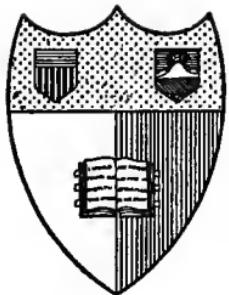


A WORLD HISTORY FOR THE WORKERS

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A WORLD HISTORY
FOR THE WORKERS

A WORLD HISTORY FOR THE WORKERS

*A Story of Man's doings from the dawn of time, from
the standpoint of the disinherited*

BY

ALFRED BARTON



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FOREWORD.

In writing this little book, I have tried to be as accurate as possible; but above all I have tried to be sincere. To some people that may appear a defect, as they will consider it heavily, if unconsciously, biassed in favour of Labour. Seeing that I was born and bred, and have always been a member of the working class, and my whole life has been devoted to its emancipation, it is possible there may be something in that contention; but in view of histories, ostensibly impartial, yet weighted to a degree against the view-point of the workers, it is just as well for the working people to have a history by one of their own.

There is one other thing I have tried to do, and that is to make history "move." I have not so much attempted a series of descriptive pictures, as I have desired to make the reader feel the forces at work that have changed and are changing the face of society.

A.B.

July, 1922.

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A World History for the Workers.

*A Story of Man's doings from the dawn of time,
from the standpoint of the disinherited.*

CHAPTER I.

Evolution.

I shall begin by taking Evolution as true. Not that the theory of Evolution is a complete explanation of the Universe; it is simply a shorthand description of its growth, and as man is part of the Universe and grows out of it, it is desirable that he should know a little of his beginnings.

The Universe, as we know it, is almost immeasurably vast in extent. We know of stars, from whence it takes light, travelling at 186,000 miles a second, scores of years to reach the earth. All heavenly bodies seem to be in one of four stages, or between them—(a) a widely diffused nebula or gas, which is gradually aggregating round certain denser portions; (b) the sun or star stage where the gas has given place to dense, hot and incandescent globes, as in the sun and stars, around which planets revolve in various stages of density, as in our solar system; (c) the earth stage, where the crust of the globe has become more dense, and various forms of matter interact, while the heat of the sun maintains life and motion; and (d) the moon stage, whence all internal heat and moisture has vanished, and solar heat is insufficient to supply the deficiency. It is presumed the latter condition is one to which the earth will come in time, but this is, so far, hypothetical, and, as in any case, the earth is probably good for millions of years, the ultimate future need not concern us.

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have smaller branches and twigs, so that one line of evolution may reach the same height of complexity as another, without any connection between them save that they sprang from the same original stem. Take for example, insects and mammals. It seems a chance that intelligent insects, like ants, did not conquer the earth before man. Possibly lack of bulk stood in the way. On this planet, a species of ape, by luck of a more pliable brain, has evolved into man, and is acknowledged master of the earth, but it is possible that on other planets, other results may have ensued.

This process of Evolution has taken vast periods of time, possibly scores, possibly hundreds of millions of years. Man as a distinctive species may have been on the earth a quarter of a million years and possibly more.

The Speed of Progress. Lest, however, we should assume that Progress is necessarily very slow, it should be noted that the speed of Progress has increased with the greater development of life and especially with that of Mind and Intelligence. In the last 10,000 years, man has made more progress than in 100,000 previously, and more, in some respects, in the last 200 than the rest of the 10,000. That is why the instability of the present time is dangerous on the one hand, but full of hope on the other.

The Goal of Progress. Is there anything approaching a Cosmic goal or plan in all this? We do not know, but the incredible waste of plant and animal life, not to speak of human; the ruthless cruelty of some of the instincts and powers of destruction that have been evolved; the apparently fortuitous circumstances which have brought death and destruction or life and salvation to a species or a people, seem to negative the conception of a benevolent intelligence behind the universe in any way comparable to that of mankind.

On the other hand, there seems to be a tendency, a nisus continually thwarted, but incessantly striving through living beings, towards a richer, more various, more harmonious mental life; towards more personal self-determination and more social goodwill, towards more Consciousness. It is Consciousness that gives all value to life, for without Consciousness, we could never know that there was a universe, or even a self.

To use metaphorical language, we should say with Lester Ward, that the object of nature appeared to be the continual increase of living matter at the expense of non-living and consciousness relatively to unconsciousness, and this process, which at first is merely increase in bulk and numbers, or quantity, tends to change in the direction of more complex and coherent organisation, or quality. The blind passions—Sex, Hunger and Conflict, tend to become sublimated into Intelligence, Ideality and Social Love, portending, perchance, the evolution of a new psychic being, the super-organism, Humanity, of whom individual minds will simply be the units and the thoughts.

This is speculation; but on the outermost edge of fact, we must speculate or die, for action requires decision, and the Optimist has as much right to the future as the Pessimist, nay more, for to believe in the final triumph of Righteousness is to make it possible.

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finally, from the gathering of wild fruit, roots and seeds to their cultivation. All modern inventions are indebted to these unknown pioneers who made all future progress possible. Morgan, Le Play, Marx and Engels, etc., have pointed out how man's mode of living and thinking is influenced by his natural environment; the sea and fishing; the steppes and pastoralism; the plain and agriculture; the forest and hunting, etc., and how his social customs and ritual and mythology, etc., are logically related to his surroundings. Then how, as tools become more elaborate, to a large extent, they take the place of natural surroundings and dominate the environment and become the chief factor in influencing his mental and social development.

On the whole, the Marxian interpretation of history is borne out by facts, but Marxians are apt to neglect one of the chief tools elaborated by man, that of Language.

Language.

The use of speech is the most remarkable item in our social heritage. Thinking, in any complete sense of the word, is impossible without language. Thought can only be clearly expressed in words, and the elaboration of language and of thought have gone side by side. True, some of the most developed languages appear to be the most simple, but this simplicity includes a much greater complexity and definiteness of words, meanings and expressions, and a greater coherence of conceptions and ideas than the cumbrous, confused and complicated idioms of primitive man. Language enables knowledge to be transmitted to the young, so that each has a means of utilising the social heritage of man's efforts in the past, and when language can be put into writing, this function is increased a thousandfold. "In the beginning was the word" is a proof of the belief in language as an influence on human life. The scientist of to-day is more inclined to say "In the beginning was the deed," for action precedes all else, but language, first spoken, then written and finally printed, is one of the most potent tools of human development.

Custom and Progress.

We must clear from our heads that progress is the normal state of mankind. Necessity, and necessity alone, is the Mother of Invention. A group of people

acquire certain habits of thought, speech and action, and because these are customary and they are afraid of change, they become sacred. This stick-in-the-mud attitude is the usual attribute of not only primitive, but of the most highly civilised communities, and it is usually only when a society is forced by disaster or fear of death, to take up some improvement, that it does so. This tendency to worship custom and revere the old because it was old, was very powerful with all primitive communities. Thus progress was very slow, and usually resulted from a tribe being placed in a strange position and having to adapt itself or die, or a tribe which had some improvement, conquering the tribe which hadn't. Hence, war and its horrors has been a source of progress, because man would listen to no other tutor. Nor is the progress at all uniform. Even to-day we have groups of men in all stages of development. Some are still in the old Stone Age, and others in the new. Some have learned the use of metals, yet have no wheeled vehicles; others are in the stage of the barbarians just before history, and others in that of the ancient civilisations.

Progress, too, is very zigzag in its course and has many backwashes. A race of people reaches a certain level. A distinctly inferior race in most respects, but having some distinctive quality, perhaps greater numbers or ferocity, or better weapons, comes along and destroys it. Nor is there any guarantee that the knowledge or capacity of the older race will be preserved. The artistic ability of the race of men that, perhaps 40,000 years ago, painted animals on the walls of the caves of Dordogne in France and Altamira in Spain was never equalled by their successors till the dawn of civilisation. It seems unlikely that with our vast capacity for recording knowledge, that our acquirements will share the fate of others in the past, but with existing methods of destruction, it is not wise to be too confident.

CHAPTER III

Barbarians and their Customs.

There are aspects of the life of primitive man that it is desirable to understand, for they throw light on the future.

Gentile
Society.

The most important is that of Social Grouping. The basis of society was the Gens or Clan. The Clan consisted of a group of people related to each other and regarding each other as brothers and sisters,—cousins, nephews, etc., being unknown relationships. Hence the term "gentleman," which dates from the time when the old clans were being broken up and only the few could or pretended to be able to trace their descent and prove their pure blood. It really denotes pride of race, the very opposite to gentleness. Inside the group all were kin, brothers and sisters (the word kind is derived from kinned), but to other clans, groups or gens they were on a footing of possible or actual enmity. At first promiscuity was prevalent in sexual relations, though at an early date, probably owing to the need of avoiding quarrels, marriage arrangements grew up. The clans were divided into classes, each with its own Totem (mascot or god, usually an animal, as kangaroo, beaver, snake, or wolf, etc., or a plant), and only men and women of one special class were allowed to associate with those of another special class; a wolf man with a snake woman, for example: with a wolf woman it would be incest and a terrible crime. The children belonged to the clan to which the mother belonged and descent traced through the mother. Hence this form is sometimes called the Matriarchate or Mother-right, but the real reason of mother descent is that it is easier to trace the mother than the father.

It has been sometimes thought that primitive men

were like the gorillas, for example, where the old man captured all the females and expelled all young males merging into manhood from the group, and ruled as autocrat till one of the younger blood killed and dispossessed him of his harem. But as Mr. Read points out, in the primitive hunting pack, all males were necessary, and so, from the earlier stages, some marriage arrangement was required to prevent mutual extermination. Patriarchalism is a later development, and began with the capture or purchase of women slaves, or the females of conquered peoples. On the other hand matriarchalism or the rule of women is also rare, but there are traces of its existence, notably in the interesting marriage customs of the Nairs of Malabar.

All animals express emotion by appropriate sounds, *Language*. but real language also expresses ideas. The language of emotion, dependent on varying tones, gives rise to music; the language of emotion expressed in gestures, gives rise to ritual, dancing and acting; the language of symbolic sounds expressing objects and ideas is the basis of knowledge and thought. But at first all were identical and the beginnings of religion, art, music, the drama and conversation were to be found in the howling and dancing round the camp fire, when food was abundant, or still more when it was scarce or enemies were threatening.

Religion seems to have originated in fear of unknown *Religion*. forces and in ritual forms or sacrifice to placate them. Fetishism or the attribution of good or bad luck to some simple incident or object (mascots we call them to-day), was possibly its first form. The primitive pack expresses its feelings by singing (or making noises) and dancing in chorus, painting and decorating themselves appropriately. At first, it is not a matter of a spirit or ghost. In fear and excitement man "shies" at harmless things like a horse does. And these things become sacred and need soothing and placating. In his attempts at explanations he falls on the idea of spirit. Spirit means breath. Breath or wind is something he hears and feels but does not see. It is a good word to express the unknown. When he suffers hunger from drought and does not know the cause he seeks to

placate the unknown spirit which brings the rain, and expresses his feelings in dancing and sacrifice. Some individuals are specially skilful in leading the dances and knowing the ritual. They become shamans or medicine men, rain-makers, and so on, and in later times priests. They form secret societies to protect their monopoly, and acquire the habit of domination. They make the ritual and ceremonies more impressive and demand greater sacrifices and more power and tithes. The Khonds of India till quite recently, and the Mexicans of old, propitiated the rain gods with human sacrifices and victims. Abraham offered his son Isaac, Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigeneia in the early days of civilisation.

Yet in the midst of fetish worship and magic and ritual dances much real knowledge was gained, for it was priests who learned the secrets of the sky, the movements of the sun and stars, the art of measurement, properties of drugs, etc. Humbug there was, but where all is dark, any suggestions, however absurd, may appear to give glimpses of light, and on the whole, the seeming fantastic rubbish of early mythology and ritual were the result of honest gropings after the tribal good. For all religions are the expression of man's needs, and grow nobler with their creator. "Gods," as Anatole France says, "improve with the sentiments of their adorers." "How much God has improved since those days," as the child said who had been reading the doings of Jehovah in the Old Testament. The real God, the passion for the Ideal, whatever its source may be, incessantly creates new forms only to discard them for better.

Animals and Gods.

It is easy to see how animal gods arose. The savage did not consider the animals as inferiors; he regarded them as equals, just as a little child does a dog or other animal. He admired the bear for his strength and cunning, and the beaver for his skill; he fought and killed and ate them, but he admired and respected them. He looked upon them as living in clans like his own, and in fact put them on a higher level than enemy clans of his own species. It was easy to believe he had descended from a parrot or a bear, fantastic as the idea

seems to us. "I am a parrot" indignantly exclaimed an Australian savage, whose clan had the parrot totem, to a traveller. Thus each clan had its totems, which became their symbols and gods. Religion, combining as it did fear and hope, art and ritual, marriage customs and mutual activity, became the binding force which welded together the clan or group of clans; and the most united clans became the largest in numbers and loyalty, and most successful in the struggle for existence. For each clan had its own gods, and it was not till empires arose and many clans subjected to one rule that the idea arose of a supreme deity, to whom all other gods were subject.

It is hard for civilised men to grasp the crudity of the savage. The Todas of the Neilgharries in Southern India, an intelligent and kindly people, worship their cows; for does not the cow provide them with all they need? And when a Toda was interrogated as to the religion of the Curumbas, a neighbouring and still more primitive tribe, he said, "What! these Curumbas have a religion! The beggars have no cows!"

Corn and Vegetable gods naturally die and go to the underworld, and are born again with the Spring, and the god was often literally killed in the person of the priest or sacrificial victim. Ritual becomes customary and sacred, the original reason is forgotten and stories are invented to explain it, and thus we have the beginnings of mythology and theology.

Cannibalism was not general even among the lowest savages, but hard necessity sometimes forced it on them, and what was an accident sometimes became a custom or ritual. The Fijians killed their old folk and ate them, yet in many ways they were superior in culture to other savages. The old people, however, took it as a matter of sacred custom and often spurred their children on to the sacrifice.

To speak of a cognate matter, the Dayaks of New Guinea have a custom of collecting human heads, of other tribes of course, and they collect impartially the heads of young and old, men and women, and preserve them as trophies. Yet otherwise they are a sociable and good natured people.

Cannibalism
and Murder
Customs.

On the other hand infanticide and abortion are and were common in primitive societies (they are not unknown in civilised ones). With man as with all animals procreation tends to outstrip subsistence, and the surplus population is partly prevented by control, and partly destroyed by recurring famine and pestilence.

Communism. Within the group or clan most things were shared in common, and even when men grew to a sense of individuality and had personal property, land and food were always shared by all. Listen to this story of the Eskimo on the banks of the Yukon.

"All the neighbours had been invited, games, songs, banquets and dances lasted several days. On the last evening, all the provisions being exhausted, the host and hostess, clad in new raiment, began to make presents, giving each friend what they thought would be acceptable to him. In this manner they distributed ten guns, ten complete suits of clothes, two hundred armfuls of strung beads, and a quantity of skins; ten of the wolf, fifty of the doe, hundred of the seal, two hundred of the beaver, five hundred sables, and a number of blankets. After which the host and hostess took off their garments, which they also gave away, and having reclothed themselves in rags, wound up by making a little speech. 'We have testified to you our affection. Now we are poorer than any of you, and we do not regret it. We have nothing left. Your friendship suffices us.'"

The Eskimo who gets rich in personal wealth holds a "potleash," or feast, and gives it all away. The civilised rich man builds up a bank balance on his neighbour's misery. Which illustrates my previous remark that progress is not in a straight line.

Inter-Tribal Relations.

In a sparsely populated world clans and tribes were largely isolated. Some were of a friendly disposition, not only within the group, but to peoples without, and Wallace's description of primitive tribes on the Amazon or in the East Indies is almost idyllic. With others, as the Navajo Indians of North America, a tribe of hunters and robbers, war, cruelty, and torture were common. In some cases tribal unions were effected over large areas, witness the Iroquois or Five Nations of Canadian Indians. Blood relations were artificially made by

mixing the blood of the stranger with that of a member of the tribe.

In the later stages of progress, tribes settled in villages and practised rude cultivation of the soil: the elders sat at the village gate to dispense justice: the people met in the assembly (Greek Ecclesia, Saxon Moot, Scandinavian Thing) to discuss the public affairs. Some barbarian races are of remarkable beauty, as the Tahitians, Tongans and Samoans of the South Seas, and of fine physical development as the Iroquois of America and Bantu of South Africa, and of no mean order of mental capacity.

"Barbarism," said Lewis Morgan, who had lived with them, "ended with the production of grand barbarians." And Professor Huxley said, "I would rather be a savage on a South Sea island than a dweller in the East End of London."

Progress seemed to halt at a certain point. And races inferior in many ways, but more fitted to survive, took the place of the grand barbarians and produced the beginnings of Civilisation.

Kinship or gentile society became transformed into civil or territorial society.

CHAPTER IV.

The Origin of Civilisation and Property.

Civilisation is the name given to communities who have learnt the art of recording their doings. It is usually regarded as synonymous with taking part in history. Its strict meaning is the establishment of Civil or Territorial in place of Kinship or Gentile Society. Peoples were grouped more by neighbourhood and obedience to a central power and less by relationship.

Why did Civilisation involve Private Property? Because when Kinship bonds were broken there were no communal bonds strong enough to take their place. That only became possible after ages of evolution. As we have seen, changes in the direction of greater complexity often broke up old integrations and left some time before new ones were established.

All early civilisations were serf or slave civilisations (the serf is tied to the soil, but has certain rights, the slave belongs entirely to his lord and master). And serfdom and slavery are due to two factors: first, that owing to the improvement of tools and man's power over matter, man can produce more than he needs for his subsistence (otherwise it would be of no use enslaving him); and second, War and Conquest.

War, the Origin of Civilisation.

The origin of war on a large scale was probably that natural changes of climate, etc., forced tribes from their former habitations and brought them in conflict with others. For example, Central Asia has been drying up for centuries. The pastoral tribes, forced to press on their neighbours, finally come into conflict with them. These press in their turn on others, and finally on the tribes settled in the alluvial valleys of the Euphrates or the Nile, where they are gradually learning the arts of

cultivation, house building, boat making, etc. The continual struggle breaks the clans up into separate units; fugitives rally round leaders, who become the heads of armies, build rude fortresses and defy their enemies. The best armed and best disciplined group conquers others and makes them serfs or slaves, the military leader takes the lion's share and becomes a little king. Sometimes the rulers are priests who have taken to military leadership as well, as in Ancient Babylon and Egypt, or in league with them as in India, where the Aryans from the North conquered the darker races and formed castes, the Brahmans, or priests, at the top, the Kshatriyas, or warriors, next to them, and then the Sudras and lower castes—and outcasts.

In unsettled times law and robbery are not very The Beginnings of Law and Property. distinguishable: the successful robber is the lawgiver, the successful rebel the divinely anointed ruler. President Diaz, of Mexico, invited the brigands to become members of a special police to put down brigandage, and was very successful. Just as an old poacher becomes a game keeper, or robber barons develope into "Our Old Nobility."

"Let us," says Elie Réclus, "draw in rough outline a history of the Social Contract more truthful than Rousseau's. Let us reproduce in broad lines the establishment of political and civil administration. A roistering blade, a fellow with a clear head and heavy hand, espies a rock commanding a defile between two fertile valleys; there he takes up his position and fortifies it. The man in possession falls upon the passers by, assassinates some, pillages and despoils the greater number. Having the power he has the right. The travellers who object to being maltreated remain at home or go round another way. Being left to himself the brigand reflects that unless he can make some arrangement he must die of hunger. Let the pedestrians recognise his rights upon the highway and they shall pass the dangerous spot on payment of a toll. The pact is concluded, and the lord grows rich.

