various dates. They have taken an average order as consisting of 1lb. of bacon, 2lbs. of butter, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of cheese, 12lbs. of flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of lard, 1lb. of meal, 4lbs. of sugar, and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of tea, and I understand that the prices taken are prices actually paid by the Co-operative Society itself for produce. These are not retail prices, but the rise in retail prices in these articles has been on the whole fully as great as in the wholesale rates.

The society calculate that the above goods cost the purchaser as follows, at the dates named :—

Year.	Pence.
1898.....	63.85
1906.....	67.28
1908.....	70.21
1910.....	72.38
Increased cost for 1906 over 1898 equals	5.37 per cent.
„ „ 1908 over 1898 equals	9.15 per cent.
„ „ 1910 over 1898 equals	13.36 per cent.

It will at once be seen that these figures go to support the Board of Trade evidence that there has been a considerable rise in the cost of food. The Co-operative figures merely deal with groceries, but the Board of Trade figures more completely deal with meat as well as with groceries.

With regard to the expenditure of the remainder of working-class incomes, coal, oil, soap, candles, and many other necessities have also risen. For example, the pit mouth price of average house coal in 1898 was 10s. a ton. Last year it was 13s. 3d. a ton, and in ultimate consumption throughout the country poor consumers probably paid more than this great rise. We have no certain evidence as to rent, but there is no reason to suppose that any change which has taken place was in a downward direction.

The connection between the facts adduced and "industrial unrest" scarcely needs dwelling upon. Look at the movement of wages in London as typified by the following table taken from the Board of Trade Blue Book on "British and Foreign Trade and Industry":—

Year.	Bricklayers and Carpenters. Hour. Pence.	Iron- founders. Week. Shillings.	Fitters. Week. Shillings.	Bricklayers Labourers. Hour. Pence.
1875	9 ...	38 ...	36 ...	?
1880	9 ..	38 ...	36 ...	6
1885	9 ...	38 ...	38 ...	6
1890	9 ...	38 ...	38 ...	6
1895	9½ ...	38 ...	38 ...	6½
1900	10 ...	42 ...	38 ...	7
1905	10½ ..	42 ...	39 ...	7
1909	10½ ...	43 ...	40 ...	7

A very considerable upward movement in wages must take place before we can contemplate the wages position with even limited satisfaction.

The Social-Democrat

A Monthly Socialist Review.



"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."—KARL MARX.



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PEACE AND ITS PERILS.

By H. QUELCH.

I am indebted to our friend and comrade A. A. Watts for his friendly criticism of my recent article, and for the opportunity he has afforded me of enlarging upon the thesis I then formulated, and of, so to speak, dotting its "i's" and crossing its "t's." I had hoped that some others of those who disagree with my conclusions as to the possibilities and perils of peace would have entered the lists on the other side. I can scarcely suppose they found my arguments unanswerable, and so can only conclude that they thought them beneath their notice. I have all the more reason to be grateful to friend Watts.

Even Watts, however, has either failed to clearly appreciate my contentions, or thought them unworthy his attention. He says that what I should have done, in his opinion, "was to have pointed out the dangers and horrors of war, and the dangers and horrors of

peace, and *then* to have definitely chosen one side or the other, and put in a powerful plea for that side."

That, of course, is all very well; but it is quite beside the questions with which I was concerned. I did not set out to depict the horrors of war; that has already been done over and over again by far abler pens than mine. Neither did I set out to describe the horrors of peace; that also has been done ably and frequently. Had I wished to show either the horrors of peace or those of war in their most appalling aspect, I could have done so without writing a line; without taxing my own poor powers of description, by drawing upon the vivid description of talented and accepted authorities. But that was neither my object nor my business. Still less was it my business to "have definitely chosen one side or the other and put in a powerful plea for that side." So far as I did this, naturally and necessarily I declared myself on the side of peace. But that is a very small matter. As a Social-Democrat I could do no other. But there is no merit in that. As a Liberal or a Tory I could scarcely have done any other either. I know of no party which is definitely and avowedly in favour of war. Quite the contrary. All parties profess the most fervent desire for peace. The only difference between them is as to how the object is to be attained. The jingo says, "We don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do," we'll be prepared for it; because to be prepared for war is the best way to assure peace. The pacifist says that the possession of warlike means is in itself a provocative of war, and that the best way to ensure peace is for everybody to disarm.

I was not, in my article, and am not here, concerned with these rival arguments, beyond saying that, like everybody else, I am for peace and against war, but that my opinion, my likes or dislikes, in this connection have as little to do with the case in question as the flowers that bloom in the Spring. I assumed the horrors of war, and also pointed out its utter wastefulness and folly; but then I went on to consider the

possibilities of peace, and the perils which might be found to lurk in the success of the present peace movement. I endeavoured in my article to state the facts of the moment and to suggest what might be their outcome. It was open to any critic to endeavour to show that my diagnosis of the present situation was wrong, and that my forecast of the possibilities of the future was unwarranted; but it was beside the point to complain that I had not definitely chosen one side or the other. If, on leaving home in the morning, I venture to suggest that it is going to be a wet day, I might be assured that I was mistaken and that there were all the signs of a fine one. I should think it rather silly, however, if my observation was met with the objection that, instead of expressing my opinion of what the weather was likely to be, I ought to have "definitely chosen" a fine day or a wet one.

This, although a strange method of reasoning, appears nevertheless to be a very common one. It betokens a childlike capacity for believing what one wishes to believe, and is the usual line of argument adopted by Pacifists. Let any man dare to hint that all the portents threaten war, or that a certain policy is bound to lead to war and should be altered if peace is to be maintained, and he is at once accused of being a scaremonger, of desiring war and of fomenting strife. Thus I am suspect because I did not "definitely choose" peace, and my friend Watts leaves no uncertainty as to the side on which he stands, but assures us that he is not as other men are, "nor even as this publican." "For myself," he says, "understanding the horrors and the reaction of war, knowing something of the horrors and lethargy of peace, *I still unhesitatingly choose the latter.*" Excellent! My own difficulty was that I did not suppose the choice to be left to us, but devoted myself to discussing what appears to be probable rather than what I should wish to be.

We find the same reasoning all through comrade Watts's short article. Thus he says: "I oppose war and all actions likely to lead to war; I emphati-

cally object to armies and navies; to the expenditure on them and the waste of them, even while agreeing that the expenditure might not be spent on social amelioration, and that the waste gives employment." I am sure we are all delighted to have this emphatic assurance of his pacific sentiments from our comrade Watts. But really it was scarcely necessary; and I am egotist enough to suggest that he would have used time and space to better advantage in dealing with my arguments, poor and contemptible as he may have deemed them, than in treating us to this vehement declaration of his own aversion to war.

To my argument, however, Watts devotes just twenty lines, and even in these he makes no attempt to refute my contention as to the possible perils of international capitalist peace.

That being so, I can only conclude that I did not make my point clear. Briefly it is this: That a compact and treaty of peace is possible between all the great World-Powers; that with such a compact and treaty all standing armies might be abolished and all the mighty navies be scrapped; but that then the condition of the great masses of the people might possibly be infinitely worse than it is to-day, and any revolt on their part more hopeless. In other words, I challenged the orthodox Socialist assumption that wars are inevitable under capitalism. It seems to me possible that the great Powers may in the near future realise the stupendous folly of quarrelling and fighting among themselves; just as great capitalist interests have recognised the folly of competition and have combined into great world-wide trusts. But I ventured to suggest that, however desirable peace would be, such a peace might, quite conceivably, be even more harmful to the subject people than war. Time was when we used to speak of competition, with all its waste and anarchy, as the worst evil of capitalism; but no one will pretend that the proletariat has in any way benefitted by the elimination of competition through the combination and trustification of capital which has taken place. The great

capitalist combines and trusts are almost a guarantee of industrial peace, simply because a revolt, which would have been successful against a comparatively small employer, is hopelessly crushed when directed against a trust. In the same way, I can see the combination of the great Powers eliminating all possibility of war, disbanding armies, scrapping fleets, abolishing armaments, and establishing a world-peace which would be the most terrible tyranny that has ever existed on this planet.

Watts says that to suggest the possibility of such a condition of things is only "begging the question." To him it is absurd to argue that armies might be abolished and yet the international police be omnipotent. That is simply because his zeal for peace has outrun his power of discrimination. When we talk about abolishing war and armaments and disbanding armies, I take it we mean what we say. We have in mind the forces maintained to carry on war between nations; we have not at all in mind the forces maintained to preserve order. No pacifist would pretend that the abolition of armies meant also the abolition of the police force. He would, on the contrary, admit that the latter should be sufficiently strong and efficient to keep the peace, repress any disturbance, and maintain the law, in accordance with the established order. Whether the pacifist did or did not agree with that, it is certainly the policy which would be pursued by the various authorities in the capitalist world-State I conceive to be possible. Watts suggests that I contemplate "an enormously increased police force." I do not. I only assume that the authorities will take care to have such a police force as circumstances call for.

Watts says that "the police, as we know it, and almost as we can imagine it, cannot hold down a revolt on anything like a general scale." I am bound to say that I cannot conceive of "a revolt on anything like a general scale" in our capitalist world-State. No revolt would ever be allowed to assume anything like general proportions. It would be nipped in the bud. The

rebels, the agitators, would be reprobated and condemned; the masses, "dumb, driven cattle"—"fairly well housed; fairly well clothed; fairly well fed; fairly well cared for when sick"—comparatively content, would look on in stolid wonder at the unreasonableness of their champions and would join in the execration and condemnation of the discontented disturbers of the peace.

Watts says that we "must risk" "whatever may occur" on the abolition of war. I object to that. "Forewarned is forearmed," and I think we should take steps to guard against any such risk. Watts says that the "net result" of my article is "What's the good of anything?—Nothing." I do not think that is so. I simply set out to show the possibilities of peace and the perils which lurk in those possibilities. If those perils are foreseen they may be guarded against and avoided. I do not say that certain conditions will arise. I only say that they are possible; that we are increasing the possibility by ignoring them, and that it is our duty to do all in our power to avert them.

There appears to me to be too much attention being paid to peace—industrial and international—and not enough to the emancipation of the proletariat from wage-slavery. The consolidation of industrial peace under existing conditions means the perpetuation of wage-slavery. I can see the consolidation of international peace being made to subserve the same end. Nationally we are progressing at railroad speed towards the "servile State." The supineness with which the masses of the people are allowing themselves to be shackled by a soul-destroying, blood-sucking bureaucracy, and the fatuous complacency with which the process is hailed by some of our friends as "Constructive Socialism," are almost enough to make one despair. No Social-Democrat can contemplate the growth and development of this noxious "Social Reform" without apprehension. But the tendency to a world-wide expression of the "servile State" is not less marked. The Anglo-Franco-Russian alliance has practically

killed the Russian revolution at the same time that it has aided French filibustering in Morocco, British despotism in India and Egypt, and the Russo-British spoliation of Persia. The shameful and unprovoked invasion of Tripoli by Italy, again, affords a striking and tragic illustration of the perils of a peace compact between the great Powers. That piece of cynical brigandage could never have been entered upon without the consent of the "Triple Entente" and of Italy's two partners in the Triple Alliance.

I have by no means exhausted the subject ; but I hope I have said sufficient to call attention to what I regard as a very real danger. War is horrible, but war is not the worst evil that can befall mankind. Nor is death. We must all die. I can conceive of a capitalist peace far worse than war ; of a life of slavery for the race, far worse than death. Wolves hunt in packs, and the greater the harmony between them the worse for their prey. Social-Democrats rightly strive for peace, but the overthrow of capitalism is of vastly more importance than the maintenance of peace between capitalist Powers.

THE MYTH OF THE OVER-POPULATION OF THE WORLD.—(*Concluded.*)

By JNO. RHIND.

We will now turn our attention to evolution in cattle and sheep-breeding. We find that so late as the seventeenth century "it was only at the wane of the summer that the cattle were more than skin and bone. From Michaelmas onwards they steadily declined in condition and only survived the winter in a state of semi-starvation." This was owing to the bad state of agriculture, the farmers being unable to raise a sufficient supply of food for their cattle during the winter months.

"The roast beef of old England, for the enormous majority of the people, consisted of the worn-out oxen or aged cows that were slaughtered in the autumn, when at their fattest, and salted for winter consumption."

"Sheep were valued more for their wool than their mutton, and cows for their milk, breeding, or draught purposes."

We know that in the Middle Ages the wool of the sheep was often called the "golden fleece." Yet, even in this case, we find that the average weight of wool taken from one sheep is far more to-day than in the seventeenth century—7 lbs. to 14 lbs.

We further find that, through selection and scientific breeding, the weight of cattle and sheep has increased enormously. The weight of cattle and sheep sold in Smithfield Market was—

	1710.	1795.	1910.
Beeves ...	370 lbs.	800 lbs.	1,100 lbs. to 1,400 lbs.
Calves ...	50 lbs.	148 lbs.	300 lbs.
Sheep ...	28 lbs.	80 lbs.	140 lbs. and upwards.
Lambs ...	18 lbs.	50 lbs.	70 lbs.

Here, then, we have an increase in the weight of cattle since 1710 of nearly 400 per cent. ; and, in the case of sheep, of 300 per cent.

During the ten years from 1803 to 1813 the agricultural produce of Great Britain increased one-fourth. Yet who dare say that we have reached the maximum ? With regard to pigs I have no statistics, but am inclined to think the increase in weight during the same period is even greater than that of cattle and sheep. One has only to visit the Royal Agricultural Show to see pigs an ell (1½ yards) in length, and whose bodies are so big that they nearly touch the ground, having a girth of about three yards.

In further proof of man's power, through the aid of science applied to breeding, to increase his food supply, we may instance the "long-tailed" sheep.

"The fat-tailed sheep is found in Asia and Africa, in Syria, India, and China, also in Barbary ; and such large numbers are raised in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope that it is often known as the Hottentot sheep. This sheep is of small size, with soft and short wool. Its peculiar characteristic is the enormous development of its tail, by the growth of a large mass of fat on each side of the lower part of this appendage. This is sometimes so great that the tail alone has been known to weigh 70 lbs. or more. The tail is esteemed a great delicacy for food, and to protect it from being injured by being dragged on the ground the shepherd often places it upon a board or small truck with wheels, which is attached by a light string harness to the body of the animal" (Lemon).

The above seems almost incredible and impossible, but many of us have a deal to learn. We must now pass on to another aspect of our inquiry.

The three essentials of life are (1) food, (2) clothing, (3) shelter. Having briefly—owing to the space at our command—disposed of (1) and (3), it now remains for us to inquire as to the means at our disposal to provide ourselves with the wherewithal to cover our nakedness.

Of the entire human race it is estimated that 500 millions are well clothed—that is, they wear garments of some kind; 250 millions habitually go naked, and 700 millions only cover parts of their bodies; and 500 millions live in houses, 700 millions in huts and caves, and 230 millions have virtually no shelter at all. Thus we see that only one-third of mankind are fully clothed and also live in houses, yet we are reckoning as though all the people in the world required the maximum amount of food, clothing and shelter. But under no conceivable condition will the people in the tropics require the same amount of the necessaries of life as those who inhabit the temperate and arctic regions.

What, then, are the means at our disposal for clothing humanity? The cotton mills of the world contain about 120 million spindles, more than 50 millions of which are in Great Britain—almost wholly in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire—the number of looms being roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of which some 750,000 to 800,000 are in the British Isles, again mainly in the counties named. Thus, about two-fifths of the number of spindles and one-third of the looms are in England. Of course there are other spindles and looms in those countries where home industries flourish, but these latter are as nothing compared with those in the world's cotton mills.

To show the capacity for production of these millions of spindles and looms, which man has invented for the clothing of his body, it will, perhaps, better illustrate this part of our inquiry if we relate the conclusion arrived at on this question by Mr. William Hoyle, a Lancashire manufacturer of high repute. Writing in 1870, he gives the number of spindles for cotton spinning as 32,000,014 and the number of looms as 379,329. He says:—

“When labour is rightly applied and reasonable economy is practised, the accumulative power of human industry is something marvellous. If we take agriculture—in which there has probably been the least improvement, and where, up to the present time [1870], machinery has been less applied than in other departments of labour, one man will cultivate sufficient land to produce food for the support of at least 20 persons.

“In the manufacture of clothing, owing to the great extensive application of machinery, there is much greater productive power. If we take the production of cotton goods as an example, I find that a cotton mill containing 800 looms and employing 667 hands (most of whom are females and many of them children from 9 to 15 years of age) will produce more than 7 million yards of calico per annum. The average consumption of calico during the year 1868-9 by the people of this country was not more than 18 yards per head; so that, dividing the quantity produced among the workers, we find that one person will produce as much cotton cloth as will supply at least 550 people. These remarks apply with equal force to the manufacture of other articles of clothing; so that, taking the whole of what man needs in the shape of clothing, it may be safely asserted that one person will produce as much as will supply at least 50 people.

“In addition to food and clothing, there only remains to be provided houses to dwell in and furniture to stock the houses with. After carefully investigating this matter, I feel safe in assuming that to supply these would, at the outside, require no more labour than is necessary in providing our supply of food. If so, then the total amount of labour needed to provide for our wants will be as follows: Food, half-an-hour's labour daily; clothing, 15 minutes' labour daily; houses, etc., half-an-hour's labour daily—that is, assuming every person did their share, a total of one and a-quarter hours' daily labour would suffice to supply us in abundance with all the comforts of life. The progress of invention and the increasing applica-

tion of machinery are daily reducing even this amount of labour, so that the part which has now mainly to be played by man is simply to superintend the machinery which does the work."

One sometimes thinks that even we Socialists, who so often assert—and with truth—that wealth can now be made literally as plentiful as water, do not fully realise with what ease and to what extent all the necessities of life can be produced. Nor does this exhaust our case; for we must remember that during the 40 years which have elapsed since William Hoyle—Manufacturer, Free Trader and Individualist—wrote the above, our power of production of clothing and all other necessities of life has in many cases increased hundreds per cent.—yea, in some instances, even thousands!

If we take boots as an example, we find, with the aid of machinery, a pair of boots have been made from the raw material in 17 minutes.

It has been calculated that, by the division of labour, man's yearly supply of wheaten flour (eight and a-half bushels) has been produced in a working day of twelve and a-half hours.

In 1830, we are informed, a printer with his hand press produced about 250 four-paged newspapers; whereas the modern newspaper-printing machine, with about twelve attendants, will produce some 24,000 sixteen-paged newspapers per hour, in addition to which it will fold them and count them out in dozens ready for sale.

Furniture can now be made with such ease with the aid of machinery that it appears to grow before one's eyes.

Or think of the corn-cutting machine, which not only cuts the wheat, but also gathers it into sheaves, each of which it ties with string, makes the knot, cuts the string, then spreads the sheaves out at regular intervals of space to dry in the sun. And so on, in a greater or less degree, in all our industries. To enumerate a tithe of them would be a waste of space.

SUMMARY.

It now remains for us to summarise our inquiry into this over-population myth.

Firstly—We find that not only is there no world problem of over-population, but that there cannot possibly be one until some remote period, if at all, there being, comparatively speaking, so few people in the world that the area of Greater London would be more than sufficient to allow every human being in the world standing-room.

Secondly—(a) That the area of England and Wales is sufficient to house, at eight to an acre, ideally the whole of mankind on sanitary and hygienic principles, each house standing on its own ground ; (b) 20 to 24 months' labour would be sufficient to provide shelter for the whole of one's life, calculated on the division of labour.

Thirdly—(a) That with the present state of agriculture one acre of land will supply one individual with all the food he requires ; (b) at this rate 2,400,000 square miles of land would suffice to feed the whole of the world's population—1,500 millions ; (c) although man's means of procuring the necessities of life have doubled many times during the last few centuries, they still appear to increase in proportion as he increases his knowledge of the "laws of nature" ; (d) we have an almost inexhaustible supply of food in the nut trees of the world, nuts combined with other ingredients making a most pleasant and nourishing diet ; (e) if agriculture in general was carried on according to the latest scientific methods, food supply would immediately be increased at least to twice that of to-day ; (f) the sea is an unlimited source of food supply.

Fourthly—In 1870 it was calculated that one person could raise enough food for 20 people. So that to-day one man could supply at the fewest 50 persons ; and, consequently, the area of land required to sustain an individual is a diminishing quantity.

Fifthly—That a generation ago it was estimated one could produce sufficient clothing for 50 men, women and children. To-day the output is fully twice that of half a century ago.

Sixthly—That furniture and other household requisites can, with the aid of machinery, be brought into existence as though by magic.