"But lo and behold, another hero, finding the trade a goodly one, takes up his station on the rock opposite. He too slays and plunders and establishes his rights.

He thus curtails the perquisites of his colleague, who scowls and grumbles in his donjon, but remembers that the newcomer has a sturdy fist. Corsair against Corsair is not business. He resigns himself to what he cannot prevent and enters into negotiations; the first was paid, something must be paid to the second; everyone must live.

"Thereupon another rogue turns up and installs himself at another turn of the road; and he too announces from the height of his watch-tower that he shall levy his share. His pretensions clash with those of his seniors, who very plainly perceive that if three-halfpence are demanded of a traveller who has only two to give he will stay at home rather than imperil his person and baggage. Our economists fall Dick Turpin fashion upon the intruder, drag him forth, abuse him, force him to take himself off, then they claim two half farthings in addition as a just reward for the trouble they have taken in chasing away the spoiler, a legitimate recompense for the pains they are taking to prevent his return. Henceforth these two gentlemen grow richer and more powerful than ever, and entitle themselves 'Masters of the Defiles,' 'Overseers of the National Highways,' 'Defenders of Industry,' 'Sponsors of Agriculture,' all appellations repeated with delight by the simple people; for it pleases them to be imposed on under the mask of protection and to pay a large tribute to a well-bred highwayman.

"It is thus—how admirable is human ingenuity!—it is thus that brigandage becomes orderly, extends, develops, is transformed into the mechanism of public order. The institution of robbery which is not at all what a vain folk have imagined, gives birth to property and the police. Political authority, which was quite recently given out to be an emanation of Divine Right and a good gift of Providence, was constituted little by little by the care of licensed highwaymen, by the systematic efforts of brigands who were men of influence. The police were formed and educated by ruffians who prowled about the outskirts of the forest, armed with a knotted cudgel, and shouted to the trader 'Your money or your life!' Taxes were the subscription, the

premium paid by the robbed to the robbers. Joyous and grateful, the plundered placed themselves behind the knights of the highway, and proclaimed them the supporters of order, of religion, of the family, of property, of morals; consecrated them a legitimate government. It was a touching contract!"

And to quote the words of Herbert Spencer:—

"Whether it be true or not that man was born in iniquity and conceived in sin, it is certainly true that Government was born of aggression and by aggression."

Civilisation sprang from War and Slavery. We may regret it. We may be sorry that mankind was not intelligent enough to achieve the same results by superior means. But History has decided otherwise. And War and Slavery have had their functions in the development of the race. Without war men would not have broken the fetters of tribal custom, gained a wider view of the world, and a greater variety of experience and knowledge; so without slavery he would not have buckled to the drudgery of many forms of useful work, to the habit of collective and co-ordinated activity which is necessary to high production. Nor, on the other hand, should we have had a leisured and cultured class to cultivate science, art, invention and social administration as well as a higher standard of taste and enjoyment. It may reasonably be argued that these were paid for at too high a price, and that a fine life provided on the slavery of others is not worth having. But Nature asks no questions, and often achieves great results in devious ways. It is no use denying the partial beneficence of war and slavery in the early stages of man's development. But, as even Aristotle of old stated, when the shuttle weaves of itself and other things act of themselves, slaves are no longer necessary. In short, the machine, the iron slave, will supersede human slavery and the joys and refinements of life be accessible to all. Man's ten thousand years' travail is drawing to a close.

The Good Side
of War and
Slavery.

CHAPTER V

Early Civilisations.

The first civilisations we know originated in the fertile River valleys of the Euphrates (Babylonia) and the Nile (Egypt) about 10,000 years ago. Somewhat later, Chinese civilisation began in the Valley of the Tarim, and spread to those of the Hoango-ho and Yang-tse. Later still, a race allied to the Europeans conquered northern India and built up civilisations in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. An early civilisation, based largely on commerce and the sea, originating perhaps 6,000 or 7,000 years ago, sprang up in the island of Crete in the Mediterranean.

Egypt.

Our knowledge of Egypt is derived from the pictorial writings or hieroglyphics which cover its vast temples and tombs. Egypt was a priest civilisation, the Pharaoh or King being not only high priest, but God incarnate. They had numerous animal gods, the crocodile, the ibis, and the cat being sacred animals, and Amun-Ra the sun god, was incarnated in a great white bull. The chief priests probably looked upon these as symbols of the supreme deity, but the common people worshiped them for what they were. Immortality, too, was a profound belief, and their dead bodies were mummified and their tombs adorned and made comfortable for them. For about 6,000 years one dynasty of Pharaohs succeeded another, and though the country went through many vicissitudes, the religious customs and modes of life changed very little through that immense period.

Caste prevailed. A family kept to the same occupation for all time. Warriors, farmers, merchants, etc., formed a middle class between the priestly lords,

and the slaves who bore the brunt of the burden of life. On the whole, society reached a high level of culture, which, however, seemed to stop at a certain stage of development and made no advance. The monuments they erected, temples, pyramids, obelisks and statues, preserved in the dry climate of Egypt, still stagger us by their stupendous bulk. Westminster Hall could be put in the forecourt of the great temple of Amun-Ra at Thebes. The great pyramid, which is a tomb of the Pharaoh Khufu (or Cheops), measures 750 feet on each side, and is 450 feet high, and contains five million tons of stone. It was built about 3,750 B.C., and must represent an incalculable amount of slave labour.

The cultivation of the valley of the Euphrates and the **Babylonia**. Tigris commenced with the peoples of Sumer and Akkad. From the earliest historic times, they had a wonderfully ingenious method of irrigation, which made the former desert bloom like the rose. (The present desert state of the country (Mesopotamia) is due, not to the Turks, but to the Tartars under Hulagu in the 14th century, who destroyed a system that had lasted 8,000 or 9,000 years.) Babylonia, as the country is usually called, had no stone, and the people learned to use clay bricks, not only for building but for writing. They used arrow-shaped or cuneiform symbols to represent words, and scores of thousands of clay tablets, forming, in some cases, large libraries, have been unearthed and many deciphered. The earliest rulers were priest-kings, and, like Egypt, the priestly class acquired great knowledge of astronomy, agriculture and social administration, as well as magic and mythology. Sargon I. founded a great empire as early as 3,750 B.C., and the code of laws attributed to Hammurabi (though probably he only codified them) about 2,100 B.C. is of a high order, ethically and politically. Great temples and cities built of brick dotted the land, and Babylon the Great is still a word of wonder and of warning. About 1,200 B.C. the Assyrians, a people who lived on the Tigris, which falls into the Euphrates, grew into power. They learnt the use of the horse and war chariot, and conquered Babylonia and a large part of Western Asia. They were a warlike people, but finally died out as a power,

and Babylonia once more regained its priority, to fall soon after before the conquering arms of the Persians—539 B.C.—who, for a couple of centuries, dominated the civilised world of Western Asia and Egypt.

There are other nations who have left monuments, which we cannot yet decipher, such as Khita, or the Hittites, which held Assyria at bay at one time; the Elamites of Southern Persia, a civilisation coeval with Akkad and Sumer; Lydia, in Asia Minor, chiefly known through its king, Crœsus, and others. The Phœnicians, a trading people, inhabited the Syrian coast, where Tyre and Sidon flourished. Later, a people called the Israelites established themselves in Palestine, to the South of Phœnicia, and though priest-ruled and superstition-ridden, were remarkable for having dispensed with images or idols of their god, a development which favoured a higher and more spiritual conception of deity and a nobler religious literature (the Bible).

Crete, etc.

A most interesting development is that of Crete, an island in the Mediterranean Sea. Monuments show a series of high civilisations, which were finally wiped out by fire and massacre about 1,000 B.C. The Cretan economy was built on trade (including probably piracy and slave-trade). The palaces discovered at Knossos on the island were not only magnificent buildings, but almost modern in construction, with drains and lifts, etc. Their decorations show bull-fights and other amusements, and the dresses, as well as apparent freedom of action of the women, as there depicted, seem remarkably accordant with modern fashion and ideas. Cretan civilisation is of a fairly high order as far back as the beginnings of Egypt, but seems to have fallen and risen again more than once, having reached its zenith about 3,000 B.C. and its final fall about 1,000 B.C. Further west, the Phœnicians established a colony on the coast of Africa, called Carthage. Carthage became a mighty state, ruled by a senate of wealthy plutocrats, in conjunction with the priests of Moloch. It came in contact and rivalry with the rising power of Rome, and the struggle for world-power resulted in the three Punic wars, 264—241, 219—201, and 149—146 B.C., which ended in the absolute destruction of Carthage.

Thus men learned through War, Slavery and Superstition to control the forces of nature; to gain knowledge and to impart it; to unite in great masses over large areas for great enterprises; to make complex rules and laws, and to obey them, and, finally, to make things to awaken beauty and terror and delight, in halls, temples and sculpture, in pictures and writings.

In the process of Adaptation, the human Consciousness was widening, deepening and integrating. The highest things were as yet concreted in custom and constrained by force, but we get traces of new developments in the story of Pharaoh Akhnaton of Egypt (about 1,500 B.C.), who simplified religion to worship of the one god, Aton, symbolised by the sun, and the practice of goodness. Overthrown by the priests, his reign is still a refreshing episode in the hard and arid record of wars and brutalities.

CHAPTER VI.

The Glory that was Greece.

Progress, we can never too often repeat, is never in a straight line, or even a spiral, but a zigzag. Man lost as well as gained when civilisation superseded barbarism, and often, also, when one civilisation succeeded another. By some extraordinary stroke of fortune, civilisation reached a height in the little country of Greece, or Hellas, to use its proper name (and especially in Athens), that it had never attained before, and possibly not since in such concentrated degree, and then gave way to Roman mediocrity, which, in its turn, was superseded by northern barbarism, though the spirit of Greece never entirely died out, and is still a mighty influence.

**The Greeks
and their
Origins.**

Greece was a small country, cut up by mountain ranges and arms of the sea into still smaller territories, which usually became independent states. Attica, the territory belonging to Athens, had an area of only 700 square miles (compare Lancashire with 1,700 square miles). Yet these little states have done more for civilisation than all the great empires. And why? Because they broke the fetters of custom and tradition which bound the human intellect and inspired human thought to criticise, analyse and observe everything under the sun, and, in so doing, they opened up new vistas to the soul, and expressed dreams of beauty as fair as ever mankind has yet perceived. The Hellenes, or Greeks, were portions of tribes pushed forward by the pressure from drying-up Central Asia, and breaking up their old Kinship or Gentile associations into war-like groups led by war chiefs; but they developed in the process, a tool of marvellous efficacy in the process of

thought,—a remarkably expressive and beautiful language. Two of their oldest sagas or epic hero poems, the Iliad and Odyssey, attributed to a blind bard, Homer, who probably simply improved and welded the old songs and stories, are still unsurpassed in beauty and vividness of diction. The Hellenes conquered the original inhabitants of Greece, and also incorporated some of their culture, which had probably come from Crete. They spread over the western portion of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, and later, formed colonies in the Crimea, Sicily, Italy, France (at Marseilles), and in Egypt and Syria. Restless and quick-witted, and compelled by the nature of the country to trade rather than agriculture, they gathered knowledge and acquired the power of speculative thought and action.

Owing largely to the nature of the country, each city with its surrounding country became an independent state, and from about 700 B.C. there was, compared with Eastern nations, a richer intellectual development and culture in these free cities. As we pointed out, Persia had succeeded Babylonia, and had created a greater empire than had ever existed before, having absorbed all western Asia, Egypt, and part of India as well. It was the attempt of the Persian "King of Kings," Darius, and then Xerxes, to subject European Greece to her Asiatic despotism, that brought Greece into the world stream. At Marathon, 490 B.C., Thermopylae and Salamis, 480 B.C., the Persian hordes were resisted and turned back, and with the spirit of victory and freedom began "the glory that was Greece."

That glory reflects mainly from one state, Athens. Sparta and Athens.

Athens and Sparta form a great contrast in many respects. Sparta was a military society, and each citizen trained specially for war. Art and literature were despised. Wealth was condemned and money was made of iron, so as not to tempt men to accumulate it. The term "Spartan" is still used to denote a hard, vigorous campaigning sort of life. The Spartan slaves were termed helots. Cruelly treated, they were deliberately murdered when they became too numerous. A story is told that when the country was in danger,

some of the slaves were promised freedom if they would fight for their masters. They did so, and victory was obtained. They were then invited to the temple to celebrate the occasion of their emancipation. Once inside, not one came out alive. They were massacred by their Spartan masters. Slavery was also the basis of Athenian civilisation, but the Athenian slaves generally had rights and privileges, and laws were passed to punish those masters who treated them too brutally. It was also possible for slaves, under certain conditions, to earn money and buy their freedom, but special cases of cruel treatment, as those in the silver mines of Laurium, were numerous.

Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, justified slavery on the ground that it was necessary for the many to be slaves in order that the few could live noble and beautiful lives, devoted to philosophy and art. In those days, when hard labour was still the basis of production, there was some basis of truth in the statement, but as Aristotle himself goes on to say, "when the time comes that the shuttle will weave and iron implements move of themselves, there will be no further need of masters and slaves." It is Science and Machinery which has made slavery unnecessary to-day.

Athenian Democracy. So far as the *free* population of Athens were concerned, they lived under a system which had some notable similarities to that suggested by Social Democrats. The majority of free citizens were in receipt of payments by the State for social service, in addition to their income as craftsmen, farmers and traders. The dicasticon, a small money payment, but sufficient for livelihood, was paid daily to about 6,000 citizens (with their families, a third of the free population) for sitting on the juries or courts. The juries were judges as well, and the chief one was the great Court of Areopagus, which comprised several hundred members, and performed, in addition to judicial functions, a good deal of legislative work. Another payment, the ecclesiasticon, was made for attending the Ecclesia, or mass meeting of citizens, and there were others. These payments were not doles, but remuneration for work performed nowadays by salaried officials, judges and

members of parliament, etc. The State derived its revenue mainly from woods, pastures, lands and mines, and other collective property. It owned the wharves and warehouses of its port, the Piræus, and even entered into trade, both home and foreign. It also imposed heavy "liturgies" on the rich, and used its resources to build magnificent temples, like the Parthenon, still the wonder and glory of the world, to initiate glorious festivals and feasts free to all citizens, in honour of the city's goddess, Pallas Athene, and to provide great open air theatres, where the finest plays were produced. There were splendid public sports, at which there were also competitions for intellectual efforts, as poems, plays and stories, and the greatest prize was the simple crown of laurel or wild olive. Thus by the State guarantee of a livelihood, the Athenian citizens were freed from the struggle for existence in its severer aspects and were enabled to devote a considerable part of their activity to art and public welfare. The result of this was an efflorescence of intellectual and artistic development unequalled in the world's history.

Francis Galton says that Athens in its period of glory of about 200 years, 600—400 B.C., produced two men, Socrates (the philosopher) and Pheidias (the sculptor and architect), who have never been equalled, and fourteen men of such transcendent ability, that only five to compare with them have been produced by the Anglo-Saxon race during the past 2,000 years; and J. A. Symonds suggests that the average ability of the Athenian race was as far above our own, as that is above the Australian savage. These statements are probably exaggerated. Genius is like oxygen in the air, which needs a vast amount of inert nitrogen to counterbalance a small portion of it, but names like Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon (historians, etc.); Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes (philosophers); Pheidias, Praxiteles (sculptors); Miltiades, Pericles (statesmen); Demosthenes (orator); Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes (dramatists), and many others form a galaxy of intellectual stars unequalled in the firmament of history.

**The Fall of
Greece.**

The states of Greece were small. They influenced the world by their culture, even the great Persian Empire itself, but they never grasped the meaning of representative government, by which outside bodies could have been assimilated and not subjected. They were at continual war between themselves. The Peloponessian war between Athens and Sparta, which lasted 27 years, sapped the resources, killed the spirit, and corrupted and destroyed democratic and socialistic institutions. It is sometimes said these latter pampered the people and caused their ruin. On the contrary, while they flourished, Athens flourished. It was not till war had killed the democratic spirit that Athens fell. Demagogues, like Cleon (an ancient replica of Lloyd George), were the symptoms of the decline of Democracy into predatory imperialism, and the massacre of Melos was the last bitter fruit of that policy. The Macedonians, a more northern race, with some Greek culture, under their King Philip, crushed Greece by force of numbers. Philip's son, Alexander, used Greek intelligence to conquer the world as it was known then, from Armenia to India, from Bactria (Afghanistan) to the Mediterranean; as well as Asia Minor and Egypt. Like other conquerors, he passed away, and the Asiatic world was divided amongst his generals, and the Ptolemys of Egypt; the Seleucids of Syria and other dynasties, ruled Asia and Egypt till the Romans came.

**The Greek
Ideal.**

But the Greek idealism is imperishable. These words of Pericles, describing the Athenians of his day, still speak out from the past:—

“ We cultivate refinement without extravagance and “ philosophy without effeminacy. With us, men are “ expected to attend to their public as well as their “ private duties. Even those engaged in manual labour “ have a competent knowledge of political questions, “ and we alone, if a man takes no part in such questions, “ instead of excusing him as being ‘ no meddler,’ despise “ him as being no good citizen.”

It is interesting to recall that the word “ politics” comes from the Greek word “ polis,” or city; that the

word "idiot" comes from the Greek word "idiotes," meaning a private citizen who takes no part in the affairs of the state.

Let me finish with the stirring reply of a Greek to a Persian Governor:—"You don't know what you are advising us to do, Hydarnes, for you know what it is to be a slave, but the sweetness of freedom you have never tasted. If you felt it, you would tell us to fight for it, not with spears only but with axes."

CHAPTER VII.

Rome and the Cæsars.

Rome was a very different state from Athens. Starting as a nest of robber traders and pirates on the river Tiber, the Romans built up that Imperial civilisation, whose barbaric pomp has since dominated the world; for that Imperial ideal is only different in degree from that of the robber horde who boasted their descent from the wolf-suckled brothers, Romulus and Remus about 753 B.C.

**Patricians
and
Plebeians.**

While the Romans were fighting their neighbours, they were also engaged in continual class struggles. The Patricians oppressed the Plebeians, mainly by usury, for the creditor had the right in the last resort, not only to strip, but to enslave the debtor. The Plebeians, mostly small farmers in peace, and soldiers in war, resisted, at times to the point of revolt. One incident was when they withdrew to the Mons Sacer, or Holy Mountain, and threatened to form a new city of their own. Their threat was successful for the time being. Other agitations and revolts took place under the leadership of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, who were both murdered by the aristocrats, 133 and 121 B.C. Listen to the words of Tiberius Gracchus: " Soldiers of Rome ! you are called the conquerors of the world. The wild beasts have their dens, but you have not an inch of land to call your own." How modern it sounds. The struggle between Patricians and Plebeians ended at last, but not by an act of justice. The changing conditions of the world made many plebeians rich in money and slaves and new class divisions sprang up. Meanwhile, Roman dominion extended in all directions. We have seen how the Phoenicians or Punic colony of Carthage had grown to power in the Western

Mediterranean. In three long and bloody wars, 264—241, 219—201, and 149—146 B.C., Carthage was utterly destroyed. So were all Rome's enemies, and she proceeded to take over the states which sprang from Alexander's empire, as well as to expand over Europe, including Britain, France and Spain, as well as North Africa. Thus, about the Christian era, Rome, under Augustus Cæsar, 27 B.C., became the great world Empire.

In these wars, the Roman people got rich by plunder of lands and slaves. There was a rich minority of big landowners and financiers. Then there were "free" Roman citizens, mostly artisans, etc., fed and amused by the state to keep them contented. The small farmer class was replaced by huge estates run by slave labour. The Roman slaves were ruthlessly and cruelly treated. Sometimes they revolted, and there is the record of a great slave war under Spartacus, which lasted several years, ending in the death of Spartacus and the crucifixion of many thousand victims. The rich folk, too, used the slaves to fight each other or wild beasts, as gladiators in the public games, etc.; and not till the gradual development of a more humane public spirit under the influence of philosophy, and later of Christianity (which was itself, in its beginning, a spiritual revolt against oppression), was this abolished.

In war and conquest, military leaders become despots. Imperialism and Emperor are derived from Imperator —a military leader. Julius Cæsar, killed 44 B.C., gave the name Cæsar (of which Kaiser and Tsar are other forms), which has been used by most despots, to a long succession of absolute rulers. Most of these Emperors were half or wholly mad with irresponsible power and pride, as Nero, who is said to have set fire to Rome and fiddled while it burned; but a few were noble and efficient men, like Trajan, Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, whose goodness, however, was largely helpless, because it had to use the machinery of a bureaucracy, highly organised for rapacity. The Christian Emperors were no improvement, for when the Christian Church got power and riches, it forgot most of the principles enunciated by its founder.

Roman
Slavery.

Imperialism
and
Caesarism.

**The Benefits
of Roman
Rule.**

In more barbarous countries like Gaul and Britain, Roman rule doubtless made some improvements in the shape of a settled law, an increase of culture, and magnificent roads. Roman rule, too, stifled petty squabbles and wars between the races under its dominion. The best that can be said of Roman Imperial civilisation is, that it kept fairly well the peace of the world and passed on, partially, the culture derived from the Greeks. The Roman Empire ended in the rule of a few wealthy landowners, usurers and ecclesiastics over a mass of slaves who had no interest in defending it from the barbarians, and when they came, 410 A.D., it perished.

Yet Rome had some influence on the higher life of the world. It was a Roman dramatist who produced the noble line: "I am a man and all that affects mankind concerns me." It was a Roman Stoic who told the story of the pilot who said in the storm: "Save me or drown me as you will, Neptune, I shall hold the ship to her course to the end." It was the stoic Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, who said: "That cannot be bad for the bee which is good for the swarm." It was in Judæa, under Roman rule, that a carpenter of Nazareth said: "But a new commandment bring I unto you, that ye love one another." The germ was growing, but as yet it was very weak and tender. "Homo homini lupus" (Man is a wolf to man) was a nearer description of the reality. Is it so different to-day?

CHAPTER VIII.

The Dark Ages.

Some writers have ascribed the fall of the Roman Empire to "panem et circenses," bread and games supplied free to the free citizens of Rome, but even if these were demoralised, they were a very small proportion of the population. Pliny's statement that "Latifundia," or large landed estates, worked by slaves, were the cause, is nearer the mark. In other words, monopoly of land and riches by an idle inefficient class, and the lack of interest by the slaves whether they were ruled by Romans or barbarians, is sufficient reason, in face of the clouds of virile invaders who came out of the forests and steppes and pressed on the defences of the Empire.

The cause of this invasion is geographical, and has The Cause
of the
Invasion. resulted in several such political convulsions, both before and since. Central Asia has been drying up for generations. Lake Baikal, the sea of Aral and the Caspian, were once connected, but are decreasing in extent. The tribes on the interior have consequently to press on their neighbours for more territory for pasture, etc., the latter in turn resist or press forward their neighbours, and so on. At intervals, the pressure becomes unendurable, clans and tribes are broken up, migrating masses group themselves round intrepid leaders, who attack the cultivated fields and wealthy cities, and carve out empires for themselves; and so the old civilisation is overwhelmed, largely destroyed, but also partly assimilated. In Britain, Roman civilisation was almost completely destroyed; in Gaul (France) and Italy, more was preserved, the new warrior kings took on the old titles and the priests and ecclesiastics took

advantage of barbarian ignorance to build up a new Cæsarism, with the Pope of Rome as chief.

The Rise of the Muslim.

In the East, somewhat later, a huge mass movement of Bedouin (nomad) Arabs, along with the discontented masses of these lands, were focussed by the teaching of the prophet Muhammad, who taught the equality of all before God; and although Islam still recognised slavery and polygamy, yet it was more democratic in its spirit than the system it overthrew, although that went by the name of Christian. These Arab invaders swept across Western Asia and North Africa, and even as far as Spain, and created a Muslim civilisation, that for a time made towns like Bagdad in Mesopotamia, Cairo in Egypt, and Granada in Spain—centres of a flourishing and artistic civilisation, with even an inclination to Science. These fell in their turn before other Mussulman tribes like the Tartars (who destroyed the fine irrigation works of the old Babylonians and made Mesopotamia a desert), and later the Turks. Part of the old Roman Empire, with its capital at Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire, as it is called, still survived, though in a decadent state, till it was finally captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

The period from about 450 to 1000 A.D. is sometimes called the Dark Ages. The various groups of barbarians were settling down, through incessant war and turmoil, into more or less defined feudal lordships and city states, and these in larger national states, while Christian priests and Frankish and German emperors were trying to rebuild Roman Imperialism, the first through the Pope—the Holy Roman Church, and the latter through the Emperor—the Holy Roman Empire, as it was called.

Feudalism.

The real history of these days is the growth of Feudalism. The idea of feudalism was that of homage. The Lord held the castle or manor, which was also a fortress. His vassals were allowed to cultivate the land in the vicinity, on condition that they took the oath of fealty, paid their dues in kind and followed him to battle with horse and gear provided by themselves. The serfs, or villeins, had a still smaller share of land, and heavier dues in labour, for they had to put in about three out of the six days of the week on the lands of their masters.

The serf was part of the property, and was a slave in every respect, except that he could not be torn from the scil, and had certain customary rights which even the lord could not take away—in theory. The lord himself had to do homage, and provide men and gear for the king, as lord of lords, but this was a gradual and later development, and for a long time the barons were really independent monarchs. Priests, as abbots, bishops, etc., were often also feudal lords. Usually the priesthood favoured the rich and powerful, but monks and friars and poorer priests were often genuinely in sympathy with the poor. Sometimes even, like the prophets of old, they took up the case of the masses against their oppressors. Wat Tyler's Rebellion, 1371, belongs to a later date, but the conditions were much the same, and we have had preserved the fine speech of the wandering friar, John Ball, who lost his life for the people he fought for. "Good people, things will never go well in England, so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villains and gentlemen. By what right are they, whom we call lords, greater folk than we ? On what grounds have they deserved it ? Why do they hold us in serfage ? If we all come of the same father and mother, Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we ? If it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride. They are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs and ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread ; and we oatcake, and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses ; we have pain and labour, the rain and wind in the fields, and yet it is of our toil that these men hold their State."

But the John Balls have always been the rare exception, as a Conrad Noel is to-day.

Feudalism had its picturesque features. Sir Walter Scott revels in stories of tournaments, of fair ladies and the chivalry of knights, but the grim fortresses called castles, with dungeons and torture chambers, are far more eloquent of the reality. If one wants proof that private landownership (above the limit which the owner works by his own labour) arose by violence and the arm

of the strong man, he only needs to study the history of feudalism. The chief occupation of the lords were war, hunting, revelling and ruling. Meanwhile, growing up under their protection were towns and cities of traders and skilled artisans, necessary to provide the luxuries and increasing needs of the nobility. Man's power over nature was growing once more, and a new class comes into prominence—the Burghers, or people of the towns.

CHAPTER IX.

A Golden Age for Labour—Free Cities and Guilds.

'All classes striving for power are revolutionary, and talk of Equality. All classes, when they get into power, are conservative and are convinced that equality is an iridescent dream. All classes but one—the Working Class, for as Comte has said, "The working class is not, properly speaking, a class at all, but constitutes the body of society." But the day of the working class, the fusion of all useful people, has not even yet arrived.

The Burgher or Town-dwellers' class was mainly a commercial and artisan class, though each city had its lands and estates. Man's power over nature was growing, though trade was largely local, and carried on by groups or guilds of merchants, who were also either producers or closely connected with them, and prices of goods were fixed by old customs or by regulations of the Guilds. From about 1000 to 1400 A.D. there was a movement spread over the whole of Europe, in which town after town demanded the right of governing its own affairs, and especially in industry. To quote Kropotkin, "With a unanimity that seems almost incomprehensible, and for a long time was not understood by historians, the urban agglomerations, down to the smallest burgs, began to shake off the yoke of their worldly and clerical lords. The fortified village rose against the lord's castle, defied it first, attacked it next, and finally destroyed it. The movement spread from spot to spot, involving every town on the surface of Europe, and in less than a hundred years free cities had been called into existence on the coast of the Mediterranean, the North Sea and the Baltic, in the plains of Russia, Hungary, France and Spain. Everywhere the same revolt took place. Wherever men had found or

*The Rise
of the
Communes.*

expected to find some protection behind their town walls, they instituted their 'cojurations,' their 'fraternities,' their 'friendships,' united in one common idea, and boldly marching towards a new life of mutual support and liberty; and they succeeded so well that in three or four hundred years they had changed the very face of Europe. They had covered the country with beautiful sumptuous buildings, expressing the genius of free unions of free men, unrivalled since for their beauty and expressiveness, and they bequeathed to the following generations all the arts and all the industries, of which our present civilisation with all its achievements and promises for the future is only a further development."

"The Commune," Guilbert de Nogay wrote, "is an oath of mutual aid, a new and detestable word. Through it the serfs are freed from all serfdom; through it they can only be condemned to a legally determined fine for breaches of the law; through it they cease to be liable to payments which the serfs also used to pay."

The Guilds.

The Mediæval Guild has sometimes been compared with the modern trade union, but that is not correct. There were apprentices, journeymen and masters in the Guild, strictly regulated by custom, and every apprentice had a real chance of becoming a "master" by skill and industry. The Assembly of the Guild elected its officer yearly, and their functions were many. They regulated prices and did not allow competition, sweating or speculation. They controlled production to its utmost details, and insisted that all work should be of the best quality and a credit to the Guild and to the city. They punished "forestalling and regrating" (which we call "cornering" and legitimate speculation) by severe penalties. They saw to the sick, the widow and the orphan. They contributed to civic expenses and public buildings and paid for religious expenses and masses for the souls of the dead. It is this last function which has led some to claim that the Guild was a religious institution due to the Roman Catholic Church, but this was simply because everything was permeated by religious ceremony in those days. As a matter of fact, the free cities were the birthplaces of

heresy and free thought, and the high dignitaries of the Church were usually on the side of the rich and powerful, except in special cases, where there was a contest for supremacy between Pope and Emperor.

The City itself was a sort of federation of Guilds, and sometimes undertook the food supply, etc., for the whole of its citizens. In its early stages it was governed by the mass meeting of the whole of its citizens (Greek "ecclesia," Anglo-Saxon "moot," Scandinavian "thing"), which usually appointed some head or chief—Mayor, Prince, Podesta, or Doge, with a council to carry out the laws. Often these rulers exceeded their duty and the people would rise in arms against them and appoint others.

The application of communal principles varied Internal Struggles. greatly. From an early date there were struggles between Guilds for superiority. Later on, divisions appeared in the Guilds themselves, and in some cases the journeymen formed separate Guilds from the masters.

In England, the Merchants' and Goldsmiths' Guilds, and a few others, early acquired predominance, and to this day London is a nominally free city (we refer to the city, not the town). In Russia, Novogorod, Pskov, etc., were thoroughly democratic, and when the great bell of Novogorod rang (and any citizen could ring it) the people flooded the market place like a sea with their Vyeche or mass meeting. Unfortunately, the Tartars, under Jengis Khan, swept over Asia and Eastern Europe about 1200 A.D., and Russia was submerged, and had to start afresh, under the military princes or Tsars of Moscow, beneath whose sway liberty was impossible. In Italy and Flanders, and later on Germany, the large cities were independent states that fought or treated with each other, the Pope and the Emperor himself. The histories of Florence in Italy, Ghent in Flanders, and Nuremburg in Germany, to mention only three of these, are exceptionally interesting in their story of the more or less successful struggles of the poorer class of artisans with the wealthier Guilds; the "popolo grasso" and "popolo basso," but the theme requires a history in itself.

**Cathedrals,
Noble
Buildings
and Science**

As the ancient cities celebrated their glory by building temples to their gods, so the mediæval worker expressed his emotions in fine churches to the patron saints of his Guild or Commune, and the great Gothic cathedrals that are found all over Europe show the interest taken in their work by free Guildsmen united by an ideal of civic greatness. "No works must be begun by the Commune but such as are conceived in response to the grand heart of the Commune, composed of the hearts of all citizens united in one common will," were the words of the Council of Florence. Not only the fine arts, but industry and science, owe the possibility of their later development to the Guilds and free cities. "Parchment and paper," says Whewell, "printing and engraving, improved glass and steel, gunpowder, clocks, telescopes, the mariner's compass, the reformed calendar, the decimal notation, algebra, trigonometry, chemistry and counterpoint are all possessions which we inherit from this period." And as Kropothen observes, "Francis Bacon, Galileo and Copernicus were the direct descendants of a Roger Bacon and a Michael Scott, as the steam engine was the direct product of the researches carried on in the Italian Universities, on the weight of the atmosphere and of the mathematical and technical learning which characterised Nuremberg. "And why," he continues, "should we take trouble to insist upon the advance of science and art in the mediæval city? Is it not enough to point to the cathedrals in the domain of skill and to the Italian language and the poem of Dante in the domain of thought (and to a less degree the English language and Chaucer), to give at once the measure of what the mediæval city created during the four centuries it lived?"

**The Condition
of the
Worker.**

Thorold Rogers says the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the Golden Age of the English labourer; possibly a little earlier in Flanders and Italy. Sanitation, it is true, was abominable, but wages were sufficient to provide plenty of good food and necessaries. The average labour day was 8 hours, with plenty of Church holidays to provide leisure. The artisan had, through his Guild, practical control of his

own work, and there was the support of the Guild in distress, old age or sickness.

Why did the Guilds decay? Chiefly, because they were close corporations, and did not understand the full meaning of solidarity. As the towns grew, newcomers came in, and the privileges of Guilds and Cities were not opened widely to them. So there grew up a class of unguilded workers and differences of status between one guild and another. Then townspeople, for the sake of peace, refused to interfere with the feudal lords' oppression of their serfs, and the serfs came to hate the burghers. Thus, as a wealthy class grew up, these naturally preferred a strong government to the menace of democracy, and also preferred a central authority to regulate commerce, which was growing rapidly. So they played into the hands of kings and absolute rulers, and the liberties of cities gradually disappeared, except in name. The class division of rich manufacturers, merchants and exploited artisans came into being. The final blow was given by the discovery of the sea routes to America by Columbus, 1492, and to India by Vasco da Gama, 1498. These discoveries dislocated industry and the former trade routes. Italy, for example, was cut out by the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope, and its trade decayed in consequence. The influx of precious metals upset all customary prices, and the old centres of wealth and influence were replaced by new ones. William Morris held that Europe was never nearer Socialism than in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the opportunity passed, and the world is still in travail.

CHAPTER X.

A False Dawn.

The period that follows is variously called the Renaissance (Re-birth), the Reformation, the Revival of Learning, the Age of Discovery, and all these descriptions are to some extent true, but the Advent of Capitalism is the best description, and from the point of view of the masses, it was but the dawn of a darker day of servitude. We have already spoken of the growth of class division in the cities, leading to a greater centralised government in most cases. This was facilitated to some extent by the mutual wars of local lords, and the loss of many in the Crusades (partly spontaneous outbreaks of a superstitious people to conquer the Holy Places from the Muslims, and partly an effort of the trading and ruling class to get the riches of India and the East), so that the King got more power on the one hand, and the vassals of the lords often became free cultivators and peasants.

Enclosing "the Land." The aristocracy were, however, determined to regain their power. Flanders, or Belgium, was a country of great cities, where cloth was manufactured. Wool was needed, and England was in the position of Australia to-day—capable of supplying the raw material. It paid the large owners of land in England to evict their tenants and throw the land into huge sheep farms, which only needed a few shepherds. The small owners had no official title-deeds, and it was easy for crafty lawyers to seize their little possessions for their wealthier neighbours. Sir Henry Maine has said that most of the land of England has passed to its present owners by the mistakes of lawyers—mistakes that in lesser criminals were punished by hanging.

"The law convicts the man or woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

In 1549, Bishop Latimer in a sermon said: "Futhermore, if the King's honour, as some say, standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graziers, inclosers and rent-rearers are hinderers of the King's honour, for where as have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog.

It was in the reign of King Henry VIII., 1509—1547, Reformer of the Church and Defender of the Faith, that the climax came in this country. A large part of the land had got into the hands of the Church, or societies, like Guilds, which were mixed up with it, as indeed everything was, except the new wealthy trading class; and the Church, as represented by the monks, were more kindly in their relations to the people than the new nobility. On the plea of religious reform, the latter turned their eyes on the Church lands and goods and pillaged them mercilessly. Monks and priests were tortured and executed for heresy and treason or turned adrift, and in the name of Reformed Religion Henry VIII. suppressed 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2,374 chantries, and 110 hospitals, with a total income of nearly two millions per annum. Besides these, Guilds were also plundered, and the loot divided among the new aristocracy; many of our "noble" families dating from this time, such as the Howards (Dukes of Norfolk), Russells (Dukes of Bedford), the Cecils (Earls of Salisbury), and many others.

The people driven from the land became vagabonds, and it is said that 72,000 were executed during the latter years of Henry's reign. Later on, Queen Elizabeth was forced to establish the Poor Law for their benefit, and many were apprenticed to small employers in what is called the Domestic Industry, which was the beginning of the Capitalist wage system.

How the people were treated is shown by the following letter taken from the archives of the country, ^{Henry's Idea of Ruler-}ship.

and written by the King himself. The Duke of Norfolk had pacified some rebels by pardon and promise of redress. The King writes to the Duke: "Our pleasure is that — you shal in any wise cause suche dredfull execution to be done upon a good nombre of their habitantes of every town, village and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them uppe in trees as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heddes and quarters in every town great and small, and in al suche other places as they may be a fearfull spectacle to all other hereafter that would practice any light mater; which we requyre you to doo, without pitie or respect, according to our former letters, remembering that it shal be moche better that these traitours shuld perish in their wilfull, unkynde and traitorous folyes, thenne that so slendre punishment shuld be doon upon them, as the dredde thereof shuld not be a warning to others."

This lecherous and treacherous royal pillager and liar and his foul associates were the founders of modern England, and the social system which prevails to this day.

Royalty and Cruelty.

These crimes were not confined to "reformed" countries. Already, in 1310, Philip the Fair of France had tortured and murdered Jacques du Molay and 546 of his brave Templars (a body of monks who were also knights, formed to fight for the Holy Land) in order to seize their wealth, using the plea of heresy as an excuse. As in England, a new aristocracy of Court hangers-on took the place of the old fighting barons.

Spain was the seat, till 1492, of an Arab or Moorish kingdom, surrounded by Christian feudal states, as well as free cities like Toledo, Salamanca and Cordoba. The process of centralisation resulted in the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella; the conquest of the Moors and the establishment of the Inquisition, with the wholesale torturing and burning of heretics, Jews and Moors. Italy also had its tyrants in the Borgias (Popes of Rome), the Medici of Florence and the Visconti of Milan, but never became centralised, and its trade and wealth decayed on account of the changing of the trade routes to the East. In Russia, the Tartars had wiped

out the old civilisation, and it grew up again under the ruthless hands of the Romanovs of Moscow, whose striking example is the bloody Ivan the Terrible. Despotism and serfdom were henceforth the lot of Russia till the middle of last century.