Seventhly—Over a century ago Franklin, the great American patriot, declared it as his opinion, if all men did their fair share of labour, five hours would be sufficient to supply all individuals with the comfort now accessible for the few only.

William Hoyle's basis of one and a quarter hours per individual gives six hours' labour per family for an abundance of all the necessities.

Thorold Rogers informs us that in the fifteenth century ten weeks' labour of an artisan, and 14 weeks' labour of an agricultural labourer, would provide them with all the food they required for a whole year.

Lastly—It is safe to say that 500,000,000 spindles and 30,000,000 looms would produce more clothing than could rationally be consumed by the human family.

Thus we see, to raise our foodstuffs at one acre to an individual, the land required would be—

Area	...	...	...	...	...	2,400,000 sq. miles.
To house 300,000,000 families at 8 to an acre						60,000 "
Accommodation for working 500,000,000 spindles and 30,000,000 looms—the area of Scotland and Ireland would be ample	...	...	...	...	...	60,000 "
If we allow for the making of machinery, furniture, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	480,000 "
We have a total of						3,000,000 sq. miles.

Three million square miles, then, is sufficient to provide the world's population with all the food, clothing and shelter they require as rational beings.

This is roughly equal to the area of Australia. Yet the land area of the globe is 52 millions of square miles. Surely, then, if this be true, the writer is justified in describing the "over-population of the world" theory as a myth.

This estimate is rather under than overdrawn, allowing ample amount of whatever is naturally required. For, as has been said, superfluous wealth can only provide superfluities. Yet—

**"Man's rich with little were his judgment true ;
Nature is frugal and her wants are few."**

The conclusions arrived at in this essay may astound and raise doubts in the minds of many, so I here give a list of authorities :—

- 1.—Prince Kropotkin's "Fields, Farms and Factories."
- 2.—William Hoyle's "Our National Resources and How they are Wasted."
- 3.—Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages."
- 4.—Brodrick's "English Land System."
- 5.—Traill's "Social England" (6 vols.).
- 6.—General (William) Booth's "Darkest England."
- 7.—Don Lemon's "Curious Facts."
- 8.—Medical Journal ("Family Doctor").
- 9.—Official Returns.
- 10.—Press Gleanings, etc., etc.

Reference to the above will enable the reader to verify the statements herein. The rest is simply a matter of arithmetic.

KARL MARX AND METAPHYSICS.

By JAS. B. LAURENCE.

"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."—KARL MARX.

There have been, and still exist, many loose statements, frequently begging to be considered as axioms. They exist in religion, history, philosophy, economics, and even in science. Science, which includes all thought, and is not exclusively, as some teaching authorities seem to think, merely the pouring of one liquid into another, I should consider worthy of the highest attention. Yet science, so far at least as some teaching organisations and departments paid for its propagation are concerned, seems to be to some extent degenerating into a fetish and a superstition. Religion, were it only from the multitude of the clergy, deans, bishops, nonconforming ministers, and others paid for its dissemination and formulation, should be an important concern. But debarred nowadays, in many cases, by increasing knowledge from insisting on the dogma of a crucified deity, and yet wanting the ability to formulate any other doctrine new and true, they preach any flimsy idea that starts up in their heads. For instance, we are told that the leading of an unselfish, or, as some of the utterly unreasonably pious call it, a "selfless" life, is the only way to get to heaven. Not considering that if their leading an unselfish or "selfless" life is done for the selfish purpose of reaching

heaven, they will be entirely precluded, by their own argument, from eternally playing the same eternal tune on golden harps in that celestial paradise. If they could give instances or examples of anyone who had arrived at heaven by that method, it would be all right, for, of course, an ounce of fact would be worth a ton of ratiocination. But as it is, their argument is self-contradictory and their facts are zero. It may seem comical to the thoughtless and flippant mind to give a thing a false meaning and then to denounce it as devilish, and even hellish.

I am far from comparing Karl Marx with a Methodist preacher. But the greatest philosophers, as we have overwhelming evidence, are only men. I forget how many thousand great and learned men and even philosophers tried of old to define what was the "Greatest Good"; and despite their oceans of arguments and supplemented, perhaps, by our incomparably profounder modern philosophers—say, for instance, *facile princeps* those of Germany—I am not aware that the question is yet settled. Karl Marx also gave to the world the startling statement which I have put at the head of this paper, but omitted to give any facts or illustrations in support of it; he disdained to do what I have supposed the above Methodist class-leader to have done; he did not even give us a shred of argument.* In this respect he has followed the great German philosopher, Kant, in his monumental and miraculous work on "Pure Reason," which must be wonderfully Pure Reason indeed, since it contains nothing to reason upon, and which, as Huw Menai says in another connection, completely washed out Hume, whom we had formerly been so silly as to consider one of the very acutest of philosophers. Now, Kant says, in regard to the necessity of illustrations to philosophic argument:—"As regards *clearness*, the reader *has a right* to demand examples, or other modes of illustra-

* This is incorrect. Marx supported his theory with a wealth of fact and argument.—ED.

tion, in concrete." That is a tolerably strong statement, but Kant is not content with that, for a little further on he makes another unqualified statement, viz., "Examples and illustrations *always* appeared to me *necessary*." Yet, after such unqualified observations, will it be believed that he omits to give one of those "necessary" examples and illustrations! and that for what—after such statements—are glaringly no reasons at all. I have thought, and think, that Kant did not give those "examples and illustrations" because he could not, and because if he had tried to give them they would have proved not "examples and illustrations," but pins to prick holes in the bladder of his "Pure Reason." I speak with some feeling because his so-called Philosophy gave me a good deal of trouble and even mental pain in my younger days; though perhaps, in the long run, it turned out "all for the best." So with Marx's theorem. If by economic exchange is meant the exchange of commodities, money as a representative of commodities, or, in other words, buying and selling, some appearance of its truth may perhaps be seen in India. We hold India, of course, entirely and only for the good of its people, and I suppose we would be delighted to appeal, if necessary, to St. Michael and all the archangels that that is our only and heavenly aim. There seems little doubt, however, that our holding India is not for such lofty motives, but for buying and selling with the natives thereof, and that therefore it affects our politics with regard to that Imperial dependency, and affects the thoughts and feelings of the natives with regard to us. So also, when slavery existed in America, the idea of buying and selling human beings, and regarding them as mere "commodities," must have had a degrading effect on that portion of the nation which trafficked in them. Likewise, to regard what is injurious, such as opium, as commodities to be trafficked in must also have a degrading influence upon politics and the intellect. But that buying and selling generally, which exists all over the world, has caused such widely different effects

as Brahminism, Buddhism, Fetichism, Babism, Mohammedanism, Christianity, Idealism, Materialism, Mormonism, High Church, Low Church, No Church, Theology, Neology, the Faith Cure, Science, Art, Literature, Baptists, Quakers, and all the other thousand and one forms of thought, and want of thought, and "ists" and "isms," seems to me a mere fiction of the imagination. I, myself, have vastly changed in my opinions and beliefs since I was a boy, and all under the same "mode of economic production and exchange." I am inclined to think that Marx put in the statement in question as a mere flourish, to make his book look philosophical and deep; or he was perhaps thinking of Kant, for he, too, was a German. I should not have written in this light and airy way if I had thought that this statement of Marx in the least strengthened Socialism. Rather I think it is a weakness; for a person who could easily refute it might think, and even boast, of his having thereby overthrown one of the strongholds of Socialism.

So far I partly agree with Huw Menai; but our friend has undertaken to disprove Socialism as a whole, and, indeed, almost everything in general, by means of Metaphysics. I leave the defence of Socialism on ordinary grounds to profounder minds, and to those who are better acquainted with its principles. The metaphysical argument is what interests me—that is to say, whether metaphysics can disprove Socialism; or, indeed, whether it can prove or disprove anything at all. The word "Metaphysics" means, by its derivation, something to be taken, observe—not after physic—but—after physics. Indeed, truly, it means etymologically something to be taken after Nature. So that properly, to pursue it, you must first carefully remove all facts, and annihilate the whole of Nature, and then proceed to argue on what little—if anything—remains. If, then, I venture to make a few comments on Huw Menai's papers, I think it possible, and probable—nay, even certain—that I shall get as much beyond my own depth as Huw Menai has got beyond his. And I would

begin this process by stating that I quite agree with Socrates that I know nothing, and know that I know nothing ; being different from the generality of men, who also know nothing, but think they know something. I also agree with Kant that I know nothing "in itself"—nay, I would go further than Kant, and say that I do not even know whether anything does exist "in itself." So that, after confession of this total incompetence and general condition of ignorance, it will surely be admitted by the most prejudiced mind that I have gigantic ability to solve the profoundest questions of metaphysics—at least as well as any metaphysician subsequent to Kant.

Huw Menai objects to Haeckel's believing in such a substance as "Substance." Now, I do not think with Huw Menai that Haeckel meant substance in the ordinary or material sense, but rather meant some sort of substratum different from, but in some sort of unexplained way underlying, matter and mind. Haeckel did not know of any Substance of this sort. It was just what the learned call a hypothesis of his, or what ordinary people call a guess, to fill up the "vacuum" that he did not know about. It is perhaps to be desired that learned people should employ the word "guess," instead of "hypothesis," to prevent ignorant people from thinking they have found out something when they have not found out anything. I do not wonder that Huw Menai is down upon Haeckel for this. But the curious thing is, that, after denouncing Haeckel's "Substance," Huw Menai brings forward unexpectedly an underlying "Substance," hitherto concealed, of his own, which he calls "spirit." Now, I would be inclined to receive a good deal of science from Haeckel's word, for he really seems to know an immense quantity of science. But when it comes to metaphysics, I am chary of the metaphysics even of Haeckel. For Huw Menai will be surprised to learn that Haeckel is not to be outdone by him, for he has his "spirit" as well as Huw Menai. I am not to be supposed, in the smallest degree, to deny "spirit."

But, since they know so much about it, I think Haeckel and Huw Menai are bound to tell us what it is. I think I might safely venture to say that every exhibition of spirit from the earliest ages of the world has been purely material and physical. The spiritualists' spirits rap physical raps on a material table. Hamlet's father's worthy spirit walked about on physical legs, carrying a material body. It was clad in "complete" physical "steel." It had a physical body, which at times was able to be tormented by material fire and brimstone. And as one reads the story one thinks that Shakespeare had sufficient imagination to paint a "spirit," if any man could. Then, if one goes to the Bible for "spiritual" information, we are told (1 Samuel, xxviii., 14) that the spirit of Samuel raised by the witch of Endor had on a material cloak. In the first chapter of Genesis, the word "spirit" means only "breath." In the Revelations, all the descriptions of heaven are entirely material. In dictionaries, "spiritual" is merely stated to be "immaterial," which, if they knew what spirit was, is no definition at all, or, perhaps, they thought the matter was quite "immaterial" in the other sense. Our spiritual guides, such as the bishops and archbishops, have no "immaterial" or "spiritual" look. Quite the opposite. I am not here concerned to prove, or even to say, that there is no spirit. What I say is, that metaphysicians who talk of spirit with such easy familiarity know nothing about it. If there be a God, as I do not doubt, I would say that such an infinite Being must necessarily be beyond our finite comprehension, and, with Spinoza, that "to define God is to deny him." We must have great minds if we know so much about infinity and eternity and "spirit." But if, on the other hand, we cannot know, as Huw Menai says, that twice three are six without a special *à priori* revelation from Almighty God, our calculating powers must be poor indeed. In that case, it is difficult to know how our school arithmetical classes get on, who tackle greater sums than "twice three are six," and even decimals and fractions,

and yet not a word said of *à priori*. I notice that Socialists say Mr. Lloyd George has made a mess of arithmetic in his Insurance Bill; perhaps his want of *à priori* is the cause of his deficiency. Huw Menai craves for a "unity" in order to find out that twice two are four. I should be inclined to think that that unity is Memory, and not *à priori* at all.

Huw Menai says that "the existence of two infinities will be admitted by everyone to be unthinkable." I presume he would say the same about the eternities, so let us begin with eternity. I suppose a portion of time might be defined as the "length" of time (which, though a common expression, seems somewhat self-contradictory) in which something is acted or endured. Now, if there were only space, and nothing to act or endure, I do not see that time could exist. But, of course, I could not prove this, for, on such a supposition, I would not exist myself, and therefore could neither see whether time still continued, nor could even think on the subject at all. But to pass from that question, it is commonly said that there are two eternities: the eternity that is past, and the eternity that is to come. I do not suppose that it is thinkable either that everything had a beginning, or that everything had no beginning. But if nothing that exists had a beginning, I think I might hazard the conjecture that there has been an eternity which has passed. Even although that eternity stops at the present moment, or, what seems a contradiction, that it has an end. If so, any time after the present moment afore-mentioned makes more than eternity, which seems strange. Then as to the future so-called eternity, there can be no future eternity, for, before it can be eternity, it must have an end, and eternity has no end. But, on the other hand, if time be infinitely divisible, is not every moment a separate eternity?

Then, with regard to the infinities being only one infinity—supposing it to be infinite. In that case, everywhere I look is infinite. If I look to the North, infinity stretches out before me. If I face round to the

South, infinity stretches out before me. That is a second infinity. So from every point of the compass; and from every infinity of points, even those that the compass does not mark, there stretches infinity. Does it not seem as if, while there is one infinity, there is also an infinite number of infinities? There are also the infinitely greater than I, and the infinitely smaller than I. Also, if the infinite divisibility of matter be true—that is, that nothing can be cut so small but that it still retains its whole, its half, its quarter, its infinite number of fractions—then is everything infinite, and there is an infinite number of infinities. A certain great “materialistic” philosopher denies this, because, he says, a time will come when the upper side of the thing divided will become the under side also, which, if that be true, seems, perhaps, if possible, to be more infinitely wonderful still. But it only proves, to my thinking, that a materialist can become a metaphysician also when it suits him.

I have only begun, but on looking at the number of pages, I am afraid that my beginning must be my end. I had a great deal more to say on a variety of subjects, particularly, perhaps, on Huw Menai's objections to Marx as a “materialistic” philosopher. I respectfully think that metaphysicians do not see further into nature than materialists. But Metaphysics will be of service if it can teach us that in reality we can know nothing. For instance: because we may, let us say, march untold billions of miles into space and still imagine further space, therefore, metaphysicians imagine that space is infinite. But those billions of miles give no more idea of infinity than would a walk from one end of our room to the other. However, this seems to be the mysterious world we have somehow got into, without any consent of ours being asked.

Montaigne mentions a trial by Coras, a Calvinistic judge, who sentenced a man, probably a Catholic, to be hanged for an offence so mysterious and incomprehensible that the judge himself did not understand it. For which sentence Montaigne appears to think that,

under the circumstances, it would only have been reasonable if the judge had sentenced himself also. Montaigne recommends a form of decree to run thus—"The Court knows nothing of the matter"; and he refers, not without approval, to the Areopagite Court who, finding themselves perplexed with a cause they could not unravel, ordered the parties to appear again after a hundred years. So, perhaps, metaphysicians might postpone consideration of other matters until they have first proved the fact of their own existence.



"And is Man any the less destroying himself for all this boasted brain of his? Have you walked up and down the earth lately? I have; and I have examined Man's wonderful inventions. And I tell you that in the arts of life Man invents nothing; but in the art of death he outdoes Nature herself, and produces by chemistry and machinery all the slaughter of plague, pestilence and famine. The peasant I tempt to-day eats and drinks what was eaten and drunk by the peasants of ten thousand years ago; and the house he lives in has not altered as much in a thousand centuries as the fashion of a lady's bonnet in a score of weeks. But when he goes out to slay, he carries a marvel of mechanism that lets loose at the touch of his finger all the hidden molecular energies, and leaves the javelin, the arrow, the blowpipe of his fathers far behind. In the arts of peace Man is a bungler. I have seen his cotton factories and the like, with machinery that a greedy dog could have invented if it had wanted money instead of food. I know his clumsy typewriters and bungling locomotives and tedious bicycles; they are toys compared to the maxim gun, the submarine torpedo boat. There is nothing in Man's industrial machinery but his greed and sloth; his heart is in his weapons."—From "Man and Superman," by G. B. Shaw.

THE MONTH.

The British Socialist Party, the united party launched at the Manchester Conference held at the beginning of October, is gradually "finding itself." The constitution drawn up by the Provisional Committee has been submitted to the different organisations concerned, and so far has met with universal approbation. There is every prospect, therefore, of the Party being fully constituted by the end of the present month, and in full working order by the beginning of the New Year.

The consolidation of Socialist forces which the advent of the new Party represents has naturally caused some excitement, not to say alarm, in certain quarters. The new Party will be by far the largest organised body of Socialist opinion in this country, and by definiteness of principle and objective, clearness of policy, and catholicity of outlook it is bound to attract not only unattached Socialists, but those individuals and sections at present attached to less definitely Socialist organisations.

The political paragraphist of "The Times," among others, made an interesting discovery—i.e., that as soon as the so-called "split" in the Labour Party became known, emissaries of the British Socialist Party were busy lobbying with a view of inducing the four dissident members to form a separate group representative of the B.S.P. in the House of Commons. That was very funny indeed. The British Socialist Party welcomes all comers, and whomsoever may come, even dissident members of the Labour Party, it will in no wise cast out. But no Socialist ever supposed for a moment that there was any real split in the Labour Party, or supposed the little family quarrel to be worth a second's consideration.

We Social-Democrats, who have been chiefly instrumental in bringing about unity, have come in for our full share of the criticism which has been levelled at the united Party. There is

nothing wonderful in that. It has been our almost invariable experience that whatever we did was wrong, from the point of view of our critics. Having striven in vain to secure the co-operation of the I.L.P. in our efforts towards unity, we had to go ahead without it. That, it appears, was a most blameworthy proceeding. It might be suggested, of course, that if blame attached to anybody it would be to those who rejected any suggestion of unity. Not at all. By such rejection, it appears, they only displayed their courtesy, their magnanimity, and their toleration! We were the culprits for daring to push our efforts for unity as far as possible, and—still worse!—to do so successfully.

We are now told, among other things, that we should have joined the Labour Party, and in that way have sought to bring about Socialist unity! Had we done so, however, we should have been told, as we have been told scores of times, that we were animated by the sinister design of turning it into a Socialist Party, and that any such design would be treachery to the Party constitution.

In spite of that, and in spite of the fact that the Socialists in the Party have explicitly and repeatedly repudiated any such design, and have hotly resented any attempt to make the Labour Party a Socialist Party, we are now condemned by our friends for not having joined the Labour Party and helped these good Socialists to do what they have vehemently declared they had no wish or intention of doing.

It is absurd to suppose that we alone—not only without the co-operation, but with the active opposition of these other Socialists—could convert the Labour Party into a Socialist Party. We couldn't do it when we tried, and when it was far easier than now, by reason of the fact that the Party had not travelled so far along the wrong road, and had not been committed thereto by five years of subserviency to Liberalism by its Parliamentary group.

The idea is rather more illusory than that with which a girl sometimes marries a confirmed drunkard and debauchee—the idea that she is going to reform him. That very seldom happens. It does, however, sometimes; but only when the man is really in love with the girl, and disgusted with his evil courses. But the Labour Party is certainly not enamoured of Social-Democracy or Social-Democrats; neither is it disgusted with its Liberal liason. On the contrary, this is flaunted at every conceivable opportunity,

not less by the avowed Socialists in the Party than by the mere Liberals.

And that is not a mere accident ; it is, so to speak, the " nature of the beast." The Labour Party is out, not for Socialism, but for Social Reform. Now, the Social Reform beloved of the Liberal Party is devised to injure Socialism, and to hinder its progress. According to the Labour Party, however, Liberal " Social Reform," deliberately calculated to stem the tide of Socialism, is really Socialism in the making—" constructive Socialism " !

We see that in the case of the Insurance Scheme. This is so obviously a swindle that it has been condemned by practically all the working-class organisations in the country ; but the Labour Party supports it. We are frequently told that we ought to be in the Labour Party—because, whatever its shortcomings, it is the political expression of the organised working-class movement. In this connection, however, no one can deny that we Social-Democrats much more accurately represent the opinions of the working class than does the Labour Party.

In spite of that, the Insurance Bill will be forced through, and forced through with the help of the Labour Party. If we could possibly give the Labour Party credit for so much astuteness we should say that the support was given in order to wreck the Liberal Government. But Mr. MacDonald and his followers haven't so much perspicacity ; and whatever misfortunes may befall the Liberal Government in consequence of the passing of the Insurance Bill, the Labour Party will have to share.

In the relation of the Liberal Government towards the Labour Party, it is a case of " heads I win, tails you lose." Any credit, any " kudos," attaching to any Ministerial measure naturally belongs exclusively to the Liberals ; any discredit is shared, to a disproportionate extent, by the Labourists. Thus the unpopularity which will overtake the Liberals on account of the Insurance Bill will fall with redoubled force upon the Labourists for supporting them. All the popularity which the Labourists have done so much to win for Ministerial measures and policy only helps the Liberals against them. We saw that at Kilmarnock ; we have seen it again at Keighley, and it has not even been disproved by the defeat of the Liberal at Oldham.

At Keighley the contest was narrowed down to a purely personal one between Mr. Anderson and Mr. Buckmaster. So far as Party or programme, policy or principle was concerned, it was impossible to discover any difference. Mr. Anderson convinced the people that he was as devoted and ardent an admirer of the Ministerial policy and programme as Mr. Buckmaster, and that being so, the electors showed their appreciation of Mr. Anderson's judgment by electing the official Liberal candidate.

It is not only in supporting the legislation and policy of the Liberal Government, however, that the Labour Party has betrayed those whom it is supposed to represent and serve. To none more than to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was due the acceptance by the railwaymen of the Commission which has proved to be such a ghastly farce. We said, when the men were beguiled into accepting the Commission, that they had been sold again. But not only we—colleagues of Mr. MacDonald also, like Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier, said the same thing. But MacDonald outaced them all. He maintained that the settlement was a good one; he prided himself on the part that he had played in the negotiations, and, although he at one time complained that the lot of the peacemaker, like that of the transgressor, is hard, he showed no disposition to relinquish the rôle.

That only proves what we have always maintained about Mr. MacDonald and his Party. They do not in the least bit understand the function of such a Party. "Peacemakers," indeed! It is no part of the duty of the representatives of Labour in Parliament to act as peacemakers, as go-betweens, to patch up an arrangement between the opposing forces of Capital and Labour. It is their duty to champion the cause of the men, and to throw every ounce of effort and of energy into the scale on their side. The "Labour leader" who tries to be peacemaker between Labour and Capital is consciously or unconsciously betraying his class. Even the "New Age" has at last awakened to this fact. It says, with truth, that "next to Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is the worst enemy either England or English workmen have in the world."

The railwaymen—many of them—are simply furious at the trick which has been played upon them. But it is a little too late. If they will be advised by us they will go easy, and bide their time.

The Government and the companies are ready for a strike now. The men will do well not to play into their hands. The Commission was not only a sell, but it was a trick to gain time, and has served its purpose.

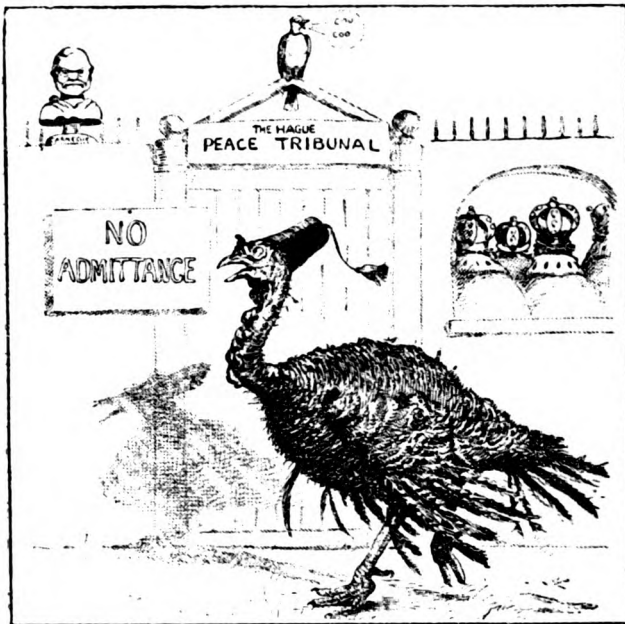
Sceptical as we ever are of the good intentions of the Government, we never thought that the Commission would prove so cynical a trick as it has turned out to be. We pointed out a month ago that, contrary to the opinion of many, the principle of "recognition" had not been conceded. We were of opinion, however, that "recognition" might "be conceded or advised by the Commission." The Commission simply flouted the men and eulogised the companies. No wonder the men are angry!

The Liberal Government is endeavouring to work the same kind of trick on the workers generally by means of the new "Industrial Council." We could rejoice in all these tricks and dodges if only the professed leaders of the men had the courage and the sense not to be duped by them. While they are so eager to swallow any sort of sop the Liberals prepare for them, however, it is difficult indeed to persuade the rank and file to reject it.

The results of the municipal elections go to show that not only is there in this country, as Hyndman has said, as large a mass of floating Socialism as is to be found anywhere, but that this mass is growing steadily all the time. The outlook from this point of view is very encouraging indeed.

The outrageously inhuman fashion in which the Italians have been conducting their campaign in Tripoli has called forth strong protests from all sorts and conditions of men and women in this country. We join in those protests, somewhat belated though they be. It is unfortunate that such protests should always come too late. Had a vigorous protest been made at the beginning by the British Foreign Office, the crime might have been prevented.

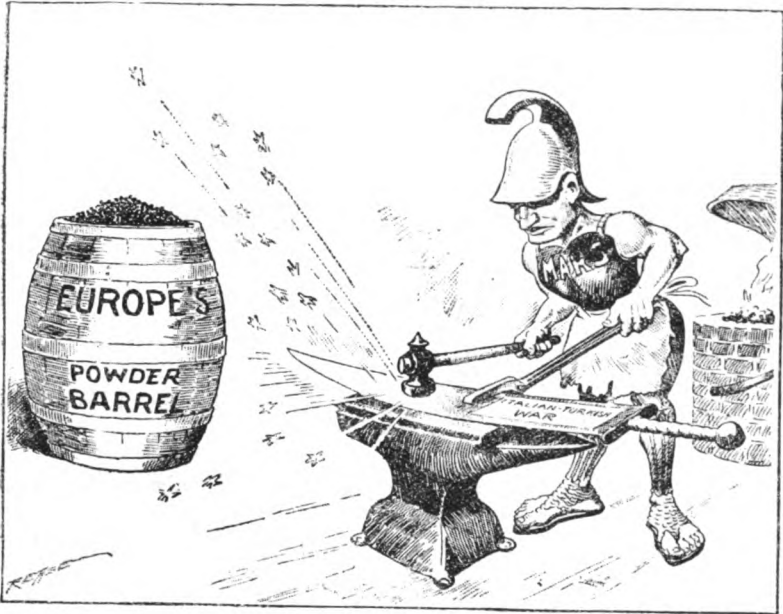
The revolution in China is one of the consequences of capitalist development, and may be the forerunner of still more serious consequences. It is not a Socialist revolution at all, but it may have wide and far-reaching effects upon the whole civilised world.



BARRED OUT.
—Ketten in the New York "World."

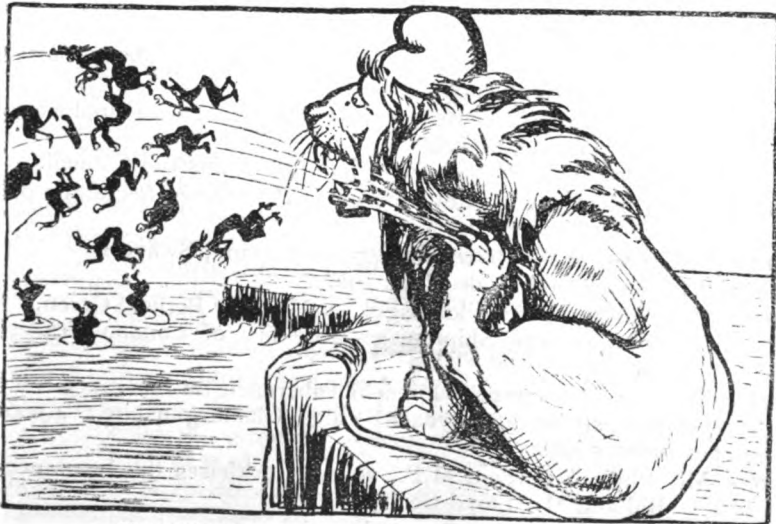


HONOUR AMONG THIEVES.
CHORUS OF POWERS—"Interfere? Certainly not! We're all in the same business."
—Montreal "Herald."



FOOLING WITH FIRE.

—Rehse in the New York "Evening Mail."



THE OVERTHROW OF THE PORTUGUESE MONARCHISTS.

The Republican Lion must clean his coat again and again in order to free himself from the vermin which torment him.

—The "Wahre Jakob."

THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER.

AT HOME.

- 1.—“The British Socialist Party” decided on at Manchester Socialist Unity Conference.
- 2.—A.S.R.S. Conference at Carlisle condemn the use of the military during the great strike.
Parnell Memorial unveiled in Dublin.
- 3.—Miners’ Federation Conference at Southport discuss General Strike.
Mr. Churchill at Dundee threatened to call the Labour Party to heel.
- 4.—End of the Irish railway strike.
- 6.—Miners’ Federation demand a minimum wage, the rate to vary according to local circumstances.
- 7.—Mr. T. W. Russell (Liberal) returned for North Tyrone, majority 18.
- 9.—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald announced that the Labour Party would officially support the Insurance Bill.
- 10.—Industrial Council created by the Government with employers and trade union officials.
Will Thorne, M.P., refused to join new Industrial Council.
- 11.—Death of Henry Broadhurst, ex-M.P., former Secretary of Trades Union Congress.
- 12.—Strike riot at the British Waggon Company, Swansea.
“Halsbury Club” decided upon.
- 13.—Death of Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, ex-M.P. for Bethnal Green.
Death of George Shipton, ex-Secretary of London Trades Council.
- 14.—Mr. Lloyd George at Whitefield Tabernacle on Insurance Bill.
Colliery strike at Clydach Vale, Glamorganshire; 4,000 miners idle.
- 16.—Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., severely criticises the Insurance Bill and Mr. Lloyd George.
- 20.—Railway Commission Report issued.
- 21.—Railwaymen express their disgust with Commission’s Report.
- 23.—Strike of 3,000 men at the Birmingham Small Arms Factory.

- 24.—Important Cabinet changes announced. House of Commons re-assembled: Government programme.
- 25.—Mr. Asquith carried his time-table closure of Insurance Bill. Four Labour M.P.'s adopted independent attitude.
- 26.—First meeting of the new Industrial Council.
- 27.—Keighley Election result: Mr. S. O. Buckmaster (L.), 4,667; Mr. Ackworth (U.), 3,842; and Mr. Anderson (Lab.), 3,452.
- 31.—House of Commons discussed "deposit contributors."

ABROAD.

- 1.—Italian block of Preveza and coasts of Tripoli reported.
- 3.—Italian squadron bombarded Tripoli forts.
- 4.—Italian and Turkish Socialists protest against the war. Royalist rising in Portugal.
- 5.—Attempt on the life of Dr. von Hohenhorzer, Austrian Minister of Justice, in the Austrian Chamber, by a Dalmatian working man.
Italian flag hoisted in Tripoli.
36,000 Austrian miners on strike.
- 6.—Formal resignation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Canadian Premier, Bepin Chandra Pal arrested, charged with sedition, and sentenced to one month's imprisonment.
- 7.—Trial of members of the Young Guard of the French General Confederation of Labour.
- 11.—Opening of the McNamara trial at Los Angeles, California, Woman Suffrage adopted in California.
- 12.—Annual Conference of Italian Socialist Party.
French Government appoint Commission to inquire into the high prices of foodstuffs.
- 13.—Chinese revolutionaries proclaim a Republic at Hankow.
- 14.—Belgian municipal elections: crushing defeat of Clericals by Socialists and Liberals.
Landtag elections in Alsace-Lorraine and Oldenburg: more Socialist gains.
- 16.—Francisco Madero elected President of Mexico.
- 19.—Further revolutionary successes in China.
- 21.—Miss Kate Malecka, British subject, released on bail by Russian authorities, after six months' imprisonment without trial.
- 23 to 27.—Italian atrocities in Tripoli.
- 24.—British troops sent to Persia.
- 26.—Continued advance of Chinese revolution.

HELENE VON DONNIGES.

The Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" of October 4, published the following reminiscences of Helene von Rakowitza :—

" Next February it will be fifty years since Ferdinand Lassalle began his forcible agitation, which, continued uninterruptedly, has created mighty organisations, such as the German and the Austrian Social-Democratic Parties. Whoever is acquainted with the beginnings of Lassalle's propaganda always feels the cruelty of the fate which so suddenly tore the great agitator away from the German people and the working class of all nations two years after the beginning of his propaganda. But we feel still greater pain when we reflect that on August 31, 1864, Lassalle died of a wound given him in a duel by the Roumanian ' Junker ' von Rakowitza. A young girl of the Bavarian nobility, the beautiful red-haired Helene von Dönniges, had set Lassalle's heart on fire, and caused the creator of the German Labour movement, in his desperate longing, to forget what he owed to himself, to the movement of his creation, to science, and to the workers. By his death he expiated this guilt, and the German workers gave a splendid funeral to the dead leader, who was brought back to his home. The monumental inscription given to Lassalle by the learned Boeckh : ' Here rests what was mortal of Ferdinand Lassalle,' was taken literally ; only that which will remain for ever of the great agitator was to live in the memory ; all the rest should be allowed to belong to the past.

" And yet we are reminded now of these last, unhappy days of August, 1864, for Helene von Dönniges, who soon after Lassalle's death became the wife of Rakowitza, has now passed away, nearly half a century after Lassalle's half-voluntary death. It is an extraordinary destiny that she should have laid hands on herself. She, who caused the death of a Lassalle, could not survive the death of her third husband, Sergius von Schewitsch.

" A strange life, a life full of conflicts, full of romance, full of dramatic effect, has now ended. A life that could not be described by any poet because it would be said to be too improbable. She herself has written about her life : ' My relations with Ferdinand Lassalle,' and her Memoirs. They are much read, because the fate of this woman attacked the life of one of the greatest of men."

The writer goes on to describe how Helene, then only 19 years old, won the heart of Lassalle, and all the tragedy that followed, which is well known to most of the readers of the "Social-Democrat." After the death of Rakowitza, which took place after they had been married five months, the young widow became an actress. She acted in Vienna, among other places, and there became the wife of the celebrated actor, Sigwart Friedmann, from whom, however, she was soon separated. In Vienna she made the acquaintance of Laube, Liszt, and Makart. She appeared in many German theatres, and tasted all the cares and disappointments of an actress who felt herself capable of the highest, without ever being able to reach the front ranks. She also went to St. Petersburg, and there met the man to whom she remained united till her death, Sergius Schewitsch. One of his brothers, whose fortune he was to inherit, died as an Ambassador, another was a Senator, another a Governor. Sergius was at Court, but he was a revolutionist; and the day came when he was forced to fly to America, whither Helene accompanied him. Thus Helene von Dönniges, who had inflamed with love the first German Socialist agitator, became the wife of a man who had grown up among the brilliancy of the highest St. Petersburg nobility; but who, on American territory, became the editor of our important party-organ, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung." While his wife exercised her art in the American theatres, sometimes also publishing a theatrical newspaper, Schewitsch became the leading spirit, the most enthusiastic worker, of the "Volkszeitung." He remained a long time at his post, and the German-speaking proletariat of America still remember his efforts with gratitude.

Family affairs, the death of a rich brother, and the necessity of looking after the inheritance, moved Schewitsch to return to Russia. The great influence and high connections of his family rendered it possible for the Socialist editor to get permission to stay a short time in Russia to see to his affairs. When that was done, Sergius and Helene were too tired to return to America. They went to Munich, where they both occupied themselves with literary work, but without much success. In spite of the considerable fortune which had come to Schewitsch, they seem to have been in distress during the last few years, and to have had great difficulty in keeping themselves alive. And so it came about that, after Sergius's death on September 27 last, Helene, lonely and sad, could no longer bear her miserable material position, and, therefore, took her own life, there in Munich, where her father had played a great rôle at the Court of Maximilian II.

A strange woman, full of originality and peculiarity, a woman with a restless life, with a diversity of weighty destinies, who had passed through the greatest triumphs and bitter distress, who had associated on equal footing with the great ones of Courts and of the Labour movement, of the scientific and artistic world, of music and the theatre, has now passed out of this life. If all else that

concerns her becomes obliterated by the hand of time, her name will still remain in history, for she was a tragic figure in the history of Ferdinand Lassalle.

The following was telegraphed to the "Arbeiterzeitung":—"Munich, October 3 (Private).—A few days after the death of her husband, the Russian author, Helene von Schewitsch poisoned herself with hydrate of chloral; she died a few hours later in the hospital. Despair at her loneliness and her increasing financial cares seem to have driven her to the fatal step."



"The intermediate position of the small trading and shop-keeping class between the class of large manufacturers, traders and capitalists, the bourgeoisie properly so-called, and the proletarian or industrial class determines its character. Aspiring to the position of the first, the least adverse turn of fortune hurls the individuals of this class down into the ranks of the second. In monarchical and feudal countries the custom of the Court and aristocracy becomes necessary to its existence; the loss of this custom might ruin a great part of it. In the smaller towns a military garrison, a country government, a court of law with its followers, form very often the base of its prosperity; withdraw these, and down go the shopkeepers, the tailors, the shoe-makers, the joiners. Thus eternally tossed about between the hope of entering the ranks of the wealthier class, and the fear of being reduced to the state of proletarians or even paupers; between the hope of promoting their interests by conquering a share in the direction of public affairs, and the dread of rousing by ill-timed opposition the ire of a government which disposes of their very existence, because it has the power of removing their best customers; possessed of small means, the insecurity of the possession of which is in the inverse ratio of the amount—this class is extremely vacillating in its views. Humble and crouchingly submissive under a powerful feudal or monarchical Government, it turns to the side of Liberalism when the middle class is in the ascendant; it becomes seized with violent democratic fits as soon as the middle class has secured its own supremacy, but falls back into abject despondency of fear as soon as the class below itself, the proletarians, attempts an independent movement."—From Kerr's Edition of Marx's "Revolution and Counter Revolution," p. 21.

FINANCE-CAPITAL AND CRISES.

By KARL KAUTSKY in the "Neue Zeit."

II.—THE CRISES.

(a) THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND THE MEANS OF CONSUMPTION.

(Continued.)

We have already seen that for our present object we have to consider not only the value, but also the particular use-value of the commodities. We must go further than simply to discriminate between means of production and means of consumption. Among the latter we must also discriminate between articles of luxury and articles of mass-consumption. Roughly speaking, the former may be taken to equal the consumption by the capitalists, and the latter the consumption by the wage workers. But—given growing accumulation and exploitation of the workers—the former must increase more rapidly than the latter if production is to be able to proceed without congestion. Thus the production of articles of luxury ought really to increase faster than that of articles of mass-consumption. As a matter of fact, the contrary is the case. Capitalist large-production means production for mass-consumption. The more it increases with the progress of accumulation, the more does production for mass-consumption develop.

We thus see an antagonism arise between the direction of consumption and that of production, which the rich wastrels on whom Malthus calls for help cannot overcome. Their luxury-consumption clogs the development of capitalist production.

The great landowners, possessors of sinecures, and other aristocratic drones are, however, not the only unproductive elements in capitalist society. Alongside of the great consumers of the means of luxury it also creates numerous unproductive consumers of the articles of mass-consumption. First and foremost the armies must be considered, then also the domestic servants. Militarism has indeed become a strong driving force for capitalism, even in countries which have no standing armies. In the United States the great civil war of the sixties promoted it mightily, as was also the case in England and France with the revolutionary wars and the Napoleonic wars at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Why, then, do not capitalists prefer to get rid of the superfluity of goods for mass-consumption by paying higher wages to the

workers? Would they not feel happier themselves for having contented their workers? One would think so; but the capitalist thinks differently. The worker is his enemy. If he increases his wage he thereby strengthens his enemy and weakens his own power. If, on the other hand, with the superfluous surplus-value he pays soldiers and servants, they constitute supports to his power. They do indeed diminish his riches, but they defeat his internal and external enemies.

But even if his class-consciousness did not thus argue, if he as an individual capitalist only had to consider his own advantage, competition would drive him to keep down as much as possible the costs of production, of which wages, too, form a part.

That is, it is true, also a reason for him to seek to prevent the military burdens from swelling too quickly—at least in so far as he has to bear them, and pay for them out of his surplus-value. And it is only in so far that they act against over-production. Military burdens which are laid upon the working class do not mean any increase of mass-consumption in general, but only an increase of mass-consumption by the army by a corresponding diminution of the mass-consumption by the workers.