The knowledge that had grown up in the cities had been spread faster with the invention of printing, one of the greatest tools man ever invented, for it enabled him to record his knowledge and add greatly to it. The dispersal of the Greek scholars by the capture of Constantinople in 1453 also spread Greek literature and art, and its influence over Europe. Some results of this were fine, as in the case of authors like Erasmus, Colet, Cervantes and Sir Thomas More (executed by Henry VIII.), whose *Utopia* was one of the first reasoned defences of Communism, and depicts an ideal society based on Equality of condition; or of dramatists like Shakespeare, with his magnificent vision of life; or the Italian Michael Angelo, the sculptor; or Leonardo da Vinci, great in painting, engineering, sculpture, poetry and prose. Other products were equally vile, as Macchiavelli, whose work "The Prince," is a text book for statesmen of perfidy and scoundrelism in their vilest forms, but this Revival of Learning was only the aftermath of the glory of the free cities, and did not endure.

The stimulus of the new trade discoveries and their results, and the growth of enlightenment, also resulted in a revolt against the old superstitions, a movement which is known as the Reformation. The term "Reformation" has, however, to be taken with a grain of salt. "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large," as Milton says. The Protestant countries were, however, more progressive than the Catholic, chiefly because the division of Protestants into many sects, due to the doctrine of Private Judgment on the Bible, prevented one powerful church from dominating, and led to more tolerance and freedom of discussion and research. Countries where feudal aristocracy was strong were inclined to Catholicism, because it upheld authority. Trading countries inclined to Protestantism because the trading class wanted freedom for enterprise and dis-

covery; but when the Reformation touched the masses, when the peasant and artisan used his judgment and wanted real Christianity—the Brotherhood of Equals in the Kingdom of God—the ruling class, reformed and unreformed, united to slay them. They had already done this in Bohemia (Czecho-Slovakia) when John Huss' (burnt at the stake in 1415) followers, the Taborites, established a Communist brotherhood and lived in peace until the nobility and rich burghers of the surrounding lands attacked and ruthlessly exterminated them in 1436. So, when Luther, after successfully defying the Roman Church, found the Anabaptists trying to put Christianity into practice, he called on the princes of Germany to exterminate them, which they did with hellish fury. Listen to Thomas Munzer, the Anabaptist leader: "Look you, the sediment of the soup of usury, theft and robbery are the great, the masters. They take all creatures as their property—the fish in the water, the birds in the air, the vegetation of the earth; and then they preach God's commandment to the poor, 'Thou shalt not steal,' but this is not for themselves. They bone and scrape the poor mechanic and farmer until these have nothing left, then when the latter put their hands on the sacred things, they are hanged, and Doctor Liar says, Amen! The cause of the rebellion they won't abolish, how then can things change for the better?"

After the masses were crushed, Catholics and Protestants proceeded to try to annihilate each other, though, as a matter of fact, religious differences were usually the excuse of economic and dynastic quarrels.

We have seen that the growth of centralised monarchy, the Reformation and the Revival of Learning, were all the results of the growth of a wealthy commercial class and a new and sordid aristocracy, who appropriated the people's land and caused the formation of a landless poverty-stricken class. These, no longer guaranteed a living, were forced to sell their labour for bread to the rising capitalist, and to the farming class, for wages in money or kind. Serfdom was giving place to wage slavery, but this process was immensely accelerated by a series of remarkable discoveries. In

1492, Columbus (a Genoese navigator acting for the King of Spain) had discovered America and Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to India in 1498. The Spaniards and Portuguese followed these discoveries up by the Conquest of the Americas, and the founding of trading settlements in the East.

In South and Central America some of the native races had reached a level of civilisation recalling the early civilisations of the East. One of them, the empire of the Incas of Peru, is of special interest, as industry was organised by the State, which guaranteed work and livelihood to all. It was not a democracy, as the Incas were despots and gods, but it was a higher advance in social care for the people than has been displayed by the majority of other States.

Mexico, on the other hand, was a serf civilisation, and is chiefly known for its strange gods, and its holocausts of human sacrifices. When the rain winds did not blow, the gods were athirst, and blood in torrents had to be shed to appease them. Yet even here was a gradual growth of the worship of Quetzalcoatl, the god of love and peace. The Spaniards, fired with the passion for God and the lust of Gold (men have strange ways of deceiving themselves), rifled, pillaged, and slaughtered like maniacs. Gold and silver poured into Europe. All this influx of precious metals from the West and other products from the East stimulated the avarice of men as never before. Prices were revolutionised; customary regulations of trade and production could not be adapted to the extraordinary situation; some men became rich and others were cast into poverty. Above all, as already shown, the worker's control of his livelihood was swept away and Capitalism made its *début*. Thus the period known in history as the Age of Discovery, the Reformation, the Renaissance, and the beginning of Modern Europe, were largely due to the growth of trade and the glorification of the trader. Man was still the sport of outside events, and world changes, but these changes were themselves partly due to the growth of knowledge and consciousness, and man's grip on the powers of nature grows more and more.

Peruvian
Commun-
ism.

The Conquest
of
America.

Certain dates are conspicuous in British history, and I mention them in order that the student may relate them to the course of events in the text.

886.—Alfred's victory over, and peace with, the Danes. England had previously been divided into separate kingdoms. The Norsemen and Danes, or Vikings, were fierce but fine specimens of barbarians and sea rovers, who ravaged a good deal of the coasts of Europe, and permanently settled in Sicily, Normandy (France), and part of England, &c., where they gradually amalgamated with the inhabitants. Alfred's act was the beginning of settled rule over the country.

1066.—The Conquest of England by William of Normandy. Feudalism was already fairly well established in England, and the Conquest only accelerated the process.

1215.—Magna Charta or Great Charter. The Nobles and Burghers secured freedom from arbitrary imprisonment and royal despotism, and trial by jury. It shows the growing power of the Burghers. It did not affect the villeins and labourers.

1265.—The calling of the First Parliament. Not strictly the first national assembly, it was the first Parliament to which representatives of the cities were summoned. Another illustration of the Burghers' growing power.

1381.—Wat Tyler's Rebellion. In parts of the country the serfs had become peasants. In others, the labourers were demanding better pay owing to the scarcity of labour through the Black Death, 1348. The Nobles were trying to regain their power by class legislation, trickery and coercion. The rebellion at first succeeded, but was spoiled by the lack of unity, the King and his friends making separate arrangements with each section. The leaders (Wat Tyler and John Ball) and many participants were foully slaughtered. Some improvement resulted, however, until the enclosures about a century later.

1588.—The defeat of the Spanish Armada. Spain, aristocratic and clerical, found British traders and pirates a thorn in her side. Protestantism and Commerce beat Clericalism and Feudalism.

1603.—Union of England and Scotland.—This stopped many internal hostilities, or fear of them, and enabled Britain to expand overseas.

CHAPTER XI.

The Building of Capitalism.

Europe was now getting defined into separate nations. The rulers of each nation strove for supremacy against each other, and continual wars were the result. The nations also sought to colonise and open out trade and conquests in lands across the seas.

First, the Spaniards and Portuguese dominate, but drawing their revenue in gold and silver from the mines, the rulers neglect trade and industry. By their ruthless bigotry, shown in the Inquisition and its horrible *autos da fé* (slow burning of heretics), the Peninsula is decimated of its thinkers and active minds, and sinks into a secondary power.

Holland wins its freedom from Spain, after a long heroic struggle, one of the most glorious in history. The little Dutch nation becomes a power in the East and the great sea trader of Europe. For wealth, freedom and learning, it becomes one of the brightest stars in the European constellation. Leyden opens its magnificent University; Rembrandt, the painter, and Spinoza, the philosopher, are two of the greatest names in history. Meanwhile, England is colonising North America, developing commerce, and ultimately sweeps aside Holland and becomes herself the Mistress of the Seas.

Commerce in these early days is hardly distinguishable from piracy, as we know from the adventures of the Buccaneers of the Spanish Main. Then grew up one of the foulest trading enterprises the world has seen. Ancient chattel slavery had fallen before Serfdom, and Serfdom before the beginnings of Wage Slavery, but Black Slavery was chattel slavery, and even worse than the helots of Sparta. British ships and traders were largely the promoters of the Slave Trade, at first, to supply the Spaniards with mine labourers in place of the

Black
Slavery.

natives they had murdered, and then to supply English colonists in Virginia and Carolina with slaves for their tobacco, and later, their cotton plantations. The horrors of the trade are almost inconceivable. Hundreds of blacks crowded on ships without proper accommodation or medical attention, chained together in filthy holds, and thrown overboard when sick and flogged unmercifully if they rebelled. It was yet one of the staple trades of the country, and Liverpool and Bristol got much of their importance and prosperity from this trade of torture and misery.

**The Struggle
for the
Overseas
Lands.**

England and France were left the protagonists in the struggle for the East and West. India, as we have seen, is a rich country. Under a system of castes, carried on from one generation to another, the lower castes toiled for the upper ones and showed no sign of rebellion. Hundreds of years before the time of Christ, great Rajahs had built up empires, which had faded away to be succeeded by new ones. The priestly caste, the Brahmins, evolved philosophies comparable to those of our day, but they were only for the few. The many worshipped and sacrificed in the great temples to strange and grotesque images of mighty gods, and provided the means for their priests to live in pomp and power.

About 550 B.C. a gentle prince, Siddartha Gautama, came along, and taught a new way of life. "Desire not the fleeting things of life, love every living being" was the substance of his cry. He objected to priests and castes and pleaded for brotherhood. Perhaps the most glorious time in India was when King Asoka ruled (264—227 B.C.) and tried to put Buddhist ideas in practice, but the Brahmins came back and Buddhism was expelled from India. It went to Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan, but it was too noble for the people to appreciate, and there is as much difference between Buddhist doctrine and practice as Christian.

Invaders from Central Asia again and again crossed the mountains and built up kingdoms in India, and finally in 1525 the Mogul Tartars established themselves in India. Although Muhammadans, they respected the

religion and habits of the people, and for a time there was a period of splendour and prosperity, culminating in the reign of Aurungzib. After that, the Mogul empire broke up into separate states ruled by hostile Rajahs.

English and French politicians and merchants played the game of duplicity, and acquired more and more power, till the two came into conflict. France was beaten, and India became the loot of Britain, and her jewels helped to find the necessary starting capital for the industrial developments of the past century. In North America, too, England succeeded in ousting France after long and bloody wars, but England herself lost a portion of her colonies when the Americans rebelled and formed the United States of America in 1776. For in these colonies men developed energy and liberty. They were not under the immediate rule of the oppressor, and formed their own institutions. They evolved or appropriated the idea of the Rights of Man and a free constitution, and some of their spirit fled across the waters to inspire the serfs of the old nations to follow their footsteps.

In England, the lower trading class demanded a **In Europe.** larger share of power than the nobility and aristocracy was disposed to give. In the Civil War which ensued, King Charles I. lost his head (1649), but in spite of ferment here and there among the people (Lilburne, Winstanley and others) there was no difference in the situation of the people.

In France, the King and nobility stuck to their feudal position, and reached the climax of their power in the reign of Louis XIV., who could proudly say, "*L'état c'est moi*" ("The State! it is I"). Germany, torn between contending armies, presumably fighting for either the Catholic or Protestant cause, but really for dynastic ambition and plunder, was left by the 30 years' war in almost absolute desolation, leaving scope on its eastern border for the growing military power of Prussia.

Our present sub-division of labour, not being possible without machinery, craftsmen were still fairly independent, though they worked for hire for masters and not for the Guilds. Many workers were grouped

**Domestic
Manufacture and
Wage Labour.**

together in villages and home workshops, and produced for a factor or merchant, who got the cream of the profit. In workshops and on farms, labourers were paid on wage principles, though the wage often included payment in kind as well as money. Queen Elizabeth established the Poor Law to prevent rebellion, and the Statute of Apprentices, to keep up the supply of skilled labour. "Estimated," says Thorold Rogers, "by his power of purchasing wheat, the artisan and labourer from the years 1580—1650 got progressively less, so that in the ten years from 1641—1650 their wages were little more than a fourth of what had been earned by their grandfathers and great-grandfathers." Rogers is speaking of England, but the same thing applied to Europe generally. Speculation became more prevalent; the system of loans on usury to the Government—the Funds as they were called—grew up, and great Chartered Companies, like the East India Company, exploited foreign trade. The landowners exchanged their feudal duty of providing for the defence and upkeep of the country for a property tax of 4s. in the pound in 1690, which a hundred years later was confirmed on the *original assessment*. The 4s. on the original assessment works out on present value at perhaps 1d. in the £, and if the arrears were collected, at 4s. in the £, on the present value, as they should be, the whole land of the country could be legally and justly appropriated for public use.

The Growth of Science. Science is ordered and accurate knowledge. It grew up in the free cities and was developed by the spread of printed books. Rulers do not usually like too intelligent subjects, but having granted the right of private judgment of the Bible, it became difficult to define heresy in Protestant countries, and tolerance of new ideas became more common. The desire of the growing trading and manufacturing class for profit also stimulated research in controlling the forces of nature, and this was accelerated by the natural human passion of curiosity which, with increasing results in the domain of knowledge, became keener and more prevalent. The tendency to utilise this knowledge for human benefit was first seen in medical discoveries, and then mechanical

ones. In 1764, Watts discovered the power of steam as a force to work tools. In the same year, Hargreaves discovered the spinning jenny, and others rapidly followed. Steam power meant production on a large scale, and factories were established by men rich from foreign trade and plunder. Hand-workers, thrown out of work, had to sell their labour to the factory-owners; and the industrial revolution which covered whole counties with factories, mines and slum dwellings, came into being. Science opened up new outlooks to the race, though for the present the advantage was with the few, but it also invaded the domain of politics and theology, and Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Adam Smith in England, Diderot, D'Alembert, Voltaire and Rousseau in France, and Lessing in Germany, were the harbingers of political democracy, which had to prepare the way for social and economic freedom.

CHAPTER XII.

The French Revolution and Political Freedom.

The French Revolution marks the end of semi-feudal embryonic capitalism, and the new era when the commercial and manufacturing class, the bourgeoisie, came into power. In France, the glory of the military Monarchy and Court had to be paid for. The nobility and clergy claimed exemption from taxes, and the middle class and peasantry had to pay; but the middle or trading and employing class were also getting stronger, and resented being the subjects of an effete court and aristocracy. Finally, the growth of science and criticism had penetrated the political world, and the ideas of thinkers ridiculing the political and theological superstitions of the past, were spread among the masses, while the example of the free Republic of America stimulated men to hopeful activity. Thus conceptions like those expressed in the phrase, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," of a new state where the People was sovereign, and kings and princes unnecessary, were prevalent and made oppression more and more intolerable.

The waste of the Court; the incompetency of noble rulers and controllers; the financial bankruptcy; short harvests and starvation; the increasing demands of the Commons, or Third Estate, so called to distinguish them from the First Estate (the nobility), and the Second (the clergy), led to the Convocation of the States General. The Commons soon claimed, and became, the dominating factor. The Court, afraid of the power it had raised, tried to suppress the movement by force. The French Guards went over to the people, who, forging pikes and appropriating muskets, attacked the Bastille, the Great

Parisian fortress of despotism, and captured it on July 14th, 1789—one of the greatest achievements in history of what a mob, inspired by enthusiasm, can do. The States General became the National Assembly; the Rights of Man were proclaimed; the peasants rose and took or burned the chateaux of their lords, and a new era for the hopeless and disinherited seemed to be coming over the earth. But the forces of reaction were strong. The Court tried to organise the aristocracy and use Austrian and other foreign military support against the people; the people answered by the march to Versailles and the bringing of the Court to Paris in October, 1789. Again the Court intrigued and endeavoured to put obstacles in the way of democracy, till the maddened people attacked the Tuilleries on August 20th, 1792, and made the King a prisoner. The Powers of Europe, including England, tried to crush the new Republic by military invasion and subsidised revolt and treachery. The Republic answered by the Terror, starting with the mob massacres of September, they were followed by the revolutionary Tribunal, and the Committee of Public Safety which sent aristocrats, traitors, and, finally, the King (1793) and the Queen to the guillotine. "Before the invading tyrants of Europe, we throw them as gage of battle, the head of a King," as Danton finely said. The Republic trained the mob into the finest soldiers of Europe, made generals from privates and sergeants, and hurled back the invading hordes. To the cry of "The People risen against tyrants," they spread ideas of popular right and liberty over the Continent of Europe, but having vanquished its enemies, the Revolution turned against itself. The Committee of Public Safety, at the head of which was Robespierre, first sent the Hebertists, the revolutionary leaders of the Commune of Paris, to the guillotine, then Danton and Desmoulins, and finally, intoxicated with blood, slipped on the gory path they had created, and in Thermidor (July, 1794), Robespierre and his colleagues themselves fell under the knife. The mob were hunted back to their kennels with fire and sword. As Fouquier-Tinville retorted to the crowd howling for his blood, "*Canaille!* your bread will be no

cheaper for this." As a matter of fact, as Carlyle says, "History confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with, in which the general twenty-five millions of France suffered less than in this period, which they name the Reign of Terror."

The middle class or bourgeois idea of revolution is, that it should overthrow the nobility, but go no further. Afraid of the power of the masses they had called forth, they tried to drive it back and committed more cruelties than all that occurred in the Terror. About 8,000 people were guillotined altogether during the Terror, but as they belonged to the upper class, there is more song about them than over twice the number killed on the workers' side.

As it was, the superfluous blood and energy of the people was let off in streams in a series of wars, which lasted till 1815, chiefly associated with a cold-blooded Corsican named Napoleon Bonaparte, who, after conquering the greater part of Europe, led his armies into Russia to die of cold and starvation, and after his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, gave way to the Holy Alliance of the despots of Russia, Austria, Prussia and England.

The Bourbons were restored to their throne at Paris, but "all the king's horses and all the king's men could not put Humpty-Dumpty together again." The middle class, the bourgeoisie or trading and moneyed class, were the real rulers. In 1830, a Parisian revolution drove Charles X. from his throne; in 1832 almost a Revolution in England brought about the Reform Bill and the admission of the middle class to Parliament. In 1848 a series of revolutions broke out over Europe (in England it stopped short with the Chartist movement). During the nineteenth and twentieth century, the main principles of the French Revolution were adopted in most of the countries of Europe.

The Real Victor.

The French Revolution was a middle class Revolution that stopped at so-called political freedom, but it was a stage in the history of human development. It spread the idea of Democracy and Human Right. "Man is man, and who is more," as the Marseillaise defiantly sings. It is not to be blamed if it did not see that

economic freedom was as necessary to its consummation as political freedom. The world was not then ready. In practical affairs, it abolished, or rather led, to the abolition of a mass of feudal anomalies ; laid the basis of popular education which has gradually become universal in Europe and America ; established the right to vote and be represented in Council and Parliament, also practically universal to-day ; humanised our legal system and abolished torture and indiscriminate capital punishment; started the movement which led to the abolition of black slavery, first in Europe and then in America, where it was only achieved after a long and bloody Civil War (1861—1865). The people had yet to learn that the dethronement of kings and princes did not mean the downfall of economic privileges, and that the political revolution had to be completed by a social revolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Machine Age and the Triumph of Science.

The growing consciousness of Man, which seems to be the goal of Evolution, has expressed itself chiefly by his increasing conquest of material forces. For livelihood is fundamental, and changes in the methods of obtaining livelihood necessarily make alterations in all the relations of man to his fellows, legal, social and even theological, as we have already seen. This economic interpretation of history is not anti-spiritual. It only expresses the fact that just as body must be fed before we can get mind, so economic institutions function first. The greatest altruist can only uplift society by giving it adequate material conditions. Jesus fed the multitude before he preached to them. But the other factors, art, intellect, and public spirit, liberated by economic forces, are not simply "reflexes" of economic tendency—they are also definite factors and assist the former to work themselves out.

Science, in its modern sense of accurate and classified knowledge, made phenomenal steps forward in the eighteenth century—the century of Newton and Buffon, and the end of that century saw the application of that knowledge to production and transport in the form of improved machinery, and the possibility of the time foreseen by Aristotle, when slavery would be superseded and machines become the ungrudging and willing slaves of humanity.

The Rule of the Machine.

But before Man mastered the machine, the machine mastered him, and the history of mankind for the past 130 years is that of Slavery to the machine. Emerson's words, "Things are in the saddle, and ride mankind," express clearly the spirit of modern capitalism. The day of emancipation is yet to come.

Steam power revolutionised production, first in the textile and later in transport, and the engineering, mining, and chemical industries. The steamboat (1802) and the railway (1830) especially succeeded in overcoming distance, and quickness in getting wealth at a point is equivalent to increase in production. Since then, the application of electricity to telegraphy and then to the telephone and the wireless, also to lighting and production, and the use of explosive gases (petrol, etc.) in automobiles and airplanes, has increased the range of mechanical power to an almost incredible degree, and the movement still goes on. The increased production per head is enormous, though it varies greatly in different industries, being probably greater in textiles and machine products and less in food and raw materials, where the pressure of population and demand compels resort to more expensive methods, as in mines which need deepening; timber, which needs planting again; or wheat, for which we have to go further abroad, *e.g.*, Argentina. Yet, even so, increased power of production is very great. In 1907, the factories of the United Kingdom employed seven million workers and eleven million horse power. As each horse power represents the labour of six men, the United Kingdom could only equal that production, without machinery, by the labour of 73,000,000 workers, or a total population of 350,000,000 instead of 42,000,000, so that by the use of machinery the production of wealth per head had increased by at least six times, taking all things into account.

Kipling's song, "M'Andrew's Hymn," expresses the situation in a vivid form:—

"I started as a boiler whelp when steam and I were low,
I mind the time we used to mend a broken pipe wi' tow;
Ten pounds was all the pressure then, eh! eh! a man
wad drive,

And now! our working gauges give one hundred thirty-five.

We're creeping on with each new rig, less waste and
greater power,

We'll ha' the loco boiler next and thirty knots an hour.

Thirty and more! The things I've seen since steam and
I began,
Leave me na' doot o' the machine, but what about the
man?"

Yet, these wonderful developments have not greatly enriched the community. They have not even enriched those whose effort and genius helped to discover them. The actual inventors in most cases received a very scanty reward, and sometimes suffered want. As a matter of fact, every invention is only a slight improvement on what has been discovered before. "Every ship that comes to America gets its chart from Columbus. Every novel is debtor to Homer; every carpenter who shaves with a foreplane borrows the genius of a forgotten inventor," and each machine to-day is a compound of thousands of small inventions, and the product of the brains of the whole community present and past. The inventor was, in his turn, dependent on the scientist who discovers the facts and laws that underlie them, and his reward is even less than the inventor's.

The Communism of Science.

As Professor Soddy says, "For many a decade now, owing primarily and indisputably to the intellectual achievements of a comparative handful of men of communistic cloistral habit of thought, a steady shower of material benefits has been raining down upon humanity, and for these benefits men have fought in the traditional manner of the struggle when the fickle sunlight was the sole hazardous income of the world. The strong have fed and grown fat upon a larger and even larger share of the manna. Already it savours of indelicacy and tactlessness to recall that the exploiters of all this wealth are not its creators; that the spirit of acquisitiveness, which has ensured success to them rather than to their immediate neighbours, is the antithesis of the spirit by which the wealth was won. Let it not be forgotten that Science is a communism. The results of those who labour in the field of knowledge for its own sake, are published freely, and pooled in the general stock for the benefit of all. Secrecy or individualism of any kind would destroy its fertility."

In short, we have communism in promoting science; individualism in allowing its results to be appropriated for private profit. The advantages of scientific progress are allowed to be monopolised by those who own the natural and social resources of the country, whether they have got them by inheritance or by success in the acquisitive struggle which is styled competition. The fittest succeed, true! but the fittest to succeed in sewers are rats, and the fittest to succeed in a struggle to get money at all costs are, to say the least, neither the intellectual or noble element of the community. Yet, as it is inevitable that man must seek to fully adapt himself to the universe in which he lives, the time must come when machines shall cease to be the masters of men, holding alike in thrall both owner and wage slave, and become their servants, releasing human energy for the sublime task of glorifying the earth on which he dwells. That is the meaning of the Social Revolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Industrial Revolution.

As we have seen, to quote Karl Marx, "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population; the conquest and looting of the East Indies; and the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of blacks signalised the grey dawn of the era of capitalist production." But the full day of Capitalism came with the machine—the application of machine production to the capitalist system resulted in the so-called Industrial Revolution. Previous to this most workers toiled for hire for master or farmer as the case may be. In many cases, so far as manufacture was concerned, the capitalist merchant supplied the workers with raw material (which they worked on their own looms or in their small workshops), and paid a portion of the wealth he got by the sale of the goods to the workers in return. The wage system was only in its infancy.

The Factory System.

With the advent of machines, it became cheaper, in order to make the best use of power, to gather the workers into large numbers under one roof. The machinery and raw material belonged to the master, and the worker only supplied the labour, which he sold to the factory owner for a price called wages. Wages were determined by supply and demand, like other prices, but as flesh and blood were plentiful, and not easy to move to the most profitable place to sell—as goods were—the tendency became inevitable that wages tended to remain at the point where they would enable the worker to feed and reproduce his kind, and no more, and the balance of what he produced went to his masters

as Surplus Value in its various forms of Rent, Interest, Profit, etc.

While the worker could produce for himself, he could resist this tendency, but since the machine produced quicker, faster and cheaper than any hand-loom, for example, the hand-worker was driven out of the market, and was at the mercy of the machine-owning capitalist, and forced to sell his labour as a wage slave. The characteristic of the Industrial Revolution was consequently wage slavery for the masses, and its natural consequences—blackened smoke-hung cities with long rows of ugly disease-breeding slums crowding round the factory, mine or workshop, whence the owner derived profit which he spent on country estates and town mansions.

We have seen the original supplies of capital mainly came from the plunder of India, the slave trade and increment from land, but with the sudden development of the industrial system, there was at first a lack of labour. Part of this was procured by the land enclosures of common land, which the land-owning class ruthlessly put into operation at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of nineteenth century. The first Enclosure Act was passed in 1709, and these Acts developed as follows:—

The Supply of
Labour and
the Land.

| | ACTS. | | ACRES. |
|------------------------------------|-------|-----|-----------|
| Queen Anne | 2 | ... | 1,439 |
| George I. | 16 | ... | 17,660 |
| George II. | 226 | ... | 318,784 |
| George III. | 3,446 | ... | 3,500,000 |
| George IV. | 192 | ... | 250,000 |
| William IV. (died 1837) | 72 | ... | 120,000 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | 3,954 | ... | 4,207,883 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |

When it is remembered that the common lands were the last remnant of the soil, unappropriated by private owners, it will be seen that this was the final disinheriting of the British People of the earth which no man had made, but was necessary to the existence of all. As the land owners had a majority in Parliament, the

poor having no votes, these Acts were easily passed, and usually had the effrontery to put the burden on the land itself for the cost of confiscating it. In some cases, as in Scotland, they were accompanied by violent eviction of the former users, and we had the remarkable spectacle during the Napoleonic Wars of men fighting for their country abroad, while they were being robbed of it at home; and the people, deprived of their place on the land, added to the stream of cheap wage labour in the mills and factories.

**The Sweating
and Murder
of Children.**

In their ruthless greed for wealth and the desire to get the most they could out of the labour they employed, the millowners stopped at no enormity. Frederick Engels tells us some of the results gleaned from the Report of the Factories Inquiry Commission of 1833. "The Report relates that the manufacturers began to employ children, rarely of five, often of six, very often seven, and usually of eight or nine years; that the working day often lasted fourteen to sixteen hours, exclusive of meals and intervals; that the manufacturers permitted overlookers to flog and maltreat the children, and often took an active part in doing so themselves. One case is related of a Scotch manufacturer who rode after a sixteen-year-old runaway, forced him to return running before the employer as fast as the master's horse trotted, and beat him the whole way with a long whip. But even this long working day failed to satisfy the greed of the capitalist. Their aim was to make the capital invested in the building and the machinery produce the highest return by every available means, to make it work as actively as possible. Hence the manufacturers introduced the shameful system of night work. Some of them employed two sets of operatives, each numerous enough to fill the whole mill, letting one set work the twelve hours of the day and the other the twelve hours of the night. It is needless to picture the effect upon the frames of young children, and even upon the health of young persons and adults. Irritation of the whole nervous system, with general lassitude and enfeeblement of the entire frame, were the inevitable results, the fostering of temptation to drunkenness and unbridled sexual indulgence. One manufacturer testified

that during the two years that night work was carried on in his factory, the number of illegitimate children born was doubled, and such demoralisation prevailed that he was obliged to give up night work. Other manufacturers were yet more barbarous, requiring many hands to work 30 or 40 hours at a stretch several times a week, letting them get a couple of hours' sleep only, because the night shift was not complete, but calculated to replace a part of the operatives only. Equal horrors were perpetrated in the mines, where men, women and children were indiscriminately employed underground."

"Bad and unwise as American slavery was," says Robert Owen, himself a cotton manufacturer, "the white slavery of the manufacturers of England was at this unrestrained period (prior to the Factory Acts) far worse than that of the slaves whom I afterwards saw in the West Indies and the United States, and in many respects, as regards health, food and clothing, the latter were much better provided for than the oppressed and degraded workpeople in the manufactories of Great Britain."

Why did the people stand it? Because they were a The Effect of
Machinery. hopelessly unorganised mass, with all the power of law and State to hold them in submission. Sporadic revolts there were, mostly, at first, directed against machinery itself, and natural it was, when we read evidence like this of Nasmyth, of steam hammer fame:—"All that class of men (the best paid artificers)," he said, "who depend on mere dexterity, were set aside altogether. By these mechanical contrivances, I reduced the number of men in my employment by 1,500 hands, fully one-half. The result was, that my profits were much increased." Machinery, in the long run, did not reduce employment, but it did so temporarily, and meanwhile forced the skilled worker of the past to the position of a mere machine minder.

While population greatly increased, the great mass toiled for wages which represented the barest subsistence, while the riches of the few increased tremendously. Class distinctions were intensified; the wealthy commercial class gradually amalgamated with the land-owning aristocracy, and society became defined

into two classes—the capitalists or bourgeoisie and the wage workers or proletarians. The process which started in England gradually spread throughout the world at different rates of speed. The Indian mills of Bombay, or those of Alabama in the southern part of the U.S.A., or the factories of Japan, at the present time, remind one of the early factory system in this country, but that they can reach quite the depth of degradation then attained seems hardly probable.

Amelioration. The ruthless exploitation of the early days of the industrial revolution gradually moderated. This was due to several causes. It was found that the using up of two or three generations in one was destroying the stamina and efficiency of the race. Naturally, this was not seen by the manufacturers, who were blinded by their selfish interests, but by the land-owning aristocracy and other sections of the community.

Again, the example of the French Revolution led the people to demand the right to vote and control the Government, in the belief that this would end oppression. France had a minor revolution in 1830; and it was almost a revolution in 1832, before the Reform Act was adopted in this country, and although that Act only gave the vote to the propertied class, it was the harbinger of greater changes. The European revolution which broke out in 1848 was already seething and working.

Finally, as the workers became more massed together, they organised Trade Unionism even in defiance of the law. Consequently, it was possible for the agitation of men like Robert Owen, Richard Oastler, and other unknown pioneers, combined with the efforts of some disinterested aristocrats like Lord Shaftesbury, to force the Factory Acts through Parliament, these Acts increasing in severity from those of 1818, 1825, 1831, 1834, up to 1844 and 1847. The ten hour Act of 1847 was the greatest victory of the factory worker, and was bitterly opposed by such enlightened "radical" manufacturers as Cobden and Bright.

The very nature of Capitalism, in organising workers in vast masses, facilitated the development of working class power, and in general, with intervals of depression, the improvement in the condition of the workers

continued. Or, to put it another and more correct way: as production and wealth was vastly increased, practically all the surplus went to a comparatively wealthy class, so that the workers received a larger *amount* of wealth, but a smaller *proportion* of the total wealth created. The net result of the achievements of science has been a vast heap of useless and foolish luxury and a deflection of human labour into absurd and anti-social channels, including the production of mighty engines of human destruction.

A large part of the population of all civilised countries still welter in abject poverty, and a larger portion toil hard for a very low standard of comfort, which social legislation like Old Age Pensions, Health and Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, etc., only slightly modify, while about a tenth of the people have means of spending which range from moderate luxury to incomes which exceed all that the Pharaohs or Cæsars could have dared to imagine.

Wasteful competition exists side by side with wasteful monopoly and more than wasteful militarism, and social organisation for the common welfare is still a long deferred dream.

CHAPTER XV.

Working Class Movements.

It would be pleasant to say Working Class Movement, but the Working Class as one mighty class is still unborn. There are only tendencies in that direction.

**The
beginnings
of Trade
Unionism.**

As we have seen, Capitalism, by massing the workers together in factories and towns, laid the foundations of working class organisation to resist it. Trade Unions were made illegal in 1800. They nevertheless persisted, and the Act was partly repealed in 1825. In 1830 a big movement began of Labour combinations, and in 1834, under the influence of Robert Owen, was founded the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. The consolidation failed to hold itself together against the combination of the employers and the persecution of the Government. In 1834, six Dorchester labourers were sentenced to seven years transportation to Botany Bay for daring to form a branch of the Union.

Chartism

The struggle for the Franchise, a struggle in which both workers and middle class were united, absorbed much of the energy of the rebellious workers, and occasionally led to bloodshed, as in the charge of Mounted Yeomanry on a peaceful Reform meeting at Manchester in 1819, known as the battle of Peterloo. Great rebellious movements led to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. The workers felt they had been tricked in the Reform Bill, which merely gave the vote to the middle class. Hence they formed the Chartist Movement, which demanded full political democracy as well as the nationalisation of the land. The movement at one time seemed very powerful and threatening, but the middle classes started a counterblast in the shape of a demand for the repeal of the duties on foreign corn (which was passed in 1846), and succeeded in holding back

the larger movement. The slight improvement in social conditions, owing to the great development of industry and demand for labour, perhaps also the effects of the revolutionary movement of 1848, and of the greater facilities for emigration to new countries like America, where opportunities were possible to all, resulted in cooling down the rebellious fever of the people for a long period.

In 1850, the first great craft union on modern lines, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, was formed, and in 1859, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters. Thenceforward, British Trade Unionism took its orthodox shape as an organisation for benevolent benefits, and the defence of a standard of wages and working conditions.

Socialism, which may be defined as the welfare of each, guaranteed by collective ownership and control of social resources, early challenged the doctrine of Capitalism—the private ownership and domination of capital, and hence of industry—but it was largely of the theoretical, “castle building” type, “Utopian” as it is often called. Robert Owen (1771—1858) was the first great English Socialist. A cotton manufacturer, who had attained both wealth and success, he tried to improve the conditions of his wage slaves. The story of the infants’ school at New Lanark is a fairy tale of Utopia (nowhere land) becoming Eutopia (good land), and shows the glorious results of a noble environment. This primary need of good surroundings was Robert Owen’s special gospel, and a very useful and practical one too. He spent his money, and that of others, in trying to build up communities on socialistic lines, but did not realise the difficulty, if not impossibility, of highly organised socialistic societies in the midst of institutions and surroundings based on individual antagonism, avaricious greed and hostile interests. He helped the cause of education; assisted Trades Unionism; laid the foundations of the Co-operative movement, and furthered social legislation. He was a great man.

In France and Germany, the Trade Union Movement did not develop seriously till much later, but men like

Early Socialism.

Saint Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Blanqui, and Proudhon spread socialistic ideas among the masses to such a degree that, when the revolution of 1848 broke out, the workers of Paris demanded not only democratic Government, but the Right to Work. Bourgeois historians usually assert that National Workshops were tried and were a complete failure. As a matter of fact, the anti-Socialist members of the Revolutionary Government simply put the people off by relief works for the unemployed, till they had got an army together. Then they stopped the relief, telling the workers to go to Africa. The workers threw up the barricades, but in the three "bloody days" of June, they were massacred in true bourgeois fashion and "order" was restored.

The International.

After a period of quiescence, there was founded in 1864, in London, the International Association of Working Men. The chief mover and thinker of this Movement was Karl Marx (1818—1883), an exiled German Jew of brilliant intellect. He had already achieved fame by his editing of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" before and during the German Revolution of 1848-9, and the publication of the world-recognised Communist Manifesto in 1848. That document is largely the theoretical basis of the modern Socialist Movement. According to it, Socialism is not a fanciful dream, but a historical necessity. New forces of production, changes in industrial organisation, caused by new discoveries and inventions, necessarily altered the relation of classes in society. Other classes were being wiped out, and the working classes were welded into a power by the tyranny of the machine owner. Soon there would be two classes and two only—the machine owner and his slave, but the slave was trained to use and grasp the instruments he dealt with, and was able to do without his master. "The expropriators are expropriated," and social ownership succeeds capitalist monopoly. He afterwards wrote the most complete and scientific exposure of modern capitalism in "Das Kapital." The principles of the International are still actual. "The emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the working class itself. The economic dependence of the worker upon the mono-

polists of the instruments of labour and the sources of life, form the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation and political dependence."

The International had brilliant discussions at its Congresses, especially between the Anarchist or Libertarian section, headed by Michael Bakunin, a Russian ex-nobleman of magnificent propagandist power, and the Party of State Ownership, headed by Marx; but, at best, it was a very loose federation of Trades Unions and Socialist Groups. It suggested possibilities rather than realised facts. In 1871, after the Franco-German war, the workers of Paris captured Paris and established the Commune. It was an attempt at social experiment rather than a Socialist Movement, but the bourgeoisie felt that property was in danger, and after the guns had silenced Paris, 30,000 men, women and children were butchered in cold blood. "For what were you fighting?" a reporter asked a workman dying on the streets. "*Pour la solidarité humaine*" (For human solidarity) was the magnificent reply.

For a time, the International died, and Socialism was quiescent. Meanwhile, British Trade Unionism was consolidating its legal position, and by the Acts of 1872—1875, had its claims definitely recognised by the law of the country. Socialist and Trade Union Movements are henceforth more connected with the development of each individual country. Commencing in 1891, great International Socialist Congresses were held at intervals, and had their effect in promoting international spirit, though, unfortunately, not powerful enough to dominate the national and racial antagonisms which culminated in the Great War.

In Britain, the Movement revived in the eighties. The Social Democratic Federation, 1883, and later, the Independent Labour Party, 1893, and the Socialist League, came into being under the influence of men like Hyndman, Keir Hardie and William Morris. The Socialist League afterwards died out, the Social Democratic Federation later became the British Socialist Party, and thence, since the war, the Communist Party. Hardie was the advocate of a virile

The Movement in Great Britain.

Parliamentary Socialism, using that term to cover municipal activity; the great cities of the country having acquired a degree of importance and self-government which made their administration a vital factor in social development.

The Trade Union Movement took a new turn in 1889 when, what was called the New Unionism, took in the unskilled and casual worker, who was formerly left out of reckoning. With the success of the Dock Strike of 1889, Trade Unionism gathered in the unskilled and lowest paid, but the hopes that the old craft distinctions would fall away, and one great union for all sections of workers inaugurated, are still dreams of the future. Great amalgamations have sprung up, like the National Union of Railwaymen and the Miners' Federation, but still over a thousand unions share the ranks of the workers.