It is different with the support of militarism by the taxation of surplus-value. But it is only in the case of the large capitalists that the fund for their consumption is not considerably diminished. Smaller capitalists are affected by it in a similar way to the workers. Heavy military burdens may force them to diminish their personal consumption or their accumulation of capital. This the capitalist resists with all his might. For the more rapidly the individual capitalist accumulates, the sooner he is in a position to defeat his competitors. And this applies as well to the individual capitalist in comparison to others as to the individual capitalist nations in their relationship between themselves. The rapid rise of the United States has certainly for one of its causes—and that not the smallest—the absence of a standing army in America.

Thus we find the contradiction, that the growth of militarism is indeed very conducive to the extension of the consumption of mass-articles, and therefore to the extension of the production of such articles; but that, on the other hand, it is to the interest of every individual capitalist, and of every individual capitalist nation, to be confronted as little as possible by the burdens of militarism. They wish to produce and sell as much as possible for the army, and to pay as little for it as possible.

Thus the extension of mass-consumption by means of militarism, in spite of all the friendship to militarism on the part of the bourgeoisie, is not able to pass certain boundaries.

The same applies to domestic servants. Technical development and capitalism do not halt before the door of the household. One after another of its functions is absorbed by capitalist large-production, which, in proportion to its achievements, diminishes the number of persons employed therein.

Thus does capitalism create not only the tendency to increase the unproductive portion of the population, but also strong opposing tendencies which retard its increase. The enormous increase in the production of goods for mass-consumption does not in this way enlarge to a corresponding extent the area of its circle of consumption.

(b) INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

In order to realise how it is possible, in spite of all this, to reconstitute again and again an equilibrium between production and consumption, it is necessary still further to sub-divide the commodities produced according to their kind. To the division into means of production and means of consumption, and the division of the latter again into means of luxury and means of mass-consumption, must be added the sub-division into products of industry and products of agriculture.

In examining the periodical crises one must never forget that it is a question of an industrial phenomenon. Agriculture may indeed be subjected at times to crises, but they never fall together with the periodical crises of industry, and are of a totally different character. The over-production which is manifest in those crises with which we are occupied here is not increased, but relieved, by a plentiful harvest. Prosperity, on the other hand, is not impeded but strengthened by a plentiful harvest. For a good harvest lowers the price of the food of the workers and other consumers, and allows them, given the same income, to expend more of it on the products of industry. On the other hand, it diminishes the price of raw product, and thus also the cost of production in industry and the prices of its products. And that increases its market.

Simultaneously, a rich harvest may, if the prices of the agricultural products do not drop too low, also raise the income of the agriculturalists, and with it their power to buy in the market of industrial production. Thus plentiful harvests increase industrial consumption. The more agriculture produces the less over-production is there in industry.

The over-production which breaks out in periodical crises is always purely industrial over-production. Capitalist industry is becoming more and more the producer of mass-products. Even such of its values as represent surplus-value, and in this surplus-value again the consumption fund of the capitalists, which are there to be consumed as means of luxury, have at first the form of articles for mass-consumption, and must be sold first as such before they can be used by the capitalist in money form to procure means of luxury or to pay the unproductive parasites of luxury.

The wage-workers of industry, again, already create more value than they consume. But of what they consume only a portion is the product of industry. The surplus of industrial mass-products

which they create over and above their own consumption is therefore enormous. The consumption by the capitalists, who, as far as their personal consumption is concerned, use relatively only a small amount of the mass-products of industry, and the very much greater consumption by the unproductive portions of the population who are paid by them, is not sufficient to absorb this surplus. The rural population must consume it if the whole product is to find a market. They procure from industry not only means of personal consumption, but also of production—tools, agricultural machines, artificial manure, etc.—and give on their side raw materials for industry and foodstuffs for industrial workers, capitalists, and also for unproductive workers and parasites.

The change of matter between industry and agriculture must proceed uninterruptedly. The proportion here must not be disturbed any more than that shown in Marx's scheme between means of production and means of consumption if the whole process of reproduction is not to be interrupted.

But the extension of agricultural production takes place under quite different conditions from those in the case of industry, and especially since the introduction of machinery the difference between the conditions is increasing more and more. Industry becomes able to extend its production more and more rapidly, the rate of the extension of agriculture always lags behind; because, for one reason, it has to deal with living organisms, the increase and growth of which cannot be arbitrarily accelerated, while in industry, since the development of machinery, the appropriation and use of inorganic material exceeds more and more the appropriation and use of organic stuff. And the former can, modern technique having reached its present stage, be extended by leaps and bounds if the necessary stream of extra labour-power is procurable.

Moreover, in the appropriation and use of organic material a distinction must also be made between vegetable matter, which results from agricultural cultivation, and the amount of which can be increased in one or a few years by extending the area of cultivation, and animal products, the amount of which can be increased by two methods: either by using more of the animals from which they are taken for breeding purposes instead of killing, the methods used in the case of domestic animals, or by killing a greater number of the animals than before. This is the method used principally in the case of wild animals. It leads to the extinction of the animals, and that is, in point of fact, the fate prepared for many species of animals by the development of industry; as, for instance, fur-bearing animals, and also birds with fine plumage. The first method is more rational, but it leads temporarily to a reduction in the killing of the animals, and thus of their consumption, at a time when industry is just developing a greater demand for them.

Finally, the products of forestry have to be considered, especially wood, the extension of which is an unusually slow process, taking as it does several decades. Capitalist industry will not wait so long as that to extend its production. Its effect, therefore, is the direct destruction of the forest. But it thereby, in the matter of obtaining and using wood, becomes independent of the limitations caused by the law of the reproduction of wood. In this respect the same applies to wood as to the inorganic materials. Its appropriation and use can be increased by leaps and bounds.

But this does not apply to the products of agriculture.

If one investigates deeper, one finds that the first kind of industry, the working with inorganic stuffs and wood, preponderates in the production of the means of production. The second kind, the manufacturing of agricultural products, preponderates in the production of the means of personal consumption; at least, the means of nourishment and clothing. Of course, not in the manufacture of furniture and ornaments; but, then, these do not occupy a position of first importance.

Thus we learn to know the natural causes for the different rate of extension in each of the two great groups of industries: production of the means of production, and production of the means of consumption. The latter is much more dependent on agriculture as purveyor of raw material than the former. As already mentioned, this distinction has only made itself felt since the introduction of machinery. In the nineteenth century buildings and machinery played but a small part in industry. Industry consisted almost entirely in the production of agricultural products, and could, owing to its dependence on the raw materials supplied by agriculture, not develop quicker than the latter. A disproportion going so deep as to cripple the whole economic life between agriculture and industry, and also between the production of means of production and that of means of consumption, could hardly occur then. It constitutes itself the more easily, and can assume all the greater dimensions, the more modern technique develops during the course of the nineteenth century, the more buildings and machinery—the elements of fixed capital in industry—preponderate in value over the raw products supplied by industry and the wages of labour, thus over the means of consumption for the working class, which are for the most part supplied by agriculture. The wages of labour and raw products constitute collectively the principal elements of circulating capital.

As the extension of agricultural production cannot be carried on so quickly as that in the procuring of ore, stones, earths, and timbers, the increase of circulating capital is not so easy as that of fixed capital. There are barriers to the former which are unknown to the latter.

Of course, the extension of fixed capital is dependent on that of circulating capital. The rapid building of new textile machines, for instance, is of no use if the quantities of cotton and wool which

pour into the market cannot be proportionately increased. But in the anarchy of the existing system of production the construction of new spinning and weaving factories is not made dependent on the increase of raw product. As long as the machines are not finished, are still in process of construction, nobody notices whether they are superfluous or not. That only becomes apparent when they begin to work, in the rise in the price of raw material. The larger the machines are, the greater is their effect; but the longer, also, the time required for their construction; the longer one can work at the increase of the fixed capital without noticing that the raw material to hand is insufficient for the new machines, the greater can the disproportion between fixed and circulating capital become; the more must the final adaptation of the two portions of capital to each other assume a crisis-like character, whereby the further extension of fixed capital experiences a temporary interruption.

Agriculture constitutes a barrier to industrial capital. It acts not only as a purveyor of raw materials, but also as a consumer of industrial products. Like its production, its consumption also has the tendency to develop slower than the production-capacity of industry. Indeed, still further, while in industry there is the tendency towards a steady increase of its surplus of articles of use, in agriculture, since the introduction of modern technique, the tendency is towards the decrease of the population which live on it, and thus of their personal consumption.

With the accumulation of capital and the development of modern technique there arises in all the branches of production the tendency towards a decrease in the number of workers in proportion to a given quantity of capital. But in industry this relative decrease in the number of workers is more than counter-balanced by the rapid progress of the accumulation of capital. In agriculture this accumulation proceeds much more slowly. Here the increase of the working population on a given area of land is rendered very much slower, or even, indeed, converted into a decrease, not only relative, but actual.

This phenomenon has long been known in Europe; now it is beginning to make its appearance also in America. A relative decrease of the rural population in proportion to that of the towns has been apparent for some time. The urban population there amounted in 1880 to 29 per cent., in 1890 to 36 per cent, in 1900 to 40 per cent.; according to the provisional statements from the census of 1910 it will have amounted during that year to 46 per cent., or almost half the population.

But the most striking thing about the last census is the fact that in the great agricultural States of the Union which prospered the most the rural population has, according to provisional information—the exact figures are not yet to hand—already absolutely decreased: in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, as well as in Eastern Kansas and Illinois.

If the capitalist industry of a country is to enlarge its market to the extent in which its productive powers grow by means of the accumulation of capital and technical progress, the tract of country under cultivation for which it produces must continually increase. That is a condition of its life. It requires that in order to enlarge its resources of raw products and foodstuffs faster than is possible by natural increase ; but, also, in order to dispose of its surplus of industrial products. Soon the territory of its own country no longer suffices for it. It must expand into other agricultural countries and import from them.

The extension of the market may assume two forms : capitalist industry may find a given tract of land already occupied by peasants or country workers. Hitherto these had supplied their need of industrial products either by means of home work or local handicraft. Capitalist industry, so far superior technically, which ousts and kills the primitive industries, converts the rural population into mere tillers of the soil, who buy what they require of industrial products in the same market where they sell their agricultural products which they formerly consumed themselves. It was in this way that the industries of the capitalist countries of Europe first obtained their home market. Then they force their way forwards in the rest of Europe, Asia, and to a certain extent in Africa in the same manner.

The second method is that of first creating a peasant population, of first cultivating and filling with immigrants land hitherto uncultivated, or only populated by hunters and nomads. Where this course is adopted with a highly-developed capitalist method of production these newly-created peasants are from the start purely agriculturists without any industrial activities for their own household needs.

On a small scale this kind of extension of the agrarian market-territory of capitalist industry still goes on to-day in numerous old centres of population, among others in Germany, and on a larger scale in many parts of Asia and Africa ; for instance, in Siberia and South Africa. But the process accomplishes itself most forcibly in the two continents of the New World, up to now especially in the United States.

(To be concluded.)

THE REVIEWS.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

Mr. Arthur Diosy has the following to say in this month's "Contemporary Review" on the above:—

To the Western mind the solution of the crisis in China naturally appears to depend on the result of the conflict between the Revolutionaries who have risen in arms and the Imperial forces hurriedly sent down from the north to oppose them. Herein the Occidental mind errs, as it is apt to do when considering problems arising in the Far East. Should victory favour the Imperial arms, and be followed by the drastic repressive measures usual in China, the Revolution would be scotched, not killed. It would break out anew at the first favourable opportunity, and, if again suppressed, it would be repeated until it achieved success. In the triumph of the Radical Reformers lies the only hope of a thorough cleansing of the system that blights the life of the Chinese nation. As long as that system endures there will be no peace within the Empire, for a torch has now been lighted that no repression, however drastic, can put out; no grudgingly conceded half-measures of officially guided reform can cause it to flicker. The Imperial Government is face to face, this time, with no mere rising of famished peasants, no mere mutiny of discontented soldiers clamouring for arrears of pay. It is threatened by the greatest danger it has known since the memorable Tai-ping rebellion, the rising that would, in all probability, have hastened by many years the advent of New China, had we not, with lamentable shortsightedness, "backed the wrong horse." A revolution of the first magnitude is in progress, probably one of the greatest in history.

The war-cry of the Revolutionaries is "Down with the Manchu!" but it would be an error to suppose that racial hatred alone inspires them; although it burns fiercely in the hearts of many of the rank and file, it has no place in the minds of the leaders, who are ready to admit the Manchu to his full share of citizenship in the New China they are striving to create. It is his privileged position they are determined to abolish; the annual dole of rice to which he is entitled, as a descendant of the conquerors,

may be but a paltry item in the national budget, the fact that he performs no real service to the State in return for it rankles in the hearts of the Chinese people, amongst whom the Manchus have been so long quartered as an alien garrison, but a garrison that has lost its efficiency, retaining only the outward forms of mediæval military conditions. What the revolutionaries aim at is the abolition of the Manchu domination, by putting an end to the alien dynasty that has ruled over the Empire, in some reigns with great wisdom, but in others with hopeless incompetence and folly, for more than two centuries and a half. It is no blind hatred of the Imperial family that animates the majority of the leaders, although many of them remember the ruthless vengeance wreaked on their relatives and friends by order of the late Dowager-Empress. . . . It is the system to which the Manchu dynasty has, in course of time, become inseparably wedded that must go if China is ever to breathe freely. Of this the revolutionaries are convinced; moreover, they firmly believe that the system cannot go unless the Manchu dynasty goes with it.

It is the firm resolve of the revolutionaries to establish the United States of China, a conception of the fertile brain of the Mazzini of China, Sun Yat Sen. . . . The great differences in natural conditions, in local interests, in economic needs, in the language, in some cases in the religion, in others in the race, of the inhabitants, that exist between one province and another, the very large measure of autonomy already enjoyed by each of the eighteen provinces, the proven impossibility of a satisfactory centralisation in the governance of such a huge empire, and, above all, the notable capacity of the Chinese for managing their own affairs, commercial or philanthropic, by associated efforts, guided and controlled by deliberative assemblies and executive boards—all these points indicate that China would flourish as a Confederation. The revolutionaries, influenced, no doubt, by the numbers amongst them who have studied in America, have taken the Constitution of the United States as their model, with this important exception, that their sound common sense has made them determined to avoid the glaring defects in that antiquated, inelastic charter.



BEAUTY IN DAILY LIFE.

Mr. Henry Holiday writes an intensely interesting article in the "Contemporary Review" on the disappearance of beauty throughout the civilised world. He says:—

By beauty is here meant all that makes life gracious, pure and sweet, spiritually, socially and materially, and it is the absence

of this in the world as man makes it that is here deplored. If we leave God's world of infinite beauty, the world of hills and vales, of woods and rivers, of fields and flowers : if we leave these and enter man's own domain as it is now, is it fair and beautiful, or is it not dingy and depressing?

The first things that meet the eye are rows of dreary, monotonous houses, all exactly alike, and therefore equally bald and ugly. We may go to quarters higher or lower in the social scale, and find, on the one hand, little more beauty and little less monotony, but at least some suggestions of comfort, and, on the other hand, pitiful squalor, inhuman in its total lack of everything that can make life tolerable, inhuman in its surfeit of filth and degradation, and of everything that makes life vile and horrible.

The cause of this strange and rapid decay can only be found in some factor that either did not exist at all throughout the earlier periods, or only in so slight a degree that it was unable to quench the natural love of doing good work which prevailed during all those centuries—6,000 years.

I only know of one factor which fits this description, and that one, doubtless, appeared first in a perfectly innocent form from which none could have predicted its later poisonous effects ; and even when these did begin to develop themselves they were little understood, and the evil was small until it was suddenly accelerated in its action by a world-shaking discovery in the latter part of the eighteenth century, since when the fever has raged with great and ever-increasing virulence.

This factor is the system of buying cheap and selling dear, and living on the difference. In its origin the practice must have been adopted merely as a matter of convenience. . . . Buying cheap and selling dear became a vast industry ; it was called commerce, and the merchants who practised it became the wealthy leaders of great States, as in Genoa, Venice, and the Netherlands.

Let us sum up the net results of this self-seeking system of giving little and grasping much. It will hardly be denied that in an ideal community all would contribute something to the common welfare, and all would have their fair share of the product. But how do matters really stand? Society ought to contain two classes—first, those who produce all that is necessary for human life, which is the more honourable duty ; and, second, the humbler but essential class of distributors. Unfortunately, now we have a third class, who neither make nor distribute, and who, according to the elementary rules of justice, have no claim to any of that product to which they have contributed nothing. First : the idlers, who do nothing but consume, are loaded with a superfluity of all the best that is produced. Second, the distributors vary from opulence to poverty. Third, those who produce everything vary

from moderate competence to extreme poverty, large numbers verging on destitution, resulting in the creation of a vast, miserable multitude, deprived of every joy of life, seeking refuge in drink, and sinking into vice, crime and prostitution. For the great majority, beauty is absolutely unattainable; they can have no part or lot in it.

Merely to enumerate the many ways in which this game of "grab" tramples on Beauty would double the length of this article. I must mention one far-reaching and wholly pernicious influence: that of "vested interests." The fact that we live by what we can get out of our neighbours, instead of by brotherly co-operation, vitiates our best work, and makes our worst diabolic. Doctors live on our sickness, not our health. Lawyers have to live on our quarrels and dishonesty, not on our brotherly relations and our probity; these things are their vested interests. But in other directions the effects are terrible. Hard drinking is the vested interest of brewers and publicans; hence the unlimited multiplication of pothouses. War is the vested interest of all who make cannon and cannon balls, rifles, explosives, swords and bayonets, Dreadnoughts, torpedoes, all munitions of war, and accoutrements, all war supplies of every kind. They live upon war; it is their first interest to incite to war, or to excite the dread of war. It is necessary to them. Destitution and unemployment are the vested interests of manufacturers and employers of labour. It is the source which furnishes their cheap labour at almost starvation wages. If the men they turn out at slump time got other work, they would not be able to take them on again at boom time. They depend on a large reserve of starving unemployed to insure themselves against loss from fluctuations of trade.

Thus we have dedicated our whole industrial system to the service of Mammon, and Beauty, spiritual, material, and social, is trampled under his feet.



A CONVERT TO THE REFERENDUM.

In the "Century" of last month Mr. Harold Cox wrote on "The Danger Ahead," which he considers to be the democratic tendency of the present hour to interfere with "Individual Liberty." Mr. Cox, as usual, eulogises the rich man who can drop £5,000 in starting a new industry if need be, but has little to say about the collective power of the State to expend ten times that amount without fear of any hardship falling on any particular individual. To stem the present poverty, Mr. Cox's conviction is that "we must appeal in the main to moral and not political forces. We must teach that a responsibility rests upon the individual to use for the benefit of others as well as of himself the advantages

which he possesses, whether they spring from personal ability or from inherited fortune. We have to teach that those positive laws which are necessary for the definition of individual rights are not alone sufficient for the guidance of men's actions.

After condemning the tendency of Governments toward a bureaucracy, he puts the question: "How are we to deal with these dangerous tendencies?" and answers it in favour of the Referendum.

"Under present conditions," says Mr. Cox, "the House of Commons, which was once a model for the world, has ceased to be a deliberative assembly. The Party prescribes the measures which the Government is to introduce. . . . If, after five or six years, the country grows tired of the dominance of one Party, the electors can enjoy the satisfaction of putting that Party in a minority, but they will not recover their liberty. They will merely be exchanging one set of tyrants for another. The first step, therefore, towards securing liberty is to so amend our Constitution as to prevent this alternating tyranny; and the best method of accomplishing this object is to give to the electors themselves a power of veto over every important legislative proposal. An incidental advantage of the introduction of this popular veto would be the creation of a greater sense of responsibility both in the House of Commons and in the Second Chamber. Members of Parliament now feel that they have no personal responsibility for the votes they give. Their whole duty is to obey the Party Whip. If, however, every important measure were liable to be submitted to a Referendum, members would hesitate to record their votes for measures which were unlikely to meet with popular approval. The House of Commons, in a word, would gain a large part of that authority which is now exclusively exercised by Party caucuses.

"Further than this, the experience of other countries has shown that the working of the Referendum is opposed to interference by the Government with the liberty of the individual. A small band of enthusiasts may, under our present system, demand a particular kind of interference—for example, compulsory closing of public-houses on Sunday; and this group may be successful in forcing its proposals upon one or other of the political parties. But when the question comes to be put to the people as a whole, they will answer 'No! We prefer to govern ourselves.' We may safely assume that any proposals for widespread and arbitrary interference with the liberty of the masses of the people would be negated if put to a popular vote; and for this reason, the introduction of the Referendum would be by itself a most valuable safeguard against the present tendency to undue interference with individual liberty."

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PEACE AND ITS PERILS.

By ZELDA KAHAN.

Having read comrade Quelch's second article on this subject, I am even more puzzled as to his purpose in writing it than I was when I had read the first one. Seeing that he takes comrade Watts so severely to task for affirming his strong belief in peace, Quelch could not possibly have written it merely for the sake of showing that "the overthrow of capitalism is of vastly more importance than the maintenance of peace between capitalist Powers"; the more so does such a purpose become improbable when he states that he expected the Pacifists (I presume he means Socialist, not bourgeois, Pacifists) would disagree with him. Has Quelch ever yet met or heard of a Socialist, however pacifically inclined, who did not regard the overthrow of capitalism as of infinitely greater importance than the maintenance of peace? It strikes me that the only real conclusion, on the other hand, that one can draw from Quelch's article is that not only is Socialism more important than peace—on that we are all agreed

—but that the Peace movement is a real danger to Socialism, and that its success would spell the death-knell of Socialism. It is true Quelch says: "We Social-Democrats rightly strive for peace," but why exactly we do so he scarcely tells us. Indeed, it almost seems as though he had in his own mind really discarded this worn-out shibboleth, but has not yet quite summoned up courage to say so. And yet it seems to me that that is the most important point. It is useless to argue the question from the point of view whether war is likely to precipitate a revolution or hold it back, simply because we cannot consider the question from the abstract point of view. Under certain conditions war will precipitate a revolution, as happened in the case of Russia during the Russo-Japanese war, and as would happen, in all probability, in any great European war; in other cases, particularly in the case of Colonial wars, it will encourage reaction, as in some of the cases mentioned by Quelch. But in any case, even when a war (of course external) will quite clearly aid revolution, even then the revolutionary class must oppose it, not only because war is such a terrible price to pay for revolution, and because the revolution which breaks out as a result of war is likely to be immature, but, above all, because, when war has broken out in spite of all that the revolutionary forces have done to prevent it, then, when the masses have learnt by bitter experience all the disastrous consequences of the war which many of them supported, the prestige and the moral and practical influence of the class or parties which have opposed war will increase, and the revolution or revolutionary party will consequently gain in strength.

But there is yet another and very important reason why our influence should always be on the side of peace and against increases in expenditure on armaments, and that is its educative effect on the working class. Just as we advocate and help the worker to gain good reforms, even the very best of which is not comparable to the establishment of Socialism, not

merely because of their actual benefit, but also because in organising for this purpose the worker learns the value of self-reliance and collective effort, so we advocate peace and a reduction in armaments, not only because of the wastefulness of the latter, but perhaps chiefly because in so doing we infuse in the minds of the workers the spirit of international solidarity; we can thus combat jingoism and can show the worker that his enemy is not a foreign nation, but the capitalists of his own country; in resisting expenditure on armaments we can show up the tremendous wastefulness of the capitalist system and so forth. In short, Quelch should have distinguished between the Socialist Pacifist and the bourgeois Pacifist. The former works for peace and a reduction of armaments on entirely different grounds and from a different point of view from the latter. Nor is it true to say, as Quelch does, that the Pacifist—the Socialist Pacifist, that is—because of his ardent desire for peace, cries “peace” where there is no peace and entirely shuts his eyes to the possibilities of war. On the contrary, unlike the bourgeois Pacifist, the Socialist knows that no amount of moralising will avert war, if it is in the interest and in the power of the governing class to make it. He will consequently point out the dangers of a possible war at the earliest moment, only taking care to do so in such way as will not inflame the passions of the masses against the would-be enemy but against the capitalist class at home, who for their own profit are ready to provoke all the horrors of war.

As for the wastefulness of expenditure on armaments, I think Quelch argues the matter on too hard and fast lines. If it were a fact that the ratio of the surplus value wrung from the workers by the governing classes to the portion of this world's goods received by the worker in the form of wages and social benefits was a fixed, unalterable quantity, then it would be quite right for him to say that it makes no earthly difference to the working class whether this surplus value is spent on armaments or on any other luxury of the

governing class. In any case, of course, armaments is about the most dangerous and worst luxury we can indulge our governing class in ; but apart from this we know perfectly well that this ratio is not a fixed quantity. We know that whilst the share of the working class in the national wealth always tends to a minimum, yet this minimum varies with a number of factors, and particularly with the strength of the economic and political organisation of the working class as compared with that of the capitalist classes. Why do we struggle for certain social reforms and against indirect taxation of the food and petty luxuries of the workers? Because the latter decreases the workers' share of the national wealth, whilst the former, besides the reasons already given, increase that share, providing, of course, they are strong enough to defend what they have won. Now, is it not a fact that the best excuse for the staving off of social reforms is the money which has to be spent on defending the country against the *common* enemy? And if the worker is persuaded that this money is justly and rightly spent on building Dreadnoughts, then he is much less likely to be insistent in his demands for reform, such as State maintenance for children or adequate old age pensions, and so forth. Of course, the national wealth rightly applied might furnish both Dreadnoughts and good reforms, but the money for both under present conditions has to come either by taxing the food and luxury of the worker still more, as was done in Germany, and as has been done in the case of the Insurance Bill and partly in the Budget of last year. In this case, then, the workers' share of wealth is directly diminished with no return when the money is spent on Dreadnoughts, with some slight return in the other case, the value depending on the particular value and extent of the reform. Or it must come out of direct taxation of the incomes of the wealthy. In the latter case we may rest assured that if the upper classes have had to submit to additional taxation to provide money for Dreadnoughts, they will

fight all the more strenuously against a further deduction of their wealth for the purpose of benefiting the workers. Is it not likely, moreover, that if the workers were really strong enough to force the Government to decrease their expenditure on armaments, they would then be strong enough to force them to use that money, not merely for a remission of the income tax or death duties, but, at least in part, for some important social and political measure?

So that I think the burden of armaments is a very real burden, which has to be borne by the workers to a far greater extent than the wasteful individual luxuries of the wealthy classes, and should be opposed as such by working-class and Socialist organisations.

Now for the next point. I quite agree with comrade Quelch when he says that war, particularly a European war, being such a costly and dangerous affair for both combatants, it is quite possible that the distinguished pacifists Nicholas, Wilhelm and George may well prefer to make a compact whereby they will share the spoil instead of fighting for it. Well, what of that? Is that to be an argument against peace?

It seems to me that if we cannot prevent the plunder, then it is better that the booty be shared peacefully between the mailed fists than they should come to blows over it. After all, is it not better that France should get command of Morocco and Germany of a portion of Africa by means of a treaty than that the German and French working class should shed one another's blood to decide whether the German or French capitalist class shall have undivided control of one or both pieces of territory? But, it may be asked, where do the natives of Morocco and of the particular portion of Africa come in? Well, they do not come in at all so far as the capitalist Governments are concerned. For if it is profitable for the latter to have the territories they will have them peacefully or by fighting for them. This is rather where we Socialist Pacifists, with our entirely different outlook, come in, if we are strong enough. We should use all our energies to

prevent our own Government from entering into the game of spoliation whether by peaceful or other means. We may not be successful in this; but by our efforts we shall at least have educated the working class to some extent in the perfidy, cruelty and selfishness of our capitalist Government. But whilst war may thus well be averted for their own ends by our pacifist monarchs acting on behalf, or at the commands of the capitalists concerned, the same scarcely applies to armaments. Here there are powerful interests which must either be squared or crushed before the expenditure on armaments can be abolished or even reduced.

But this squaring or crushing of these interests is by no means an easy matter, the more so as a whole army of officials in the Army and Navy would stand to lose materially by any such process. Whilst, therefore, owing to the great risks, war may as far as possible be avoided, yet there will never be a dearth of war-panics or of scaremongers to inflame the masses, and so to create an excuse and even a demand for greater and greater expenditure on armaments. And when we reflect further what a splendid method these panics are of keeping the people from thinking too much of home affairs; how profitable it is for the governing class to keep the people in fear and trembling of the wicked foreigner, thus keeping them from inspecting too closely the enemy under their noses—we can see what little chance there is of the governing class *voluntarily* scrapping their army and navy, or even diminishing expenditure on them. No, if any diminution in the expense on armaments is to take place at all, it will only be as a result of the united effective demand of the democracy. It is true that capitalism is becoming more and more international, and that, therefore, the capitalists of various countries tend to have common interests, but not only is this process far from complete, but even in so far as the capitalists become conscious of this identity of interests they would probably—as, in fact, now often happens—still keep up the pretence of rivalry, in the

same way as the capitalist class in any nation keeps up a show of rivalry (partly conscious, partly unconscious) in the form of Liberal and Conservative Parties.

If, however, what Quelch dreads so much were to happen and the various great countries of the world were to scrap all their navies, "beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and convert their rifles and machine guns into the component parts of motor cars and bicycles," I cannot for the life of me see why we should dread the result. The small nationalities in Europe and the natives of Asia, Africa and other parts of the world would surely have reason to congratulate themselves. Would little Abor expeditions, South African wars, Tripoli adventures, Russifications of Finland and Poland, coercions in Ireland, bleedings to death of India, Egyptian, Morocco, Tunis, or Korean occupations, Congo horrors, stiflings of Persian and Turkish progressive movements, etc., etc., be possible, or even conceivable, were it not for the armies and navies of the great European nations? By no means. A new era, a new future in which they could work out their own salvation, would indeed open before these backward races were Europe and America and other capitalistically-civilised portions of the world to disarm. Unfortunately nothing of the sort is at all likely to happen whilst capitalism lasts, or at least whilst there are still portions of the world which capitalists can exploit.

But when Quelch comes to the result of disarmament on the home affairs of the European nations, then he enters the realm of pure romance.

By considering what capitalism would come to, if it developed entirely unchecked by the counter forces which it itself brings into being, Wells, in "When the Sleeper Awakes," has written a very powerful and vivid description of the horrors of life for the masses under these conditions. Now, in a romance or utopia this process is quite allowable and justifiable, but not so in an article which sets out to discuss what may really happen. If capitalism could develop without at the

same time developing an industrial proletariat, whose minds are broadened, whose collective instinct and self-reliance is strengthened by their conditions of life and work, then, indeed, we might reach that state of absolute slavery so vividly depicted by Wells and so feared by Quelch. Much, of course, might be said on this subject, but space will not permit.

It is perhaps just possible, or, at least, imaginable, that when capitalism has become completely international the governing class may voluntarily decide to grant more tolerable conditions of life to the workers in order to stave off or prevent a social revolution; but, in all probability, before that day arrives the glaring contrasts between luxury and abject poverty, the increased exploitation of the workers by the capitalists of various countries, owing to the increased industrial output of the now more backward nations, as well as many other factors, will have produced such a revolutionary working class as will not so readily be satisfied by the few extra crumbs thrown to them by the capitalist class.

But even if such a state of affairs were to be arrived at, it would be entirely independent of disarmament and universal peace. Good Heavens! One might imagine, from the way Quelch talks about revolution being nipped in the bud when the nations are disarmed, that the only reason that the Russian Government, say, does not hang more revolutionaries than it does is that the English navy and the German army protects these revolutionaries. Or, perhaps, England has not stifled Indian and Egyptian national aspirations to a greater extent even than she has done because the German, Russian, or French armies have prevented her? When, I should like to know, has the army or navy of any country been used on behalf of the revolutionaries of any other country? The right of asylum, the right of free speech, and all the liberties we do possess in this or any other country depend entirely on the force of public opinion and on the degree of political education and alertness of the masses, not on

the forces at the disposal of the Government. On the contrary, we are all well aware of the fact that whether a capitalist Government's force consists of an army, navy or police, that force will be used as far as they dare use it for the suppression of liberties, both at home and abroad. So that why the substitution of the armies and navies of Europe by police force should mean a greater suppression of liberties than is at present the case is quite beyond my comprehension.

I, too, like Quelch, have not exhausted the subject, but perhaps I have said enough for the present to indicate that the Socialist pacifist strives for peace not merely because of his ardent desires in that direction ; that voluntary disarmament by the capitalist nations is not likely ; and that peace and a diminution in expenditure on armaments, even under capitalism, would be a real gain to the working class, and no danger to Socialism or the coming Social Revolution.

THE LAW OF SUBSTANCE AND THE LAW OF HISTORY.

By H. J. STENNING.

It will be remembered that our friend Huw Menai endeavoured in the May number of the "Social-Democrat" to discredit philosophical Materialism. Precisely how his metaphysical misgivings affected the method of historical investigation associated with modern Socialism we were not informed. At the end of the article, however, as a saving clause, we find inserted the following: "By discrediting Materialism one is virtually discrediting the basis upon which the materialistic conception of history is founded." This, of course, raises the interesting question of how far a faith in historic materialism involves adherence to a materialist interpretation of the universe. It is certain that the standpoint of both materialisms must be the same—viz., that the external world is independent of us, and is revealed to us through the medium of the senses. Idealism is the doctrine that external phenomena are not independent, changing and developing through laws of their own, but the realised pictures of the successive mental states. The mind of man, therefore, is the thing which changes, through its immanent laws. If one subscribes to this philosophy, one is able to believe in ideas which have no source in the external world, and Theism can easily slip in through the opening thus made.

Now, it is well known that Karl Marx owed much to the work of the great idealist, Hegel. This German genius first introduced in a systematic manner the notion of eternal and conditioned change in the pro-

vince of history. The idea was, of course, not new. The Greek Herackleitos first enunciated the axiom, "Nothing is; everything is becoming"; or, as Bax has put it, "The reality of any given thing is but the temporary form assumed by its component elements." Of the work of Hegel in the historic field, Engels speaks thus: "In this system, and herein is its great merit, for the first time the whole world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process—i.e., in constant motion, change, transformation, development; and the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development."

Marx and Engels applied this dialectic method to the study and explanation of history from the materialist standpoint. The outside world is real. Its features and workings are revealed to us by experience—that is, external objects excite simple perceptions in the mind, and are combined and associated by our organs of thought. The meaning of the change and evolution of phenomena, whether physical, psychical or historic, is not to be discovered by reference to the mind of man, but the laws governing the development of such phenomena are to be sought for in the objects themselves.

The materialist origin of ideas is unquestionable to-day. I recall a passage in Huxley's "Life of Hume" where the process is made admirably clear and lucid. The mind is there compared with a piano; the fingers pressing down the keys are analogous to phenomena causing simple perceptions, and the harmony resulting from a succession of notes is equivalent to the co-ordination of ideas by the organs of thought. It will be readily seen that without the operations of the player no music comes from the instrument, and similarly no ideas form of themselves, but must necessarily be induced by external objects impinging on the retina of the eye, or otherwise making themselves manifest through the senses.

Professor Huxley preferred not to call himself a materialist. In his essay on "Science and Morals"

he advances the objection to Materialism that the more matter and force are investigated, the more apparent their elusive nature becomes. But for all that, no man more strenuously devoted his life to the task of affording a mechanical explanation of the operations of Nature in the fields of Natural History and Biology, and this mechanical interpretation of Nature is the essential part of Materialism, irrespective of particular theories concerning the constitution of matter. Professor Tyndall, on the other hand, never disdained the title "materialist." His philosophical position was identical with that of Huxley, and in his lecture on "Scientific Materialism" the limits of this philosophy are clearly defined.

Whilst a fresh consideration of the methods of modern science may be interesting, and a discussion as to the relative values of the materialist and metaphysical methods may not be without value, it certainly does appear to me that no ice is cut, so far as the subject of Mr. Menai's articles is concerned.

Instead of having to demolish rival historic doctrines, I am compelled by Mr. Menai to follow him into the tangled jungle of metaphysics. In the place of discussing the predominance of the economic factor in human affairs, I am forced to consider the logical implications of the law of substance. Very well, then, let us see how Mr. Menai proceeds. He goes to work in the following manner: After a page and a-half of laborious syllogising based on the assumption that Haeckel's infinite substance is quite different from matter-force, he dismisses finally *this* notion as inaccurate, accusing the Professor, en passant, of being obscure. This convertibility of terms is quite obvious to anyone who carefully reads Mr. McCabe's translation of the "Riddle of the Universe." Then a few brusque sentences suffice to dispose of the idea that matter and force can be a full equivalent of infinite space, whereupon an opportunity is provided for the introduction of "infinity of extension." This philosophical dark horse comes on the scene with the recommendation that in the absence of the conception

of matter and force as the matrix of phenomena it is more difficult to conceive of the non-existence of infinity of extension than to form a proper conception of it. The answer to the whole of the dissertation anent the constitution of matter, the impossibility of conceiving its division by itself, its duration in time and the logical implication drawn therefrom, is that these questions are irrelevant. Logically, matter is divisible to infinity, because the minutest particle has extension, and the imagination can readily picture it being split asunder. Practically, however, a point is reached when the electron, or ion, is no longer capable of division. All kinds of logical contradictions can be discovered by gentlemen on the look-out for them. The casuistical works of Jesuit Fathers abound in such demonstrations.

Further on we read: "But the constructive characteristic of mind which enables it to know at least a little about the system of relations entitled the material universe seems to us to presuppose the existence of another mind, akin to the finite mind, no doubt, but necessarily of infinity of extension." In other words, intelligence presupposes intelligence, and design implies a designer. By design is to be understood the fact that a plant or an organism is arranged in such a manner that its end or purpose is served in the most economical manner. Now such an end may be beneficent or it may be malevolent. If the former, theologians would infer therefrom a beneficent god, or designer. If the latter, the same logical process deduces a malevolent being.

But it is really late in the day to be called on to refute the design argument. Darwin demolished it by his explanation of the structure and differentiation of species. What, however, does Mr. Menai mean by a mind akin to the finite one, but of infinity of extension? Does he mean similar in regard to structure, arrangement of molecules, proportion of cerebellum to the remainder of the brain? Or is it the mind, which pervades all space, without any material background? If

it is of the latter character, how can it be deduced from the finite mind, which is nothing but a function of matter ?

“ Matter and force are but the instruments through which this being (that is, infinity of extension) manifests itself to our perception and reflection.” Compare this with “ Matter and force therefore had a beginning.” If so, how did infinity of extension manifest itself before the arrival of matter and force ? Did matter and force come from infinity of extension ? If they did, then they must partake of the nature of infinity of extension. If matter and force have other qualities, where did these qualities come from ? The position seems now to be that infinity of extension is the same thing as matter and force, and it would, I submit, be more intelligible to call it “ substance,” as Haeckel does.

May I inquire who or what is “ infinity of extension ” ? Extension is an attribute of matter. Does its deification throw light in obscure places, and is confusion avoided thereby ?

A metaphysical objection to the Materialist Conception of History can only be made from the standpoint of one who believes in free will, God and the immortality of the soul. These three ideas have always stood together, and constituted the greatest stumbling-block to human progress and most formidable barrier to mental emancipation. They are not quite relevant when urged against Historic Materialism, because a scientific treatment of history from any standpoint presupposes the elimination of caprice and chance from this domain, and assumes the possibility of analysing historical phenomena with a view to discovering the laws which govern them.

The importance of the great theory of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels cannot be over-estimated. While it need not be erected into a fetish, to which appeal can be made at all times and under all circumstances, there is no cant involved in insisting upon its indispensability to Modern Socialism. It is the impregnable

rock on which Socialism is founded, and from which it can defy all opposition, and repel every attack.

The acute opponents of Marxism in Germany have recognised the vital relation of the Historic Theory to Socialism. The account of the last twenty years' controversy, which is scattered through various English books and periodicals, shows clearly what great efforts have been put forward to demolish the Marxist sociology. The position of Marxism is that of the only doctrine in sociology to which any importance is attached, and its universal acceptance by all but hide-bound reactionists is only a matter of time.

THE MONTH.

The crowning legislative act of the present Government was consummated on December 6, when their great Insurance Bill passed its Third Reading. According to Mr. Asquith, just as their Parliament Bill has "put down the mighty from their seat," so this great measure is calculated and intended to "exalt the humble and meek."

That is the sort of high-flown sentiment with which the Liberal Government have sought to secure popularity for the **most shameful legislative swindle that has ever been imposed upon** the working people of this country. "I ask the House to remember," said the Prime Minister, "that in reading this Bill a third time they are, so far as we in this House are concerned, conferring upon millions of our fellow-countrymen, by the joint operation of self-help and State help, the greatest alleviation of the risks and sufferings of life that any Parliament has ever conferred upon any people."