The Unions meanwhile, in general sentiment, had grown more and more Socialistic, and after the attempt of the employers in 1901, by means of the Taff Vale judgment, to cripple the Unions by making them liable to the damages due to strikes, they took a strong move in the direction of political action. The Labour Party was formed in 1900—a combination of Trade Unions and Socialistic Societies. In 1900, two Labour candidates were elected, in 1906-29, in 1910-42, and in 1918-69. The re-action against the war would probably result to-day in a much larger number of Labour members, and the Labour Party is already recognised as the Official Opposition. Its policy and methods are still painfully crude and halting, and newer parties of the Left, like the Communist Party, are challenging its right to lead the workers. But there is still a great leeway to make up, to get the rank and file of the Labour Party to live up to the ideals of their own party.

Industrially, the lack of solidarity in the Trade Union Movement was shown by Black Friday, April 12th, 1921, when the Railwaymen and Transport Workers failed to come to the aid of the coal miners, and left them to defeat without gaining anything for themselves by their betrayal. The Trade Union Congress Committee had achieved a partial success by a Committee of Action,

formed to prevent war with Soviet Russia, and the last Congress has appointed a General Council of Labour to form a General Staff for united action, but this step is too recent for historic judgment. The number of Trade Unionists in Great Britain in 1921 was over 6,000,000, representing, with their dependents, fifteen to twenty million people.

On the Continent, the Socialist preceded the Trade France. Union Movement. The Socialist Movement in France has never been able to capture the peasant, who, though poor as his working class neighbour, has the property instinct so imbedded in him, that he is generally on the side of reaction and against Labour. The Socialist parties gained a large number of deputies in Parliament (102), of whom Jaurés, murdered just before the war by a capitalist-instigated assassin, was the most brilliant, but the bitterness of opposition of its various sections always precluded a great deal of unity. French Trade Unionism, known as "Syndicalism," did not seriously commence till the nineties, and generally took a hostile attitude to politics. Its tendencies were spasmodic and violent compared with British methods: the Unions rapidly growing to a pitch when a great strike follows, and then dying away again.

Since the war, French Socialism and Trade Unionism seem helpless against the militarist obsession which has seized the capitalists and peasants of that country.

The most numerous and well organised Socialist Germany. movement was in Germany. From 1871, when Germany became a united empire, the number steadily grew, in spite of legal persecution, under the leadership of wonderfully able men like the Liebknechts (father and son), and August Bebel. In 1913 there were 4,500,000 votes for the 110 Socialist members of the Reichstag. Trade Unionism was organised scientifically side by side with Socialism, but as often happens with growth in numbers, the spirit of the organisation lags behind, and when the war of 1914 broke out the great movement was helplessly driven into the tide of war. The Socialist movement since the war still grows, but it is split into sections (Majority, Independent, Communists, etc.).

Russia.

In the autocratic country of Russia a live Socialist movement existed for some time. At first confined largely to the "intellectuals" or educated classes—who showed a devotion to the ideals paralleled in few countries or movements—it gradually spread to the newly-born working classes (for Russia is chiefly agricultural, and railways and manufactures a comparatively recent innovation). The Social Revolutionary Party mainly appealed to the workers on the land, the Social Democratic Party to those in the towns. The latter were divided into Bolsheviks (majority) and Mensheviks (minority). The whole movement, as well as such Trade Unionism as there was, was illegal, and the amount of punishment, imprisonment, flogging, torture, dungeons, shootings, hangings and exiles endured by the Russian workers for their cause is almost incredible. A man like Kropotkin stands out as ideal scientist and devoted revolutionist, but the other names worthy of attention are too numerous to mention. Tchernychevski, Lavroff, Sophie Perovskaya, Plekhanov, Madame Breshkovskaya, and not necessarily greatest, but most successful, Lenin and Trotzki. In addition to these, Maxim Gorky and Tolstoi, helped on the cause by their work, not only in Russia, but the world.

America.

The workers have been paid better wages in America than in Europe, as a general thing. This is due to the great opportunities opened out by a vast continent, which enabled every enterprising man to find, or believe he could find, an opportunity of getting rich. Given a one in fifty chance of a fortune, the American is apparently such a gambler that he refuses to barter his chance for a secure livelihood.

The chief characteristic of Trades Unionism appears to be its class distinctions between the members of the old craft unions (mostly affiliated to the American Federation of Labour, and politically backward), consisting mainly of British and early immigrants and their descendants: and the industrial unions, with a revolutionary bias like the I.W.W., consisting chiefly of foreign immigrants. Another matter is the return of the class struggle to its primitive stage of pure violence, the master class treating the law, which is there for their

protection, more cavalierly than their wage slaves. A striking instance was the hanging of five Chicago Labour Leaders on November 11, 1887. In a strike in May, 1886, the police used violence and killed strikers. A meeting of protest was called and the police attacked it without provocation. A bomb was thrown, and six policemen killed. A reign of terror for Socialists and workers was instituted at Chicago, and the Anarchists (Spies, Parsons, Engels, Fischer and Lingg) were sentenced to death on the ground that by their speeches (which were usually expositions of Socialism and Trade Unionism in the vigorous language of the streets) they *might* have incited some person unknown to throw a bomb. Judge Gary, who gave this atrocious sentence, is at present President of the Steel Trust, which gave its employees such a vigorous trouncing in 1921, and he is one of the most prominent figureheads in the Capitalistic world of America. The Homestead bloody fight in the great Carnegie strike (1892); the strikes of the Western Federation of Miners (when Moyer and Haywood were nearly "railroaded" to the gallows in 1907); the strikes of the textile workers of Paterson (N.J.) and Lawrence (Mass.), in 1912; the Mooney case (when Tom Mooney, on an obviously faked charge, has just escaped the gallows to endure imprisonment for life in the prisons of California); and the strikes of miners in Colorado and West Virginia, the latter of which still proceeds, and was recently signalised by the cowardly and unpunished murder of two of its Labour leaders on the steps of the Court House itself, are only some of the ruthless episodes in the struggle with American capital.

The Socialist movement in America has naturally always been separate from orthodox Trade Unionism, though the Grand Old Man of American Socialism, Eugene Debs (at present over seventy and in gaol for ten years for a speech which would not be considered wild on the European side of the water)* was driven into Socialism by his experience in the railway strike of 1894.

The Co-operative Movement has developed side by side with the other phases of the workers' movement, so The Co-operative Movement.

* Since released.

far as Europe is concerned (in America it is only commencing). In its modern form of consumers' co-operation it was started by twenty-eight Rochdale weavers, who opened a very small shop in 1844. Its method is to give dividend on purchases. By this means it avoided the chief difficulty in the extension of co-operation, which was that, after a time, it became desirable to prevent too many members coming in to share the profits. By giving dividends on purchases, and retaining a portion as capital, it becomes profitable to gather in members, and consequently trade and profit. Practically all purchasers are members, and all members have equal votes.

There are now 1,400 societies and about 4,500,000 co-operators in Great Britain. They are joined up in two great Wholesale Societies (English and Scottish). These have a share and loan capital of £100,000,000, and sell goods to the value of £250,000,000 a year, own 200 model factories, and are the largest tea growers, flour millers, etc., in the world, and employ 160,000 workers under the best conditions. They have ships, farms and factories, do a big banking business, and have dépôts and plantations in Greece, Assam, Ceylon, Nigeria, etc.

"The C.W.S.," says a writer, "is no longer comparable with any capitalistic firm, company, or even trust; it has pushed out its tentacles into so many parts of industry, commerce and finance, that it is now comparable only with a whole industrial system. It is, in fact, a socialist, non-profit-making industrial system growing in, and at the expense of, the ordinary capitalist system of the country."

On the other hand, the Co-operative Movement is held by many to be merely a large trading concern with an unusually large number of small shareholders, and that it has no connection with vital social changes. Its advocates are equally confident it contains the germ of a new social order, and that its faults are accidents of its capitalistic environment. Probably its future depends on the growth of social and democratic ideas among its rank and file. Of late years it has certainly branched out notably in the sphere of the production of raw materials and food; in its assistance, financially and otherwise, to the Trade Unionists forced to strike; and

has formed a political party to co-operate with Labour against Capitalist oppression. Its latest development is an attempt to stimulate international trade between co-operative wholesales, but the matter is too young as yet for further comment.

Co-operative societies for assisting peasant farmers with credit and cheaper tools, seeds, etc., by combined purchase, are common throughout Europe and America, and have done much to prevent the degradation of the peasant, as well as to lift him to a higher standard of both material and intellectual life, as in Holland, Switzerland, Finland, U.S.A., Canada, and above all, Denmark, where a small State, hindered from external expansion by powerful neighbours, devoted itself to the intensive culture of its land and people with remarkably beneficent results.

Nor should we forget to mention Belgium, where Labour and Co-operation combined and have built noble people's palaces in Brussels, Ghent, etc. The name of Anseele of Ghent is an inspiration to both Socialists and Co-operators.

CHAPTER XVI.

Nationalism and Liberalism.

Two groups inevitably grow up in all States—those who wish to remain stationary, and consequently tend backwards, and those who move in a forward direction. The latter group is naturally more likely to be in sections than the former, for it is easier to unite on a basis of “hold on” than of going forward, when there are so many possible ways to go. The un-arrived portion of the bourgeois or capitalist class are, on the whole, Liberal in political and educational matters, but when demands from below for social changes become too threatening their Liberal principles suddenly contract.

Nationality, which may be defined as a group of traditions common to the people of a certain region, usually connected by race or language, and expressing itself (or attempting to do so) through public institutions, was associated with Liberal traditions largely through the influence of the French Revolution. Of all tyranny, an alien tyranny is felt the worst. Hence Liberal sentiment favoured the spirit of nationality. Greece became independent of the Turks in 1827, and Belgium of Holland in 1830.

In 1848, a great revolutionary movement spread across Europe, from Paris to Petersburg.

The Year of Revolutions 1848.
In Paris a Republic was proclaimed, and Socialist changes demanded by the workers. The workers soon found, however, that while the Liberal bourgeois were in favour of “liberty,” they did not include in it the right of the worker to live. They were fooled with relief works under pretence of being granted the Right to Work; and then the door was closed, and the workers, who had fled to arms, shot down in the bloody days of June. It is unnecessary to state that Louis Blanc’s

National Workshops did not fail, as stated by bourgeois historians, for they were never tried. The Republic lost its Liberal character more and more, and finally succumbed to the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon (Dec., 1851), who became the Emperor Napoleon III.

In other countries the revolution was almost entirely Liberal and National in character.

Germany, for example, consisted of the well-organised Kingdom of Prussia, consolidated in the eighteenth century, several monarchies (Bavaria, Saxony, etc.), and a number of small principalities. The intellectual Liberalism, and later the revolutionary movement, had evoked a galaxy of intellectual stars: Goethe, "the calm Olympian"; the philosophers Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Feuerbach; Schiller and Heine, the poets; Wagner, the musician; and Karl Marx. The revolution was only temporarily successful; Prussian monarchy soon regained its power at Berlin, and the German Federation failed to function at Frankfort. The Liberal movement became lost in that of Nationality, which came to pass, not through the democracy, but the astuteness of Von Bismarck, who made Prussia the dominant power in Germany. United Germany finally came into being, under the headship of the King of Prussia as Kaiser of Germany, after a victorious war with France (1870-1). Napoleon fled, and France became a Republic of a distinctly Capitalist character, inaugurating its birth with the massacre of the workers who had dreamed of a Social Republic in the Commune of Paris (March to May, 1871).

Austria, the last remnant of the so-called Holy Roman Empire, united with the old Kingdom of Hungary and several subordinate Slav communities (Serbs, Czechs, etc), to form the Austrian Empire, was essentially feudal in spirit. The Viennese rebels of 1848 were suppressed by the device of using one race against another, and Hungary, which fought a glorious fight, in which the name of Kossuth was conspicuous, was crushed, with Russian help, in 1849. The Hungarians, however, achieved independence, in 1867, as a separate State, with the Kaiser of Austria as King of Hungary.

Germany.¹

Austria and Hungary.

Italy consisted of a number of independent States Italy.

(including the Papal State of Rome) and partly of districts under Austrian rule. The heroic struggles for the national independence of Italy are some of the finest pages of history. The rebellions of 1848 were crushed, but in 1859, assisted by Napoleon III, Austrian rule was pushed back, and finally driven out in 1866. Men like Mazzini and Garibaldi, Republicans of the heroic type, are the names best known in the struggle. In 1861, Garibaldi led his thousand red-shirts into Sicily, and conquered that island and Naples for Italy, and Rome itself became the capital of the new kingdom in 1870.

Poland.

Poland was an independent kingdom in the 18th century, but the impracticability of her system of electing her king (any one nobleman could veto any choice, hence continual friction and confusion) made her an easy prey to Russia, Prussia and Austria, who, in three gulps, at the end of the 18th century, swallowed her up. In spite of successive rebellions, which made her renowned as the martyr nation of Europe, Poland never regained her national liberty till after the Great War of 1914-18.

Britain and Ireland.

Nations fight for freedom, and then use it to subject others. This is conspicuous with Germany, Hungary, Italy, etc. Britain, claiming to be pre-eminently the land of freedom, lost the American Colonies (1776) by attempted suppression. Learning the lesson, the British Government has from time to time granted virtual independence to her Colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. Ireland, however, demanded freedom, and rose in rebellion again and again without success. The suppression of the 1916 rebellion (and incidental shooting of James Connolly) led to the formation of an organised army of insurrection, and the terrible and costly character of the campaign of suppression, and sympathy roused in other nations, led Britain to grant Ireland autonomy in the British Commonwealth as a Free State (1922).

Russia.

Even Autocratic Russia was influenced by Liberal ideas. In 1861 the serfs were emancipated by Tsar Alexander II and small reforms granted, but an era of repression soon set in again. Alexander II. was

assassinated in 1881 by Nihilists (a Liberal and Socialist movement). In 1905 a Revolution broke out which achieved a Parliament (the Duma), by the General Strike, but once more the reaction conquered. Tsardom was finally abolished in March, 1917, mainly by the awakening consciousness of the industrial workers, prepared by Socialist propaganda, and roused to fury by war and its horrors.

Portugal became a Republic in 1910, but though its first President, Braga, was a fine example of Republican principle, the country has not kept up to its tradition, and has gone the way of democracies dominated by capitalism.

Spain, though nominally a constitutional government, is essentially feudal and clerical, except in her border States, like Catalonia. In 1909, Francisco Ferrer, the founder of the Moderna Escuela, a school on rational and socialist lines, was shot by the military and clerical government, and the same spirit still dominates.

The South American provinces of Spain became independent Republics in the early part of the 19th century, and Brazil became a Republic in 1889.

The Scandinavian countries have made great progress, both from the point of view of Liberal and Social reform. Denmark especially, by her development of co-operative agriculture and system of education, has been an example to the world. Norway gained its independence of Sweden in 1905.

The great North American Republic has made U.S.A. enormous progress in a capitalistic sense, but has been too busy expanding over the vast areas at her disposal to have the acute political struggles of Europe, except in the matter of Black Slavery, which was abolished in the Southern States only after a four years' war, in 1861-5, and still left the negro in virtual subjection. Plutocracy (the rule of the rich) rules in America in its most shameless form, and is favoured by a constitution which allows a small clique of judges, the Supreme Court, to override popular legislation. The masses have been favoured in the past by the presence of almost unlimited natural resources, but as these become limited, the iron heel presses more fiercely and cruelly.

**Political and
Social
Reform.**

Britain got its Reform Bill in 1832, but the masses were not enfranchised till 1867 and 1884, and it was not till the Great War that virtual complete franchise was granted (in 1918). Municipal Corporations were established in 1835, and in later years the municipal franchise and power of self-government have been extended, till now they form a very important part of the machinery of public control. Similar reforms were secured in most of the European and Colonial countries during the latter half of the 19th and the 20th centuries.

Beneath the surface, however, the masses suffered poverty and exploitation, and the social movements, as already mentioned, were growing, and this increasing pressure forced social as well as political reforms on their rulers, such as Insurance against Unemployment and Sickness, Workmen's Compensation, Limitation of Hours, more sanitary conditions in cities and workshops, and better houses, old age pensions, elementary and a modicum of secondary education, etc., which are now on the statute books of most civilised countries.

**Intellectual
Development.**

Writers like Shelley, Byron, Victor Hugo, Anatole France, Balzac, Dickens, Hardy, Conrad, G. B. Shaw, Turgenieff and Tolstoy, Ibsen and Brandes; scientific men like Lavoisier, Mendeleef, Faraday, Darwin, Helmholtz, Kelvin, Ray Lankester, Kropotkin, Curie, Einstein, etc.; inventors like Stephenson, Edison, Marconi, Santos Dumont, etc.; Comte, Spencer, James, Bergson, and other philosophic thinkers; social thinkers like Bentham, J S. Mill, Kropotkin, Marx, William Morris and Lester Ward; and other names too numerous to mention, are products—and causes—of the intellectual evolution of the 19th and 20th centuries. The rapid development of the means of production, produces, indirectly, its effect on intellectual expression, and this in its turn becomes, with the progress of thought, an end in itself, so that man's mind ceases to be entirely dependent on its immediate environment. By the spread of knowledge new vistas open to the race, and the oppressed become more conscious of their sufferings and their power; yet the rulers of society cannot forego the advantages which knowledge brings to them,

and build up the force that shall ultimately destroy them.

The Liberal movement is not necessarily connected Liberalism with the various Liberal Parties, and, indeed, is often in antagonism to them. The reason of this is that Capitalist or Bourgeois Liberalism necessarily takes as its basis the principle of Private Ownership, Private Riches and Private Enterprise. When speculation, speech or action touches the sacred ark of Property Rights, the bourgeoisie generally shed their Liberal garment and became brutally reactionary. The movement of liberal ideas thus tends to find its channel through the social and political agencies of the working class, though the reaction against Bourgeois Liberalism has temporarily blinded some sections of the workers to the need for freedom of expression and social action, which is the really vital element in true Liberalism. The final issue of this Bourgeois Liberalism, with its sentimental talk of civilisation and progress, was summed up by Frederick Harrison towards the close of the nineteenth century, and the indictment is still true to-day:—

“ To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed, for the most part, in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. But below this normal state of the average workman in town and country there is found the great band of destitute outcasts—the camp followers of the army of industry—at least one-tenth of the whole proletarian population, whose normal condition is one of sickening wretchedness. If this is

Liberalism
and
Capitalism.

to be the permanent arrangement of modern society, civilisation must be held to bring a curse on the great majority of mankind."

**Bourgeois
Liberalism
a Utopia.**

Karl Marx's analysis of Bourgeois Liberalism is surely the final word on the subject.

"Although the Liberals," says Marx, "have not carried out their principles in any land, still the attempts which have been made are sufficient to prove the uselessness of their efforts. They endeavoured to free labour, but only succeeded in subjecting it more completely under the yoke of capitalism. They aimed at setting at liberty all labour powers, and only riveted the chain of misery which held them bound; they wanted to release the bondman from the clod, and deprived him of the soil on which he stood by buying up the land; they yearned for a happy condition of society, and only created superfluity on one hand and dire want on the other; they desired to secure for merit its own honourable reward, and only made it the slave of wealth; they wanted to abolish all monopolies, and placed in their stead the monster monopoly, Capital; they wanted to do away with all wars between nation and nation, and kindled the flames of civil war; they wanted to get rid of the State, and yet have multiplied its burdens; they wanted to make education the common property of all, and made it the privilege of the rich; they aimed at the greatest moral improvement of society, and only left it in a state of rotten immorality; they wanted, to say all in a word, unbounded liberty, and have produced the meanest servitude; they wanted the reverse of all which they have actually obtained, and have thus given a proof that Liberalism in all its ramifications is nothing but a perfect Utopia."