If that be true it only shows how very little any Parliament has ever yet done to "alleviate the risks and sufferings of life" of the working people. For this measure proposes to tax the workers especially for the maintenance of institutions which should be a public charge; and the poorer the workers are the more they will have to pay in proportion to what they receive.

Ministerialists are very apprehensive, and not without reason, of the effect of the measure on the constituencies when it comes into operation. It may reasonably be expected to wreck the Government, and for that reason they would have doubtless been glad if the Tories had more effectively opposed the measure and encouraged the Lords to throw it out.

The rejection of the Bill by the Lords would be of the greatest service to the Government. It would save the Liberals from all the evil consequences to their Party which the new law is likely to have, while giving them another handle against the Lords. It is not likely, however, that the Peers will be so foolish as to furnish their enemies with another such an election cry, and so the Liberals may hope to see the Bill made law before the end of the year, and to be able to reap all the credit or discredit attaching to it.

In this, of course, the Labour Party will be given its full share. It is not too much to say that but for the support of the Labour Party Mr. Lloyd George could not have passed his Bill. They are not strong enough to carry legislation of their own, but they are strong enough to help or hinder, or even destroy, Ministerial measures. They, therefore, must accept their share of responsibility for the passing of this Bill, and must not be allowed to go without their reward.

The swindle of the Insurance Bill will make itself felt with the first week's contributions. It will not take so long to find out as did the swindle of the "Great Democratic Budget," which is only now being exposed in practice. With the land tax fiasco, however, and the fall in Government securities, a considerable hole has been pricked in the bubble of Georgian finance.

Sir Edward Grey's statement with reference to the relations between England and Germany told us very little that we did not already know. Neither can it be said to have caused any improvement in those relations. The sending of the Panther to Agadir was undoubtedly a deliberately provocative act, and the British Foreign Office was quite right to demand an explanation. But there was nothing in the circumstances to warrant Lloyd George's foolish "tread-on-the-tails-of-my-coat" speech. That was both provocative and undignified.

The difficulty and the danger in the relations between England and Germany, however, lie much deeper and are much more serious than a single unwarrantable act or a single imprudent speech. The imperial policy of Germany can only be successful when British naval supremacy ceases. We have been treated during the past few weeks to a number of "revelations" as to the attitude of the German Foreign Office towards that of this country.

But those revelations revealed nothing to us that we did not already know—namely, that England could easily come to terms with Germany if she were willing to pay the price. If she is not prepared to pay the price in one way she will be compelled to pay it in another. The dishonourable alliance into which she has entered with Russia will not help her at all. If Russia was not prepared to fight Germany in order to defend her own interests in Eastern Europe, she is hardly likely to do so in defence of those of her rival and hereditary enemy.

Just now the Anglo-Russian alliance is very useful—for Russia. It helped her to rehabilitate her domestic affairs and to crush the revolution. It is now helping her to crush Persian independence, not only to the injury of the Persians, but in opposition to British interests.

The promise of the Prime Minister to introduce a Manhood Suffrage Bill next Session had the effect upon the Suffragettes of a red rag on a bull. They were furious. Not so much because Asquith would not make the inclusion of women a part of the Bill, but because the introduction of Manhood Suffrage Bill would leave them no alternative but to plump for Adult Suffrage, unless they were prepared to drop their agitation for Votes for Women altogether. Their rage against the Government found expression in another of those outbursts of unreasoning and objectless fury with which from time to time the Suffragettes seek to impress the ordinary individual with their fitness to take part in public life. This time not only Ministers and their belongings suffered, but unoffending shopkeepers had their windows smashed, and tea-shop waitresses narrowly escaped having their heads broken.

For this wanton, lawless hooliganism only quite nominal sentences have been imposed upon the defenders. On the other hand, most ferocious sentences have been passed upon South Wales colliers and their leaders because stones were thrown at the police in the course of an unprovoked attack upon a demonstration.

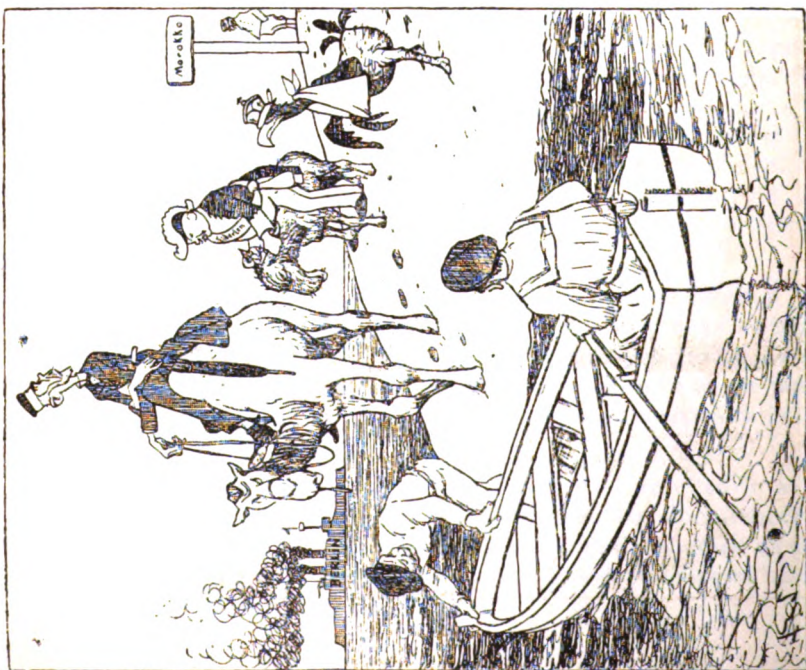
In the municipal elections here, which have resulted in a net gain for Socialism, unfortunately Labourism has too frequently "queered the pitch." In municipal, as in Parliamentary affairs, by its truckling to Liberalism Labourism has done much to hinder genuine working-class progress.

In America, where Labourism makes no show politically, and outside the bourgeois parties there is only the Socialist Party, our comrades have scored some notable victories. The two most remarkable were Schenectady and Los Angeles. In the latter place our comrade Job Harriman came first in the running for the mayoralty, and would without doubt have been elected, but then there came the confession of the MacNamaras; and for some unaccountable reason the popular vote, especially that of the women, swung round to the other side, and Harriman was badly beaten.

The saddest event of the past month for International Socialism has been the passing away of our comrades Paul and Laura Lafargue. Feeling that he had spent all of life that could be usefully employed in the cause of humanity, Lafargue deliberately took his life by poisoning with prussic acid; and his wife, willingly and cheerfully, lay down her life with him.

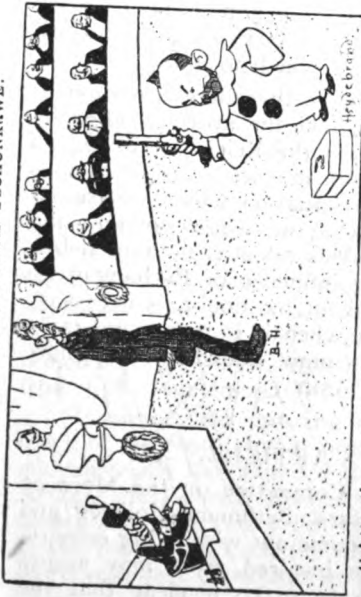


THE SAME OLD STORY.
The new Diogenes searches in vain for an honest friend.
" Kikeriki " (Vienna).

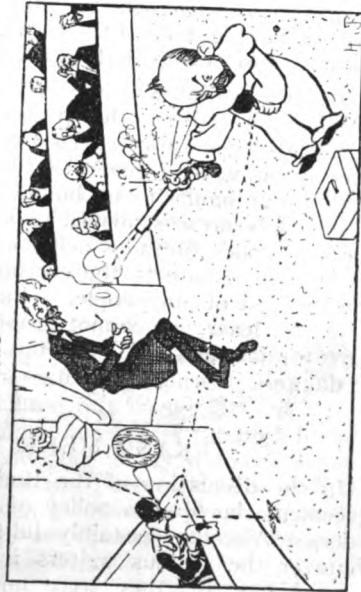


BOATMAN—" So, now the next journey is to be to the Congo? !
The gentlemen had better look round and see that they have not
forgotten anything in Morocco ! "
—" Wahre Jacob."

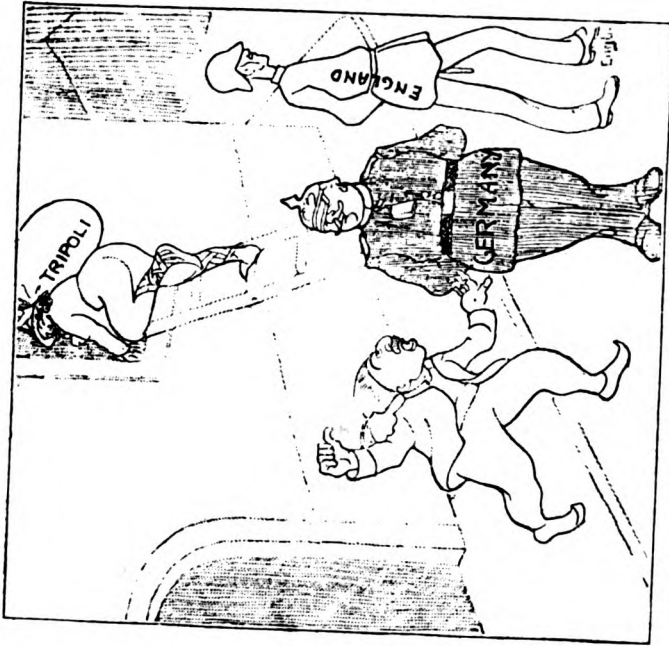
THE SHOOTING EXPERT FROM TCHUNKAWE.



"Attention, gentlemen—a masterly shot in the middle of the forehead!—One—two—"



"O—O—damn." —"Wahre Jacob."



TURKEY—"Help! Police! A burglar is making off with my property."
POLICE—"What's that to me? It isn't my property."
—"Wahre Jacob" (Stuttgart).

ANGLO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

The following article from comrade Franz Mehring, from the "Neue Zeit," December 1st, 1911, deserves to be made known to English comrades because of the clearness and conciseness with which our friend, who is generally acknowledged as the best writer in the German Press, puts the Marxist point of view on this most important question. The article is, of course, written for German readers, but what he says is not without its bearing for English comrades. In view of the tendency, even among comrades who are good Marxists and belong to the left wing of the Party, to idealise English institutions, and especially to contrast the powerful position occupied by the British House of Commons with the sham power conferred on the Reichstag, Mehring's remarks on the limitations of English Parliamentarism are especially valuable, as they call attention to what are the really decisive factors in the situation and warn us not to lay too much stress on the accidental and passing. English Parliamentarism is not to be despised when we have got it, but for a fighting party it would be absurd in any way to put up that as an end for which to fight.

A further point which would seem worth calling attention to in Mehring's article is his protest against the attitude taken by our Social-Democratic representatives in the Reichstag in regard to the question of a general strike against war. Absurd as it is to allow our hands to be bound in a situation which we cannot foresee, it is no less absurd to say what we would not do; and what our good comrades achieved in this respect, notably Bebel, was a good tribute to the corrupting influence of Parliament on even the best of our people. Parliament, no doubt, is necessary for us—at least, we cannot ignore it when it is there, and must strive for it when it is not, but we cannot and dare not ignore the dangers it brings with it.—J. B. ASKEW.

FRANZ MEHRING'S ARTICLE.

In the discussion of the Budget Committee on the Morocco agreement the foreign policy of Messrs. Bethmann-Hollweg and Kiderlen Waechter certainly did not come out with flying colours, whatever the zealous writers in the inspired press may assure us. Above all, they were unable to make it clear that the

"Pantherleap" (as the sending of the Panther to Agadir is described in Germany) was either necessary or useful. On the contrary, this "broad hint," as has been clearly shown, was responsible for the fact that in the course of last summer a devastating and world-wide war stood more than once before the door.

In another respect, Herr von Kiderlen Waechter would certainly seem to have proved his innocence in respect of certain accusations which were laid to this account. Thus, for instance, he does not seem, as was asserted on good authority,* to have made himself guilty of any formal act of discourtesy towards the Foreign Office in London. Certainly we have yet to hear the other side, just as we can only form a final opinion as to what must happen the day after to-morrow when the English Government has spoken. But there is certainly no need straightway to disregard what Bethmann and Kiderlen have said in their own defence. We should only be advancing the cause of the Pan-German would-be war-makers and jingoes were we to regard or describe the foreign policy of England, which has always been through and through a business policy, in a milder light than the experience of history allows. And that would not be the worst. We should have ceased to stand on the firm basis of our principles if from a well-deserved dislike of the reactionary régime under which we suffer we were to ascribe more blame to our foreign policy than it deserves.

This has for years been more clumsy than the foreign policy of England and France, which is to be explained from the fact that the German diplomatists are recruited from the backward Junker class, and is bound down to their short-sighted class interests.† All the same, the methods according to which they are managed are not better than those adopted here, and if the foreign policy of England and France is conducted with greater dexterity the fact remains that it is no more generous and magnanimous, or even more mindful of the interests of the working class than that of Berlin. In its squabble with foreign Powers we are for this very reason bound to show the more complete impartiality towards the German diplomacy, as it is not in the interests of the international proletariat that this should be looked on as alone guilty of

*Bernstein said this in an article in "Vorwaerts," and, if I remember right, quoted as his authority a letter he had received from J. R. MacDonald.—Trans.

†I cannot help thinking that here our friend is thinking too much of the past. In the present the influence of the high finance, and especially the influence of the leading banks and such firms as Krupp, the General Electricity Society (known as the A.E.G.), and others, represent a power which is probably greater than that of the Junker—in fact, the Junkers are themselves daily becoming more and more dependent on these.—Trans.

having provoked the danger of war last summer ; the fight against Imperialism will only be rendered more difficult if all the blame is thrown on to one Government which really should be meted out to all ; or, to put the matter more accurately, when a vile system itself ought to be made responsible.

What has now made such a deep impression on the mass of the nation, so that even the agitation in connection with the Reichstag elections has had to give way, is the feeling which came over the rider in the ballad when he discovered that, without knowing it, he was trotting over the frozen water of Lake Constance : a mortal terror of the frightful condition of affairs when a small number of people, whose sagacity and the honesty of whose intentions are matters beyond our control, are able to decide whether Europe is to be laid waste by a world-wide war or not. At no time has this intolerable state of affairs been so brilliantly exposed in all its hideous reality as is the case now, and never was the indignation on that account so deep or so lively, extending as it does a long way into the ranks of the very bourgeoisie themselves. The more necessary it is to keep this fire of indignation glowing, the more necessary is it to keep principles to the fore, and anxiously to be on the watch lest the opinion should gain ground that the matter would have been otherwise if only Bethmann-Hollweg and Kiderlen Waechter had played their cards as well as they have undoubtedly played them badly. This diplomatic intrigue is equally repugnant whether Bismarck garbles the Ems despatch, or Kiderlen sends the Panther to Agadir.

No exaggerated importance ought either to be attached to the fact that Germany, with its system of personal rule, is in a worse position than countries with Parliamentary government. In the realm of foreign policy that does certainly make a difference, but none so very great. The German defenders of personal rule are not so entirely wrong with their assertion that foreign policy even in countries where Parliament rules is made over the head of Parliaments. What is to-day the foreign policy of all States—namely, a policy of robbery or barter, where every State tries to swindle the other in its own interest—this foreign policy cannot be controlled by an assembly consisting of several hundred people. A Parliament can certainly lay down the lines on which foreign policy must go, but it cannot control the carrying out of its wishes ; it cannot prevent the aims of the policy being changed in the process of execution. A Cabinet that represents the interests of the dynasty and the ruling classes against foreign countries can never show the cards to Parliament, while they are cheating or trying to cheat the foreigners, for this reason alone if for no other—namely, on account of the opposition between the interests of the dynasty and the ruling classes on the one hand and those of the workers on the other.

It is sixty years since Lothar Bucher described in a most drastic fashion how even the English House of Commons is deceived in

questions of foreign policy. He writes : " With the most complete secrecy the Minister of Foreign Affairs opens negotiations, gives instructions to Ambassadors and Admirals, signs agreements. After a time rumours come from abroad ; somebody asks for information ; a question is put. The Minister withholds all information. How he does so depends on his temperament and his skill. The one absolutely refuses an answer from a high sense of duty, from a feeling of his responsibility, in the interest of the Service ; negotiations are proceeding ; the diplomatic witch's pot is on the boil ; the gold is almost ready ; a profane glance and everything would be spoilt ; the philosopher's stone would be turned to coal. The House turns away with a shudder and reconciles itself to its ignorance. Lord Palmerston attained the same end in another manner. He springs at once from his seat with great agility, as if he had not expected the question. He is exceedingly happy and grateful to his honourable friend—if he may so describe him—for bringing the matter before the House, to which all servants of Her Majesty are responsible, and for which no matter is too small or unimportant or too great, whose wisdom controls the fate of England ! And he then either gives a reply that is untrue in point of fact, or so carefully prepared that it can be interpreted in more than one sense, or says something that is either meaningless or insolent. We have not read all the speeches of Palmerston, but very many, and we have found no answer which could not be brought under one or other of these categories." So far Bucher, who was a shrewd observer and had a thorough acquaintance with the diplomatic swindles, but who, in his bourgeois helplessness, knew no other way of escape than by becoming the subservient tool of a diplomatist who was still more cunning and astute than Palmerston.*

For the working class this helplessness no longer exists. They have an approved weapon with which to tear the question of peace and war from the hands of the diplomatists, in that they take this question into their own hands. The diplomatic game, about whose incredible stupidity even Bismarck himself has many times spoken with contempt, only becomes serious in so far as the masses pay with their lives and possessions for diplomatic undertakings. So soon as they refuse, the diplomatic house of cards falls down. We are not yet so far, but we are on the way, and will soon arrive at this. If last summer the thunder clouds rolled up but did not discharge, a large part of the debt is due to the peace demonstrations of the international proletariat ; and if to-day not only Grey in the English Parliament, but also Kiderlen in the Reichstag, are obliged to answer in a very different manner to the days of Palmerston and Bismarck, so is that to be ascribed to the decision of the workers to form their own opinion on peace and war.

*Bismarck.—Trans.

An old poet has said: "When the kings quarrel the peoples get the blows." But if the peoples refuse to allow themselves to be flogged, kings will think twice before they quarrel. Certainly the peace policy of the workers cannot prevent a world-wide war under all conditions, but it can at least provide that such a war shall bring the ruin of those who have instigated it. This policy can and must be a policy of a free hand. There is no need to get enthusiastic on ostensibly national grounds for Bethmann and Kiderlen, but there is equally no need to let our dislike of these men lead us to grow enthusiastic about Grey and Lloyd George. The workers need not say what they would do on the outbreak of a world war, but they have no need to say what they would not do. The main thing is to awake and keep on stirring up in all diplomats of the political world, small and great, the feeling that necessity knows no law. That they will understand, although according to Bucher and Bismarck their understanding is none too great, and so soon as they have understood it is such peace assured as is possible for a capitalist age.

CLARA ZETKIN'S VIEW.

In connection with the above remarks of Franz Mehring I cannot refrain from adding some very pertinent words from our friend Clara Zetkin in an article in the "Gleichheit" on the Reichstag debate:—

After the highly-advertised attack of bourgeois Liberals on the system of personal rule had ended in a fiasco, nay, more, in a pæan in honour of the instruments of this régime, it was natural that these heroes should join the Clerical Party to fight the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats, the only strong reliable peace party in the world, has, according to the childish stammering of these gentry, endangered the peace of the world through its mass demonstrations against war. This assertion these gentlemen tried to make interesting not only by thundering against the mass strikes, but also by means of a réchauffé of the old police lie that the Social-Democrats intend in case of war to call on the soldiers to refuse obedience. As to this latter, which is a lie pure and simple, there is no word to be lost. Unfortunately, the comrades in the Reichstag allowed themselves to be forced into the defensive. Instead of confining themselves to describing that as absurd comrade Bebel declared that for the German proletariat the mass strike could not come into account as a weapon to ensure the peace. To which the remark must be made, that that declaration ignores the historical nature of the mass strike as a weapon whose use can neither be ordered nor forbidden. Furthermore, it may rarely be wise to say in front of the enemy how we think we are going to conquer him, but it is always bad strategy to think of pacifying the enemy before the fight by telling him what we will not do. What weapon the proletariat in Germany will employ,

in the case of an approaching war cloud, to preserve the peace depends upon a number of historical circumstances about which one cannot prophesy, and about which we only know one thing: the maturity, the strength of will, and the self-sacrifice of the masses will not be the last among the decisive factors. This state of affairs and the proletarian class interest determine the conduct of the proletariat, and not the purely external circumstance whether it is a question of acting before or after the declaration of war.* Among the masses the conviction is growing that in all situations their readiness to act decisively is the final and creative force in political action. The fact that it has shown the necessity to strengthen this conviction is the most important result of the Morocco debate.

*This remark is in answer to comrade Fischer, who declared in the Reichstag that the action of the proletariat must be different after war had been declared—in other words, apparently all resistance to a warlike policy must cease then.—Trans.

FINANCE-CAPITAL AND CRISES.

By KARL KAUTSKY in the "Neue Zeit."

II.—THE CRISES.

(b) INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

(Conclusion.)

Agriculture in the former kind of territory is very meagre. The agriculturists, oppressed since centuries by the State and by great exploiters, have on their side, thanks to their poverty, been obliged to exploit the soil more and more, so that it becomes less and less fertile or requires more and more labour in order to procure the same results. The peasants of these districts are therefore for the most part very poor, and the purchasing power of the individual is but small. In spite of this, such countries constitute a great market for industrial products in consequence of the enormous number of people that they contain. Thus 125 millions inhabit Russia, 300 millions British India, and over 400 millions China.

The peasants of the New World are quite different. Not much oppressed by State burdens, and with no landlords to exploit them, they have to deal with unexhausted virgin soil, the great proceeds of which require at first all the less labour the more inconsiderately exploitation is carried on. This produces a prosperous peasantry who are able to consume a large quantity of industrial products. The rapid increase in this peasantry has become one of the most important conditions of the enormous rise in American industry.

The extension of the market for capitalist industry by means of these two methods progressed at first but slowly. The products of agriculture are, in proportion to their value, very bulky and heavy, and they cannot bear very high costs of transit. And yet they must get to the market if the peasant is to be able to buy the products of industry. He cannot buy until he has sold. But for a long time there was no other means of cheap transit but sailing ships. Beyond a certain, very limited, tract of land the market for the products of agriculture, and thus for those of capitalist industry, could only be extended along the sea-coast and along the great navigable rivers. A change only came with the introduction of the railways, which, it is true, came soon after the rise of machinery, in England in the twenties of the nineteenth

century, and soon afterwards in the rest of Europe, where, indeed, the building of railways only attained importance in the fifties. At the same time as in England railways began to be constructed also in the United States, and the railways first made it possible for capitalist States to open their home market completely to agriculture, and then extend more and more rapidly the markets of the world.

According to all this, we see that the incapacity of the wage-workers to consume their own product, which is determined by capitalist conditions, becomes the starting-point for the most varied tendencies to increase the use of industrial mass-products outside the ranks of the wage-workers, which tendencies, however, again beget tendencies which work against and finally overcome them. The steady growth of consumption by the masses under the capitalist method of production is an indispensable condition of life for them. But this process is not in a straight line, but is a dialectic one. And the tendencies towards the extension of industry as well as towards the extension of mass-consumption do not by any means move in parallel lines or at the same rate; they are always coming into collision with each other, which constitutes the starting point for extremely deeply-rooted crises.

(c) FIXED AND CIRCULATING CAPITAL.

In the latter remarks we have wandered a little from Hilferding's book. The "narrow basis of consumption" as a cause of crises is only mentioned by him, not treated in detail. This cannot be called a fault. It is natural that he should turn his attention principally to the factor about which he has something new to say, and which in actual fact is of decisive importance in influencing the periodic character of crises. The factors just described do, indeed, prove the inevitability of crises in the capitalist method of production since the rise of machinery, but they do not yet explain the form which they assume as the conclusion of a regular circulation which begins with stagnation, passes through a period of prosperity, then a boom, and finally ends with a more or less sudden collapse.

It was this phenomenon which Hilferding undertook to explain, and it is certainly not sufficiently explained by the prevailing anarchy and under-consumption even if one conceives of this in a rather less simple manner than has hitherto been the case. Here the decisive part is played by the difference, previously only casually touched upon, between fixed and circulating capital.

To reproduce Hilferding's theory here in all its details is impossible, not only for reasons of space, but also because a previous knowledge would have to be presupposed of the factors which Hilferding examines in the first 300 pages of his book. I will only try to present the part played by fixed capital in the periodic nature of crises so simply as to be understood without that knowledge.

If we look at any capitalistic industrial undertaking—for instance, a spinning mill—we shall find that its capital exhibits two kinds of return. A portion of the capital is completely consumed in every labour process, and its value reappears completely in the value of the product of this process. For instance, in the darning cotton that is produced in a day there reappears the value of the day's wages, of the cotton consumed in a day, and the coals. It is different with the machines and buildings of the factory. These remain for years. They do not give all their value to the single product, but only a small portion, which corresponds to the price of their depreciation. It is not until they are completely used up and have to be replaced by new ones that their value has entirely passed over into the value of the total products created by their help.

Capital of the first sort is called circulating capital, that of the second sort fixed capital.

Each of these two sorts of capital yields a different kind of return. If the spinner sells his product, let us say, every week, for cash, his total capital expended during the week on wages, cotton, and coals returns to him. If he can also procure cotton and coals in weekly portions, so that he is not obliged to keep a large supply, he will then need as circulating capital only the one-fifty-second part of the total sum of money which he spends as such during the course of the year. It will have to be somewhat larger if he needs a reserve capital in case of casual disturbances. If, for instance, the price of cotton rises, it is no longer sufficient to replace the previously circulating capital. If the production is to continue on the same scale an additional capital is needed, without which the extent of the work would have to be reduced.

Of course, the amount of capital which the capitalist lays out in the production as circulating capital will have to be all the larger the greater the supplies which have to be accumulated, or the longer the time that elapses between the finishing of the product and its remuneration—that is, the slower the return of the circulating capital.

But, however slow it may be, the return of the fixed capital is bound to be much slower still; this always takes as long as many returns of the circulating capital.

If the costs for wages, raw material, and auxiliaries take weeks or months to return in the price received for the products, the costs of the factory buildings and the machinery take years to do so.

The capitalist needs as circulating capital a sum of money which is as a rule many times smaller than that which he spends as such in a year. But as fixed capital he must invest a sum in the process of production which is many times larger—for the most part considerably larger—than that which returns to him in the course of the return of his circulating capital, as substitute for fixed capital, in the price of his products. Technical development tends

especially to extend fixed capital and to diminish, on the other hand, the circulating capital, in so far as it accelerates the process of circulation by improving the means of communication so that the industrialist is able to keep a smaller quantity of stores and can sell his product more rapidly. The fixed capital also grows relatively in so far as the constant capital increases faster than the variable capital. But the latter constitutes an important portion of the circulating capital. Fixed capital has thence the tendency to grow at a faster rate than circulating capital, and to outweigh the latter more and more.

In order at last to be able to replace the fixed capital, the capitalist must estimate and put aside, out of what he has realised for the product sold, the portion of value which represents the value of the used-up fixed capital till the amount has reached the extent of the value of the fixed capital, and can serve to procure new fixed capital in place of that which has been used up. He must do the same with that portion of the value of the price of the product which represents circulating capital; he does not spend the money at once which he receives for the products sold, but puts it aside in order to procure with it from time to time new supplies of raw materials and auxiliaries, to pay wages, and carry on the business until fresh products are again sold and paid for. But the sum of money needed will be smaller than the sum which is to be accumulated for the ultimate renewal of fixed capital, and it will not lie nearly so long unused as the latter. Here we still leave credit and banking out of account. But if the fixed capital is then renewed a far larger sum of money flows into the market, the demand for certain products of industry will thereby be suddenly increased far more than by the sums of money which are constantly expended at short intervals to renew the circulating capital.

Let us suppose a spinning mill is newly constructed. Machines are needed, bricks, iron supports, a quantity of labour-power, especially metal workers and builders, are suddenly required, much capital is expended. When the factory is finished none of all these workers are required any more. It now carries on its functions regularly, needs, except in the case of incidental disturbances, always the same number of workers, the same quantity of raw material and coals. This goes on year after year till the machines get old or used up. To take the extreme case that the factory building itself has become useless, say, through new inventions, which involve a different kind of building. Beside the old factory a new one is constructed, with new machines, which again cause a great deal of money to circulate "among the people" and employ a number of workers. These, again, in their turn, become superfluous.

We see that the movement of circulating capital is quite different from that of fixed capital. The first has the tendency to remain more or less equal, to repeat itself uninterruptedly. In so far as

disturbances do occur in it, they do not arise out of its nature. The movement of fixed capital, on the other hand, is intrinsically spasmodic, of the nature of a crisis. Fixed capital is once introduced in a large quantity into the process of production, it then returns exceedingly slowly, to appear again at last after years in great quantities on the market and fructify production. Alongside of those causes of crises which we have met with in the preceding chapter a new one arises, and one which is bound to return periodically. Here the crisis is a necessary product of the return of fixed capital.

Here we find the last reason for the periodical character of the crises since the era of machinery, since the preponderance of fixed capital in industry.

But here, also, many intermediary links are necessary before we can press through from the last cause to the phenomenon on the surface.

If production were organised according to a plan, and if only a certain circle of consumers who could be reckoned upon came into the question, then the extension and renewal of those means of production which act as fixed capital could very well be arranged so that this, as in the case of those means of production which represent circulating capital, would be a steady and uninterrupted process.

On the other hand, the method of extension and renewal of the fixed capital can approach all the nearer to that pictured above in the case of one single factory : the more the proportion between production and consumption is caused only by the rise and fall of prices and profits, and the less the consumption by the population of the capitalist States suffices to use up their own industrial product, the more it becomes necessary to go for this beyond the circle of this population and to enlarge the mass of consumers by methods which work by fits and starts ; finally, give rise to reaction, and thus make the extension of industrial consumption into a process which is ever less capable of being looked at as a whole.

THE EVENTS OF NOVEMBER,

AT HOME.

- 1—Municipal elections : 56 Labour and Socialist gains.
London General Omnibus Company sanctioned amalgamation with District and Underground Electric Railways.
- 2—Commons Standing Committee began consideration of Unemployment Insurance scheme.
6,000 taxi-drivers on strike in London.
- 3—Mr. Hobhouse (Liberal Minister) re-elected for East Bristol by 4,913 votes to 2,913 for an Independent candidate.
Premier held conference with railway directors.
German spy, Max Schultz, sentenced to 21 months' imprisonment.
- 4—Railway strike : decided to take ballot.
South Wales' coal owners refused minimum wage.
- 7—Premier announced Manhood Suffrage Bill for next Session.
- 8—Mr. Balfour resigned leadership of Unionist Party.
- 11—King and Queen departed for India.
- 13—Oldham bye-election : Dennis (Tory), 12,255 ; Stanley (Liberal), 10,623 ; Robinson (Labour), 7,448. **Tory gain.**
Mr. Bonar Law unanimously elected leader of Unionist Party in the Commons.
- 15—Miners' Federation Conference decided on further negotiations for minimum wage.
- 16—Standing Committee finished with Unemployment Insurance scheme.
- 17—£200 damages for libel awarded against " Justice " by Mr. Justice Darling and a special jury.
- 18—British Socialist Party formally established.
- 19—Last meeting of Full Executive of Social-Democratic Party.
- 21—Commons finished Committee stage of Insurance Bill.
Suffragists' wholesale window-breaking at Westminster.
- 22—Commons discussed Railway Commission Report.
South Somerset bye-election result declared : Herbert (Tory), 4,878 ; Vivian (Liberal-Labour), 4,730. **Tory gain.**

- 23—Commons began Report stage of Coal Mines Bill.
John Hopla and William John, Cambrian miners' leaders,
sent to hard labour for twelve months.
- 24—Mr. Lloyd George at Bath on the Suffrage.
Hitchin bye-election result declared : Lord Robert Cecil (Tory),
5,542 ; Greg (Liberal), 3,909. No change.
Explosion at Bibby's mills, Liverpool : 27 killed.
- 25—Mr. Charles Brookfield appointed Joint Examiner of Plays
with Mr. Redford.
- 27—Sir Edward Grey's speech on Anglo-German relations.
- 28—Lords discussed Germany and Morocco.
Commons began Report stage of Insurance Bill.
New Admiralty Board announced.
- 29—Servants' Insurance protest meeting at Albert Hall.
Mr. Asquith shouted down by Suffragists at City Temple.
- 30—Death of Mr. Justice Grantham.

ABROAD.

- 2—Franco-German agreement on Morocco concluded.
Strike of wharf labourers at Sydney, N.S.W.
- 3—Chinese Throne accepted principles of Constitution ; dockyard
and arsenal at Shanghai captured by rebels.
Russia demanded an apology from Persia.
- 5—Italians announced annexation of Tripoli.
- 7—United States elections : great Socialist victories.
Resignation of Portuguese Cabinet.
- 9—Continued fighting at Tripoli.
Reichstag debate on Franco-German treaties : Crown Prince
misbehaves himself.
Chinese Republic proclaimed at Canton.
- 11—Russia presented ultimatum to Persia.
- 12—New Portuguese Cabinet formed by Senhor Vasconcellos.
- 16—Opening of Canadian Parliament by Duke of Connaught.
New Chinese Cabinet formed.
Russian troops ordered to Persia.
- 23—French railway disaster : many lives lost.
Stormy debate in French Chamber on agents-provocateurs.
- 26—Paul and Laura Lafargue found dead.
Severe fighting at Tripoli.
Continued fighting in China—varying results.
- 27—German cruiser Berlin withdrawn from Agadir.
- 28—Russia demanded of Persia the dismissal of Mr. Shuster.

WHY WE HAVE OUTGROWN THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

The Convention of 1787, held in Philadelphia, which framed the Constitution of the United States, and adopted the instrument on September 17 of that year, consisted exclusively of what Hamilton, one of its dominating spirits, called "the wealthy, the well born, and the great." There was no working man present to degrade its councils. Labour was held in contempt, unfit to have a seat among the aristocrats who composed that body and controlled its deliberations.

Neither was there a woman among the delegates to ruffle the dignity of the grave and reverend "fathers of the Constitution." It was a place for the wise and mighty, and for powdered wigs, velvet knee-breeches, silk stockings, and silver shoe buckles.

The democratic spirit, so defiantly expressed in the Declaration of Independence, and which had sustained the patriots during the dark days of the revolutionary war, had largely subsided, and nothing was further from the purpose of the delegates than that the Government they had met to establish should be controlled by the people. As Professor J. Allen Smith remarks in his "Spirit of American Government": "It is difficult to understand how anyone who has read the proceedings of the Federal Convention can believe that it was the intention of that body to establish a democratic Government. The evidence is overwhelming that the men who sat in that Convention had no faith in the wisdom or political capacity of the people."

The Constitution itself furnishes sufficient evidence of that fact. It is not in any sense a democratic instrument, but in every sense a denial of democracy.

The Declaration of Independence had been democratic and revolutionary; the Constitution, however, was autocratic and reactionary.

Only six of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration had a hand in framing the Constitution. Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and Samuel Adams were not in the Convention. Jefferson bitterly opposed the Constitution as finally adopted, and Henry openly denounced it.

Woodrow Wilson was right in declaring that the Government was established "upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes," and that "it had been urged to adoption by a minority, under the concerted and aggressive leadership of able men representing a ruling class;" and he struck the keynote of the Constitution when he said that the Convention that framed it was backed by the conscious solidarity of material interests."

There is not the slightest doubt that the Constitution established the rule of property; that it was imposed upon the people by the minority ruling class of a century and a-quarter ago for the express purpose of keeping the propertyless majority in slavish subjection, while, at the same time, assuring them that under its benign provisions the people were to be free to govern themselves.

A democracy in name and form; a despotism in substance and fact!

And this stupendous delusion has not yet lost its magic power upon the people, a great majority of whom still believe, in their mental childhood, that the "Constitution of the fathers" established democratic rule, and that we are a free and self-governing people.

Admitting for the moment all that its most zealous devotees claim for the Constitution as an "inspired instrument," that it embodies all the wisdom and statesmanship of the age in which it was written, the fact still remains that it is now antiquated and outgrown, and utterly unsuited to the conditions and inadequate to the requirements of the present day. So palpably is this fact in evidence that we see the Supreme Court, the specially-constituted authority to construe the provisions of the Constitution and preserve inviolate its reputed integrity, ride rough-shod over the "inspired instrument," and by judicial interpretation make it serve, as it has from the beginning, the class in power. And to accomplish this essential service under capitalist class Government the Supreme Court contemptuously ignores and defies the sacred "Constitution of the fathers" by boldly usurping the power not only to construe it absolutely to suit themselves and serve the ends of the ruling class, but by deliberately invading the domain of the Legislature, virtually destroying a co-ordinate branch of the Government created under the Constitution, and annulling, wiping out utterly, laws enacted by the elected representatives of the people.

Constitutions, like the times and conditions in which they originate, are subject to the everlasting laws of change.

Evolution is no more a respecter of a Constitution than it is of those who make it.

In 1787, when the Constitution was adopted, the population was about three millions, and agriculture and mercantile interests dominated the Colonial life. To-day the population is a hundred

millions, and capitalised industry controls the Government and shapes the national destiny.

There has been a complete revolution in the methods of producing, distributing, and exchanging wealth, the essential means of life, and a corresponding revolution in the industrial and social life of the people.

The ruling class of the Colonial era has vanished as a class as completely as have those who composed it. And the Constitution they adopted is just as completely out of date as would be its makers if by some magic they could appear upon the present scene. In their day the ruling class consisted of small landholders, petty merchants and traders, and professional persons, who made up what was known as the "official class."

The actual workers and producers were still in a state of semi-feudal servility and inferior element, and practically without voice in the affairs of government. But there were no hard and fast lines between the classes of that day, nor any sharp antagonisms to bring them into violent collision and to array them against each other in hostile conflict.

In the century and a-quarter since elapsed there has been an overwhelming industrial and social transformation. The weak and primitive agricultural colonies of that time have become a vast and powerful industrial nation. There is now a sharply-defined capitalist class, and an equally sharply-defined working class. The struggle between these modern industrial classes is growing steadily more intense and reshaping and remoulding the entire governmental structure and social organism. Political government has had to give way to industrial administration, and the old forms, including the Constitution, are now practically obsolete.

Political government, its constitutions and its statutes, its courts, its legislatures, and its armies, scientifically considered, are institutions under class rule, expressly designed to establish the supremacy of one class and enforce the subjugation of another class. With the end of class rule political government will cease to exist. Its functions, which are essentially coercive, will no longer be required.

With the overthrow of the capitalist class and the installation of the working class in power (which must be the inevitable outcome of the present struggle) the government of political states will be superseded by the administration of national industries.

In discussing the United States Government and the Constitution, Professor J. Allen Smith, already quoted, correctly concludes that "this complex system of restrictions, which is the outgrowth and expression of a class struggle for the control of the Government, must necessarily disappear when the supremacy of the people is finally established." The present Constitution was not designed to establish but to prevent the supremacy of the people. It is outgrown, obsolete, dead. Industrial and social

development are not halted by it, but these forces sweep past it with scant regard for its ancient and musty respectability.

Politicians and legislators are to-day the representatives not of the people, but of the trustified capitalist class. The Government is essentially capitalistic, as is also, of course, the Constitution, to the extent that it is still vital, and has any binding effect at all.

The working class is now the rising class, and will soon be the triumphant class, and then the capitalist State will be superseded by the working-class Commonwealth, and industrial despotism by industrial democracy.

The old Constitution will have its place in history, and will serve its purpose in the study of governmental evolution and class rule, and among the inspired relics of a past age. It is a class instrument, inspired by class interests, and will survive only to mark a historic epoch in class rule.

The new Constitution will not be framed by ruling-class lawyers and politicians, but the bona fide representatives of the working class, who, in the day of their triumph, will be *the people* in the complete sense of that magnificent and much maligned term.

And the representatives of the working class will consist of women as well as men, sharing equally the rights and duties, the privileges and opportunities, of the councils of State ; and they will smile, indeed, as they look over, with pitying toleration, the "Constitution of the fathers" and recall the Convention in secret session that framed it, in blissful ignorance that toilers and producers are citizens, and that women are also included in *the people*.

The New Constitution will be framed by an emancipated working class with the sole object of establishing self-government, true democracy, conserving the freedom and security and promoting the happiness and well-being of every man, woman, and child.