CHAPTER XVII.

Capitalist Civilisation moving towards the Bloody Abyss of World War.

It is a characteristic of Capitalism that as it piles up wealth for a few rich, this rich class find it difficult to spend, and invests more and more of it to get extra profit. But the workers are paid wages, which only represent a portion of what they earn, the rest having gone in profit, interest, etc.

The Necessity
of
Capitalism
to dispose
of a Surplus

They cannot buy back all they produce; the rich do not care to buy all the rest, and it is necessary to find markets in other countries for the balance. Hence the struggle for foreign trade. While this trade was in consumable goods like hardware and textiles, forcible control and annexation were less necessary, but it is noticeable that there were 50 "small" wars in the "peaceful" reign of Queen Victoria. But when steel on a large scale became the chief element of trade the tendency to force became accentuated. For example, if a railway was opened in a "new" country it would be paid for by concessions and loans, and it might be years before it paid for itself. The firms and banks responsible got behind them their respective Governments, always responsive to property interests, and before long the country was in the "sphere of influence" or possession of the great power concerned.

The reason why Capitalist and Commercial nations seemed to be inclined to pacifism as opposed to war at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the large area of the world still to be "opened up." As new competitors arose, the struggle became keener.

Karl Marx put the real attitude of Capitalism towards War:—"Capital, says the 'Quarterly Review,' avoids tumult and disputes, and is of a timid disposition. That is very true, but not the whole truth. Capital abhors

The Attitude
of Capital
towards
War.

the absence of profit as Nature abhors a vacuum. With a sufficient profit Capital becomes daring. Ten per cent. certain and it can be had everywhere; twenty per cent. and it becomes lively; fifty per cent., positively rash; for one hundred per cent it tramples all human laws underfoot; three hundred per cent. and there is no crime which it will not venture to commit, even at the risk of the gallows. If tumult and disputes are profitable it will encourage them both."

Africa.

Africa is a striking example of how commercial expansion leads to forcible annexation. About the middle of the nineteenth century, except for comparatively small settlements of Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola, British on the Gold Coast and Cape Colony, French in Algiers and Senegal, and Turkish rule in Egypt, this huge continent was almost entirely in the hands of tribes of barbarians and primitive savages. In 1914 the whole of the vast Continent with the exception of Abyssinia was divided among the Western Powers, notably Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy.

The Boer War.

An interesting illustration is the Boer War of 1899. Gold and diamonds had brought wealthy capitalists and crowds of workers to the gold and diamond fields in the territory of two farmer Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State. In 1896, under the excuse of danger to women and children (admitted at the subsequent enquiry to be a deliberately "faked" affair), Dr. Jameson, financed by Cecil Rhodes, a South African millionaire, attacked the territory of the Republics, and though defeated, the expedition was the preliminary of an unexampled press campaign in which South African gold was used freely to stir up the passion of war, with the result that in 1899 war was entered into, and after a gallant struggle of three years the Republics fell before the armies of the British Empire.

The East.

Commercial expansion, due to the great development of the machinery of production and transport, also forced the Western Powers to extend their tentacles over the East. Large areas were annexed: Cambodia and Cochin China by France; New Guinea and Kiao Chau by Germany; Burma, the Malay States, Borneo, etc., by Britain; Siberia and Turkestan by Russia.

The great land of China, still containing one-fifth of the inhabitants of the world, had evolved a civilisation of its own, perhaps nearly as early as that of Egypt. It had its periods of prosperity and greatness and of dissensions and chaos. At times, it was invaded by the fierce Mongols of the Northern and Central Asian desert. Its rulers, the Mandarins, with the Emperor at their head, claimed authority by virtue of learning rather than birth, but the learning was largely tradition learned by rote rather than real knowledge and thought. The masses were mostly peasant farmers and artisans, held together by family tradition and ancestor worship, and though not slaves, were heavily exploited by the trading and governing classes. China had reached a stage of civilisation in the eighth century comparable with Western civilisation in the eighteenth, but did not apparently make further progress. Why, it is difficult to say, but H. G. Wells attributes it mainly to a cumbrous language, which made reading and writing of themselves so difficult of acquisition that the learned class absorbed in ancient classics, had no energy left for invention and initiative, and the working and trading population had not the time or opportunity. For many years all foreigners had been excluded from the Chinese Empire, but trade batters down all obstacles. By force of arms China was forced to open her ports, and new markets were found for European goods, while portions of her territory were annexed from time to time by foreign Powers.

A smaller nation, Japan, organised on a feudal basis (its nobility known as Samurai), definitely changed her policy in 1867, and her nobility adapted themselves to the idea of acquiring Western knowledge, and with it power. In this they have wonderfully succeeded. The Japanese have their Kaiser, the Mikado, and a very Prussian army, fleet and constitution; they have built railways, opened up manufactures, and now compete with Western nations in the world's markets. They have had a war with Russia (1904-5), and have annexed Korea and Manchuria; and with China, resulting in considerable influence in that country.

The Chinese, however, wakened into activity by the
G

China and
Japan.

irritating attacks of their enemies, finally established a Republic in 1912. The intrigues of Japan and other foreign Powers, and the contest between the reactionary and progressive elements, has up to date prevented the Republic attaining stability. China may have to go through the phase of capitalist exploitation as the Western peoples have done, unless the collective intelligence of her people can avert the necessity by socialised organisation of industry.

Islam.

The Muhammadan countries, Egypt, Algeria, Arabia (and the Muhammadans of India and Malaysia) were annexed, or virtually so, at various times by France and Britain. The independent States of Turkey and Persia remained in a semi-feudal condition, with Sultans and Shahs as despots. Only the jealousy of European nations for each other prevented these countries being "opened up" and annexed. Through the influence of Western commercialism and liberalism, Rumania (1880), Serbia (1878), and Bulgaria (1908) gained their independence from the Turks, and in 1909 Turkey itself adopted a liberal constitution. Russia had tried to work towards Constantinople in 1854 (the Crimean War) and 1878, but had been foiled chiefly by Britain, who wanted the route to the East for herself, especially after the Suez Canal had been built (1869). Meanwhile, Germany grew powerful and wealthy, and needing expansion, came with German capital to build up Turkey, hoping, by uniting the Turkish railways with the Austrian, to open up an alternative route to the Indian and Far Eastern markets.

Competition, Monopoly and War.

The competition of private traders led to the formation of groups for the purpose of monopoly (trusts, combines, cartels). Competition, however, was not extinguished; it only became the struggle of these powerful groups with each other. These combines were able to buy the Press, which has largely become the paid prostitute of the money kings, especially in U.S.A. and Britain; to influence the Universities and Churches; and to control Governments. Where great national groups competed for the privilege of "opening up" new markets and fields of investment, those who could get behind them the military pressure of their respective

Governments were most successful. While there were plenty of unused opportunities, commerce was pacific, but as the world was closed up by annexation the competition of diplomacy and armaments became more and more keen. The very increase of armaments led to formation of vested interests in their production, who were only too ready to welcome war as a market for them, and also a large class interested in military and semi-military service, whose professional interests were served by militarism. The shadow of European war had been growing darker for 40 years, when the storm burst in the autumn of 1914.

As Kropotkin said forty years ago: " You would not have Socialism ! Well, then, you shall have war—war for thirty or fifty years." So said Herzen after 1848. And war we have. If the thunder of the cannon is silent for a moment, throughout the world, it is but for a breathing space.

" Kings count for nothing now in the questions of war. In Russia as in England, in Germany as in France, men fight no longer for the good pleasure of kings: they fight to guarantee the incomes and augment the possessions of Their Financial Highnesses, Messrs. Rothschild, Schneider & Co., and to fatten the lords of the money market and the factory. The rivalries of kings have been supplanted by the rivalries of bourgeois cliques.

" When we fight nowadays it is to ensure our Factory Kings a bonus of thirty per cent., to strengthen the Barons of Finance in their hold on the money market, and to keep up the rate of interest for shareholders in mines and railways. If we were only consistent we should replace the lion on our standards with a golden calf, their other emblems by money bags ; and the names of our regiments, formerly borrowed from royalty, by the titles of the Kings of Industry and Finance—Third Rothschilds, Tenth Barings, etc. We should at least know whom we are killing for."

The Great War was inherent in Capitalism, and all the history of the nineteenth century led up to it, but a certain special series of happenings was more connected with the outbreak than others.

Some of the Events Leading up to the Great War.

In 1881, on the usual pretence of maintaining "law and order," a British force occupied Egypt after "military operations" and the bombardment of Alexandria by the Navy. The real reason was that the people had risen in rebellion, and the interest on loans lent to the former despot, Ismail Pasha, by the Rothschilds and French and English bankers were in danger of not being paid. It was supposed to be joint action of England and France, but when, in later years, England found it necessary to send troops into the Soudan and annex that large country, France "jibbed." Colonel Marchand hoisted the French flag at Fashoda, only to be pulled down by Kitchener, and war was only averted by the financiers (Rothschild, etc.), who did not then desire it. However, an agreement was reached, confirmed in the secret clauses of the treaty of 1904, by which Britain took control of the eastern side of Africa, and France of the western, including Morocco and Senegambia. In 1911 France had troops in Morocco "restoring order," when Germany sent a gunboat to protect her interests. But Germany was not in the ring, and the result was that we had France "sabre rattling," and England, through Mr. Lloyd George, proclaimed her intention of standing by France, and mobilised her fleet in readiness.

Germany withdrew, but her capitalists had also goods to sell and investments to make, and turned her attention to the Near East. Turkey from being a great military power had become a type of administrative inefficiency and corruption, and her huge territories were not half developed from a commercial point of view. Between Turkey and Austria, Germany's ally, there were several small independent States—Bulgaria, Roumania and Serbia. German bankers lent money to Turkey (the modern method of enslavement is to make other people debtors) to build a railway from Konia to Bagdad, with extensions to the Persian Gulf. It will be seen that such a railway would only need linking on to the Austrian system to form a route from Germany to India and the Far East, shorter than the British sea route *via* the Suez Canal; besides opening up a country of immense natural resources. Britain objected,

because it would compete with her virtual monopoly of the Eastern trade route, and because she did not wish the rich resources of Turkey to fall to a rival; France objected from fear of the growing power of Germany; and because she had an eye on Syria, the Levant, etc.; Russia objected because the German scheme upset her dream of acquiring Constantinople and the sea route to the Mediterranean.

The Central Powers (Germany, Austria, etc.) and the Entente Powers (Britain, France and Russia), armed against each other, and the burden and danger grew with the years. At first the small nations, Serbia, Bulgaria, etc., were set at war with each other, ostensibly for racial and religious reasons, but really as puppets of the Great Powers. The spark was put into the powder magazine by the assassination of an Austrian Archduke by a Serbian revolutionist in July, 1914. Austria, backed by Germany, desired to carry out her ambitions by punishing Serbia, and thus, incidentally, to get in contact with Turkey. Britain, who had refused to have diplomatic relations with Serbia after the foul murder by Serbian officers of her former king and queen (Michel and Draga Obrenovitch), suddenly, for reasons given, became sympathetic with "gallant little Serbia." Russia mobilised her army, and the war broke out. First of all, between Germany and Austria and Russia and France, then, on the pretext of the invasion of Belgium, Britain came in.

It is not our business to describe in detail the mad-headed folly of the next four years. How nation after nation was drawn in, how millions of lives were sacrificed, and still more millions crippled by shell and torpedo, airplane and poison gas; how human sympathies were cauterized and human greed awakened in all its most unlovely forms; how heroic deeds were performed with the most horrible results, and how it only came to an end as soon as it did, by the intervention of the United States of America with unlimited forces of new fighters, and the promise (never kept) of the American President to respect the principles of international justice in the treaty with the conquered.

The Great Holocaust.

The result of the war is estimated at 9,000,000 killed,

30,000,000 wounded, millions of other deaths of civilians, etc., besides the numbers swept away by war pestilence, under the title of influenza, etc.

A whole generation was swept away. Man had made the machine, and like a huge Frankenstein monster it destroyed him because it was left under the domination of private greed.

Capitalism, *i.e.*, Production for Profit, fulfilled its foredoomed course. Trade, expansion, overseas investment, annexation, competition of nations, appropriation of unoccupied territories, competition of armaments, diplomatic intrigue, War and Hell.

Shall we allow the horrid circle to be repeated ?

If so, Civilisation will be wiped out and mankind will have to make a fresh start—or die out !

If not, Collectivism must replace Competition ; Social Co-ordination must take the place of unregulated greed ; Co-operation must supersede Competition ; the lust for great possessions and huge private fortunes must be swept away by the spirit of Common Welfare and the Public Good.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Russian Revolution.

The only bright spot in the records of lying and carnage was the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Not so much for its actual results as for its evidence that the indignation and rebellion of mankind against oppression and bloodshed had not died away. Logically, it would seem the Revolution should have broken out in a highly industrialised country like England or Germany, but actually, the conditions became intolerable in Russia before they did elsewhere, and the Government had not the strength to resist.

Russia could probably have carried on the war for a year or two, but this was an "engineers" war, and an agricultural nation with a mere smattering of manufacturers and railways only stood a chance against highly industrialised States like Germany when it had ample supplies from abroad, but when it was isolated, except for the ports of Archangel (2,000) and Vladivostock (5,000 miles from the fighting line), and enclosed by ice all winter, it was obvious Russia was beaten; the army half-armed and fed, was deserting wholesale, and the Tsar was negotiating for peace, when in March, 1917, the workers took command of the streets, and after a short fight Russia was constituted a democratic Republic, or rather a series of such, as each distinctive race and nationality claimed its autonomy. The hungry people rioted, the soldiers refused to shoot, and Tsardom disappeared.

But after the shouting, the class antagonism of rich and poor proceeded to operate. The Capitalist element hoped to establish a capitalistic Republic on property lines, as in U.S.A. or France, and the Allied Powers expected she would then resume her efforts in the war.

Classes in the
Revolution.

The utter ignorance, not to say drivelling idiocy of the Allied Governments in regard to Russia (witness Lord Milner's visit a few weeks before the March revolution and his report that all was loyalty and confidence in the Tsar, and desire to carry on the war), even when their own interests were at stake, is a remarkable proof of the incompetency of Capitalistic governments, and shows, as Oxenstiern said, "With what little wisdom the world is governed!" As a matter of fact, the Russian army was already dissolving by desertion, the Russian bureaucracy was a mass of corruption and bungling helplessness, and the Russian masses were starving and demanding the end of the war at all costs. The workers formed Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, who demanded a Socialist Republic, the capitalist sections fought against it by force (as in the case of Korniloff) and trickery (as in that of Kerenski).

The Soviet Revolution. In November, 1917, the contest ended with the victory of the workers, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as they preferred to call it, and a government of Soviets (or Workers' Councils) was for the first time inaugurated on earth.

It should be remembered that Russia at that time had reached the limit of her resources. Her railways on their last legs (out of thirty thousand locomotives at the beginning of the war only seven thousand remained), and without transport it was possible for great cities and parts of the country to starve while there was plenty elsewhere; her ploughs and machines worn out and irreplaceable; boycotted both by Germany and by the Allied countries, so that no outside supplies were available, and her army demoralised and deserting in large numbers, it is a miracle that the Bolsheviks, as the promoters of the Soviet Revolution were called, were able to do what they have done in rebuilding the agriculture, industries, army and social administration of Russia, and especially devote work to the education of the illiterate masses.

A Magnificent Gesture. Their first action of proclaiming their desire for peace with all the workers of the world, whether in Central or Entente countries, was magnificent. Without force, save the moral conviction of his party, the figure of

Trotzki, demanding from German imperialists, and challenging the world to demand, a peace without indemnities or annexations, will always be one of the most heroic and sublime in human history.

That the proletariat of Germany and the world failed to respond is Tragedy—from what might the world have been saved? Russia was forced by brute force into a separate peace, and after Germany had been beaten by the Allies, they carried on what the Germans had begun, and the country was ravaged by counter-revolutionary scoundrels seeking to take the place of the Tsar, men like Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel, etc., well supported with British and French funds and armies, for sabotage, rebellion, assassination and devastation.

The genius of Nicolai Lenin, combined with the ^{Lenin and} ~~Trotzki~~ organising energy of Trotzki, has, perhaps, more than anything else, maintained the Bolsheviki in power, but at what cost? Lenin calls himself a "Realist," a word hitherto used by reactionaries to conceal their hatred of the idealism that alone can inspire men to work for a noble future. The meaning of the phrase as used by Bolsheviks appears to be that the town workers (the industrial proletariat) must hold the reins of power at all costs until Communism is established. The danger is that the spirit of liberty and democracy should be killed, for the tendency of bodies with despotic power is to forget principles in the desire to maintain the power they have acquired. Communism in its complete sense of community of ownership of all land and capital seems to be impossible in the present state of Russia, and the Soviet Government has already made considerable concessions to foreign capitalists and to the peasantry, who hold fast to their land. The ultimate issue none may foresee, but history will honour the Bolsheviki for their stupendous attempt to establish a Communist Republic; and if they fail in that, it is probable that Russia will remain a democratic, or series of democratic Republics, in which State Socialism and Co-operation will control and modify private ownership to a great degree.

Russia has the honour of being pioneer: if she had

received the support from the workers of other countries, themselves demanding the land and plant, etc., of their respective countries for the common good, the historic result might have been momentous for all. The sands in the glass have not yet run down.

CHAPTER XIX

After the War.

The two forces which brought the war to an end were the intervention of the United States of America on the one hand, with its claim for international justice exemplified in President Wilson's fourteen points, and the Russian Revolution, which partly inspired the workers of the world with the feeling of rebellion against oppression and capitalism. The German Navy revolted; the Kaiser and subordinate princes fled; the provisional German Government accepted the assurances of the Allies, but the ink was hardly dry before it was found that the victorious Powers had no intentions of foregoing their rights as conquerors. The "points" alluded to allowed for territorial frontiers according to the desires of the inhabitants; no more secret diplomacy; no penal indemnities; free sea ways and communications; reduction of armaments; and a League of Nations to discuss and arrange international affairs and avoid war by means of arbitration.

The League of Nations was founded, but purely as a league of Governments, with absolutely no control over the Supreme Powers—Britain, U.S.A., France, Italy and Japan—who formed a Supreme Council and discussed in secret exactly like the old diplomats, and arranged the Treaty of Versailles, which divided the world regardless of fourteen or other points. So far as the conquered Powers were concerned, they were cut up wholesale, approximately on national lines. Austria-Hungary became four independent Republics—Czecho-Slovakia, formerly the province of Bohemia and Moravia; Austria, the German-speaking portion of the Empire; Hungary; and Jugo-Slavia (which included

Serbia with the former Austrian provinces of Croatia, etc.). Alsace-Lorraine and a portion of German-speaking Germany, the Saar Valley, were handed to France; the independent Republics of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan (in the Caucasus), Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland were recognised, as created out of the former Russian Empire; and Poland was made a considerable Power at the expense of the former territories of Russia and Germany. But as regards the Entente Powers, there was no attempt to give independence to subject nationalities; Indians, Irish,* Egyptians, Malagasy and Moors still have to fight for liberty.

Diplomacy was carried on as before by representatives of the Great Powers in secret; armaments decreased for Germany only; otherwise the military and naval establishments of the world are all considerably larger than they were before the war.

And as regards Reparations, large punitive indemnities have been placed on Germany, so that the standard of living of her workers has been reduced to a level which means semi-starvation. This is re-acting on the Allied countries themselves, the workers of which are told they must be content to accept a lower standard in order to compete with the people they have vanquished! And the collection of this indemnity will take some fifty years or more, and consequent military preparations to impose it.