—Sent out by the Women's National Committee of the Socialist Party.

THE REVIEWS.

FRANCE AND HER CONGO.

Mr. E. D. Morel, writing in this month's "Contemporary Review" on "France and Her Congo," says:—

The following are typical illustrations of the character of the reports received by the French Colonial Office from its inspectors between 1906 and 1909, and which successive French Ministries have suppressed. They have been published in full from time to time by the French League for the Defence of the Congo Natives, but ignored by the entire French Press with the exception of the "Courrier Européen," the "Humanité," and one or two other papers. An agent of the N'Kemi Keni Concession Company is denounced for having allowed a native named Oio to be tied up by one of the armed ruffians in the Company's employ so tightly that his hands have sloughed away at the wrists, and to have been otherwise tortured. A judicial investigation ensued (one of the very few judicial decisions which have ever seen the light in the French Congo since 1899, for, like other reports, they have been officially suppressed). The examining magistrate absolved the incriminated agent of direct responsibility, but fined him 15 francs! The mental condition of the French Congo magistracy may be estimated by the following extract from the magistrate's report: "Oio presented himself in good health minus his hands, and in cheerful fashion deposed," etc. A dossier against the Lobaye Company, deposited with the court of Brazzaville, contains one hundred and fifty-three counts of "crimes and delinquencies" against the company's agents. The inspector reporting to the Colonial Office as to this company and others urges that "prosecution should no longer be directed against individual agents, but against the companies themselves, who have counselled, or even tolerated, practices against which humanity protests." Fraud to the detriment of the natives on the part of the Sette Cama Company is reported, and its suppression suggested. Of the Fernau Vaz Company it is reported that the company has caused "the exodus and revolt of the natives by the proceedings of its agents"; that it does not trade, but practises "coercion and slavery"; and has violated "the most elementary rules of honesty." The Colonial Minister is urged to cancel its charter, as also that of the

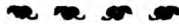
Bretonne Company. The Lefini Company is reported as treating its labour "with brutality and dishonesty"; the company's monopoly "becomes in its hands an odious weapon." The Mobaye Company is similarly denounced, and its suppression recommended. The Haute N'Guiné Company is charged with having "by its exactions and brutalities caused uprisings in regions where merchants were formerly welcomed." The withdrawal of its charter is urged. A formidable indictment is drawn up and forwarded to the Colonial Minister in connection with the Company du Congo Occidental. It includes the burning of twenty villages and the capture of hostages—visited by a fine of £8 in the local court! On one occasion one of the women seized as hostages escapes on the road, gives birth to a child in the bush, and dies. There is a whole list of murders and acts of violence; the company's acts have brought about "the gravest disorders," and its charter should be withdrawn. Of the Lobaye Company, a later report says that its recent profits "have been made in blood." "Our silence would make us the accomplices of all its crimes and all its thefts. The Administration has the remedy—suppression." The methods of the Baisli Company are described in yet another report as "methods of ruin, and a perpetual menace to public safety. . . . methods especially resented by the natives after two hundred years' experience of freedom of commerce." The M'Poko Company is accused of having caused the murder of 1,500 natives in its concession. Not only have successive French Governments suppressed these reports of their own inspectors, but not a single concessionaire company has been proceeded against. It is time these things sank into the hearts and minds of Englishmen. I give the following solitary account from non-French sources—it will be observed that every expression of opinion quoted is French. It is an extract from a series of letters sent to me from an American lady who travelled in the lower French Congo in 1908:—

"Who is to blame for the annihilating conditions existing in the French Congo to-day? Commerce is dead, towns once prosperous and plentiful are deserted and falling into decay, and whole tribes are being needlessly and ignominiously crushed. . . . Towns are sacked and plundered; fathers, brothers, husbands are put into foul-smelling prisons until those at home can get together the taxes necessary to secure their relief. France has granted exclusive rights to concessionaires, who claim everything upon, above, in or about any hectare of land described in their grant. . . . To be hurled from active, prosperous freedom into inactive and enforced poverty would demoralise even a civilised country; how further reaching, then, is it with the savage? All is desolation, demoralisation, annihilation."

Last year's report on the French Colonial Budget, in that section of it concerned with the affairs of the N'Goko Sangha Company, whose advocate and defender is M. Tardieu, foreign

editor of "Le Temps" (the newspaper which in recent years has laboured to defend the Leopoldian system on every occasion—et pour cause), is full of reports concerning the N'Goko Sangha Company, whose "exactions" says one of them, "are the cause of grave disorders, and have resulted in raising almost the whole population against us."

Ten years of brutalities and economic folly have now convinced even the concessionaire companies themselves in the lower French Congo that they cannot in the long run permanently compel races which have been in touch with Europe and European trade for centuries to become slaves at their bidding. Such of the companies that remain have asked to be relieved of the concessions, and the French Government has granted them "for ever" (as a reward for their misdeeds) restricted areas in which they are to be permitted to "make plantations." And so, after ten years, the concessionaire system has been virtually abandoned in the lower French Congo. It has perished from its own inherent rottenness. But how many decades will be needed to refill the deserted homes, re-peopple the abandoned river banks, restore confidence and hope in the victims of financial intrigue and official corruption. In the middle and upper French Congo the system persists. Eleven of the most powerful of the concessionaire companies in the middle Congo formed themselves last year into a Trust, and—incredible as it may seem—although this Trust includes such companies as the N'Goko Sangha, M'Poko, and Lobaye, convicted of long-sustained and atrocious crimes against humanity, the French Government has granted it the exclusive exploitation of rubber for ten years. Well may the reporter of the French Colonial Budget for 1911 exclaim of this latest "deal" that it consecrates for another decade "the organised pillage of the colony." This is the territory which Germany has now acquired. She has a great opportunity of re-establishing commercial freedom with it, and clearing out the whole concessionaire system. North of the territory ceded to Germany the great Ubanghi Trust continues to operate, and if there is anything certain in this world it is that the concessionaire element represents in the Franco-German territorial re-arrangement an accumulation of barrels of international gunpowder along the banks of the Congo, the Sangha, and the Ubanghi.



THE AMERICAN YELLOW PRESS.

Mr. Sydney Brooks writes as follows in the current "Fortnightly Review":—

To put the American Yellow Press in its proper light one must remember that journalism, while a giant, is a very young one.

In its present form it is the product of a quick succession of astounding inventions. The railway, the cable, the telegraph, the telephone, the rotary press, the linotype, the manufacture of paper from wood-pulp, and colour-printing—these are the discoveries of yesterday that have made the journal of to-day possible. We are still too near to the phenomenon to be able to assess its significance, or to determine its relations to the general scheme of things. Journalism still awaits its philosopher; awaits, I mean, someone who will work out the action and reaction of this new and tremendous power of organised, ubiquitous publicity upon human life. It has already, to all appearances, taken its place among the permanent social forces; we see it visibly affecting pretty nearly all we do and say and think, competing with the Churches, superseding Parliaments, elbowing out literature, rivalling the schools and Universities, furnishing the world with a new set of nerves; yet nobody, that I am aware of, has yet attempted to trace out its consequences, to define its nature, functions, and principles, or to establish its place and prerogatives by the side of those other forces, religion, law, art, commerce, and so on, that, unlike journalism, infused the ancient as well as the modern world. Journalism is young, and the problems propounded by the necessity of adjusting it to society and the State have so far been hardly formulated. Its youth must be its excuse for whatever flaws and excesses it has developed. The Yellow Press, as I view the matter, is a disorder of infancy and not of decrepitude; it is a sort of journalistic scarlet fever, and will be cured in time. And there are many reasons why it should have fastened upon America with particular virulence.

Journalism there has run through three main phases. There was, first, the phase in which a paper was able to support itself by its circulation alone, in which advertisements were a minor consideration, and in which the editor, by his personality, his opinions, and his power of stating them, was the principal factor. But the day of the supremacy of the leading article perished soon after the Civil War, and there set in the era—it is just beginning with us—when the important thing was not opinion but news, and when the advertisers became the chief source of newspaper profits. Speaking broadly, the centre of power of the Press in the United States has shifted from the editorial to the news columns. Its influence is not on that account less operative, but it is, I should judge less tangible and personal and more diffused—dependent, that is to say, less on editorial comment than on the skill shown in collecting the news of the day and in presenting it in a form that will express particular views and policies. The ordinary American journal of to-day serves up the events of the preceding twenty-four hours from its own point of view, coloured by its own prepossessions and affiliations—and the most effective propagandism for or against a given measure or man is thus carried on continuously, by a multitude of little strokes, in the news

columns, and particularly in the headlines attached to them. Now the Americans have always taken a liberal, if not a licentious, view of the kind of news that ought to be printed. In a somewhat raw, remote, free and easy community, impressed with the idea of social equality, absorbed in the work of laying the material foundations of a vast civilisation, eminently sociable and inquisitive, but with comparatively few social traditions and almost no settled code of manners, it was natural enough that the line between private and public affairs should be loosely drawn. Moreover, the Americans have never enjoyed anything like the severity of our own libel laws. The greater the truth the greater the libel is not a maxim of American law. On the contrary, a statement, if published without malice, is held to be justifiable so long as it can be shown to be true. Attempts have been made in some States to elevate a published retraction into a sufficient defence in a suit for libel, and to invest a reporter's "copy" with the halo of "privileged communication." Then, again, there is nothing in America that at all corresponds to our law of contempt of court. . . . The Yellow Press existed long before it was christened. It was not, indeed, until 1895, when Mr. Hearst came to New York intent on beating Mr. Pulitzer on his own ground and by his own weapons, that the type of journalism which emerged from their resounding conflict was labelled "yellow." As a mere uninitiated Englishman, resident at that time in New York, it seemed to me a contest of madmen for the primacy of a sewer. Sprawling headlines, the hunting down of criminals by imaginative reporters, the frenzied demand for their reprieve when caught and condemned, interviews that were "fakes" from the first word to the last, the melo-dramatisation of the follies of the Four Hundred, columns of gossip and scandal that could only have emanated from stewards of fashionable clubs or maids and butlers in private houses, sympathetic reports from feminine pens of murder, divorce, and breach of promise cases, with a sob in every line, every incident of the day tortured to yield the pure juice of emotionalism beloved of the servants' hall—such was the week-day fare provided by the Yellow Press in those ebullient days. On Sundays it was much worse. It is on Sunday that the American papers, yellow and otherwise, put forth their finest efforts and produce their most flamboyant effects. The Sunday edition of a New York daily is a miscellany of from sixty to eighty pages that in mere wood-pulp represent a respectable plantation and that would carpet a fair-sized room. Of all its innumerable features the most distinctly yellow is the comic supplement printed in colours.

THE CHAIRMENDER.

By GUY DE MAUPASSANT.

It was the conclusion of a dinner given at the beginning of the hunting season by the Marquis de Bertrans. Eleven huntsmen, eight young ladies, and a country doctor were seated around the great, brilliantly-illuminated table, which was covered with fruits and flowers.

They began to speak of love, and a great discussion arose on the eternal topic: to discover if one can truly love only once or several times. Examples were cited of men never having had but one serious love affair; examples were given also of men who had loved often and with passion. The men generally professed that the love passion, like an illness, can strike several times the same individual, and would strike to kill if some obstacle were not interposed before it. Although this point of view seemed incontestable, the ladies, whose opinions were supported rather by poetic fancy than by observation, asserted that love—true love, great love—could not fall but once on a mortal; that this love resembled the thunder, and a heart touched by it remained afterwards emptied, ravaged, on fire, that no other emotion, except a dream of it, could cure that heartache.

The Marquis, who had loved much, contested this belief in a lively fashion.

“I tell you, myself, that one can love several times with all the force of one's soul. You have told me of men who have been killed by love as proof of the impossibility of a second passion. I would answer you, that if they had not had the stupidity to commit suicide, thus avoiding all chance of recovery, they would doubtless have been cured, and would have commenced to love again, and continued up to the time of their natural death. It is with lovers as with drunkards. He who has drunk will drink again; he who has loved will love again. It is a matter of temperament.”

The doctor was asked to decide. He was an old Parisian physician, who had retired to the country, and they begged him to give his opinion.

He protested he had no convictions on the matter.

“As the Marquis has said, it is a question of temperament; as

for myself, I have known of a passion which lasted fifty-five years without a day's respite, and which death alone ended."

The Marquise clapped her hands.

"Isn't that splendid? What a dream to be loved thus. What happiness to live fifty-five years wrapped in that exquisite and penetrating affection. How happy he must have been, and what reason he had to bless life, he who was adored in this fashion."

The Doctor smiled.

"As a matter of fact, madame, you are not mistaken on one point—that the loved person was a man. You know him; he is Monsieur Chouquet, the chemist in the town. As to the woman, you know her also; she was the old chairmender who came every year to the castle. But I will make myself better understood."

The enthusiasm of the ladies had cooled, and their disgusted looks said: "Pooh! as if love could affect any but the fine and distinguished people, who alone are worth the attention of fashionable folk."

The Doctor resumed.

"Three months ago I was called by that old woman to her death-bed. She had arrived in the old caravan which served her for a house, drawn by the sorry horse that you have seen, and accompanied by two big black dogs—her friends and guardians. The Curé was already there. She made us her testamentary executors; and in order to make known to us the meaning of her last wishes she related the story of her life. I know of nothing more singular and more pathetic.

"Her father and mother were both chairmenders; and she had never lived in a house built in the soil.

"When quite little she wandered about—ragged and verminous.

"They stopped at the entrance of villages, by the side of the ditch; the caravan was unharnessed; the horse grazed; the dog slept, with his nose on his paws; and the little child played on the grass what time the father and mother repaired, in the shadow of the roadside elms, all the old chairs of the commune. They spoke little in that roving life. After the few words necessary to decide who would make the tour of the houses, and give the well-known cry of 'Chairs to mend!' they commenced to twist the rushes, face to face, or side by side. When the infant strayed too far, or attempted to make friends with the small children of the village, the angry voice of her father called her back: 'Come back here, you little toad.' These were the only tender words she heard.

"When she grew bigger she was sent to collect the damaged bottoms of chairs. Then she made acquaintance with the little boys from place to place; but this time it was the parents of her new friends who roughly called their children: 'Come back here, you ragamuffins. Don't let me catch you mixing with vagabonds again.'

"Some ladies gave her several sous, which she guarded carefully.

"One day—she was then eleven years old—as she passed through this part of the country she met, behind the cemetery, the little Chouquet, who was crying because a playfellow had taken three farthings from him. The tears of a petit bourgeois, one of the children whom she, in her weak mind of the disinherited, had imagined to be always happy and contented, overwhelmed her. She approached him, and when she learnt the cause of his grief put in his hand all her savings—seven sous—which he readily took and dried his eyes. Then, wild with joy, she had the boldness to embrace him. Remembering the gift of money, he allowed her to do it. Not finding herself repelled or beaten, she began again—she embraced him with open arms and all her heart. Then she ran away.

"What was passing in that miserable head? Did she attach herself to that urchin because she had sacrificed her poor savings to him, or because she had given him her first tender kiss?

"For several months she dreamed of that corner of the cemetery and the youngster. In the hope of seeing him again she stole from her parents, took a sou here and a sou there out of money for chairs or for provisions she was sent to buy.

"When she returned she had two francs in her pocket, but could only see the chemist's little boy through the glass of his father's shop, between a large red phial and a tapeworm.

"She only loved him the more, attracted and moved to ecstasy by the splendour of the coloured water and the blinding of glittering crystals.

"She kept to herself this ineffaceable memory, and when she met him the year following behind the school, playing marbles with his comrades, she threw herself on him, seized him in her arms, and kissed him with such violence that he cried out in fear. Then she gave him her money, three francs 20, a veritable treasure, at which he looked with eyes wide open. He took it, and permitted her to caress him as much as she liked.

"For four years after she put her savings in his hands, which he conscientiously took in exchange for kisses. At one time it was 30 sous, another two francs, a third time 12 sous (she had cried with humiliation, but the year had been bad), and the last time five francs, a big round piece of money, which made him laugh joyfully.

"She could think of nothing but him, and he waited her return with a certain impatience, running away when he saw her, which made the girl's heart bound.

"Then he disappeared. They had sent him to college. She learnt this by clever questions. She thereupon employed endless devices to get the journey of her parents altered so that they passed by here at the time of the holidays. She managed this after a year of ruses. She had passed two years without seeing him; and she recognised him with pain, so much had he changed and

grown, looking quite imposing in his tunic with gold buttons. He feigned not to see her, and haughtily passed her by.

"She cried for ten days, and since then she has suffered without end.

"Every year she returned ; passing by him without daring to speak, and without him even looking at her. She loved him hopelessly.

"She said to me : ' He is the only man I have seen on earth, Doctor ; I don't know even if others exist.'

"Her parents died. She continued their business, but she took two dogs instead of one—two terrible animals that nobody would care to face.

"One day, when entering the village where her heart rested, she observed a young lady coming out of Chouquet's shop on the arm of her lover. It was his wife. He had married.

"That same evening she threw herself into the pond which is at the bottom of Mairie Square.

"A belated tippler rescued her and carried her to the pharmacy. The son came down in his dressing-gown to attend to her, undressed her and revived her, and then said in harsh tones : ' You are mad to behave like this.'

"This sufficed to cure her. He had spoken to her. She was happy for a long time.

"He would not take any remuneration for his trouble, although she strongly insisted on paying him.

"And all her life passed in this manner. She mended chairs whilst thinking of Chouquet. Each year she saw him behind his bottles. She got into the habit of buying from him her medical requirements. In a manner she was near him and spoke to him and still gave him money.

"As I told you at the beginning, she died this spring. After having related all her sad history to me, she begged me to take to him, whom she had so patiently loved, her life savings, for she had only worked for him, she said, often going without in order to put by, and to make sure that he would remember her at least once when she was dead.

"She gave me 2,327 francs. I left 27 francs with the curé for her funeral, and took charge of the remainder when she had drawn her last breath.

"The next morning I betook myself to the Chouquets. They were breakfasting, facing each other, stout and robust, smelling of pharmaceutical products, important and satisfied.

"They begged me to be seated, and offered me a kirsch, which I accepted ; and I began my story in a voice full of emotion, believing they would be greatly affected.

"But the moment he understood that he had been loved by that vagabond, by that chairmender, Chouquet started up with indignation, as if she had taken away his reputation ; the esteem of honourable men ; his personal honour ; and every intimate thing that was most dear to life.

"His wife, more exasperated than he, kept repeating: 'The hussy—the hussy—the hussy,' without finding another word to say.

"He rose up and paced round the table with big steps, his night-cap falling over his ears. He fumed: 'Can one understand it, Doctor; what a terrible thing for a man. What can I do? Oh, if she were still alive, I would have her arrested by the police and thrown into prison; and she would not come out, I can tell you.'

"I remained stupefied at the result of my pious mission. I knew not what to say or do. But I had yet to complete my task. I went on: 'She has charged me to give you her savings, which amount to 2,300 francs. As what I came to tell you appears to be very disagreeable, perhaps the best thing to do is to give the money to the poor.'

"They looked at me, the man and his wife, astonished.

"I drew the money from my purse—the miserable money of all countries, and all kinds from gold to copper. Then I asked: 'What do you decide?'

"Madame Chouquet spoke first: 'Since it was the last wish of that woman it seems to me that it is difficult for us to refuse it.'

"Her husband, somewhat confused, added: 'We could always buy something for our children with it.'

"I said, drily: 'As you please.'

"He answered: 'Give it to us, then, since she has entrusted you with it; we shall find means of using it in some good work.'

"I handed over the money, said good-day, and left them.

"The next morning Chouquet came to see me, and said brusquely: 'That—that woman has left her caravan here. What are you going to do with it?'

"'Nothing; take it if you want it.'

"'Certainly; I can use it as shed for my garden.'

"He was going away. I called him back: 'She has also left her old horse and her big dogs. Do you want those?'

"He stopped, surprised: 'Oh, no; what do you think I could do with them—get rid of them how you like.'

"And he laughed. Then he offered me his hand, which I took. What would you? It is not necessary in the country for the doctor and the chemist to be enemies.

"I have kept the dogs myself. The curé, who has a large courtyard, has taken the horse. The caravan is used as a shed by Chouquet, and he has purchased five railway bonds with the money.

"That is the only profound love that I have met with in my life."

And the doctor stopped.

Then the Marquise, who had tears in her eyes, smiled: "Decidedly, doctor, it is only women who know how to love."

—Translated by H. J. Stenning.