During the war the necessities of the struggle compelled the Government to adopt methods of State Socialism. Private Enterprise never showed its avarice and incompetency so shamelessly. Food had to be rationed or the poor would have starved. Shipping

* The warlike spirit evoked by the war led to an exceptionally well-organised struggle of Irish Republicans (Sinn Fein) against the British Government. The costly and barbarous character of the struggle revolted the spirit of the British workers as well as many of the middle class, and also sympathisers with Ireland in the Colonies and America, and in January, 1922, the British Government agreed to Irish Independence as part of the British Commonwealth under the name of the Free State.

made colossal profits, yet was incapable of serving its purpose of supplying the nation. Munition makers simply piled up profits, yet were unable to meet the needs of the Government. It was only by drastic State action that the nation was saved. Yet immediately the war was over the shipping was sold to private owners and the old competition régime, which has by this time become a mass of rings, trusts and cartels, reinstated. The State divested itself of Railways, Mines, Factories, and hastened to become a mere police and military agency for the protection of property and the suppression of the worker.

It is striking that whilst human beings were conscripted, money and property were *borrowed*, thus imposing a burden on posterity for indefinite years. The public debts of all nations increased to £20,000,000,000, mostly owned by financiers and bankers, and entailing a burden on the workers of about £1,000,000,000 per year. Britain's debt amounted to £8,000,000,000, and the interest to nearly £400,000,000. The inflation of the currency had somewhat mitigated this burden, but when, in September, 1920, the bankers and financiers of America and England deliberately undertook a policy of deflation to a gold basis, the result was a terrible depression of trade, futile strikes and lowering of wages to less than pre-war standards, while making debts with definite rates of interest a larger burden on the community than ever. The workers under Capitalism are faced with the horrible alternative of good wages (for a time) while battle and bloodshed prevail, or unemployment and starvation when peace prevails.

The Washington Conference of the Great Powers Restriction of Armaments (1921-2), held on the invitation of the U.S.A. Government, is a symptom of the fear that is affecting the victors themselves in the awful prospect of further world struggles. The mere agreement to retrenchment in naval armaments and compacts for limiting barbarism in war (which will be repudiated as soon as hostilities commence) are of very little value in themselves. The competing interests of huge capitalistic trusts in Armaments, Oil, etc., are too powerful and provocative

for the time being. There is, however, a tendency to agree about the disposition of the world, which, with a Labour or Socialistic outlook, would be a step in the direction of peace.

CHAPTER XX.

The Law of History and the Problems of the Future.

The law of History, as well as we can arrive at it, may *The Law of History.* be expressed thus: the gradual adaptation of Mankind to its environments by gaining power over nature; extending interdependence and social co-operation, and widening consciousness of the universe. That evolution is still going on towards an apparently endless goal.

But the complexities and variations are far too numerous to be comprised in any formula. As we have said, Progress is not even a spiral, it is usually a zigzag, and much good dies with the old ere the new is born. Catastrophies abound as well as slow development, or decadence, and civilisations may die out and be re-born after long eras, before the final goal is reached.

Yet the law seems to make it inevitable that somewhere, somehow, sometime, the good society will be reached.

But meanwhile we can only judge "through a glass darkly."

The most crucial problem is that of International *International Peace.* Peace. Another war would be such a holocaust, with improved methods of slaughter, that it is difficult to see how civilisation or even mankind would survive. The League of Nations has neither legal, moral or political power. The "Supreme Powers" regulate the affairs of the world on the lines of world-domineering Imperialism. The smaller States are usually infected with a fanatical faith in racial or national independence and "Sovereignty," although the small independent State has no more power than a province, when its development interferes with the vital interests of a world Power. The world has got to realise that both Imperialism and political Nationalism are anachronisms in the twentieth

century. A World Federal State, with reasonable autonomy for its constituent regions and peoples, and enforcing its arbitration upon them, is the effective solution, but it is not yet in sight. It may come through a League of Nations, asserting for itself, through the assistance of the peoples, a wider range of power and control, or it may arise from an International League of Workers of the world.

It is the duty of every lover of progress to promote all international links which bind the world together, for on a growing sense of world brotherhood our very existence depends.

Coloured Races.

One of the international problems is that of the coloured races, who are, in most cases, assumed to belong to a lower stage of mental development than the white ones. That, to say the least, is very doubtful. Civilisation first grew up in Egypt, Babylonia, China and India, and it is probable the historic superiority of the white races is more a matter of luck of geographical position, language, and above all, the discovery of better tools of production. Japan has certainly placed herself beside the Western Powers in political and economic development, and in China and India we have great movements, not only of the cultured classes, but the actual workers, the coolies, as they are called, are organising in Trade Unions and demanding great social changes. The contrast between the fatalistic attitude of the Hindu or Chinese coolie, only a few years ago, and his present one, is very striking. It is clearly the duty of the workers of the Western world to assist this tendency, for a world in which a great mass of people of the coloured races are, unwillingly, in an inferior social position to that of the white race is in a state of unstable equilibrium. The black races of Africa seem as yet on a lower intellectual plane than the yellow, but given a period of tutelage, tendered in a spirit of mutuality and not of exploitation, and it is possible that great changes will take place. Some fine examples of negro intelligence have been developed in America and elsewhere, and the mass can approximate to what the few can do. In any case, the Chinese Republic is a fact, and Indian and Egyptian self-

government are inevitable in the near future. On the other hand, the question of the emigration of coloured labour to countries inhabited by whites, as Australia and America, where drastic laws are in operation against it, is a menacing problem. Will the awakened coolie raise his status so as not to be a danger to the white man's standard of living, and will this result in a settlement of the feud? These matters are on the knees of the gods.

But the problem of international warfare and rivalry **Property.** is complicated, and in fact largely caused by matters arising out of property and exchange.

It is quite clear that present property relations, which provide large incomes for a few and poverty for the many, which condemn the masses to increasing monotonous toil for others' profit, except when they are prevented from working at all, is altogether wrong and stupid. A nation which can find work for all at relatively good wages, while the nation is engaged in a life and death struggle, and which, when its "heroes" return to normal life, finds itself unable to provide either work or adequate relief for millions, is too preposterous for words.

The masses are restless, and it is hardly likely they will be compelled to go back to pre-war conditions, or worse, without a desperate struggle. The ruling classes may prefer national wars as a means of letting off superfluous energy and discontent, but it is altogether too desperate a remedy, or rather, it is not a remedy but a conflagration.

On the other hand, a Social Revolution may result in civil war and military despotism, unless controlled by a minority of high intelligence and great public spirit, well supported by the mass of the workers. But in times of tumult it is rarely many such persons attain power, and it is much more conceivable the same result may be achieved through the ballot box, combined with associations for resistance (Trades Unions) and for production and distribution (Co-operation). Still, events do not wait on human desire, and a situation may arise in which violent action is the only alternative to something worse. Let us hope not.

Socialism.

In spite of the well fostered prejudice against Socialism by its political opponents, some form of State Socialism seems inevitable so far as land (large estates), mines, power (water and electricity), transport and credit are concerned. This would probably be supplemented by Co-operative Enterprise and Municipal Socialism, as it is called. On the other hand, the producers are demanding a more active share in the control of production, and arrangements in this direction will have to be made, as it is both healthy and desirable. The National Guilds movement is an interesting experiment in this line, and is very healthy if not exaggerated at the expense of communal harmony. The capitalists fight hard and bitterly against nationalisation, and if forced upon them, they attempt to control these national and municipal enterprises in such a manner as to endeavour to ensure their failure. Conditions as to payment of compensation and restriction of activities are used to hamper efforts in that direction and make national and municipal ownership appear less attractive, but the force of events and the growing strength of Labour are bound to conquer in the end, and lead to complete social ownership and control by organised workers and useful citizens.

Some Communists affect to despise State Socialism, but it is difficult to draw the line between Sovietisation and Nationalisation. The mere fact of electing the governing delegates by trade and industrial groups, instead of territorial areas, is an interesting experiment, but is not a revolutionary distinction, and in practice may amount to very little. The revolutionary government in Russia is as far as possible endeavouring to inaugurate a form of State Socialism, though it has been forced to modify its programme so far as the peasantry are concerned.

The Land.

In fact, the most doubtful proposition is the land, especially in countries where there are large numbers of small proprietors. In such countries there may be established a modified form of Socialism; the peasant proprietors forming their own co-operative societies for credit, sale of products, and purchase of materials, and possibly assisted by the State-owned supply of electric

and water power. It is noticeable that a Farmers' and Workers' Party has already achieved power in the American State of Dakota and some Provinces of Canada, and is growing in other parts of the world. If the creation of a large landless class can be avoided by modifying the existing laws of land ownership in these countries, so as to prevent the land passing out of the hands of the actual users, it is conceivable there may be found a solution in this direction of many of our social problems. This may go on alongside State and Co-operative ownership of large areas, either let to cultivators or farmed under collective control. In England and Scotland complete land nationalisation, by taxation or purchase, or modified expropriation, or all these methods, is, with a fairly intelligent electorate, quite conceivable. An interesting movement is that for the promotion of Garden Cities, which would solve the difficult question of overcrowded cities and depopulated countryside.

Public debts, involving an annual payment of at least £1,000,000,000 a year as interest, mostly to a few financiers, will possibly be the crucial rock on which present society will be broken or modified. The proportionate amount which public debts bear to the total capital, and the interest on them to the total income, were never so great as to-day. And this is concurrent with a monopoly of banking and financial credit which has never been known before. Five big banks dominate the control of the £4,000,000,000 deposits, etc., in Great Britain, and a few men like Pierpont Morgan, Otto Kahn, Schiff and Rockefeller control it absolutely in America. These men can depress trade when they will, and the present depression is largely the deliberate result of the efforts of British and American bankers to deflate currency to a gold standard, a proceeding which would make debts and interest more burdensome than ever. (£400 millions would still be the amount of interest on war debt in this country, but if prices and wages were reduced by half it would purchase twice as much as before: in short, in terms of labour, the community would pay double the former interest.) Many fantastic schemes have been suggested as a remedy, but it is

Public Debt
and
National Credit.

obvious public bodies could easily issue a certain amount of free credit, *i.e.*, money without interest on matters which would increase the productive power of the community, provided this credit or currency was cancelled in due proportion. For example, a city is allowed by the State to borrow £1,000,000 for an electric power extension from a bank at five per cent., to be repaid in twenty years. It will repay over £2,000,000 for the million. Why should not the State allow the million pounds credit to be issued by the municipality itself to be repaid in twenty years? A million would be saved from the financiers to the nation. This would lead to the State or international control of banking, and the question of paying interest generally would be brought to the front.

On the other hand, it is conceivable the peoples of the world may refuse to continue to pay the annual impost of interest on war debts, and end them once for all by repudiation, or more probably by a capital levy.

Whichever way it comes it is probable the colossal burden of public debt will drive the nations to desperation, and will be the turning point which will lead to radical changes in the social system.

Unless society takes as its motto "Whatever is socially needed should be socially owned," it will slip into the old groove of poverty and class rule, leading to misery, degradation, war and dissolution.

How far these changes will be peaceful and intelligent will depend to a large degree on the extent to which the working class (manual and mental) is educated and organised.

If our study of history has taught us anything, it is that great intellectual development has required a background of economic security, of leisure, and of free expression of thought and speculation in speech and writing. Research shows that talented people have rarely sprung from the lowest class, probably owing to lack of opportunity and not of innate capacity, but more often from the comfortably-off classes, and the great cities (or towns with superior educational facilities) where stimulus and opportunity existed for discussion, research and publication. Ancient Athens, during its

Education and Mental Development.

glorious period, deliberately fostered art and intellect, with great success. In the free cities of the middle ages there was also a great revival of science and the useful and fine arts, and when to this was added the renewal of the knowledge of the art and writings of the ancient Greeks, through the dispersal of the scholars and their treasures by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, we had the intellectual revival of the Renaissance. Religious and commercial wars for a time gave little encouragement for the continuance of this development. But the growing wealth and security of the middle class, and the religious toleration of Protestant peoples (relatively, that is, to Catholic countries), as well as a keen sense of the material advantages of knowledge, led to the growth of science and philosophy in the 18th and 19th centuries. So far this knowledge has still only touched the fringe of the masses. Nevertheless, in spite of all, knowledge is growing. Unfortunately economic security is not a striking characteristic of modern Capitalism, and those who possess it are obsessed by the lure of riches and power rather than that of intellectual and social progress. On the other hand, in their fierce opposition to class rule and exploitation, some Socialists are apt to undervalue the importance of the Socialisation of all available knowledge, the encouragement of intellectual activity and original thought and expression, and especially of free discussion of all ideas and opinions, matters which are often stigmatised as "bourgeois ideology," a barbarous phrase which often covers crude thought behind it. For we are inheritors of the past, whether priestly, aristocratic, or bourgeois, and it is our business to take advantage of what our forefathers have procured for us and go forward in the endeavour to utilise and improve it for a better future.

Other things being equal, it is certain that as a result—and cause—of economic changes in the direction of a socially organised society, there will be greater opportunity and leisure for mental development, and education in its fullest sense will be shared by all members of the community. We may hope that much dormant capacity will be released, and the tempo of

intellectual progress greatly accelerated. Science will move with greater rapidity when the number of workers on the line of scientific research increases, and their energy is diverted from mere destruction or luxury to the increase of common welfare, and each individual human being will inherit a social heritage of larger vitality, intelligence, goodwill and beauty than we can imagine to-day.

Fears and Hopes.

But the obstacles placed in the path of progress by tradition and superstition, prejudice, narrow selfishness and downright stupidity, are so tremendous that wise men are cautious in their estimate of the speed of progress.

A devastating world war might put back the clock for many generations.

“Perchance that we may reach the happy isles,
Perchance the gulfs may wash us down.”

But, in any case, it is the duty of each thoughtful man or woman to strive for the right. There is still the possibility of a league of socialised communities eliminating the national struggle for private riches and the international struggle for markets and investments, which have hitherto been the chief cause of poverty and war.

Under the circumstances it would be foolish not to hope, and hoping, to work, for the Co-operative Commonwealth. Man has the power, if he only had the will, to create a far nobler civilisation than has ever existed before.

“The great are great because we are on our knees.
Let us rise!”

Let us rise to the higher possibilities of humanity, and help to make the earth the abode of song, of beauty, and of holy fellowship for the glory and benefit of the race.

CHAPTER XXI.

Afterword.

We have traced the stream of human history from its source in the animal world. We have shown that the law of life of each species is "Adapt yourself to your environments or die." This adaptation, at first the direct and spontaneous response of the organism to its changing surroundings, is due to the pressure of population on the one hand, and variability of individuals on the other; the individuals with the variations most adapted to the changing conditions being those that survive, the others disappearing from the scene. But with mankind, adaptation becomes more and more indirect, *i.e.*, instead of structural changes, man alters the surroundings to suit himself. To use a hackneyed illustration: the bear in the course of ages evolves fur to keep out the cold; man learns to make a tool or weapon to kill the bear and use his fur for his (the man's) own benefit.

Indirect adaptation results from the greater control of nature by the use of tools, and thence results more production and civilisation. One of these tools is spoken and written language, which enables him to accumulate knowledge so that the child of the twentieth century has a far greater fund of understanding and power than the cleverest of the ancients.

Self-preservation is still the dominant factor, but it has a tendency to be sublimated into self-realisation through truth, beauty and human fellowship. A wider and deeper consciousness becomes, under one form or another, the goal of human activity.

With improvement in tools, man rises from savagery to barbarism—the clan and the tribe.

With further improvement, it becomes profitable to

Indirect, i.e.
Mental or
Human
Adaptation.

enslave others; and classes, property, government and churches are instituted.

As tools still further improve, the classes which control and use the improved tools demand a share in government, and we trace man's development in zigzag and varied course through Sumer and Egypt to Rome and Greece; through barbarism to the Free Guilds, and thence to the Renaissance and the struggles of embryonic capitalism: from the French Revolution and the horrors of wage slavery in the machine age to its crowning folly in the Great War. Finally, the uprising of the new class, the workers, mental and manual, combined in the working class, whose victory is certain because it has the knowledge and capacity to use the tools, no longer for enslaving others—for the working class is the people—but for the common welfare of each and all.

Tools, no longer enslaving man, become his slave and relieve him from drudgery and poverty. All will have freedom for leisure and expression, life and beauty and fellowship.

The first law of Evolution is this development by adaptation through differentiation (difference) and integration (harmony).

The law of economic development is the necessary connection between improvement in tools and the class which controls those new tools, leading to incessant change in social conditions, until the day when tools are so transformed and improved as to make economic classes impossible.

The formula of general history may be summed up as the gradual adaptation of mankind to its environment by growing power over nature, extending inter-dependence and social co-operation, and widening consciousness of the universe. And that evolution is apparently going on towards an endless goal.

But no formula is absolute. As we have noted, the Life Force occasionally reaches a stage when further progress is difficult, and it has to find another channel, another race to carry on its work, although this race may be in many respects inferior to the old; just as Greece surpassed succeeding generations in intellectual culture, or the Free Guilds of the Middle Ages were

The Law of Progress.

The Parting of the Ways.

nearer social equity than our social system of to-day.

We seemed to have reached such a stage. Our knowledge of the external world has increased to amazing proportions, but social organisation has remained in many respects at its primitive and even brutish stage, so that we have the strange contrast of a religion of charity and love and a practice of national fear, arrogance and hostility and individual struggle based on conflicting greeds. These anti-social qualities, armed with the almost miraculous powers of destruction with which our science has presented us, may conceivably end in another world war which would probably be the end of culture and civilisation and a reversion to the Dark Ages. The peasant alone, with the most primitive tools, would survive. Maybe some other being may take the place of man, or maybe a more adaptable race of mankind would develop.

On the other hand, it ought to be possible for mankind, at its present stage of knowledge, by the wise use of the powers it possesses (and will shortly possess, such as the dissolution of the atom), to overcome all obstacles to a brighter destiny.

The primary conditions for such progress are: That the power over nature possessed by man should be a collective possession, or trust, for the good of all, instead of for the enrichment of the few; and that national, imperial and racial hostilities be submerged by the recognition of a superior international power, a real League of Nations or World State, of which national states would be self-governing units, like the Cantons of Switzerland.

Co-operation, Labour Unionism, Socialism, Communism, Internationalism (including the world language Esperanto), and social as distinct from merely conventional religion, are all moving towards some such goal.

We can at least work in co-operation with the spirit of what G. B. Shaw calls the Life Force, and Creative Evolution—the tendency of the holy spirit of life towards the goal of human perfection.

“The whole history of mankind through so many generations,” said Pascal, “should be considered as

one man ever living and constantly learning." The unity of mankind still seems far off, but the inter-dependence of mankind, industrially and intellectually, is an accomplished fact. The groundwork is there on which we can hope to build a glorious Co-operative Commonwealth; and that, in its turn, is but the beginning of a trail that may end in the complete unification of mankind as a psychic identity, the one and glorious begin who shall conquer disease, and perchance death, and whose mind shall be tuned to the music of the spheres.

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the lion and the fatling together: and a little child shall lead them.

"They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."—ISAIAH.

In every brow that boldly thinks, erect with manhood's
honest pride—

Does not each bosom shelter me that beats with honour's generous tide?

Not every workshop, brooding woe ! Not every hut that
harbours grief ?

Ha! Am I not the breath of Life, that pants and
struggles for relief?

'Tis therefore I will be—and lead the people yet your hosts to meet.

And on your necks, your heads, your crowns, will plant
my strong resistless feet.

It is no boast—it is no threat—thus History's iron law decrees—

The day grows hot, oh Babylon, 'tis cool beneath thy willow trees. FREILIGRATH.

And the love song of earth as thou diest
Resounds through the wind of her wings,
Glory to Man in the highest,
For Man is the Master of Things ! SWINBURNE.

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